

"I met with Adam Chidle": the emigration of the Brownes from Clonoulty to Australia (1857)

By Richard Reid

Part 2*

*From ould Tipperary to Melbourne so dreary
I did emigrate, sirs, across the blue tide,
In hopes to get riches, a hope that bewitches
So many to leave their own turf fire-side.¹*

From the moment he arrived in Australia on 14 July 1857 Edward Browne of Clonoulty, County Tipperary, must have felt at home. *After landing in Melbourne, he wrote to his brother Pat in Clonoulty, I met with John Dwyer a son of John Dwyer Bob of Ardmale [Ardmayle] who informed me where my Brother John Browne Maryan and Bessy was liveing[sic].²*

The Journey to Beechworth

They were living 200 miles from Melbourne near Beechworth, and to reach them by coach would have cost Edward nearly £10. Fortunately John Dwyer was a *real Deasent* [sic] Boy,³ a carrier with his own team of horses, and he offered to take Edward on the road with him to join his sisters and brother. The bush road from Melbourne to Beechworth was rough going, but it took them only ten minutes in the evening to pitch their tent, after which they lit a fire and cooked supper under the stars.

Another Irishman who made the journey to Beechworth, just three months before Edward Browne, was William Kelly of Camphill, County Sligo.⁴ Kelly had practised law in Sligo, but he left in January 1849 and travelled across the United States to the gold rush in California. He returned to England but headed off again, this time in 1854 to Victoria. There he had a varied career and an interest in colonial politics that led him in 1857 to



Edward Browne (1835-1910). Photograph courtesy Moof Phillips (nee Browne).

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stand for the Ovens Goldfield's electorate. Although he travelled to Beechworth by coach, Kelly would have taken the same road as Edward Browne and his 'carrier' friend John Dwyer. In a letter home of 28 August 1857 Edward mentioned that the coach journey to Beechworth would have taken him only two days, by comparison with the ten days he required with John Dwyer and his *teame* [sic] of horses.⁵

If Kelly's description of the coach journey is to be believed, Edward did himself a favour by taking the slow road:

I felt our conveyance would be packed with passengers as closely as the pieces in a Chinese puzzle-box. And so it turned out; every place was engaged. It required the most vigorous 'scrooging' and dovetailing to get the legs into very painful positions, and then every row of travellers formed a sort of arc, hip-bone to hip-bone, until a sousing jolt jammed all down level on their seats, when the pressure became so intolerable that the blood rushed off to either extremity, leaving the seats of honour like so many big turnips, on which the great needle operation might have been performed unconsciously from the prevailing numbness.⁶

Late at night, after ten days' travel from Melbourne, Edward Browne reached Beechworth on the Ovens River in the north east of Victoria. Next morning he set out for Hurdle Flat, five miles from Beechworth:

...where my Brother and Sisters kepted [sic] a general store when I walked in to the House none of them new [sic] me Maryan was inside the counter and she spoke to me the same as a Stranger for about a minute until I said I was landed at last so then the [sic] had me at once Although I came on them on a sudden The [sic] were transported with joy.⁷

A Gold Digger's life

The letters written home by the Browne brothers and sisters at this period were full of the unsettled, transient life of immigrants seeking their fortunes on the goldfields of the Australian colonies. John Browne, who arrived as an assisted immigrant in New South Wales in 1854, seems to have headed off quickly for the gold diggings in Victoria.⁸ In his letter to Patrick of 28 August 1857, Edward Browne sketched the details of John's wandering life as a gold seeker in company with other Clonoulty emigrants.

He had worked for ten months at Ballarat with Edmond Ryan, and Pat Browne in Clonoulty Hill was asked to pass on this news to Edmond's sister Cate in Clonoulty. Together John and Edmond had sunk a 194 foot hole at Ballarat before moving on to Browne's diggings 18 miles away. After a week Edmond Ryan left, but John persevered; he dug down 74 feet in one month and came away with £200 worth of gold. John went back to see Edmond Ryan at Ballarat where Edmond had also struck a *golden Hole*.⁹ From Ballarat John Browne joined the rush to the Ovens diggings. Such news in Clonoulty can only have added to the attraction of taking the long passage to Australia.

When Maryan and Bessy Browne wrote to Patrick Browne in November 1856 they had just been reunited. During those years he had been *most fortunate at the diggings*.¹⁰ According to Maryan, John had earned his gold and *noaked* [sic] *about better than I expected*. The two Browne sisters had also *roved through many lands and met our share of hardship in these colonies*.¹¹ In late 1856 the Browne sisters were preparing to leave Melbourne for the Ovens where they intended

to get into *some business for themselves*.¹² By the time Edward Browne arrived from Clonoulty in August 1857 they were settled, temporarily, at Hurdle Flat running a general store.

Roaring Fields of the Ovens

In August 1857 the little settlement of Hurdle Flat was a fragment of the great 'Eldorado' of the Ovens River goldfield in Victoria. Five miles north west of Beechworth lay Woolshed Creek. From the creek and its tributaries men with the colourful title of the 'Woolshed Bosses' had extracted fortunes in alluvial gold.¹³ The 'Bosses' hired gangs of miners to tend water sluices called 'Long Toms', and, for working a 'Long Tom' for a 'Woolshed Boss', a man could earn up to £1. 10 Shillings per day.¹⁴ Edward Browne doubtless whetted the appetite of many an impoverished Clonoulty labourer when he wrote home from Hurdle Flat to Clonoulty Hill:

...I can in to work any day I lik [sic] at £ 1.0.0 per day any thing less then [sic] that is counted no wages here, but then that is at the present time a Slack on those Diggins [sic]...



"The Conveyance to the Diggings", Charles Lyall (arrived Australia 1854, died England c. 1910), H 87.63/4, La Trobe Picture collection, State Library of Victoria.

Lyall's gold fields stage coach of the mid-1850s, like William Kelly's description of his trip to Beechworth in 1857, captures the crowding and discomfort experienced by the passengers. Like many others Lyall did not make his fortune in Australia. He returned to England where he became an opera singer and in 1880 he performed in Bizet's *Carmen* at the Gaiety Theatre, Dublin. (Reproduction Rights Reserved – copied by State Library of Victoria).

For a brief season the 'Woolshed Bosses' and their labourers lived high. According to Sligo man William Kelly, who stood as a candidate for the Ovens electorate in 1857, it was normal for a 'Boss' in Beechworth at the end of a week to shout £100 worth of drinks for his labourers. When two 'Bosses' came to town often they vied with each other in the drink stakes, and it was not unusual for a 'Boss' to lay out £300 - £10 per worker!

Mine overseers could make fortunes by the standards in Ireland at the time. Some received £25 per week in wages and they could pocket anything from £50 to £80 in surplus funds after the weekly wage bill had been paid.¹⁵ The employees showed a like extravagance, according to Kelly. When one 'Boss', Mr Cameron, was elected for the Ovens his men personally subscribed the sum of money required for his parliamentary qualification. They then paid for golden horseshoes for the horse, which carried Cameron from the Woolshed to Beechworth to attend the official declaration of his return.¹⁶

The success of the 'Woolshed Bosses' brought boom times to Beechworth and the Ovens district. Between December 1855 and December 1856 the population soared from 6,000 to 16,000, and miners, gold seekers, and those who catered to their needs, poured in.¹⁷ The Victorian Census of 1857 recorded 18,592 inhabitants in the Beechworth District, only 18 per cent of whom had been born in Australia.¹⁸ The nature of the area's gold digging economy was revealed by the relative absence of women, who made up only 19 per cent of Beechworth's population in 1857.¹⁹ Interestingly enough, of the 3,547 women on these diggings over 25 per cent, 909, were Irish.²⁰ Among the 15,045 men from England, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, the USA, China, and a number of other countries, were 1,965 Irishmen, 13 per cent of the overseas born male population.²¹

Every economic indicator in 1856 and 1857 pointed to the significance to the colony of Victoria of Beechworth and the Ovens River diggings. Gold taken from the Ovens to Melbourne by the Government Gold Escort rose from 192,027 ounces in 1855 to 342,829 ounces in 1856.²² New ground was being broken constantly in the area; in early 1856 Sebastopol was rushed after 25 ounces were taken from a hole there.

The search for gold took men to Napoleon Creek (worked by French miners), El Dorado, Wooragee and Sheepstation Creeks. Soon the creeks east of Beechworth came into their own. At Silver Creek in mid-1856 the cry was *Forward to Kennedy's claim*, where Kennedy had struck gold down from the main Silver Creek diggings. Soon 600 other eager gold seekers hemmed in this unfortunate Irishman.²³ Following the miners came the storekeepers and hoteliers, who soon deprived many 'diggers' of their hard-earned gold.

Hurdle Flat in 1857

By 1857 miners at Hurdle Flat had erected long sluices to wash out the elusive dust. To provide for their creature comforts some of them had built nine timber living huts and a common mess hall, where they employed a professional French cook.²⁴ When the census takers reached the Flat in 1857 they found it, not surprisingly, dominated by gold mining and men. They enumerated 136 individuals - 104 males and 32 females.²⁵

Of the men 82 were classified as *Persons engaged in digging for, and washing out Gold*.²⁶ Hurdle Flat was an alluvial field where the gold dust was won from digging out the dirt and washing it in pans or long sluices like the Woolshed 'Long Toms'. It was, in other words, a place where the small man with little capital could still make a go of mining on an individual claim.

If not employed in mining most of the remaining males of Hurdle Flat worked to support the basic needs of the miners. Among others there were an innkeeper, four butchers and

poulterers, a wheelwright, two labourers and three domestic servants.²⁷ If not recorded as a miner John Browne may have been one of the two storekeepers enumerated in the census. Apart from four domestic servants and one barmaid, the female population of the flat were listed as wives, female relatives, children and schoolgirls.²⁸

It is most likely that Maryan and Bessy Browne, if in Hurdle Flat on census night, were recorded as female *Relatives* of John Browne. Like many such settlements dotted throughout the Ovens goldfields, and similar fields in Victoria at the time, Hurdle Flat existed for one purpose – the quick extraction of riches from the earth which would allow those who dwelt there to move off to more congenial surroundings.

Decline of Clonoulty, 1841-1871

While Hurdle Flat boomed, Clonoulty, like hundreds of Munster parishes in the wake of the Famine, declined. By 1857, when Edward Browne boarded the *Sir William Eyre* for Melbourne, the parish had gone through ten years of extensive emigration, a movement that left few but the wealthiest families in the parish untouched. The 1841 Census of Ireland had 6,932 inhabitants in the Catholic parish of Clonoulty; at the census of 1871 there were 3,219.²⁹

This loss of population would have been a dramatic experience for those living there in 1871 who recalled the pre-Famine parish. In 1841 the Census takers listed 987 houses in Clonoulty.³⁰ In April and May 1848, at the height of the Famine, the officials touring Tipperary for the great land valuation, which produced the Griffith printed valuations, were at work in Clonoulty. In their manuscript books they listed 914 rateable houses in the parish, a fall of only 73 houses on the 1841 figures even after three years of famine conditions.

However, when the census takers came through Clonoulty in 1851, just three years later, they found 668 inhabited houses, a fall of 27 per cent since 1848. It seems that the Famine emigration from Clonoulty began in earnest some time after May 1848.

Whenever it started, by 1851 thirty-five per cent of the 1841 population of the parish, 2,409 people, were either dead or had left Clonoulty or Ireland. Over the next twenty years the population fell another 28 per cent until, by 1871, the population had fallen by 54 per cent since 1841. This mirrors a comparable loss in County Tipperary over those 30 years of 51 per cent. During this same period the population of Ireland fell by 34 per cent.³¹

The Famine decline in population between the different townlands of Clonoulty varied greatly. In 1841 eighty-five people lived in Drummonclara; in 1851 the census takers recorded nobody in that townland. This hundred per cent loss in Drummonclara was at the extreme edge of a spectrum of varying population declines in the townlands of the parish during the Famine. Losses of 42 per cent were experienced in Ballagh and Kilmore, 29 per cent in Clogher, and even an increase of 25 per cent in Clonoulty Hill.³²

Of all the places in Clonoulty few were more severely hit by the Famine than Ballagh village. This collection of houses and cabins was dignified at the Census of 1841 with the title 'Town of Ballagh'. To qualify as a 'Town' required at least twenty contiguous houses. In 1851 the Census Commissioners wrote these ominous words about 'Ballagh Town':

*The town of Ballagh does not now contain twenty houses: its present population has therefore merged into that of the townlands of Ballagh and Kilmore, in which it is situated.*³³

In 1848 there had been 56 houses in Ballagh with an estimated population of 368.³⁴ In 1851 the

Census did not show a house or population figure for Ballagh, but at the valuation of 1859 fifteen houses were recorded there.³⁵ Those who survived the Famine years in 'Ballagh Town' would have lived on into the 1850s surrounded by ruins. As Kevin Whelan writes, and they seem particularly appropriate words for Ballagh at this period in its history:

*These deceptively simple figures bankrupt the imagination as to the degree of human anguish contained in them.*³⁶

As emigration gathered pace after 1848, a familiar sight in Clonoulty must have been groups of departing emigrants and their friends on the parish roads and lanes heading for the railway station. The sad wait on the platform at Goolds Cross for the Dublin or Cork train was the time for last-minute instructions for those leaving for ever for New York, Melbourne or Sydney – 'be sure to deliver that letter' – 'tell Mary to write when you see her' – 'see if you can get any news of Pat'. For many, as they contemplated the longest journey they would undertake in their lives, there was the knowledge in many cases that fragments of home, of old Clonoulty, awaited them beyond the ocean.

Clonoulty on the Ovens

Allowing for his ten days on the road, Edward Browne would have arrived at Hurdle Flat on or around 25 July 1857. By the time he wrote to brother Pat in Clonoulty Hill on 28 August he had had over a month to acquaint himself with life on the diggings and its varied immigrant mix of native Australians, English, Scots, Irish, Americans, Europeans and Chinese.

But, wherever he went on the Ovens, he encountered familiar faces, faces from Clonoulty, and news of many others from that parish who had chosen Australia and not the nearer attractions of Boston or New York as a place to make their way in life. Edward's letter to Pat Browne of 28 August mentions twenty-one people from the old parish whom he had met personally on the diggings, or about whom he had received news of their situation and whereabouts.

By 1857 those in Clonoulty waited eagerly for letters for news of absent friends and relatives. When Edward's letter arrived home the information it contained would have passed quickly, by word of mouth, into a dozen cabins and farmhouses in as many townlands. Edward had met two of the Finn brothers, relatives of the Brownes, and heard about their parents who were now *doing well in a farm a place called Cambbletown*[sic-Campbelltown, near Sydney].³⁷

For Widow Kennedy in Clogher he wrote that her two sons were at the Ovens, as well as her brother and his wife; similar information was sent to Mrs Murphy of Ballagh about her three brothers, *Tohmas* [sic] *William and Michael*; for Tom Murphy he had news of his son William; for Tom Mulcahy there was mention of his daughter; and, in Edward's own words, *I met with Adam Chiddle, Patrick Callon, Thomas Kearney, Edmond Reilly and two of his brothers all in good health and Phillip Murphy who has a cittiatio[n]* [sic] *in Beechworth*.³⁸

Who were these 'exiles' from Tipperary and what can they tell us about the nature of the Clonoulty-Australia emigration of the 1850s?

Adam Chidle

Adam Chidle was the son of John Chidle of Ballagh, Clonoulty. Records indicate that in the 1840s the Chidles were among the wealthiest families in the parish. The published valuation of 1850 shows that only 15 of Clonoulty's 914 houses had a rateable value greater than that of John

Chidle's house's – £7.³⁹ Hughes categorises all those in Tipperary in 1850 who lived in a house valued at under £1 as the 'poor'.

In this context John Chidle's dwelling in Ballagh 'town' must have seemed an oasis of opulence in a parish where over 61 per cent of the houses fitted Hughes's definition of the houses of the 'poor'. Indeed Hughes depicts Clonoulty as one of those Tipperary parishes where over 60 per cent of the inhabitants, based on house valuation, lived in poverty.⁴⁰

How did John Chidle earn a living? The valuation records show John to have been in the business of leasing out small cabins and, possibly, land. Of the 56 small houses and cabins in Ballagh 'town' in 1848, twenty-two were being leased from John Chidle, all but three valued at less than £1.⁴¹ In the townlands of Ballagh and Piercetown John Chidle is shown as leasing over 30 acres of land from the Percival family who owned these townlands.⁴²

It is possible that he was leasing these on as conacre land to those who lived in his cabins in Ballagh 'town', but there is no documentary proof of this. Chidle also leased a limestone quarry and kiln from the Percivals in Ballagh, an essential element in local house building in the 1840s, and a suggestion that he may have had a hand in the construction of many other buildings in the parish.⁴³ One piece of corroborative evidence for describing John Chidle as a builder comes from Adam Chidle's death certificate in Boorowa, New South Wales in 1909, where his father's occupation is given as 'contractor'.

Between 1819 and 1847 fourteen children were born to John Chidle in Ballagh. He produced seven, including Adam born in 1831, with his first wife Nelly Ryan, who seems to have died



"Bullock Dray Campd out", Charles Lyall, H 87.63/14, La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

Although Edward Browne travelled to Beechworth in 1857 with John Dwyer's *team of horses*, Lyall's drawing is close in spirit to Edward's description of the camp sites on his August 1857 journey to Beechmount. (Reproduction Rights Reserved – copied by State Library of Victoria).

c. 1832, and seven with his second wife, Ellen Devereux.⁴⁴ The first of the family to come to Australia were Adam and James Chidle who arrived in Sydney as assisted immigrants on the *Gloriana* in 1855.⁴⁵ At some point James returned to Clonoulty where he died on 22 September 1868 age 32. He was buried with his father John Chidle, who died on 22 January 1863, age 75.⁴⁶ Both lie in the same grave in Clonoulty graveyard.

Further research would be required to discover how successful, in material terms, Adam Childe was in Australia. Born in January 1831 the last child of John Chidle's first marriage to Nelly Ryan, it is unlikely Adam had many prospects in Clonoulty among 13 other children, so emigration to the goldfields of Victoria must have seemed a reasonable option.⁴⁷

By 1872 he was farming at Gegullalong Creek and Castle's Creek in the Boorowa area, where a number of other Clonoulty immigrants had settled, and in 1878 he donated £1 towards St Patrick's Church, Boorowa.⁴⁸ At his death in 1909 he was described simply as a 'labourer'.⁴⁹ Adam Chidle never married and he lies buried in an unmarked grave in the Boorowa General Cemetery.⁵⁰

Another of John Chidle's children to come to Australia was Bridget born in December 1827.⁵¹ In June 1846 she married John Brien and four children of the marriage were born in Clonoulty – Catherine in Ballagh in 1845, Thomas in Clonoulty in 1847, another Catherine in Ballagh in 1851, and John in Ballagh in 1854.⁵²

At some point the family emigrated to Australia for on 21 January 1873 Catherine O'Brien – the family in Australia had resumed the Irish O' in front of their surname – married John Curran in Yass, New South Wales.⁵³ Catherine gave her father as John O'Brien, a quarryman, and mother Bridget Chidal [sic – Chidle]. She stated her age at marriage as 21, making her almost certainly the Catherine Brien born in Clonoulty in 1851.

The family story of these Clonoulty O'Briens is that John was killed in an accident in Sydney, after which Bridget brought the family to Gegullalong near Boorowa to live. When this occurred is uncertain, but their destination – Gegullalong – was perhaps determined by the fact that Bridget's brother, Adam Chidle, was living there in the 1870s. Bridget O'Brien died in 1889 and is buried in Boorowa Cemetery with her Irish parish of origin – Clonoulty – cut upon her gravestone.⁵⁴ When Adam Chidle died in Boorowa in 1909 it was his nephew, Bridget's son, Michael O'Brien who officially registered his uncle's death.⁵⁵

Another Australian emigrant with Chidle connections who came to New South Wales was Bridget Mulcahy. Bridget was born c. 1828, the daughter of Edward Mulcahy and Nancy Chidle, but there is no baptismal entry for her in the Clonoulty register. However, the family is in the baptismal register showing one child – Nancy – born in 1828. Bridget's mother, Nancy Chidle, may well have been a sister of John Chidle and, as her father was a stonemason, the family may have moved from parish to parish in search of work.

The printed valuation of 1850 shows a Nancy Mulcahy living in a cabin valued at 5/- rented from John Chidle. When Bridget arrived in Sydney on the *Ellenborough* in 1853, she informed the immigration authorities that her father, Edward, was dead and that her mother, Nancy, was alive and living in County Tipperary. In 1857 Bridget married County Galway convict John Kennemore at St Augustine's Church, Yass. The Kennemores lived at Murringo village between Boorowa and Young where they had nine children.

Patrick Callon

There is no family by this name in the Clonoulty baptismal or marriage register, nor does the name appear in the valuation records. However, it is possible that this is a misspelling of the name 'Cullen'.

In 1852 Stephen Cullen and his wife Mary Brien from Clonoulty arrived as assisted immigrants in Sydney.⁵⁶ On arrival Stephen stated that his father, Patrick, was dead but that his mother, Mary Cullen, was still alive and living in Clonoulty. The printed valuation records show that Mary Cullen was living in the townland of Clonyharp in a house valued at 5/-. She possessed no land and it is clear that the Cullen family was extremely poor.

Mary Cullen's maiden name was Gooley. A number of Gooley immigrants came to Sydney from the northern townlands of Clonoulty in the early 1850s and it is possible she was connected in some way with them. Stephen Cullen was followed to New South Wales six years later by his younger brother James, who arrived on the *Stebonheath* in 1858.⁵⁷ On his arrival he stated that his brother Patrick Cullen was living in New South Wales. Clearly Patrick had reached Australia before February 1858 and it is possible that he was the *Patrick Callon* [Cullen] met by Edward Browne as he strode the streets of Beechworth and Hurdle Flat in August 1857.

Thomas Kearney

There is no Thomas Kearney from Clonoulty on the assisted passage shipping lists into Sydney between 1848 and 1870. The Thomas Kearney met by Edward Browne may have been either Thomas Kearney, son of William Kearney and Winifred Grady, born in Clonbonane on 8 August 1835, or Thomas Kearney, son of Thomas Kearney and Honora Cumins, baptised at Milltown on 29 June 1833.⁵⁸

Edmond Reilly and two brothers

These Reilly brothers were almost certainly from the family of Edmond Reilly and Mary Dunbar, who had nine children baptised in the townlands of Gortnaskehy and Corbally between 1809 and 1831.⁵⁹ Family information puts two of these brothers – William born in 1809 and Michael born in 1812 – on the Beechworth goldfields in 1857. Edmond Reilly, whom Edward Browne mentions specifically by name, is known to have emigrated to Victoria as he was married to Mary Ryan in Melbourne in 1852. Possibly therefore in Beechworth Edward met Edmond, William and Michael Reilly.

The only indication of the Irish socio-economic situation of this Reilly emigrant family comes from the valuation records of 1848 and 1850. There is no sign of the Reillys in either Corbally or Gortnaskehy. However, in the printed valuation of 1850 a Mary Reilly – possibly the widowed mother of Edmond, William and Michael Reilly – was renting a cabin and garden in Clonoulty Hill from James Browne, Edward Browne's uncle.⁶⁰

This cabin was 24.4 feet long, 16 feet in width, 5.6 feet high and was rated at 10 shillings per year.⁶¹ This certainly places the Reillys in Jones Hughes's category of the 'poor'. The manuscript valuation of 1848 showed that Mary Reilly paid rent of £1 per year for her garden to James Browne.⁶²

Mary Reilly does not appear in the valuation taken in Clonoulty in 1859. This is not surprising as Mary Reilly, *nee* Dunbar, and one of her daughters – Mary born in Clonoulty in 1831 – are known from family research to have come to Australia about 1856. Mary Reilly died in 1866 and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery at Kilmore between Melbourne and the New South Wales border.⁶³ It was of Kilmore that that keen observer of the Irish scene in 1850s Victoria, Sligo man William Kelly, wrote:

I was much astonished at the appearance of Kilmore in more than one respect, for it appeared to me like a place at least half a century old. And, again, it gave the idea that Tubbercurry [Tubbercurry, County Sligo] or Ballerodare [Ballisodare, County Sligo] was rafted over holus-bolus from the Emerald isle, so completely and intensely Irish was the entire population in appearance, in accent, and in the peculiarly Milesian style of huckstering arrangement in which the shops were set out; and, lest I might have had any lingering misgivings on the subject, additional proof was afforded me by a man whom I observed dodging me in all my movements during my first stroll through the little town, and who, at last, on hearing my voice, exclaimed, as he confronted me with a beaming countenance, 'Arrah, by J___! sure you're Master William!'. 'That's my name, certainly,' I replied; 'have we ever met before?' 'Ah, thin, blud-an-ouns, how's every inch of you? Meet afore is it? – at Bomore, in ould Sligo, where you carried the day on Irishman'. 'So you recollect me, I see,' said I, 'though that race came off some years ago.' 'Remember you, indeed; why thin I'd be far gone wid sore eyes if I wouldn't know your skin on a bush. But there's no use in talkin', he continued; 'come down wid me, sir, and see the place and family'.⁶⁴

Phillip Murphy

In the first half of the 19th century Phillip was not a common Christian name among the Murphy families of Clonoulty. Indeed, according to the parish register, only one baptism of a Phillip Murphy took place between 1800 and 1850 – Phillip Murphy, son of Daniel and Margaret Murphy (*nee* Berkery or Barraga) of Piercetown, baptised at Piercetown on 7 June 1826.⁶⁵ Between 1821 and 1844 Daniel and Margaret Murphy had 11 children in Clonoulty one of whom, Michael born about 1841, does not appear in the parish register.⁶⁶

The printed valuation of 1850 reveals a Daniel Murphy in Piercetown with a holding of 26 acres and a house valued at £1-13 shillings.⁶⁷ By 1859 this family had augmented its holding to 38 acres, but the house value had declined slightly to £1-5 shillings.⁶⁸ What evidence is there for assuming that between 1850 and 1859 this was Daniel Murphy, father of Philip Murphy born in 1836?

The strongest evidence comes from the New South Wales Immigration Board's lists of assisted immigrants arriving at Sydney between 1848 and 1870. On 20 May 1850 a Patrick Murphy, age 27, arrived on the *Thetis*, giving his parents as Daniel and Margaret Murphy, both of whom he said were alive and living in Clonoulty.⁶⁹ Thirteen years later, in 1863, Patrick's brother Michael Murphy arrived in Sydney.⁷⁰ Michael told the Immigration Board that his parents, Daniel and Margaret, were alive and living in Clonoulty.

He had been sponsored to the colony by his brother, Daniel, who was living in Bathurst, New South Wales. Daniel Murphy was born in Piercetown, Clonoulty, in June 1835.⁷¹ On his arrival Michael also declared that he had another brother living in Bathurst – Philip Murphy. It is possible that this is the same Phillip Murphy who, according to Edward Browne in 1857, had a *cittiation*[sic] in *Beechworth*.⁷²

Mrs Murphy of Ballagh and three brothers

Between 1813 and 1836 William Stapleton and Mary Hare are recorded as having seven children in the townland of Piercetown.⁷³ On 20 June 1835 their first child, Mary, born in January 1813, married an Edmund Murphy and this couple produced eight children – two baptized from Piercetown, three from Skehanagh, and the last three from Ballagh.⁷⁴ The

valuation of 1850 gives two possible Edmund Murphys in Ballagh – one with a holding of three acres and a house valued at 10/- in Ballagh townland, and the other in a house valued at 10/- in Ballagh village.⁷⁵

It is possible that the Mrs Murphy referred to by Edward Browne lived in either of these households. Their daughter Bridget, born in January 1835, emigrated to Sydney on the *Bee* in 1856 and declared on arrival that she had four aunts living in Bathurst, New South Wales.⁷⁶ Mary Murphy, *nee* Stapleton's, three brothers met by Edward Browne in Beechworth in 1857 – Michael, born January 1819, William, born c.1821, and Thomas, born c.1823 – all arrived in Sydney on the *Emperor* in 1851.⁷⁷

A major cause of complaint by the Sydney immigration authorities in the early 1850s was the occasional deception practised by applicants for an assisted passage on the Land and Emigration Commissioners in London. One family, who managed to receive a passage to Sydney by manipulating the system, was the Stapletons of Piercetown.

The Stapleton group on the *Emperor* consisted of a family of four – Michael, age 33, wife Alice Rawley, age 35, Hannah, age 7 and Norry, age 3. Also on board were supposedly two of Michael's brothers and two sisters – William, age 30, Thomas, age 15, Catherine, age 25, and Mary, age 15.⁷⁸ A marginal note on the Immigration Board's List shows the Board's incredulity concerning sister Catherine's declaration regarding Mary's age:

*States that her sister Mary is 15 – she cannot be more than 7.*⁷⁹



Hurdle Flat, near Beechworth, Victoria, August 2000, in the rain: photographer Brendan Kelson. As can be seen, there is nothing left at Hurdle Flat to suggest the "roaring days" of gold which the settlement experienced in the late 1850s. Somewhere here John, Maran and Bessy Browne had the general store to which Edmund made his way in August 1857.

The matter was not pursued by the Board. However, had they perhaps unwittingly glimpsed the method by which the Stapletons may have managed to avoid payment of the full amount of the pre-passage financial contributions demanded by the Land and Emigration Commissioners and, indeed, how Alice Stapleton and her children had managed to obtain a passage at all?

Michael Stapleton, son of William Stapleton and Mary Hare, was baptized at Clonoulty in January 1819.⁸⁰ The Clonoulty register also records the baptism of his brother, Daniel, in September 1816.⁸¹ On 24 September 1843 Daniel Stapleton married Alice Rawley, and the couple are shown as having had four children – Mary in 1844, William in 1846, Judith in 1847 and Honora in 1848.⁸² The evidence of the Clonoulty register points to this Daniel Stapleton as being the son of William Stapleton and Mary Hare, as the couple called their first female child after her paternal grandmother and their first male child after his paternal grandfather.

However, when the Stapletons arrived in Sydney on the *Emperor* it is Michael Stapleton who now claimed to be Alice Rawley's husband. Their daughter Norry, age 3, is probably the Honora baptised in 1848, and the Mary Stapleton, claiming to be the 15-year-old sister of William, Catherine and Thomas Stapleton, is possibly the Mary, daughter of Daniel Stapleton and Alice Rawley, born in 1844. The Immigration Board was accurate in putting her age at little more than seven as she was baptised in November 1844 and the *Emperor* anchored in Sydney Cove in June 1851.⁸³

Moreover, William Stapleton and Mary Hare's daughter, Mary, born in 1813, was alive and living in Ballagh when the *Emperor* supposedly brought her to Australia. Of the other two children born to Daniel Stapleton and Alice Rawley – William in 1846 and Judith in 1847 – there was no sign on the *Emperor*. Why this elaborate deception by the Stapletons?

One explanation is that Daniel, Michael's elder brother and Alice's husband, died some time after January 1848 when his last child, Honora, would have been conceived. Daniel was not recorded as a householder in Clonoulty in the manuscript valuation of 1848, or the printed valuation of 1850. This supports the idea of his having died around this time.

Another Stapleton brother, Robert, had already emigrated to Sydney in 1841 and possibly he was encouraging his siblings and Daniel's young widow to join him. Widows with very young children, however, were unacceptable as emigrants under the assisted passage regulations and, consequently, Michael Stapleton may have posed as Alice's husband to make the family fit these regulations.

In addition, Mary, the child of Daniel Stapleton and Alice Rawley, was passed off as the 15-year-old sister of the other Stapletons. This would have saved the family £3. As a fifteen-year-old Mary would only have had to pay £2 towards her fare: as a member of a family with more than two children under fourteen £5 would have been required for the third child.

There was also a chance that the Commissioners could have rejected the family outright as having too many children under ten in any situation where more suitable applicants were available. Given the relatively high child and infant mortality on the voyage, families with fewer and older children were preferred. However it was they managed to get a passage to Australia by August 1857 Thomas, William and Michael Stapleton were trying their luck on the Ovens diggings.

Widow Kennedy and her two sons

Widow Kennedy's two sons were Timothy and Patrick who arrived in Sydney in 1856.⁸⁴ Clearly their labour was soon lost to the colony of New South Wales, which had paid most of their passage, as by August 1858 they were trying their luck with the gold on the Ovens diggings.

By 1861 Timothy had made his way to Boorowa, New South Wales, a place which since the arrival in the district of Clonoulty-born convicts Edward 'Ned' Ryan and Roger Corcoran in the 1820s, had attracted many Clonoulty emigrants to Australia.⁸⁵ On 5 February 1861 at St Augustine's Catholic Church Timothy Kennedy, residing at Boorowa, from Tipperary, parents John Kennedy and Mary Ryan, married Ellen Ryan, residing at Boorowa, also from Tipperary.⁸⁶ The couple may have remained in the district, as *Greville's Official Post Office Directory of New South Wales* lists a Timothy Kennedy, farmer, of Plain's Creek, Boorowa.⁸⁷

These Kennedy brothers came from a poor background. Their father – John Kennedy of Clogher – married Mary Ryan in 1832 and Timothy and Patrick were their only two children, born in 1833 and 1836 respectively.⁸⁸ When the brothers arrived in Sydney they stated that their father was dead but that their mother, Mary, was alive and living in Clonoulty. This is more



The "Ryan Enclave", Galong Cemetery, New South Wales: photographer, Brendon Kelson, 1998. In the foreground, under the two Celtic crosses, lie Edward Browne, baptised Clonoulty, Co. Tipperary, 6 February 1835, died Binalong, NSW, 11 November 1910, and his wife Bridget (nee Ryan), baptised Knockavilla, Co. Tipperary, 27 August 1843, died 27 August 1843, died Binalong, NSW, 4 April 1925.

than likely the Mary Kennedy recorded in the printed valuation of 1850 as leasing 1 acre, 2 perches and 24 rods of land from Nicholas Doherty Esq. and a house at the same location valued at 10/-.⁸⁹ A Mary Kennedy was recorded at the same location in the valuation of 1859.⁹⁰

This reference to Widow Kennedy points to a related group of Clonoulty-Australia emigrants from the townland of Clogher. Widow Kennedy's brother, John Ryan Stephen, met by Edward Browne at the Ovens diggings, was the son of Stephen Ryan and Mary Carew. There is no record of John Ryan arriving as an assisted immigrant in Sydney. Stephen Ryan and Mary Carew produced four children in one of the central Clonoulty townlands – Clonoulty Curragh, Clonoulty Hill or Clonoulty Churchquarter – between 1829 and 1836.⁹¹

Stephen was not, from the evidence of the baptism register, a common name among the Clonoulty Ryan families. Hence it is possible that this Stephen Ryan is the one listed in the 1851 valuation as leasing two acres of land from Miss Arthur in Clonoulty Curragh. There was no cabin attached to this holding, so we have no way of knowing exactly where Stephen and his family may have been living.⁹²

Edward Browne wrote of the marriage of John Ryan Stephen and Mary Gleeson. This marriage took place in Australia because Mary Gleeson arrived as a single female immigrant in Sydney in 1853.⁹³ She was born in Clogher in 1816 but gave her age as 26 to the immigration authorities!⁹⁴ Mary was connected to the Kennedys of Clogher as she stated that she had a cousin in New South Wales – a John Kennedy living about 40 miles from Sydney. Moreover, it was Mary Gleeson who nominated the brothers Timothy and Patrick Kennedy for a free passage under the NSW Remittance Regulations.

On arrival they said they had a cousin, Mary Gleeson, living in Pitt Street, Sydney.⁹⁵ Mary's father, Roger Gleeson, was in a somewhat better-off category than the Kennedys. In 1851 he was leasing 25 acres in Clogher with an additional 17 acres in the townland of Marlow and he occupied a house valued at £1, 10 shillings.⁹⁶

The Kennedys of Clogher were also linked to another emigrant family, the Kerwins. Edward Kerwin and his wife Ellen Kennedy from Clonoulty arrived in Sydney in 1853 with four children – Timothy, Judith, Patrick and Bridget.⁹⁷ The Clonoulty register shows that they had two other children – Ellen and Mary – but they had not accompanied them from Ireland.⁹⁸ Their first three children had been born in the townland of Clogher and on arrival Edward stated that his wife's brother, John Kennedy, lived in Sydney.

This was the John Kennedy who arrived on the *Ramillies* in 1850, born in 1809, the son of Timothy Kennedy and Mary Duane.⁹⁹ On 21 August 1849 a John Kennedy stood as a sponsor at the baptism in Clogher of Bridget Duane, daughter of Edmund Duane and Mary Kearney, both of whom arrived in New South Wales as assisted immigrants in 1850.¹⁰⁰ When Edward Browne wrote home to inform Widow Kennedy about her two sons he was writing to someone who had an intimate knowledge about the impact the Australian emigration was having on her family, and other families, in the townland of Clogher.

Thomas Mulcahy's daughter Mary

From the evidence of the Clonoulty baptismal register it is clear that the family of Thomas Mulcahy and his wife Judy Fitzgerald were well known to the Brownes. Between 1833 and 1845 Thomas and Judy had seven children baptized in the townland of Clonoulty Hill and for four of these baptisms members of the Browne family stood as sponsors to the Mulcahy children.¹⁰¹ The Mulcahy household lay just across the fields from the two Browne households in the townland.

Thomas Mulcahy was a cottier labourer renting two acres of land and lived in a cabin valued

at 10/-. Next door lived his mother-in-law, Ellen Fitzgerald, in a cabin valued at 5/-.¹⁰² Clonoulty Hill was a centre for emigration to Australia. Of the 18 non-clerical households listed for the townland in the 1850 valuation, eight had Australian emigrant connections. Thomas's daughter Mary, born in 1833, and presumably the Mary referred to by Edward Browne in his letter, did not come into Sydney as an assisted immigrant. Most likely she went direct to Victoria.

In August 1858 Edward was able to tell Thomas Mulcahy that Mary was now married to an *American man a stout able young fellow Black Smith and wheelright [sic] liveing[sic] in a plce[sic] called Dunally 160 miles from Melbourne and doing well.* Edward did not get this information from Mary but from his brother John who had knocked about a fair bit in the colony and must, on his travels, have gained much information about former Clonoulty emigrants.¹⁰³

Tom Murphy and his son William

The printed valuation of 1850 showed Thomas Murphy leasing 17 acres in the townland of Coolanga Upper and a house valued at £1, 5/-.¹⁰⁴ Between 1826 and 1835 Thomas and his wife Nancy Duggan produced 5 children three of whom – William, born in 1826, James, born in 1833, and Michael, born in 1835 – definitely emigrated to Australia.¹⁰⁵

William Murphy went as an assisted emigrant to Sydney in 1854 nominated under the Remittance Regulations by his cousin Edwin Flood.¹⁰⁶ Michael also received an assisted passage in 1861 nominated by his brother James.¹⁰⁷ There is no evidence to show that James ever received an assisted passage to Sydney.

Clonoulty in Australia

From this analysis of the socio-economic backgrounds of the Clonoulty emigrants encountered by Edward Browne at Beechworth we can draw one simple conclusion – the emigration to Australia attracted individuals from virtually all levels of Clonoulty society. During the 1850s and 1860s the sons of the moderately affluent, such as the Chidle brothers, jostled on board government emigrant ships with the poorest in the parish.

We know less about their fortunes in Australia. Adam Chidle seems to have slid down the social scale and ended his days in relative obscurity if not poverty. Edward Browne eventually settled in Binnalong, New South Wales, near Boorowa, where he became a successful pastoralist. In 1874 he married Bridget Mary Ryan of Ballycamus, Clonoulty. She was the niece of 'Ned' Ryan of Galong Castle, the so-called 'patriarch of the Lachlan' and the Clonoulty convict success story in New South Wales.

What happened to the first Brownes to arrive in Sydney in 1854 is more obscure. Of Bessy and Maryan nothing is known. John spent some time at Binnalong with his brother but then disappears from the record.

In the 19th century hundreds of Clonoulty pre-and post-Famine emigrants chose Australia as their preferred emigrant destination. A full account of their story – from what background they emerged, when they went, and how, in material, personal or social terms, they fared in the colonies – will have to await the collation of the results of many individual family histories.

Only then will we be able to describe in any depth that assertion on the Ballagh monument that in Clonoulty there are "abiding links" with Australia.

FOOTNOTES

1. J Small's 'Paddy's Trip to Australia', 1884(?), in Bill Wannan, *The Wearing of the Green*, London, 1968, p. 313.
2. Edward Browne to Patrick Browne, 28 August 1857.
3. Ibid.
4. For a summery of William Kelly's life see 'William Kelly, 1813?-1872', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 5, 1851-1890, Melbourne, 1974, p. 10.
5. Edward Browne to Patrick Browne, 28 August 1857.
6. William Kelly, *Life in Victoria or Victoria in 1853 and Victoria in 1858 showing the improvement made by the Colony within those periods, in Town and Country, Cities and the Diggings*, first published, London, 1859, reprint, Kilmore, Victoria, 1977, pp. 336-337.
7. Ibid.
8. See R. Reid, The Emigration of the Brownes from Clonoulty to Australian – Part 1', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1995, p. 120.
9. Ibid.
10. John, Maryan and Bessy Browne to Patrick Browne, 18 November 1856.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. William Kelly, op.cit., p. 346.
14. Ibid. pp. 345-346.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Carole Woods, *Beechworth: A Titan's Field*, Melbourne, 1985, p. 50.
18. Census of Victoria, 1857, Birth Places of the Population, Table VIII, Beechworth, Victoria, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1858-1859, Vol. 2, p. 127. Census night was 29 March 1857.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Woods, op.cit., p. 50.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Census of Victoria, 1857, various tables relating to occupations of males and females, pp. 124-127, 196-199, *Victorian Parliamentary Papers*, 1857/58, Vol.2.
26. Ibid. pp. 124-127.
27. Ibid. pp. 196-199.
28. Ibid.
29. Figure 5.3, Population Growth and Decline in the Parish* of Clonoulty compared with County Tipperary and All Ireland, 1821-1871, in R. E. Reid, Aspects of Irish Assisted Emigration to New South Wales, Ph.D., Australian National University, 1992, Vol. 2, p. 123. (hereafter Reid thesis).
30. Population and Housing Loss in Clonoulty and the Hawarden Estate in Clonoulty, 1841-1851, Reid thesis, Vol. 2, p. 138.
31. Figure 5.3, Reid thesis, Vol.2, p.123.
32. Figure 5.8, townland percentage population change, Roman Catholic Parish of Clonoulty, 1841-1871, Reid thesis, Vol. 2, p. 128.
33. Census of Ireland, 1851, County of Tipperary, South Riding, Parish of Clonoulty, Note Y, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1852/1853, Vol. 91, p. 323.
34. Manuscript valuation books (hereafter Valuation 1848), Parishes of Clonoulty and Clogher, 1848, Valuation Office, Ely Place, Dublin. I have assumed an average of 6.5 inhabitants per house in 1848 based on the 1841 Census average numbers per house in Ballagh. This is probably a little high for 1848, given that some deaths and emigration must have occurred over the first three years of the Famine.

35. Manuscript valuation (hereafter Valuation 1859), Parishes of Clonoulty and Clogher, 1859, Valuation Office, Ely Place, Dublin.
36. Kevin Whelan, 'The Famine and Post-Famine Adjustment', in W. Nolan (ed), *The Shaping of Modern Ireland: The Geographical Perspective*, Dublin, 1986, p. 157.
37. For the background and emigration of the Finn [Vinn?] family of Srahavarrella, Clonoulty, see R Reid, The Emigration of the Brownes from Clonoulty to Australia, Part 1, *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1995, p. 120.
38. Edward Browne to Pat Browne, 28 August 1857.
39. *Primary Valuation of Tenements*, Parish of Clonoulty, pp. 20-37, and Parish of Clogher, pp. 9-21, Union of Cashel, Dublin, 1850 (hereafter Valuation 1850). For John Chidle's house, see Valuation 1850, 'Town of Ballagh', p. 24.
40. T Jones Hughes, 'Landholding and Settlement in County Tipperary in the nineteenth century', in W. Nolan(ed), *Tipperary: History and Society*, Dublin, 1985, Fig.15.3, p. 354, Dwelling houses of the dispersed rural population valued at under £1, c.1850.
41. Valuation 1850, pp. 24 and 35.
42. Ibid. pp. 23 and 36.
43. Ibid. p. 24.
44. Clonoulty baptismal register (hereafter Clonoulty baptisms), typewritten transcript, Cashel and Emly Diocesan Archives, entries for Chidle family, p. 73.
45. Immigration Board's List, *Gloriana*, arrived Sydney 27 July 1855, Archives Office of New South Wales (hereafter AONSW), original 4/4949, Microfilm Reel 2470.
46. Inscriptions on Chidle graves in Clonoulty cemetery, personal visit by author.
47. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 73.
48. *Greville's Official Post Office Directory of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1872, Burrowa, p. 87: *The Burrowa News*, 23 February 1878, St Patrick's Church, Burrowa.
49. Death Certificate, Adam Chidle, Boorowa, 18 March 1909.
50. Ibid and personal visit by author to Boorowa Cemetery.
51. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 73.
52. Clonoulty marriage register (hereafter Clonoulty marriages), typewritten transcript, p. 7, Cashel and Emly Diocesan Archives: and Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 28 and 29.
53. Yass, New South Wales, Catholic marriage register, computer transcript, Book 3, p. 46.
54. Information from Father Brien Maher, Aranda, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory.
55. Death Certificate, Adam Chidle, 18 March 1909.
56. Immigration Board's List, *Sir George Seymour*, arrived Sydney 22 March 1852, AONSW, original 4/4927, Reel 2463: Stephen Cullen and Mary Brien were married in Clonoulty on 30 June 1851, Clonoulty marriages, p. 22.
57. Immigration Board's List, *Stebonheath*, arrived Sydney 27 February 1857, AONSW, original 4/4977, Reel 2478.
58. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 346 and 347.
59. Ibid, pp. 481-483.
60. Valuation 1850, p. 28.
61. House Book, Parish of Clonoulty, townland of Clonoulty Hill, taken 19 April 1848, National Archives of Ireland: Valuation 1848.
62. Perambulation Book, Parish of Clonoulty, townland of Clonoulty Hill, p. 39.
63. Family information on the Reillys supplied by Mrs Perry McIntyre, Mosman, Sydney.
64. From William Kelly, *Life in Victoria or Victoria in 1853 and Victoria in 1858 showing the improvement made by the Colony within those periods, in Town and Country, Cities and the Diggings*, quoted in Bill Wannan, *The Wearing of the Green*, London, 1968, pp. 95 and 96.
65. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 446.
66. Ibid., pp. 445-450.
67. Valuation 1850, p. 36.

68. Valuation 1859.
69. Immigration Board's List, *Thetis*, arrived Sydney 20 May 1850, AONSW, original 4/4919, Reel 2461.
70. Immigration Board's Lists, *John Temperely*, arrived Sydney 1 August 1863, AONSW, original 4/4983, Reel 2481.
71. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 448.
72. Edward Browne to Pat Browne, 28 August 1857.
73. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 633-635.
74. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 448-453
75. Valuation 1850, p. 23 and 35.
76. Immigration Board's List, *Bee*, arrived Sydney 6 January 1856, AONSW, original 4/4958, Reel 2473.
77. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 448-453: Immigration Board's List, *Emperor*, arrived Sydney 6 June 1851, AONSW, original 4/4920, Reel 2462.
78. Immigration Board's List, *Emperor*, loc.sit.
79. Ibid.
80. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 634.
81. Ibid., p. 633.
82. Clonoulty marriages, p. 119: Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 637-638.
83. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 637.
84. Immigration Board's List, *Maitland*, arrived Sydney 22 April 1856, AONSW, original 4/4962, Reel 2474.
85. For a fuller description of the Clonoulty-Boorowa connection, see the publications of Father Max Barrett – *A Riot of Ryans: The 19th Century Ryans of Boorowa*, Toowoomba, 1994: *Because of These; Irish Background*, Australian Surroundings of Thirteen Tipperary Transportees, Toowoomba, 1992; *King of Galong Castle-The Story of Ned Ryan*, Galong, 1978: and Frances Corcoran, *From Unlikely Beginnings – A History of Roger Corcoran, Pioneer Settler of Boorowa, New South Wales and his Family*, Canberra, 1992.
86. Yass Marriage Register, computer transcript, p.31, Father Brien Maher, Canberra.
87. *Greville's Official Post Office Directory of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1872, p. 89.
88. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 366.
89. Valuation 1850. p. 10.
90. Valuation 1859.
91. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 529, 533, 541, and 543.
92. Valuation 1850. p.27.
93. Immigration Board's List, *Australia*, arrived Sydney 8 June 1853, AONSW, original 4/4928, Reel 2464.
94. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 258.
95. Immigration Board's List.
96. Valuation 1850. p. 9.
97. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 378 and 379: Immigration Board's List, *Sir George Seymour*, arrived Sydney 22 March 1852, AONSW, original 4/4927, Reel 2463.
98. Ellen born 1842 and Mary born 1844 – Clonoulty baptisms, p. 379.
99. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 363.
100. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 145: Immigration Board's List, *Thetis*, arrived Sydney 20 May 1850, AONSW, original 4/4919, Reel 2461.
101. Clonoulty baptisms, p. 440.
102. Valuation 1850, p. 28.
103. Edward Browne to Pat Browne, 28 August 1857.
104. Valuation 1850, p. 28.
105. Clonoulty baptisms, pp. 446 to 448.
106. Immigration Board's List, *Switzerland*, arrived 20 June 1854, AONSW, original 4/4942, Reel 2467.
107. Immigration Agent's List, *British Trident*, arrived Sydney 2 January 1861, AONSW, original 4/4796, Reel 2139.