Chapter 34

Reporting from the *Daily News* on Emigration to Australia and Post-Famine Ireland (1852)

Martineau received a letter in April from "a literary friend in London" asking her on behalf of Frederick Knight Hunt, editor of the London *Daily News*, "whether I would 'send him a "leader" occasionally." Launched in 1846 by Bradbury and Evans (Dickens's publishers), the *Daily News* aimed to be an organ of liberal reform. As its first editor, Dickens was soon followed by John Forster and then by Hunt in 1851. Martineau exchanged "frank and copious letters" with Hunt and saw that "this might be an opening to greater usefulness than . . . anything else I could undertake." That Spring, meanwhile, "my neighbours had requested me to deliver two or three lectures on Australia." Accordingly, six of Martineau's first leaders for the *Daily News* dealt with emigration to Australia, where gold had been discovered in 1851. The distant continent seemed an alluring site for emigration: an account in *Household Words* of Caroline Chisholm's Family Colonization Loan Society may have triggered Martineau's interest. In the *Daily News*, Martineau urged that laborers were needed for this year's wool "clip" and that middle-class investors could use part of the "millions in the savings banks" to help form co-operative emigration societies. Educated *women* were especially needed to serve as governesses, who might, "ere long," save a nest egg for themselves of £1,000.1

In late May, Martineau apologized to Eliza Meteyard for being slow to answer a "last very interesting letter" owing to her having had houseguests, "& just now, I cannot omit my work." On the "Nunnery question," she thought she and Meteyard must now agree.

When I wrote the Polit^I Economy tales, I was "a young lady" . . . brought up to be very 'proper' & prejudiced, & in all that ignorance of the passions & their play w^h is wonderfully common still in the daughters of mothers who 'have no patience to hear of' love & its wonderful own world.

At present, she saw things differently, though she was

still against the very early marriages of the poor, who pair at 18 or sooner, & grovel among a wretched progeny, while the farmer's & manufacturer's sons are not married at 40.

A single life for women now seemed possible, not a few being "happier & more useful without [marriage]. (I, for one.)" Meteyard, she thought, must have read Malthus and John Stuart Mill, "& by no means" to have taken up the vulgar accounts of them. Martineau had recently written to a well-respected Yorkshire employer to protest his saying that "Malthus's doctrine was that a poor man ought never to marry!" In spite of her "hearty admiration" for Mill, moreover, she objected to his speaking "of toil as an evil." On "love-matters," those who were most intimate with him said he was "very [underlined twice] odd; they sh^d not like to say how odd they think him."

Clearly, he could be "no oracle on the population subject." About the present crisis of "people going out & gold coming in, - I dare say we sh^d hold much the same view." She was working on that "in intervals taken from my great permanent work" (i.e., the translation of Comte). She was glad to hear, too, that Meteyard's deafness had "given way, somewhat." She was to leave for Scotland about 20 July with a dear niece; though not going for pleasure she

would relish seeing again "such glorious country."²

In her autobiography, Martineau noted that on "June 1st, 1852," she had attained sufficient insight and familiarity with Comte to write what was to stand. And before leaving home for the tourist season, she was "thick into the mathematics portion . . . and therefore had to stop till my return in the middle of October." In the meantime she had received invitations from "various seats of manufacture" to be written up for *Household Words* (as carefully detailed in her autobiography):

Paisley shawls . . . when I was in Scotland, at the same time with Paper-hangings ('Household Scenery') and 'News of an old Place,'- the Lead works at 'Leadhills.' From Scotland . . . I passed into Ireland [and] at the Giant's Causeway, 'the Life of a Salmon;' and afterwards 'Peatal Aggression,' - the Peat Works near Athy; the 'English Passport System,'- Railway ticket manufacture; 'Triumphant Carriages.' - Messrs. Hutton's Coach factory at Dublin; 'Hope with a Slate Anchor,' - the slate quarries in Valentia; 'Butter,' 'the Irish Union,' a workhouse picture; and 'Famine-time,' a true picture of one of the worst districts, at the worst time of the visitation.

Martineau was to write "two more of the same character" in 1854: "'Cheshire Cheese,' and 'How to get Paper.'"³

Telling Frances Ogden her plans for the summer, Martineau said she had let her house for two months from the 10th of August. Capital tenants again: - all adults, who won't spill milk on the carpets, or send a ball through the window: - & all ladies but one: - i.e., a widow & 3 daughters, & the husband of one of them: 1 maid, & 1 man, who will sleep at Fulchers' cottage.

Being "pledged to the Browns at Edinburgh" for 25 July, she wanted another tenant for the first fortnight. All was prospering: she and Susan would have "a charming home at Dublin" with the Richard Webbs, "(ci-devant) quakers" turned Unitarians, "old correspondents of mine, & hearty friends." But she did not mean to "tell any of the "mouldy old Unitarians there," from whom James fled in 1832, of her coming. Of James's family, Gertrude was "really better" and Russell (who had taken a position as tutor) "heartily liked by the Ainsworths, - & exactly for those things about wh we doubted much - Hooray!"

What "a noise" her leaders were making, causing her to "giggle over comp^{ts} at public meetings, & in letters to newspapers" referring to her as a man (friends like the Ogdens obviously knew of Martineau's new connection with the *Daily News*). Besides emigration to Australia, she had written about sport as preparation for the militia and unsanitary burial practices - followed after two weeks by government efforts to reform metropolitan water supply and burials. The editor seemed pleased, and

M^r J[acob] Bright, when here, asked me one night for a foot rule & a sheet of paper: & in my absence, he surveyed & made a plan of my Brussels carpet, - in order to send me one of their patent ones, - of w^h he affects to want an opinion. . . . So we are going to *promote* down-wards all the rest

(To the maids' bedroom, or the kitchen?). Gossip about neighbors concerned the Greens (possibly James Green, butcher and lodging house keeper of Fisher Beck, Ambleside) of whom "Mrs Barkworth had so made a convenience . . . that any future insolence will be unendurable." More pleasantly, "The great Dr Dubois, Humboldt's crony," had (evidently) called on her.⁴

Finally, Martineau went on to Ogden, she was in the course of "lecturing the H. of Lords" through her old friend, Carlisle, on their "unjust prejudgement of the Von Beck business." On 30 May she had first written to Carlisle to report what she knew - and she wished people (including *The Times*) would learn the facts before making judgments. *She* had been at Birmingham when the event happened and could say that statements made in the Lords about the case were *false*. Carlisle might want to hear the evidence as given in court, rather than hear it from her, but she could affirm that the woman "Radicula" had not been "locked up in a cell' [or] betrayed by her host," Martineau's brother being a Birmingham magistrate and she herself having looked into the matter there in the winter. Without any bias, she would support the "wretched woman."

Feeding more information to Carlisle on 4 June, Martineau sent clippings from the *Leader* to show the falseness of the accusations of inhumanity against the magistrates, adding that the people at Birmingham were surprised when the baroness did not speak French, only "very vulgar German," while her appearance and manners were unappealing. The baroness, Martineau alleged, *had* first been a spy for Kossuth and then for the Austrians to report on the doings of the Hungarians in England. Finally, on 7 June Martineau assured Carlisle that the baroness's papers were safe and would give facts to satisfy everyone that justice had been done for the protection of the real Hungarians she was paid to betray.

In Birmingham there was indignation against the Lords for denouncing the "chief citizens of Birmingham on the ex-parte statement of one man," who witnessed the baroness's arrest. *She* would echo Lord Campbell's plea for suspension of judgment, she advised Carlisle, to "do what is in your power on behalf of justice." ⁵

After boasting to Ogden about her success in the *Daily News*, Martineau wrote surprisingly to Hunt on 25 June: "We are not getting on very well, are we?" His rejection of some articles were an "annoyance & trouble" for him, she felt, while she got "discouraged from uncertainty." If they could meet "& have a good long talk, - *now*, at the beginning of the series," she could better understand what he wanted. Knowing he could not leave London, she proposed "coming up for a day, - say, next Wednesday?" Or could he spare a few hours on Thursday? She would "attempt nothing else but to see the Chadwicks, to learn the last news of all Sanitary matters" (Edwin Chadwick was struggling to reform internments and the London water supply). "I am out of the way of the latest news here, except by . . . newspapers; but a thorough talk with you would give me the clearness & confidence I want," she urged, to prepare for "the very advantageous & very *serious* journey" she was to undertake. "There!-there are Newman & C° for you!" she ended.⁶

By the end of June, Martineau had found a tenant for The Knoll from "the middle of July" for her "long, working journey . . . as a sort of roving commissioner, with a double commission." Her plans, she told Louisa (Jeffery) McKee, were to leave on 16 July for Edinburgh, "or rather, Portobello Then to Prof Nichol's, Observatory, Glasgow, where S[usan] and I hope to be very happy among the telescopes." Then

S. must have a taste of Highland air; & then we cross from Troon [on the west coast of Scotland] to Londonderry, see the Coleraine natives, & go round the coast by the Giants' Causeway, to Belfast . . . to be well taken care of; & at Dublin, we expect to enjoy great opportunities.

After Dublin, Martineau aimed to go to Galway,

& up into Connemara, with introductions to [a] quaker . . . settled there as a social Missionary. Down to Killarney, Glengariff, - even, perhaps, to Derrynane Abbey [in the far southwest]: & via Cork to Dublin, & through to the Menai [for] a few days, & finish with a week on a Cheshire farm, - (at the Pearsons.')

Could Louisa's husband provide any hints about manufacturers or fisheries or "the poor people at home, in the north of Ireland"? Martineau's brief was "to report of matters of production, & also social facts." The Follens, she added for Louisa's interest, would return to London for another year "to conclude Chas's studies." Louisa must know of "dear W^m Ware's death . . . from the fatal epilepsy." Sarah Pugh of Philadelphia, the Quaker abolitionist, had been staying with Martineau.⁷

Martineau's competent review "The Political Life and Sentiments of Niebuhr" appeared in the *Westminster* for July - drawing praise from George Eliot as well as (unknowing) admiration from James. Busy entertaining guests at Ambleside, Martineau invited Frances Ogden for "dinner at 5" on the 10th to meet the Holts (of Liverpool?) and Greens and possibly other "tourists" in the evening. Did Ogdens have Nichol's *Architecture of the Heavens*? Nichol wished to take Martineau and Susan to Loch Awe (northwest of Glasgow). James and his family, she gossiped, were staying at the Cloughs' cottage, seven miles from the new bathing place at Orme's Head, two from the Darbishires' place. (Ellen reported that Russell was much improved and that Rachel had gone to Cromer for the holidays.)⁸

For *Household Words* in July, Martineau retold in lively fashion the far eastern travels of "Huc." At the same time - in June, July and early August - she sent off a dozen leaders on political and social issues. Still having "sufficient misgiving and uncertainty" about this new kind of journalism "to desire very earnestly to have some conversation with Mr. Hunt," she learned he was to catch up with her at Portobello at the Samuel Browns'.⁹

In spite of differences with their parents, Martineau's friendships with young people remained firm. Knowing her penchant for books, "Sissy" Davy had offered to get one Martineau had seen at Edinburgh. And since Martineau was not going to London she *would* like the Davys' *Spectator* up to 16 July. She hoped Sissy's "Society" had Colonel Mundy's *Our Antipodes*: she had lent hers to the Arnolds so they could "see" Tom in New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land.¹⁰

In Portobello for "two half days" - as Martineau recorded in her autobiography - Hunt poured out "so rich a stream of conversation . . . my niece could not stand the excitement [and] went out on the shore to recover her mind's breath." Hunt wanted Martineau to send him three leaders a week from Ireland (which she was to manage, though feeling "the first signs of failure in bodily strength.") Yet writing the "letters," as they came to be called, gave her "pure pleasure, whether . . . penned in a quiet chamber at a friend's house, or amidst a host of tourists, and to the sound of the harp, in a *salon* at Killarney." As planned, Martineau and Susan traveled from Portobello to Glasgow and then to the Highlands, meeting friends "old or new, at almost every step." Later, Martineau reminisced to the Wedgwoods:

The half hour after we parted, - the climbing up the steep at Inversnaid [on Loch Lomond] in that rain was the worst part of our 11 weeks' journey . . . and on board the steamer on Loch Katrine, [we] met Lady Dunmore and party, who . . . told me all manner of things about my Cairo friend Murray.

Stirling was "beyond every thing glorious.11

Reaching Lough Foyle by steamer on 10 August, Martineau began to note evidence of social and economic conditions in post-famine Ireland, her "Letters from Ireland" appearing in the *Daily News*, 13 August to 14 October 1852. In her preface to the book publication (dated 20 December 1852), she termed the articles a "rapid account of impressions . . . and thoughts" in a journey of over 1,200 miles, using tracts of the Dublin Statistical and the Belfast Social Inquiry Societies to direct her "observation and inquiries." Whatever might be valuable in her treatment of "economical questions" she ascribed to Professor Hancock of Dublin and "the other economists in those societies." Passing "some of the most prosperous parts" on the way to Belfast, she commented on the scenery and analyzed the local agricultural and manufacturing methods like the (mostly badly managed) production of flax. In that region she noted

quite enough of the Catholic peasantry dwelling on the lands of the London Companies [including the Fishmongers' and the Grocers'] to give the stranger a good study of the Paddies.

The weeds everywhere startled her - though the land was under improvement by the Companies. Having visited the Templemoyle Agricultural Training School, she hoped "everybody who cares about Ireland would do the same," though it was ignored by English government men like Lord Clarendon (serving as lord lieutenant of Ireland). The house of the school stood in a beautiful situation "near to the top of a steep hill, looking down upon a wooded glen" and over levels to the lough, the mountains of Donegal and the Coleraine rocks.

Commenting on engineering problems of the stalled Derry and Coleraine railway - which distressed both proprietors and investors - she explained the growing and preparing of flax and linen in Ulster. And she praised Prof. Hodges of Queen's College, Belfast, who applied the laws of chemistry to agriculture. On the "tenant right" question, she blamed O'Connell for encouraging the people's faith in repeal to give them "fixity of tenure," which was bad psychology for making them responsible. Another problem was the "dearth of trees."

Surprisingly, the peasantry seemed healthy looking, and women working in fields and sewing at home seemed more industrious than the men. Though thrown out by the O'Connell agitation, Mrs. Leadbeater's "Cottage Dialogues" (offering moral and practical advice) had illustrated a helpful feudal relationship between peasants and aristocracy. Leadbeater's daughter-in-law, for example, taught the women fancy knitting.

Writing from Leinster on 26 August, Martineau reported on Catholic-Protestant feuding. Traveling from Dublin to Galway, she noted the barren scenery and deserted cabins, Galway itself seeming a mixture of backward people with a handsome and over-staffed Queen's College and other imposing buildings and convents. At Connemara on 3 September, she found English settlers and the Protestant Lord Sligo - liked by his Catholic tenants. From the small island of Achill on 14 September, she commented on improvements and on religious strife. "We have crossed the wilds of Erris," she declared three days later, "the scene of the worst horrors of the famine."

At first passing mostly vegetation and few people - like a policeman "buying apples of a brown-faced countrywoman," "a young lady dressed in a white muslin gown with flounces, with hair in ringlets, and no stockings or shoes" and "a Londoner, with gun and dog" - they were surprised at a *fair* in Bangor, "a place of a half-a-dozen houses." Visiting a workhouse where

"the dead and dying were brought" during the famine, they were assured by a waiter that he was *glad* to have guests. The Irish poor, Martineau decided, were victims of circumstances more than of themselves, the residents of the workhouse being mostly women, children and old people, some with eye-disease and some malingerers. The National Schools' education could best help people help themselves, she asserted, because the priests did not prevent Catholic children from attending them as they did the (better) Protestant ones.¹²

(In Rydal in September, Grace Davy told Crabb Robinson that Martineau was making £200 by her writing for the *Daily News*.

Though Mary Arnold called Martineau's "spoken judgments on persons and things of the day . . . very unsound," she found "her written judgments in her *History* [to be] unexpectedly correct").¹³

Continuing to try to pique readers' curiosity about Ireland as she traveled south, Martineau spotted a grand, English-style pauper lunatic asylum in Killarney and promptly branded it "an Irish bull of a melancholy sort." As they went by O'Connell's property on the way to Valentia Island on 28 September, she felt almost sympathetic to him until she saw the wretched condition of his tenants. In fact, she surmised, the O'Connells may have been smugglers in the last century like their neighbors, Valentia's Spanish name catching the ear. Fishing seemed to be carried on indifferently, but the little port boasted a slate-works "sustained by English capital" and an inn kept by an Englishwoman where all was mended and kept clean. How did the "sensible old lady" manage? She strictly trained local girls, who nevertheless stayed with her only a short time as they were eagerly "sought [as wives] by men at the slate-works." In Kenmare, Martineau deemed the estate of the Marquis of Lansdowne in poor condition though he was a good landlord "as far as intention" went. The Kenmare Union was reported to be "the most distressed" in Ireland, yet people trusted the English commissioners to "stand by the poor." On the question of religious differences, Martineau opined that the present priesthood would decline. Education was spreading in spite of the churches - the Church of England being to blame for the greatest "mischief" to Ireland.

In her last letter, dated 10 October, Martineau extolled the "intellectual and moral" leadership of medieval Ireland, her modern state being merely "a mournful burlesque upon the ancient one." To solve their problems the Irish must be weaned from wishing to live from their own plots of land, to the "discipline . . . of a growing prosperity under work for wages." ¹⁴

Having promised Chapman an article on Ireland for the *Westminster* ("of her Number 1 quality," George Eliot commented), Martineau summarized her data for "The Condition and Prospects of Ireland" and pointed to two major causes of Irish misery - the land question and ecclesiastical controversy. In addition to her pieces on Irish manufactories and social conditions for *Household Words*, Martineau's leaders and "letters" in the *Daily News* now concerned West Indian (additional) Irish, domestic and American topics that included the presidential election of Franklin Pierce, unwise aid to individual American slaves and the National Poor Law Association's campaign to force paupers to help pay workhouse expenses by agricultural work - which she opposed.¹⁵

Notes

¹ Auto. 2: 405-7; see Intro., HM/DN x-xi; HM to Frederick Knight Hunt, 17 May 1852, CL 3: 226-

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- 27; "Emigration to Australia" [*DN*, 8 June 1852], *HM/DN* 3-9 (see also, "Emigration to Australia," *DN*, 10, 15, 21, 31 May, 5 June and 1 July 1852: Appen., *HM/DN*); Samuel Sidney, "Better Ties than Red Tape Ties," *HW* 4 (28 February 1852): 529-34; when Jane Arrowsmith resolved to emigrate at the end of 1852 Martineau seemed taken completely by surprise; for Jane Arrowsmith, see chap. 35, note 2.
- ² HM to Eliza Meteyard, 31 May [1852], *CL* 3: 228-29; Meteyard, a journalist and future biographer of Josiah Wedgwood (see *The Wedgwood Circle*).
- ³ Auto. 2: 388; Martineau's next published contribution, however, was "The Forbidden Land" [rev. of Evariste Régis Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, trans, William Hazlitt (London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1852), *HW* 5 (24 July 1852): 431-36; "Household Scenery" [wallpaper], "News of an old Place" [Leadhills, Lanark], "Shawls," "The Life of a Salmon," "Peatal Agression" [Irish peat bogs], "Englsh Passport System" [printed railway tickets], "Triumphant Carriages" [coach manufactory, Dublin], "Hope with a Slate Anchor" [slate quarries, Ireland], "The Irish Union" [a workhouse], "The Famine Time " [in Ireland], "Butter," *HW* 5 (14, 21, 28 August and 11 September 1852): 512-13, 537-42, 552-56 and 606-610; 6 (18, 25 September, 23, 30 October, 6, 13 November and 25 December 1852): 13-18, 31-34, 121-25, 156-61, 169-75, 214-16 and 344-50; "Cheshire Cheese," "How to get Paper," 10 (2 September and 28 October 1854): 52-56 and 241-45.
- ⁴ HM to Frances Ogden, 5 June [1852], *SL* 124-25 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 231-32); Richard Webb had asked Martineau to promote Frederick Douglass's autobiography: see HM to Richard Webb, 22 September [1845], *CL* 3: 27-28; *DN*, 17, 19 May and 18 June 1852; see Appen., *HM/DN*; Jacob Bright, brother of John Bright and later MP for Manchester; Baron Alexander von Humboldt, German traveller and naturalist, and possibly Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux, Swiss archaeologist and traveller.
- ⁵ HM to Carlisle, 30 May, 4 and 7 June [1852], (first two) CH MS J19/1/108/108 and 109, and *HM/FL* 204-205; in "The Baroness Von Beck' [and Birmingham]," letter signed "Fair Play," *DN*, 23 July 1852: 3, col. 6, Martineau protested the imprisonment and subsequent death of a woman suspected but not proven to be a spy; "Von Beck in Birmingham," *The Times*, 3 September 1851: 4, cols. 5-6; "The Von Beck Mystification," *Leader*, 25 October 1851: 1009, col. 3 1010, col. 1 [letter from George Dawson, statements from "Derra," et al]; though concerned for justice in the rather bizarre case, Martineau seemed to enjoy retailing particulars like the Baroness's waltzing at a party the night before her arrest, being identified through a glass door, etc.).
- ⁶ HM to Frederick Knight Hunt, 25 June [1852], *CL* 3: 235-36; for sanitary reform, see *DN*, 18 June 1852, 9 August 1853 (Appen., *HM/DN*) and "Cholera at Newcastle," *HM/DN* 63-68; see S. E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London: Methuen, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970); in addition to sending Martineau *The Times*, Hunt soon commissioned "letters" from Ireland (see note 12); John Henry Newman, sued for libel by former Roman Catholic priest turned Protestant, Giacinto Achilli, was let off in June 1852 with a fine of £100 (see *DN*, 28 June 1852 and 11 January 1853: Appen., *HM/DN*).
- ⁷ HM to Louisa Jeffery McKee, 29 June [1852], JRUL (in a scribbled note, James McKee denied having present contacts in the north of Ireland but said Martineau would not need introductions); Ware had died in February 1852 in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- ⁸ "The Political Life and Sentiments of Niebuhr," WR 58 o.s., 2 n.s. (July 1852): 142-73; George

Eliot to Chapman, [24/25 July 1852], *The George Eliot Letters* 2: 50; HM to Frances Ogden, 1 July [1852], Armitt Library MS 367/8 (partly pbd. *CL* 3: 237; probably the George Holts of Liverpool.

⁹ For Martineau's article in *Household Words*, see note 3; besides emigration to Australia, Martineau's *Daily News* leaders on domestic topics included the right of public meeting, public opinion and sanitary reform, gardens, agriculture, sport and cotton supply; her political topics comprised government sympathy with despots, the imprisonment in American ports of colored British seamen and American presidential candidates: *DN*, 17, 18, 24, 28 June, 3, 7, 13, 19, 20,

¹⁰ HM to Sissy [Elizabeth Davy], Tuesday [July? 1852], HM/FL 206-207; Godfrey Charles Mundy, Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Gold-Fields (London:R. Bentley, 1852); the Arnolds' second eldest son, Thomas, had gone to New Zealand in 1847 and later moved to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).

23, 24 July and 2 August 1852; and see Appen., HM/DN; Auto. 2: 406.

- ¹¹ Auto. 2: 406-7; HM to FW, 11 April 1853, HM/FW 123-30; Lady Catherine Dunmore (widow of Lord Dunmore), sister-in-law of Sir Charles Augustus Murray, Consul-General in Egypt, 1846 to 1853.
- Preface iii-iv, Letters from Ireland. Reprinted from the 'Daily News.' (London: John Chapman, 1852); "Letters from Ireland. No. I. Lough Foyle and its Environs," " II. West of Ulster—Weeds London Companies Temple-Moyle Agricultural School," " III. The Derry and Coleraine Railway Produce and Traffic of the District Beautiful Scenery What Can Public Works go for Ireland?" " IV. The Linen Manufacture Flax Growing and Dressing," "- V. Agricultural Improvement in Ulster," " VI. Ireland Dying of too much Doctoring The 'Tenant Right' Question," " No. VII. How Ireland is to get back its woods," "- VIII. Leinster Irish Industry Religious Feuds," "- IX. The Women," "- X. [No Subtitle]," " XI. [No Subtitle]," " XII. Connemara," " XIII. The People and the Clergy," "- XIV. English Settlers in the 'Wilds of The West,"" " XV. Achill," " XVI. The Wilds of Erris," " XVII. [No Subtitle]," " XVIII. Irish Landlords and Irish Potatoes," " XIX. Landlords, Priests, and Voters." " XX. The Workhouses," DN, 13, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 31 August, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 25 and 28 September 1852 [for page nos. and cols., see Appen., HM/DN]; Mary Leadbeater, Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry [reprinted, in one volume without the glossary by Maria Edgeworth] (Dublin: P. Kennedy, 1841) offers moral and practical advice.
- ¹³ Robinson, Hudson [entry for 9 September 1852] 271.
- ¹⁴ [See note 12] " No. XXI. Killarney," " No. XXII. The Rival Churches," "No. XXIII. [no subtitle]," "- No. XXIV. [no subtitle]," " No. XXV. Priests and Landlords New Features of Irish Life," "- No. XXVI. Emigration and Education," " No. XXVII. The People and the Two Churches," *DN*, 29, 30 September, 2, 4, 8, 13 and 14 October 1852 [for page nos. and cols., see Appen., *HM/DN*].
- ¹⁵ "Conditions and Prospects of Ireland," WR 59 o.s., 3 n.s., January 1853, 35-62; see Appen., HM/DN.