

BRIDGET BELL, formerly CARROLL, nee HOPKINS c1833-1915

TRACING THE LONG JOURNEY OF A YOUNG ORPHAN GIRL FROM COUNTY GALWAY, IRELAND TO BOURKE, NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA



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Introduction

Bridget Hopkins was one of 230 Irish orphan girls who sailed into Sydney on the ship *Digby* on 4 April 1849, and one of more than 4,000 orphan girls who came from 118 different Irish workhouses to Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide under the Earl Grey Famine Orphan Scheme 1848-1850. She was my maternal great-great-grandmother.

While the broad arc of her long and eventful life had been documented, information was quite fragmented, details were scant and their accuracy uncertain. This story reflects my efforts to fill in some details and my continuing interest in understanding the historical context of my family's history. I had also hoped to find Bridget's own voice, but she has remained silent throughout.

This story builds on and incorporates the efforts of many others who have been researching the Hopkins-Carroll-Bell family history for years, well before I started. In particular I would like to acknowledge the research of some of Bridget's other descendants: the late Pat Willcox whose 2002 article on Bridget first sparked my interest in finding out more; the late Roy Mitchell, Bridget's greatgrandson, who was passionate about his family tree and genealogy and shared that knowledge freely with so many people; Marie T. Cribbin, Beth Atkinson and Karleen Reilly who, like me, are Bridget's great-great-granddaughters and who have been so generous in sharing their research, photos and stories with me. I also acknowledge the family histories written by descendants of the Knight family of Cornwall, Adelaide and Cobar, one written by Dawn Elder nee Knight of Nyngan and another by May Grace (Billy) Ash nee Knight. I am indebted to Dr Trevor McClaughlin for first suggesting that I consider the possibility that Bridget may have been in the Castlerea workhouse before coming to Australia.

The first 15 years

Bridget was born in County Galway in Ireland around 1833. Her mother was Bridget (Biddy) Moore and her father was Thomas Hopkins, variously described as a butcher or a farmer. Both were recorded as dead in 1848, although I have found no death or burial records for either of them. There are probably no records to be found given the catastrophe of the Great Famine (1845 – 1852), especially in Galway and the other western counties such as Clare, Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo.

Exactly where in Galway she was born has not been proven, but my research points to the Townland of Glen in the Parish of Kilkerrin some 18 km south east of Dunmore in north Galway.¹ ²

In 1841, when Bridget was 8 years old, almost 70% of the total population of the Kilkerrin Parish was illiterate, and only 9.2% could both read and write. We know that Bridget could neither read nor write on her arrival, and it is likely that she spoke Gaelic and had little or no English.

Glen townland was just under 168 acres given over to tillage and pasture, with a small village at its heart,³ but it was decimated within a decade. In 1841 the townland had a population of 110 people living in 22 houses but by 1851 its population had dropped to 17 and there were only 4 houses remaining.⁴

Glen is but one small example of the extreme depopulation of Ireland during and after the Great Famine when starvation and disease claimed 1.5 million Irish lives and another million emigrated.



Exhibit 1: Location of the Townland of Glen, Parish of Kilkerrin, County Galway, Ireland.

We do not know how the Hopkins family made a living when Bridget was growing up, but I am not convinced that her father was a butcher. Her death certificate states he was a farmer. They may have been occupiers of cabins with small farms from one to five acres; or cottiers living on the lands of the farmers for whom they worked, in cabins to which were attached small plots of ground; or agricultural labourers who had no fixed employment and no land, but who simply rented the hovels they lived in and depended for support on the patches of potato ground they were able to hire each year from a neighbouring farmer. The landlord of Glen Village was Richard D'Arcy of New Forest. The family may have been evicted from their cabin, as many thousands of other families were during and after the Famine years, or they may have succumbed to disease such as typhus or cholera.



Exhibit 2: "Cottage Interior, Claddagh, Galway, 1845" by Francis William Topham. Source: photo from Views of the Famine website. https://viewsofthefamine.wordpress.com/miscellaneous/cottage-interior-claddagh-galway/

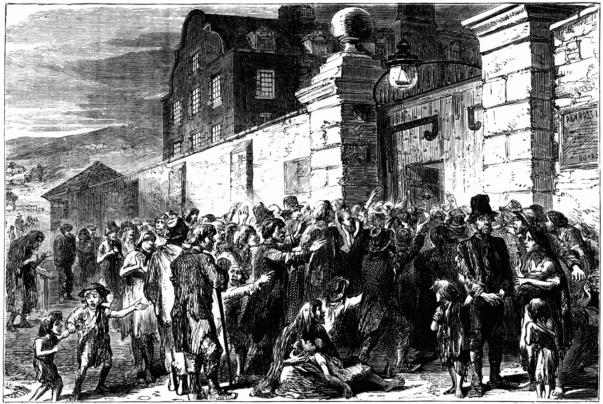


Exhibit 3: "Irish peasant girl guarding the family's last few possessions after eviction for non-payment of rent." The Illustrated London News, April 1886. Wood engraving. Source: photo from Print Collector/ Getty Images.

The Castlerea Workhouse

The workhouse was the most feared and hated institution ever established in Ireland. Such were its horrors that nothing short of total desperation would drive even the destitute into it.

Bridget's route to the Castlerea workhouse is unknown - its records are lost. We do not know if she made her way alone or travelled with other family members. Did her father, mother, brothers or sisters die on the road or in a cabin in Glen village? Did her father or mother abandon her at the workhouse gates and travel to England to find work? By whatever route she travelled to reach the workhouse, she would have walked what became known as the 'cosan na marbh' or the 'pathway of the dead' because more than a quarter of those admitted to the Connaught workhouses died there.



THE FAMINE IN IRELAND-PEASANTS AT THE GATE OF A WORKHOUSE.

Exhibit 4: "The Famine in Ireland – peasants at the gate of a workhouse", The Illustrated London News, 1846. Source: sketch from Views of the Famine website. https://viewsofthefamine.wordpress.com/image-index/at-the-gate-of-a-workhouse/

At the start of 1847, just seven months after the Castlerea workhouse had admitted its first inmates, *The Economist* reported:

In the Castlerea poorhouse the writer saw the dormitories which resembled pig-styes more than the habitation of human beings, and the effluvia from them was overpowering to the highest degree. In this house typhus fever had made its appearance...... their weekly supply of food can only be obtained upon the personal guarantee of two gentlemen in the neighbourhood.⁸



Exhibit 6: Castlerea Workhouse, Main Entrance. Source: *Co. Roscommon Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 11, 2009, p.113.

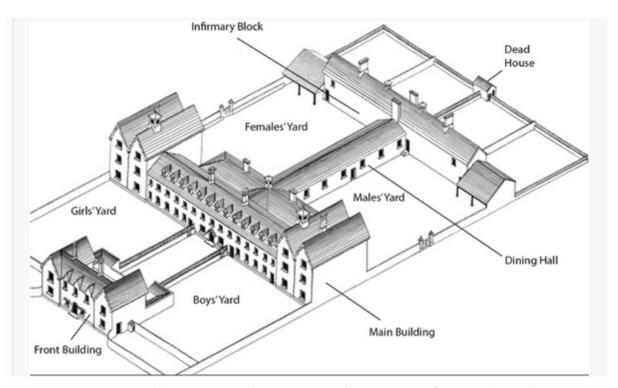


Exhibit 5: George Wilkinson's standard plan for a workhouse for 800 inmates (redrawn from Fifth Annual Poor Law Report 1839). Source: Thomas, L. (2017). "Manifestations of Institutional Reform and Resistance to Reform in Ulster Workhouses, Ireland, 1838-1855." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 1-34. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-017-0401-x and https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

In April 1847, Count Strzelecki of the British Association (and the explorer who named Mount Kosciuszko) found that four-fifths of the 1,000 inmates of Castlerea were sick. At the time of his visit, 20 coffins left the house by one door, while another 40 applicants had been refused admittance.

The reports of the 1849 Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the operation of the Irish Poor Law, along with many other studies, provide devastating accounts of the Castlerea workhouse and others in the west of Ireland during the Great Famine. Evidence given to the Committee by Dr. Henry Maunsell on his visit to the Castlerea workhouse and attached hospitals at the end of 1848 highlighted its wretched state.

Q: Did you visit the hospitals? I did; there were, as I was told, 500 persons sick in the hospitals; there were pitched sheds raised round the yards of the workhouse; it was very cold weather; it was at Christmas; a great number of sick people were in those sheds....

Q: In what state did you find the hospital? It was very miserable; there were persons with dysentery lying three in the same bed; there were small-pox, measles, and fever, and a great deal of ophthalmia, and all sorts of cutaneous diseases; the sick were dying very rapidly; I think 40 a week, the medical officer told me.

I may also mention that the dormitories did not contain an atom of furniture...

Q: No beds? No, the dormitories were very long galleries with a sort of passage up the centre, and on either side, there were raised ledges, such as I have seen in a dog-kennel, about six or seven inches from the floor; the people had turned out, and the galleries were tolerably clean. They were divided by central partitions, open at the top, so that there were four lairs for sleeping upon, with a small avenue between each pair of lairs. There were some bed clothes there, and I understood the people lay promiscuously as dogs would on the floor of a kennel. 9



Exhibit 7: Dormitory, Portumna Workhouse. Source: photo courtesy the Irish Workhouse Centre http://irishworkhousecentre.ie/conservation-and-redevelopment/women%CA%BCs-dormitory-block/

With so many workhouse inmates dying daily, disposal of the bodies was a major challenge, especially of those who died of cholera. An industrial-scale system was introduced. At Castlerea, this was known as the *Black Room* or the *Black Gable*.

Johnny Callaghan was a baker in the Castlerea workhouse during and for many years after the Famine. The Irish Folklore Commission recorded the oral history of his son who, as a child, worked alongside his father in the bakehouse.

Seeing people die of hunger was awful but it could not equal seeing them die of the cholera that set in. On the road leading from Ballymoe to the workhouse a son was wheeling his dying father (dying of cholera) on a wheel barrow. On reaching the workhouse the father was dead and the son collapsed and died in a few hours time.

The workhouse was full with sick people. When a person was near death, he or she was removed from other parts of the workhouse to a large room at the other gable-end of the workhouse (the gable nearest the town of Castlerea). This room was called 'The Black Room' and the gable the 'Black Gable' for in this room the sick person was allowed to die. Sometimes there were up to seven persons in this room. From the window in this room there were a few boards slanting down to the earth and beneath was a huge grave or pit. When a death occurred, the corpse was allowed to slide down the boards into the pit beneath and lime was put over the corpse, along the boards and along the wall of the gable. This caused the wall to go black and gave the name to the 'Black Gable'. ...

The people who died of cholera in the workhouse at this time were buried immediately after death without a coffin and wearing their own clothes in which they died. There was also another large grave or pit at the back of the workhouse into which more corpses were put, mostly those who died of hunger.¹⁰

Did Bridget see her mother or father or brothers or sisters die this way? We shall never know.

Dr Maunsell also highlighted other inadequacies.

... The day-rooms in the workhouse were equally remarkable as to their arrangements; there was not a single article of furniture in them; no seats of any kind, and all the inmates were sitting with their faces looking in one direction towards the door; one sitting before the other; they were sitting on their heels, and filled the room to within a yard or two of the door; they were all looking forward to the person who opened the door, and as closely packed as sheep could have been in a pen.¹¹

Perhaps Bridget was sitting thus in September 1848 when the door was opened by the workhouse matron, Mrs Celia O'Grady,¹² summoning her to appear before the Vice-Guardians to be interviewed by Lieutenant John Henry R.N., the Emigration Agent and representative of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in Ireland to ascertain her suitability for emigration to Australia under Earl Grey's Irish Famine Orphan Scheme.

Earl Grey's Irish Famine Orphan Scheme

Earl Grey was the Secretary of State for the Colonies. What became known as the Earl Grey Famine Orphan Scheme was designed to deal with two problems simultaneously. Colonial authorities wanted to recruit female settlers because of the severe shortage of women in the Australian colonies where men outnumbered women in rural areas by eight to one and there was also a severe shortage of domestic servants. On the British side, emigration offered a practical solution to the problem of 'surplus' girls in the overflowing workhouses of Ireland, there being twice as many ablebodied females as males in the workhouses there, and an attractive one because Australian colonial authorities funded the transportation costs of females emigrating and fewer workhouse inmates meant reduced rates payable to Irish Poor Law Unions.

Under the Earl Grey Scheme, the classification of 'orphan' was given when at least one parent was dead, and it was not unknown for destitute parents to leave children they could not care for at the gates of the local workhouse, rendering them 'orphans'.¹³ It is possible that one or both of Bridget's parents may not have been dead when she came to Australia.

The Scheme was carefully planned and strictly controlled and administered by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in London, the Irish Poor Law Commissioners through the Boards of Guardians of each of the Poor Law Union workhouses in Ireland, and by the Orphan Immigration Committees in Australia.

Free passage to Australia was offered to young females, provided that the Boards of Guardians of each workhouse were willing to bear the cost of outfitting the girls and conveying them to either Dublin or Cork and thence to Plymouth.

In March 1848, a memo was sent from the Irish Poor Law Commission to 166 Irish workhouses requesting lists of suitable girls for the scheme. Those workhouses which agreed to participate set about testing the interest of their girls in emigration, drawing up a list of suitable girls and doing the

sums as to how many girls they could afford to send given workhouse finances. To qualify for the scheme, orphans had to be between 14 and 18 years of age, industrious, of good character and free from disease. They were also required to have the 3Rs (reading, writing, and arithmetic) but this rule was obviously not strictly followed and was not feasible anyway given the lack of education for the Gaelic-speaking Catholic poor in Ireland. In April 1848, Lieutenant Henry began personally visiting workhouses around all 32 counties of Ireland to select suitable girls.

When approved, the Workhouse Guardians (or in the Castlerea case, the Vice-Guardians) made arrangements to provide clothes and boxes and arrange the orphans' passage to Plymouth.

The following newspaper report appeared on 15 September 1848:

Emigration from the Castlerea Workhouse. There are at present in the workhouse of the Castlerea union, twenty young healthy girls (orphans), who have declared their consent to emigrate to Australia. They are to leave the latter end of this month. The vice guardians supply the necessary outfit, and transmit them to Plymouth, where the government authorities take charge of them, and without further expense to the union forward them to their destination. When the vice guardians first make known their intentions to the inmates of the workhouse, of offering a few the choice of emigration, numbers were for availing themselves of it, but the funds at their disposal did not at present admit of sending more.¹⁴

Given the high demand for limited places, Bridget must have presented herself well and had strong support from the Vice-Guardians as well as Lieutenant Henry.

The workhouse was required to provide each girl with a good quality painted and lockable wooden travel box with their name painted on the front and containing the standard issue of: 6 shifts; 6 pairs of stockings—2 worsted and 4 cotton; 2 pairs of shoes; 2 gowns—one of warm material (woollen plaid); 2 short wrappers; 2 night wrappers; 2 flannel petticoats; 2 cotton petticoats; 1 stout worsted shawl, and a cloak; 2 neck and 3 pocket handkerchiefs; 2 linen collars; 2 aprons; 1 pair of stays; 1 pair of sheets; 1 pair of mitts; 1 bonnet; day and night caps; 2 towels; 2 lbs. of soap; combs and brushes; needles, thread, tape, &c., and whatever other little, articles (such as a few yards of cotton or calico) the matron may know young females to require. Books were provided too: Bible and Prayer Book for Episcopalians; Bible and Psalm Book for Presbyterians; and a Bible



Exhibit 8: Orphan Travel Box belonging to Margaret Hurley from Gort Workhouse in County Galway. On display in the female Immigration Depot dormitory at the Hyde Park Barracks Museum. Source: photo © Jamie North for Sydney Living Museums. https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/40000-women-dormitory-experience

(Douay) and Prayer Book for Roman Catholics such as Bridget. 15

More possessions than any of the orphans had ever had in their short lives.

Bridget probably left the workhouse in November 1848, along with the other 19 girls selected. The group probably travelled by horse-drawn coach from Castlerea to Dublin and then by steamer to Plymouth where the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission had an Emigrant Depot. All emigrants from the various workhouses would be assembled there, inspected again to ensure they

were all in a fit state of health to embark, that their persons were clean, their clothes clean and sufficient and their travel box was in order.

The scheme ended in 1850 after just two years. The reasons for its ending are complicated - social, cultural, political, economic and religious factors all played a part. Authorities in the Australian colonies were not happy with the 'type' of young women being sent out and funds became harder to obtain. Anti-Irish and anti-female prejudice was vicious. Arguably, most influential in bringing the scheme to an end was anti-Catholic prejudice. Colonial fears of a Popish ascendancy were stoked furiously by the newspapers.

A few weeks after Bridget arrived in Sydney, Mr Auchmuty, the Temporary Poor Law Inspector for the Castlerea Union, wrote to the Poor Law Commissioners:



Exhibit 9: Cotton bonnets, or 'soft caps', worn by 19th century female occupants of the Hyde Park Barracks and discovered under floorboards by archaeologists in the early 1980s. Source: photo © Chris Shain for Sydney Living Museums.

https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/irish-orphangirls-hyde-park-barracks

The means of the poor are exhausted; they are in a most deplorable condition, some of the persons lately admitted are actually in a state of starvation; all employment, I may say, has ceased, the able-bodied are going to England in great numbers to look for employment, and leaving their families in the greatest destitution; there is fresh difficulty in discharging paupers from the workhouse who have been in the house for any length of time; they have no homes to go to, the moment they come in, their cabins are levelled by the landlords. There has been a great many evictions in this Union lately.it is astonishing, everywhere I go through the Union, to see how fast the cabins are disappearing.¹⁷

No matter how hard Bridget's life was to be in NSW, it is likely to have been even harder had she stayed in Ireland.

The voyage to Australia

Bridget departed Plymouth for Sydney on 16 December 1848 on the *Digby*. Although there were no serious complaints about the selection or character of the Irish orphans on the *Digby*, it was not all plain sailing. There were 8 cases of typhus fever during the voyage, and two orphans died from it.

While great care was generally taken by both English and colonial authorities to ensure that Earl Grey orphans were well looked after throughout their journey, there was

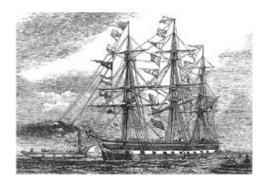


Exhibit 10: "Emigrant Ship." Source: *Illustrated London News, 1850.*

abuse on a small number of ships, and sadly for Bridget, one of these was the Diqby.

The Surgeon Superintendent, Dr Neville, kept a private log which he forwarded to the Colonial Secretary when he arrived in Sydney.¹⁸ He laid out various charges against the Captain, W. M. Tabor for his abuse of the system, detailing incidents which occurred on board, to be used in evidence of malpractice. This led to an Immigration Board of Enquiry in Sydney which found that Captain Tabor had defrauded the emigrants of a large portion of their rations and provided poor quality rations contrary to the Government Regulations.

Dr Neville further charged the Captain with having "permitted the sailors to be too familiar with the female Emigrants in opposition to the authority on board and clause No 20 in the Charter Party..." While there is no specific mention of Bridget in the Surgeon's log, it contains descriptions of poor treatment of some of the girls and implies that others may have been abused.

The Board recommended the ship's officers should not receive their gratuity, and that Captain Tabor should never be employed on an emigrant ship ever again. Little consolation for Bridget and the other orphans who had no choice but to accept whatever rations and treatment they were given every day of their 110-day voyage.

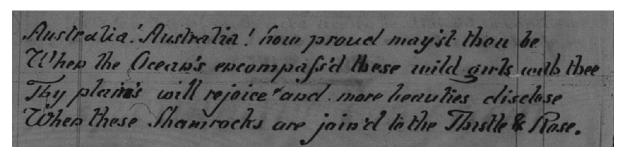


Exhibit 11: A poem written by Dr. William Neville, Surgeon Superintendent, during the *Digby*'s journey to Australia, 1848-1849. Source: *Neville, W. B.* (1848-1849). 'Digby. Surgeon's Private Log', 16 December 1848-20 March 1849. Digby (Emigrant ship) papers, 16 December 1848-1 April 1849, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Special Collections.

Sydney

Bridget arrived in Sydney on 4 April 1849, aged 16 years. Shipping notes record her as a house servant, with no relatives in the colony, a Roman Catholic, unable to read or write and in a state of good health. After disembarking, Bridget and the other *Digby* girls would have walked to their temporary lodgings at Hyde Park Barracks in Macquarie Street, which had been converted to an Immigration Depot as it was no longer needed to house convicts, and their wooden travel boxes would have been carried up the hill on a horse and cart.



Exhibit 12: "Hyde Park Barracks 1848" in Joseph Fowles, *Sydney in 1848*. Source: http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0600151h.html#chapter15

At some point soon after her arrival in Sydney, Bridget was indentured to a Mr John Connor who appears to have run a boarding house in Castlereagh Street, Sydney and who had applied for a general servant from amongst the *Digby* girls.¹⁹ We know little about him, or Bridget's time in his service, other than the fact that from her wages she spent 4/6d to buy herself a nice pair of shoes from Joseph Vickery at Adelaide House, 367 George Street.²⁰ However, on 12 April 1850 her indentures with Connor were cancelled for absconding from her indentured service and the Magistrate's order was that she be ...sent up the country; to be kept separate from the other girls whilst in Sydney; balance of wages to be appropriated to pay expenses of removal to the interior.²¹

Cancelled indentures were very common amongst orphan girls and it is best not to jump to any firm conclusions about what the cancellation said about Bridget herself. The following extracts from Trevor McClaughlin's Introduction to *Barefoot and Pregnant? Irish Famine Orphans in Australia* illustrate this point.

...indentures cancelled on grounds of the orphans' absconding, insolence, misconduct, negligence or disobedience are not simply evidence of the orphans being 'improper women' 'unsuited to the needs of the Colony'. Such evidence might also reflect the young women's resistance to being treated as drudges by 'vulgar masters who had got up in the world'. ... It might reflect the young women's 'culture shock'...

Undoubtedly, too, both master and servant tried to work the 'system'. The protection offered the young women by colonial officials encouraged employers to complain the more. Masters thought they could return their unruly servants to... Barracks, forgetting that they were already compensated for the orphans' ignorance of domestic service by the low wages they paid. Masters' dissatisfaction was also fuelled by the bad press the young women received. "They had been swept from the streets into the workhouse and thence to New South Wales'; they were 'Irish orphans, workhouse sweepings. 'hordes of useless trollops', 'ignorant useless creatures', a drain upon the public purse who threatened to bring about a Popish Ascendancy in New South Wales...

In turn, the young women, hearing of better conditions elsewhere—higher wages, a kinder master or mistress—knew full well that insolence or neglect of their duties was the means of terminating their employment.

Cancellation of their indenture by the Magistrate at the Water Police Office in Sydney, a return to Hyde Park Barracks before being forwarded up the country to Goulburn, Bathurst, Bega, Yass or Moreton Bay may have been preferable to remaining in their current position. It was a gamble many were willing to take.²²

We can safely assume that sending Bridget *up* the country meant sending her to the Bathurst district.



Exhibit 13: "Bathurst Plains 1852." in Samuel Sidney, The Three Colonies of Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia...', 1853. Source: http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks14/1400441h.html# Image08

I do not really know the circumstances that led to the cancellation of Bridget's indentures and informed conjecture is the only option. The inclusion of the phrase ...and kept separate from other girls whilst in Sydney ... is most unusual in the official records. Of the 254 girls listed in a submission

to a NSW Parliamentary Enquiry in 1858, Bridget was the only one to have this phrase included in the Magistrate's Decision and Recommendation for Disposal. Around the time that her indentures were cancelled, Bridget fell pregnant and she married, two years after leaving the Castlerea workhouse.

Marriage No 1 to William Carroll

Perhaps 17-year-old Bridget was wearing her nice new shoes when she married William Carroll, aged 39, on 6 November 1850 at Bathurst, with Father Michael McGrath performing the nuptials.²³ William was born around 1811 in Haggardstown Parish, County Louth in Ireland and had arrived in NSW around 1836. He was a carpenter by trade.²⁴ Both signed the marriage certificate with their mark, signalling that neither could write their name.

Bridget and William had a total of six children, four surviving childhood:

Catherine Carroll, born 7 February 1851 in Kelso, NSW (to be confirmed)²⁵

Unnamed daughter, born and died 1853.26

Thomas Carroll, born 10 December 1854 in Kelso, NSW,²⁷ and died 12 January 1856 aged one year. ²⁸

James Carroll, born 30 January 1857 in the Bathurst district (probably Kelso), NSW.²⁹

Mary Ann Carroll, born 21 January 1859 in Lower Kelso, NSW.³⁰

William Bernard Carroll, born 9 February 1861 in Kelso, NSW.31

In early 1861, William Carroll became too ill to work and was confined to bed. In May he auctioned all his household furniture.³² He died on 12 November 1861 of apoplexy (stroke) at the Grey Horse Inn in Bathurst, run by his friend Daniel Mayne.^{33 34} He was 50 years old. Bridget was left to raise their four surviving children alone, including nine months old William Bernard. Four months later, she married for the second time.

Marriage No 2 to Charles Adolphus Bell

Bridget married Charles Adolphus Bell at the Office of the District Registrar in Bathurst on 19 March 1862.³⁵ Charles, a cattle and horse dealer living at Limestone Flat, was 23 years old and Bridget was a 26 years old publican in Kelso. Charles Bell was born 13 March 1838 in Queen Charlotte Vale (now Perthville), NSW, the fourth of 20 (yes, 20) children born to William Bell and Sarah Drake between 1834 and 1862.³⁶

Bridget and Charles had three daughters together:

Martha Bell, born 21 February 1863 in Kelso, NSW.³⁷

Theresa Mary Bell, born 24 October 1865 in William Street, Bathurst, NSW.³⁸

Florence Charlotte Bell, born 21 November 1867 in Bathurst, NSW.³⁹

Bathurst Pubs

Bridget and her two husbands William Carroll and Charles Bell, were the licensees of nine different pubs in Kelso and then Bathurst between 1857 and 1875.

When William died, Bridget continued to operate their *Gold Miner's Inn* in Kelso until the licensing year ended on 30 June 1862. Charles Bell was the licensee of the *Cottage of Content* in Kelso for a brief period in 1860, so it is likely that Bridget and William knew Charles from that time.

After William died and Bridget married Charles, they held multiple licenses in Bathurst in their respective names and changed hotel locations and signs frequently up until 1875. Charles was declared insolvent in March 1866.⁴⁰ Bridget held the license for the *Cricketer's Arms* in her own name 1874-75 and this was the last license issued to either Bridget or Charles in NSW. I do not know how they made a living after that, although it is likely that Charles returned to horse-dealing.

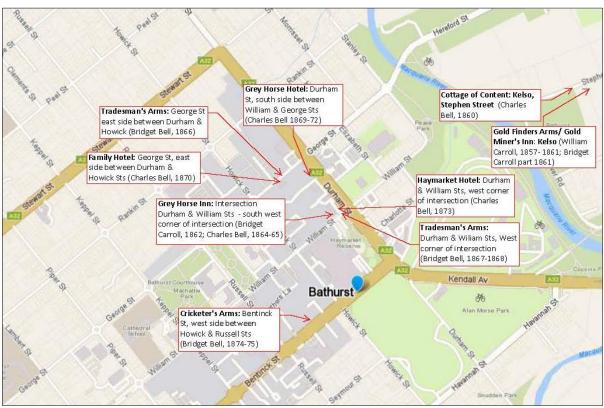


Exhibit 14: Pubs in Bathurst and district run by Bridget Hopkins, her first husband William Carroll and her second husband Charles Bell, 1857-1875. Source: map constructed by Kaye Schofield primarily from *Pubs and Publicans in NSW 1860-1900* compiled by Ken Knight and Fred Scott for the Society of Australian Genealogists, 2016 (CD ROM).

The end of a marriage

On 6 September 1878, in a trial lasting all day, Charles Bell was indicted at the Bathurst Quarter Sessions for stealing cattle. The jury found him guilty of receiving and he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labour.⁴¹ He was admitted to Darlinghurst Gaol on 5 September 1878, aged 39 and then transferred to Parramatta Gaol on 26 September 1878, from which he was discharged on 4 March 1881.

On 28 December 1881, nine months after Charles was discharged from gaol, his first son Reginald Charles Frederick Bell was born in Bathurst. Reginald's mother was not Bridget, but Annie Cattermole from Stepney, London who had come to Australia as a nurse in 1871, aged 21.⁴²

We do not know whether Charles and Bridget had separated before Charles's conviction, during his time in gaol or when he had a child with Annie Cattermole. We do not know whether the separation

was by mutual consent and amicable, whether Bridget left Charles, or whether Charles left Bridget. It is even possible to speculate that, as a drover, Charles was able to spend time with both his families.

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Exhibit 15: Portrait of Charles Adolphus Bell Snr, 21 August 1878, Darlinghurst Gaol Admission Book. Source: NSW State Archives & Records, Series: NRS 2138 Item: [3/6042] Reel: 5099, Digital ID 2138_a006_a00603_604200196br; Gaol Inmates/Prisoners Photos Index 1870 to 1930A. https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/index_image/2138_a006_a00603_604200196br

Charles and Annie moved to Dubbo around 1883 and established themselves as the Bell family and lived there together until Charles died in 1918.43

The Missing Years 1875-1886

As far as we know, Bridget was left to bring up her children alone from at least 1878 when Charles was convicted, and possibly earlier. We do not know if Charles contributed financially. By 1878, her eldest child Catherine Carroll had already been married for 10 years, had 6 children of her own and was living in the Hay district of NSW. James Carroll was 21 years, whereabouts unknown. Mary Ann Carroll was 19, William Bernard Carroll was 17, Martha Bell was 15, Theresa Bell was 13 and Florence (Florrie) Bell was 11 years old.

I have found no records for Bridget in the 13 years 1875-1886 which were, in any family's terms, tumultuous. Over this period, William Bernard moved to Orange, married there in 1883 before relocating to Molong in 1887. Martha married in Ironbarks (now Stuart Town) in 1880 with the consent of her father Charles Bell as she was under 21 years of age and with her sister Theresa as witness. Martha then, after having two children, married bigamously in Newcastle in 1885 and was living in Queensland by 1886. Mary Ann Carroll died in March 1883 in the Sydney Infirmary aged 24 years, and in December 1883, Theresa married in Cobar, with her younger sister Florrie as witness.

There is a claim within the extended family that Bridget followed the construction of the railway line.

Bridget decided to apply for the position of cook with the railways. This is how she then supported her family, moving along as the track was extended.⁴⁴

This certainly fits with the history of the main western railway, with the line reaching Bathurst in 1876, Orange in 1877, Dubbo in 1881, Nevertire in 1882, Nyngan and Narromine in 1883, Byrock in 1884 and Bourke in 1885.

Bridget in Bourke

The first reference I have found to Bridget living in Bourke is the September 1886 death notice for her 20-year-old youngest daughter Florence Charlotte Bell which referred to her mother, Bridget Bell, in Bourke. Between 1889 and 1907, Bridget ran various boarding houses in Bourke, as well as a (labour) Registry Office from 1891 and Servants' Home from 1898. She moved frequently between different premises in Richard Street, Hope Street and Mitchell Street until March 1907 when she auctioned the contents of her boarding house in Richard Street and, presumably, retired aged 74.46

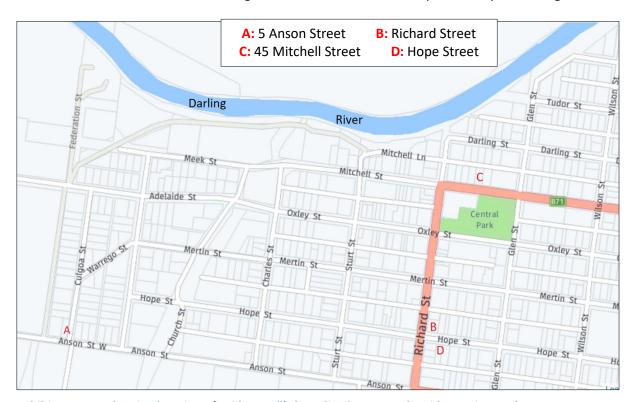


Exhibit 16: Map showing location of Bridget Bell's boarding houses and residences in Bourke 1889-1907. Source: map constructed by Kaye Schofield primarily from advertisements and notices in NSW newspapers, accessed through the National Library of Australia's *Trove* platform.

Death

Bridget died on 5 September 1915 at 5 Anson Street, Bourke, her residence and that of her daughter Martha McConnell (nee Bell) and son-in-law Thomas McConnell. The cause of death was recorded as senile decay and exhaustion and her age as around 82 years.⁴⁷

She was buried in the Catholic section of the old part of the Bourke Cemetery. The exact location of her grave, like many others in the old part, is now unknown: time, drought and flooding rains, and damaged headstones having all taken their toll. To acknowledge the life and death of Bridget, her descendants Kaye Schofield, Beth Atkinson, Karleen Reilly and Maisie Miller contributed to a memorial plaque which was placed on the Bourke Cemetery's Memorial Wall in February 2018.



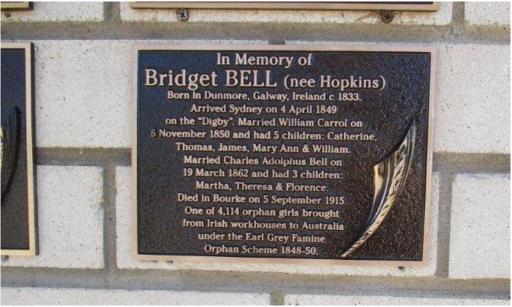


Exhibit 17: Bourke Cemetery, Memorial Wall, Memorial Plaque to Bridget Bell, formerly Carroll, nee Bell. Source: photos taken in February 2018 by Bourke Shire Council staff for the author.

Irish Famine Memorial

Bridget Hopkins' name is also inscribed on the Australian Monument to the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852), located at the Hyde Park Barracks, on Macquarie Street, Sydney.



Exhibit 18: Bridget Hopkins on the Australian Monument to the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852), Hyde Park Barracks, Macquarie Street, Sydney. Source: photo by Kaye Schofield, February 2017.

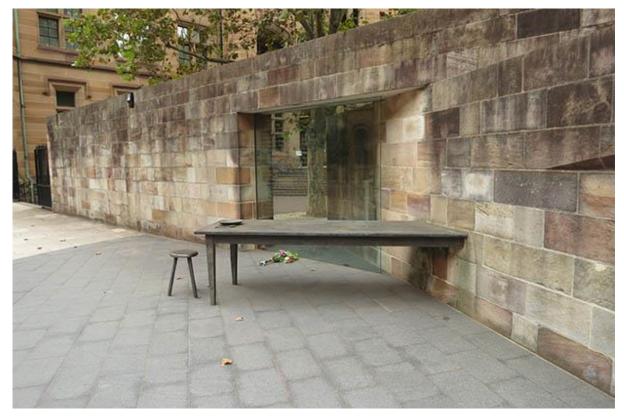


Exhibit 19: Australian Monument to the Great Irish Famine at Hyde Park Barracks. Source: photo by Alysha Buss © HHT, Sydney Living Museums. http://blogs.hht.net.au/cook/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Irish-Famine-Memorial-001.jpg

Charles Bell's Other Family

Four months after Bridget's death, on 24 January 1916 at their residence in McLeay Street Dubbo, her 77-year-old husband Charles Adolphus Bell, drover, quietly married Annie Cattermole, his common law wife of 35 years and the mother of their six children.⁴⁸

Annie and Charles' children were:

Reginald Charles Frederick Bell, born 28 December 1881 in Bathurst, NSW; died 16 July 1967 in New Zealand aged 85 years.

Maude Ethel Bell, born 22 October 1882 in Sandy Creek, NSW; died 2 July 1965 in Sydney.

Maria E. C. Bell, born 15 May 1885 in Dubbo.

Gertrude Elizabeth Bell, born 23 July 1887 in Dubbo; died 28 March 1888 in Dubbo.

Elsie Sophia Bell, born 23 July 1887 in Dubbo; died 28 March 1888.

Charles Adolphus Bell Jnr, born 1 October 1888 in Dubbo; died 5 April 1956 in Crow's Nest.

Exhibit 20: Charles Adolphus Bell Junior (1888-1956) circa 1906. Source: Ancestry Family Trees, Peter Buckley originally shared this on 22 September 2015.



Charles died in Dubbo Hospital two years after he married Annie, on 16 February 1918, and is buried with his twin daughters Gertrude and Elsie who died as infants in 1887.

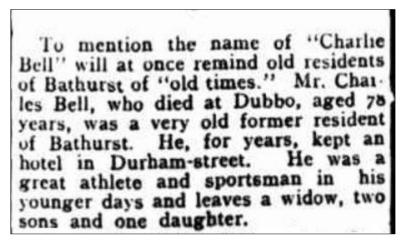


Exhibit 21: Charles Bell death report. Source: *National Advocate*, 21 Feb 1918, Page 2.

Annie left Dubbo in 1919 and moved to Sydney, living at Darling Point for some time with Canon and Mrs. E. Howard Lea, who were formerly at Dubbo. She died on 10 November 1939 at Willoughby, aged 89.

Boath of Charles Bell.

After a severe illness an old and respected resident of Dubbo, in the person of Mr. Charles Bell, died on Saturday night at the District Hospital. Deceased, who had reached the ripe old age of 78 years, had resided in Dubbo for a lengthy period. Prior to coming to this district, the late Mr. Bell was a resident of Bathurst, and in the good old roaring days held the license of an hotel at the corner of Durham-street and Mother Black's Lane. Deceased leaves a widow, two sons and a daughter to mourn their loss. The sons are Messrs Reginald and Charles Bell (Sydney), and the daughter Mrs. Bede Crisford. Mr. W. H. Hamer, of Moston's Hotel, The funwas a nephew of deceased. eral, which took place on Sunday afternoon, was largely attended, the remains being laid to rest in the Church of England portion of the general ceme-The Rev. L. Dawson Thomas read the burial service, and Mr. E. Carrett carried out the funeral arrangements.

Exhibit 22: Charles Bell death report. Source: *The Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate*, 19 Feb 1918, Page 2.



Exhibit 23: Headstone, Charles Adolphus Bell (1838-1918), Dubbo Old General Cemetery, Cobborah Road, Church of England Section, Section R2, Row 23. Source: photo by Kaye Schofield, June 2016.

A Note on Bridget's Children

By 1915, when Bridget died, only two of her seven adult children (Catherine and Martha) were still living.

Catherine Carroll (1851 - 1925)



Bridget's first child Catherine married John Thomas Willcox on 25 July 1868 at the Bathurst Registry Office, aged 17 years. John Thomas was born on 15 July 1845 in Windsor NSW. He was the third son of Margaret Kelley and the convict James Wilcox, born in England in 1804, sentenced to 7 years for stealing fowls and had arrived in Sydney on the *Marquis of Huntley* on 21 August 1830.⁴⁹

Between 1869 and 1896, Catherine and John had 15 children in various parts of the central west of NSW, finally settling in Leeton.

Catherine died 2 March 1925 in Leeton, NSW, at the age of 73, two years after her husband had passed away on 25 April 1923 aged 81 years.

Exhibit 24: Catherine and John Willcox, date unknown. Source: photo courtesy of Beth Atkinson and Karleen Reilly, Catherine Carroll's great-granddaughters.



Exhibit 25: Catherine Willcox (nee Carroll) and John Thomas Willcox (seated centre) with family in Hay NSW for their 50th Wedding Anniversary, 1918. Source: photo courtesy of Beth Atkinson and Karleen Reilly.

James Carroll (1857-?)

No records have been found for James Carroll after his birth in the Bathurst district on 30 January 1857. In a 1902 obituary for his brother William Bernard Carroll, there is a reference to a brother still living, presumed to be James as there were no other brothers that survived childhood. James died sometime between 1902 and 1915.

Mary Ann Carroll (1859-1883)

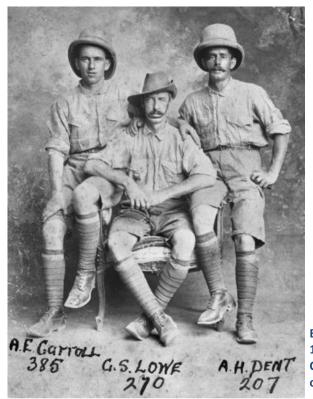
Mary Ann Carroll died on 6 March 1883 in the Sydney Infirmary, aged 24 years.

William Bernard Carroll (1861-1902)

William was educated at the Catholic school in Bathurst, and married Elizabeth Jane Rogers on 9 February 1883 in Trinity Church, Orange. He moved with his family to Molong around 1886 and established himself in Betts Street as a house painter, glazier and paperhanger.

William was a prominent and highly regarded citizen of Molong: alderman, secretary of the progress association, active in the Fire Brigade, Provincial Grand Master of the Bathurst District Order of Oddfellows and in many other civic roles. He was also active in military matters as a volunteer. He joined the 3rd Regiment of Volunteer Infantry in 1886, and resigned from the military forces in August 1902, having completed almost 16 years of continuous Volunteer Military service.

William died on 26 November 1902 in Molong aged 42 years, after a long and painful battle with cancer of the upper jaw. His half-sister, Martha Bell (by then Martha McConnell) travelled from Bogan Gate in the Parkes Shire to help nurse him in his final weeks. As a Sergeant of the Mounted Rifles, he was accorded a military funeral. The Molong Argus reported that... the Military fired the customary three rounds over the grave, and thus ended the earthly career of a noble, upright and conscientious townsman. He was buried in the Anglican section of Molong General Cemetery with his daughter Florence Mildred Carroll who had died on 16 May 1890 aged 11 days.



Soon after William's death, his wife Elizabeth and youngest son Albert (Bert) Alfred Carroll moved to Cobar. Elizabeth died on 26 February 1912.

Bridget's grandson, Bert Carroll, enlisted in the 19th Battalion of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) on 1 May 1915, aged 22. He went first to Gallipoli and then on to France. He was killed in action on 3 May 1917 at the second battle at Bullecourt, aged 23. His name is inscribed on the Villers-Bretonneux Memorial, #1574 and on panel 88 in the Commemorative Area at the Australian War Memorial, Canberra.

Exhibit 26: Studio portrait taken shortly before the 19th Battalion departed for Gallipoli. Left: 385 Corporal (Cpl) Albert Edward Carroll, 19th Battalion, of Orange, NSW. Source: Australian War Memorial.

Martha Bell (1863 - 1952).



Exhibit 27: Martha Bell as a young woman circa 1880. Source: photo courtesy of Marie T. Cribbin, Martha Bell's great-granddaughter.

Bridget and Charles' first daughter, Martha, led a long and colourful life. On 8 August 1880, aged 18, she married a 21-year-old farmer, Frederick (Fred) Mills, at the Catholic church at Ironbarks (now Stuart Town), NSW. Their marriage registration states that she was living with her parents, although Charles was in gaol at the time.

Martha and Fred had two children together.

Theresa Evelyn Mary Mills, born 30 July 1881 in Black Tom's Gully, Ironbarks, NSW.

William Charles Mills, born on 6 July 1883 in Nyngan, NSW.

In December 1884, Martha deserted Fred and entered into a relationship with Arthur Alfred Fitzgerald. On 22 August 1885, she bigamously married Arthur at the Presbyterian manse in Newcastle, as a spinster under her maiden name of Bell. She and Arthur then moved to Queensland

taking with them the two children from her marriage to Fred. They went on to have three children together:

Harold Percy Fitzgerald, born 1 April 1886 in Brisbane, Queensland. He died on 17 March 1892 in Rockhampton, aged 6 years. On his death certificate his mother was named as Martha Carroll.

Alfred Patrick Fitzgerald, born 31 March 1888 in Gympie, Queensland, with his mother named as Martha Bell.

Arthur Ernest (Ernie) Fitzgerald, born 27 March 1890 in Rockhampton, Queensland, with his mother named as Martha Carroll. Ernie died in Parkes on 18 July 1908.

It would seem that Arthur Fitzgerald may have deserted Martha around 1890. By 1892 she had returned to NSW and settled in Cobar with her two children Alfred and Ernie (Fitzgerald) and was living with her sister Theresa Mary, while her children Theresa and Willie (Mills) returned to live with their father, Fred Mills.



Exhibit 28: Bridget's grandchildren William Mills aged 10 and Theresa Mills aged 12, circa 1893. Source: photo courtesy of Marie T. Cribbin.

In August 1894 in Sydney, Fred divorced Martha on the ground of her desertion and adultery with the co respondent, Arthur Alfred Fitzgerald.

Martha then married Robert Barrass on 24 December 1895 at St. Stephen's Church of England, Bourke. Robert Barrass, aged 23, was a miner originally from Victoria who became the publican of the Criterion Hotel in Cobar. Martha, who was recorded as 28 years old even though she was actually 32, married as a spinster under the name Martha Bell. Her mother Bridget, who was still signing her name with her mark, was a witness. Curiously, her father Charles Bell was recorded as deceased, even though he was alive and well, living in Dubbo with Annie Cattermole and their children.

Martha and Robert were living in Cobar with Martha's children Alfred and Ernie when he contracted typhoid fever and died 27 November 1898. After Robert's death, Martha briefly took over the license of the Criterion Hotel, at the junction of the old Bourke and Nyngan Roads, Cobar.

A year later, on 8 August 1899, Martha married Thomas Michael McConnell at the Catholic Church in Cobar, NSW. He was 30 years old and she was recorded as aged 34 years, when she was actually 36 (Martha consistently under-reported her age). They established themselves at Bogan Gate in the Parkes Shire, Martha as the Proprietress of the *Bogan Gate Refreshment Rooms and Boarding House* while Thomas was active in local sports and civic affairs.

After her son Ernie died of appendicitis in July 1908 aged 18, Martha and Thomas sold up and moved, possibly to Bourke to live with Bridget after she retired.



By 1930 Martha had moved to Sydney, living at 117 Pitt Street, Waterloo in 1933 then at 21 Raglan Street, Redfern. By 1943 she was living at 28 Moore Street, Coogee.

Martha died on 28 February 1952 at the Wentworth Rest Home, Frenchman's Road, Randwick, aged 89 years (87 years on her death certificate). Her son Alfred Patrick Fitzgerald was the informant, under the name of Alfred P. Mills. She was buried on 29 February 1952 at the Catholic Cemetery, Botany.

Exhibit 29: Martha McConnell, formerly Barrass, Fitzgerald, Mills, nee Bell: circa 1915. Source: photo courtesy of Marie T. Cribbin.

Theresa Mary Bell (1865-1899)

Theresa married George Skinner Knight on 24 December 1883 at George's private home, Old Bourke Road, Cobar according to the rites of the Wesleyan Church. Theresa was 19 and George was 24.



Exhibit 30: Theresa Mary Bell as a young woman. Source: Restored family photo held by Kaye Schofield

George was born in 1857 in Mount Barker, South Australia, of Cornish parents who had emigrated to Adelaide in the late 1840s. Soon after his father Thomas Skinner Knight died in 1869, George, at the age of 13 or 14, went to Cobar with his eldest brother Henry (Harry) Knight. They set up a successful business supplying wood to the smelters at Cobar Copper Mine and later more general carting. With this success, his mother, grandmother and brothers also left South Australia to join them in Cobar.

With the arrival of the railway in Cobar in 1892, the extended Knight family diversified and went on to establish themselves as substantial pastoralists owning, between them, some 30 pastoral stations and around 1.3 million acres of land. The Knight family is considered a pioneer family of Cobar.

Theresa and George had 11 children (5 boys and 6 girls) in the 15 years between 1884 and 1899.

Edward (Ted) Knight, born 6 October 1884 in Cobar; died. 20 September 1946 in Sydney.

Florence Charlotte (Cissie) Knight, born 1 December 1886 in Cobar; died 22 May 1967 in Sydney.

Theresa Victoria (Viccie) Knight, born 20 January 1888 in Cobar; died 19 October 1967 in Cobar.

Elizabeth Lenora (Lill) Knight, born 26 July 1889 in Cobar; died 14 September 1977 in Sydney.

Ethel Knight, born 3 August 1890 in Cobar; died 25 August 1970 in Dulwich Hill.

Thomas Knight, born 31 October 1891 in Cobar; died 1892 in Molong, aged 1 year.

Joseph Knight, born 23 February 1893 in Cobar; died 20 March 1893 in Cobar, aged 1 month.

George Alfred Knight, born 7 June 1894 in Cobar; died 18 June 1895 in Cobar, aged 1 year.

Laura Marie (Molly) Knight, born 6 March 1896 in Cobar; died 6 December 1982 in Willoughby.

Georgina Knight, born 17 January 1898 in Cobar; died 16 August 1900 in Cobar, aged 3 years.

Robert Henry KNIGHT, born 4 November 1899 in Cobar; died 23 March 1900 in Cobar, aged 4 months.

Theresa died at Cornishtown, Cobar on 10 November 1899, aged 33 years. The official cause of death was child birth, valvular heart disease and influenza and bronchitis. She had been sick for 3 weeks.

When she was dying, Theresa asked George to have all the children re-christened as Catholics. This he did except for Edward (Ted) and Florence (Cissie) who both refused.⁵⁰ It is likely that Theresa

wanted the nuns to look after the children when she was gone. George placed his daughters in the convent in charge of the nuns but it didn't work out - they needed a mother's love and affection.⁵¹

DEATH OF MRS. KNIGHT:

LAST week it was this paper's painful duty to record the death at Cobar, of Alderman Wm. Carroll's sister, Mrs. Knight. Touching that unfortunate circumstance, the 'Cobar Leader' says: —" One of the saddest deaths of this week's lamentable list of mortalities was that of Mrs Knight, wife of Mr. G. Knight, of Cornishtown. The deceased, who was 33 years of age, gave premature birth to a child, which is still living, and to aggravate the illness she contracted influenza and bronchitis. She also suffered from heart disease as well as old standing internal complications. From the outset, despite all medical skill and attention, her case was regarded as hopeless. In fact, her death was reported several times during the week. The end of " life's fitful fever" came this morning after patient suffering. The deceased, who was a sister of Mrs. McConnell, leaves a large family of young children. Keen sympathy will be extended to Mr Knight and family in their irreparable loss." The Cobar Herald' says: " Mrs. George Knight's funeral, on Saturday afternoon, was the largest seen in Cobar for many months. There were about 40 vehicles following."

Molong Express and Western District Advertiser, 25 November 1899, p. 6.

Theresa is buried in Cobar cemetery, with her daughter Georgina who died in 1900, aged 3 years. In total, four of her five sons and one of her six daughters died in infancy or early childhood.



Exhibit 31: Headstone for Theresa Mary Knight nee Bell, Cobar Cemetery, Catholic Section, Row 18. Source: photo by Kaye Schofield, June 2016.

Florence (Florrie) Charlotte Bell (1867-1886)

We know very little about Bridget's last child, Florrie. She was a witness to the marriage of her sister Theresa Mary Bell to George Skinner Knight in Cobar in 1883. Then on 18 September 1886 she died in Prince Alfred Hospital, Camperdown aged 20 years from malignant disease of the leg, having been in hospital for 15 days prior. Her death certificate, completed by the Secretary of the Hospital, recorded that her father was Charles Bell, drover and mother unknown. She was buried in Rookwood Cemetery on 20 September 1886. Her name was given to my grandmother, Florence Charlotte Knight, born two months after Florrie's death.



Endnotes

Based on the following logic, it is reasonable to conclude that Bridget was born in the townland of Glen in the Parish of Kilkerrin and was sent to Australia from the Castlerea Workhouse. (a) Bridget's Death Certificate transcription clearly records that her birthplace was "Glan, near Denmore, Ireland", Glan being a recognised alternative Irish spelling of Glen and Denmore presumed to be Dunmore, consistent with all previous records for Bridget; (b) There are two Townlands of Glen near Dunmore in County Galway: Glen in Kilkerrin Parish and Glen in Dunmore Parish; (c) While both are located in the county of Galway, they were assigned to different Poor Law Unions: Glen (Dunmore) was in the Tuam Union and Glen (Kilkerrin) was in the Castlerea Union. Under Poor Law Union rules, if Bridget was from Glen (Dunmore) or anywhere in Dunmore Parish, she would have been admitted to the Tuam workhouse, but if she was from Glen (Kilkerrin) or anywhere in Kilkerrin Parish she would have been admitted to the Castlerea workhouse, located just across the Galway county border in County Roscommon; (d) The orphans on the Digby were selected from nine workhouses. Tuam workhouse did not send any orphans on the Digby. The Castlerea workhouse sent 20 orphans. Loughrea was the only other Poor Law Union in Co. Galway to send orphans on the Digby, but there is no townland of Glen in that Union and Loughrea workhouse is a distant 60 km from Dunmore; (e) It is phonetically plausible that Bridget's native place of "Kilcudden" recorded on the Immigration List for Digby is in fact the parish of Kilkerrin. There are no available Catholic Parish Registers for the parish of Kilkerrin and Clonberne.

- ² The list of Irish Unions that sent female orphans on the *Digby* is contained in *Select Committee of the House* of Lords appointed to Inquire into the Operation of the Irish Poor Law, 5th Report, 1849, p.65.
- The Ordnance Survey of Ireland Names Books (also known as O'Donovan's Names Books) noted that Glen (Irish name of An Gleann, and also Glan and Glean) is situated 1½ miles north-west of Meelick Village in the townland of New Forest. It described a junction of 4 roads in the West portion, one of which is a bye road leading in a northerly direction from the junctions to Glan Village. See also http://places.galwaylibrary.ie/place/30341.
- Census of Ireland 1881, Part 1, Area, Houses, Population, Vol IV. Province of Connaught, No.1, County of Galway, Table VII: Area, Houses, Out-offices and Farm-steadings, and Population.
- Marriage registration for Bridget CARROLL & Charles BELL, Reg. No 1363/1862, NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages (NSW BDM) states that Bridget's father was a butcher. There are no butchers by the name of Hopkins listed in Pigot's *Directory for Province of Connaught* for 1844 or in Slater's *Commercial Directory for Connaught* for 1846.
- ⁶ Death registration for Bridget BELL, Reg. No 13952/1915, NSW BDM.
- ⁷ Griffith, R. *General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland*, Union of Glennamaddy, County of Galway, 1856, Dublin, Alex. Thom and Sons for Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- ⁸ The Economist, 2 January 1847, "The Present Condition of the Irish Poor", pp.5-6.
- ⁹ Extracts from 10th Report from the Select Committee on Poor Laws (Ireland), 1850, pp.122-124.
- Póirtéir, C., Ed. (1995). Famine Echoes- Folk Memories of the Great Irish Famine: An Oral History of Ireland's Greatest Tragedy. Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, drawn from Irish Folklore Commission IFC 1069:249–260, Kindle
- ¹¹ Extracts from 10th Report from the Select Committee on Poor Laws (Ireland), 1850, pp.122-124 at 10854.
- ¹² Name of matron from Freeman's Journal, 16 December 1848, p.4, "State of the Castlerea Workhouse."
- ¹³ See Staniforth, M. (2004). "The Inconstant Girls: The Migration Experience of Nearly 200 Irish Orphan girls and Young Women Sent to Adelaide in 1849 Aboard the barque Inconstant", in *The Regenerative Spirit*. Sue Williams, Dymphna Loneragen, Rick Hosking, Laura Deane and Nena Bierbaum (eds). Adelaide, Lythrum Press pp. 27-41.
- ¹⁴ The Pilot, 15 September 1848, p. 1, quoting the Roscommon Messenger.
- ¹⁵ Papers relative to Emigration to Australian Colonies. 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers. Volume Page: XL.29 Volume: 40, Paper Number: 1163, 1850, p.97.
- ¹⁶ For a discussion of the reasons why the scheme ended see Dr Trevor McClaughlin's blog at https://earlgreysfamineorphans.wordpress.com/2015/08/01/earl-greys-irish-famine-orphans-21/
- ¹⁷ Papers relating to aid to distressed unions in the west of Ireland; letter from Mr Auchmuty to the Commissioners, 4 May 1849.

- ¹⁸ Neville, W. B. (1848-1849). 'Digby. Surgeon's Private Log', 16 December 1848-20 March 1849. Digby (Emigrant ship) papers, 16 December 1848-1 April 1849, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Special Collections.
- ¹⁹ State Archives and Records Authority of NSW, Australia: NRS 5240, Registers and indexes of applications for orphans, 1848-1851. (4/4715-17, SR Reel 3111).
- ²⁰ State Archives and Records Authority of NSW, Australia: NRS 5274, Wages paid to orphans, 1849 to 1851 (4/4676).
- ²¹ See Appendix J: Return of Cases of Orphan Female Apprentices whose Indentures were cancelled, by the Court of Petty Sessions, at the Water Police Office [in Sydney] in *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Irish Female Immigration*, 1858, pp. 373-450.
- ²² McClaughlin, Trevor, Barefoot & pregnant? Irish famine orphans in Australia, Melbourne, 1991.
- ²³ Marriage registration (Early Church records) for Bridget HOPKINS & William CARROLL, Reg. No. Vol. 162B No. 4016, NSW BDM.
- ²⁴ Birth registration for Mary Ann CARROLL, Reg. No. 4585/1859, NSW BDM.
- ²⁵ All subsequent records suggest Catherine CARROLL was born in 1851, but her birth may not have been registered. Possibly it is Reg. No. 2146/1851 V18512146 68 in the NSW BDM with the father's name incorrectly recorded as Thomas.
- ²⁶ This birth and death is not registered. The Birth Certificate for Mary Anne CARROLL (NSW BDM Reg. No. 4585/1859) states that previous issue were Catherine 7, James 2, 1 Boy and 1 Girl dead. Ancestry.com Family Tree for Starr, Herringe, Robinson, Mills by mariec2145 suggests that an unnamed daughter was born and died in 1853.
- ²⁷ Parish Records, Roman Catholic Baptisms in the Parish of Kelso, County of Roxburgh, Entry 3009, Vol 72.
- ²⁸ Death registration for Thomas CARROLL, Reg. No. 541/1856 (V1856541 120), NSW BDM.
- ²⁹ Birth registration for James CARROLL, Reg. No. 4341/1857, NSW BDM.
- ³⁰ Birth registration for Mary Ann CARROLL, Reg. No. 4585/1859, NSW BDM.
- ³¹ Birth registration for William Bernard CARROLL, Reg. No. 4720/1861, NSW BDM.
- ³² Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal, 25 May 1861, p. 3, Advertising.
- ³³ Death registration for William CARROLL, Reg. No. 2182/1861, NSW BDM.
- ³⁴ Pubs and Publicans in NSW 1860-1900 compiled by Ken Knight and Fred Scott for the Society of Australian Genealogists, 2016 (CD ROM).
- ³⁵ Marriage registration for Bridget CARROLL and Charles Adolphus BELL, Reg. No. 1363/1862, NSW BDM.
- ³⁶ Baptism registration for Charles Adolphus BELL, Reg No. 1131/1839 (V18391131 22), NSW BDM.
- ³⁷ Birth registration for Martha BELL, Reg. No. 4908/1863, NSW BDM.
- ³⁸ Birth registration for Theresa Mary BELL, Reg. No. 5855/1865, NSW BDM.
- ³⁹ Birth registration for Florence Charlotte BELL, Reg. No. 6298/1867, NSW BDM.
- ⁴⁰ State Archives and Records Authority of NSW, Australia: Insolvency Index. Sequestration 05/03/1866; File No 0783; Certificate issued 04/09/1868.
- ⁴¹ The Sydney Morning Herald, 7 September 1878.
- ⁴² State Archives and Records Authority of NSW, Australia: Persons on bounty ships (Agent's Immigrant Lists); NRS 5316; Reel: 2140; Vessel: *Strathdon*.
- ⁴³ Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate, 25 November 1939, p. 4, "Death of Old Resident of Dubbo".
- ⁴⁴ Pat Willcox, Newsletter of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart Church, Randwick, December 2002, "Bridging 152 Years."
- ⁴⁵ Australian Town and Country Journal, 2 Oct 1886, p. 35, Family Notices.
- ⁴⁶ Western Herald, 30 Mar 1907, p.2, Advertising.
- ⁴⁷ Death registration for Bridget BELL, Reg. No. 13952/1915, NSW BDM.
- ⁴⁸ Marriage registration for Charles Adolphus BELL & Annie CATTERMOLE, Reg. No 1640/1916, NSW BDM.
- ⁴⁹ From the family history "John Thomas Willcox and Catherine Carroll, Pioneers of Hay NSW" by Beth Atkinson, drawing on research by Karleen Reilly.
- ⁵⁰ This story was told by May Grace (Billy) Ash, nee Knight in her "Knight Family History".
- ⁵¹ This story is recounted by the late Joy Prisk, a local historian in Cobar who was told it directly by Viccie Ardron nee Knight, Theresa's daughter.