



Chapter 24 - Connections and Obligations

(1835 – 1888)

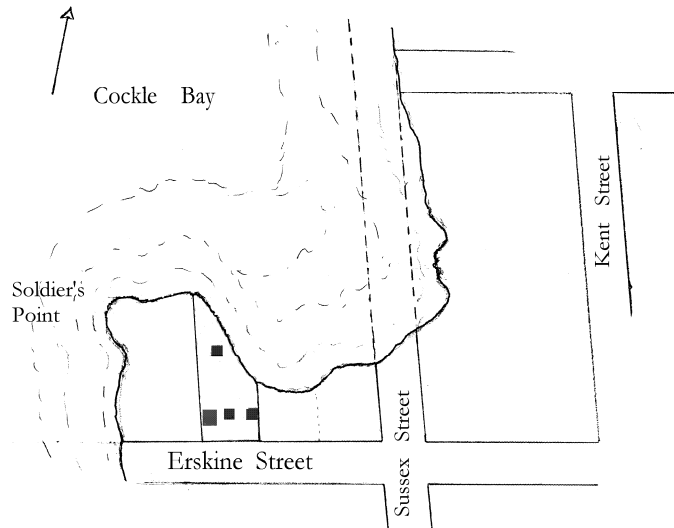
David Brown junior, and wife, brought their baby son, Alexander, from Jerry's Plains to Sydney to be baptised on 4 March 1835 as a Presbyterian, at Scots Church, in Elizabeth St.⁷⁵² This event appears to have been intended to provide an opportunity for the members of the Brown family in the Sydney region come together. It is an occasion that one would expect the attendance of the David snr. With the old man there, it is likely that Chisholm branch of the family was there - James and Jas with their respective spouses and children.

When Thomas Brown of Erskine Street died in May of 1836 he left a widow and three young daughters: Sarah, Amelia, and Roasanne, in some uncertainty as to their financial security. Thomas had ensured the preservation of the Erskine Street property through the good offices of Rev J Therry, however this hadn't been enough.

Thomas' father, David senior, would have been occupying one of the four dwellings then known to be on the Erskine Street property, separate from Thomas's widow, and children.

David would seem to have been in Sydney soon after if not before his son's death. It is unlikely that he was not actively attempting to provide in some way for his son's family.

It is probable that it was David who acquainted James Chisholm (living close by in George Street) of their distress. The comment in the burial register for David, only five months later, that he was 'father in-law to James Chisholm' testifies a great awareness of that relationship.



Derived from the 1836 Map of Sydney which indicates 4 buildings on the Brown property, and much of Sussex Street still planned for construction.

With Thomas' death, his brother-in-law, James Chisholm, and his son, took a close interest in the welfare of Thomas' widow and surviving children. James, it seems, was maintaining contact with the Brown family at Jerry's Plains and keeping them informed of events. Thomas' family was fortunate to have had the Chisholm family take an interest in their welfare.

Jas's considerable opportunities over the years to get close to his grandfather are likely to have been cause for him to have suffered a great sense of loss. There was a triple sense of duty coming into play concerning Thomas' wife and children – Duty to his cousin, his father and grandfather – on top of being a generally fair minded person.

The Chisholm family, and Jas in particular, was responsible for the financing of the girls' education that their father had been so concerned about in his letter to Governor Darling in 1831. While the arrangement for the

⁷⁵² BDM Reference V1834 2898 45B 0. NSWRS Reel 5016, V1834 76 47 0. NSWRS Reel 5017 (NLA mfm 229)



day-to-day care of the children is likely to have also been of concern to the Chisholms, their involvement was constrained by distance.

Jas and Elizabeth, with their large family, moved to their new house at "Kippilaw" early in 1837. They were to return to "Gledswood" many times during the winters of later years to escape the icy winds of Goulburn.⁷⁵³ It was from Kippilaw that Jas began to extend his land holdings over the second Breadalbane Plain and then on to the Third Breadalbane Plain and beyond. This was accomplished by a series of land grants from the government, by auction, and to a lesser extent, purchases from smaller settlers.

Care of Thomas' Family

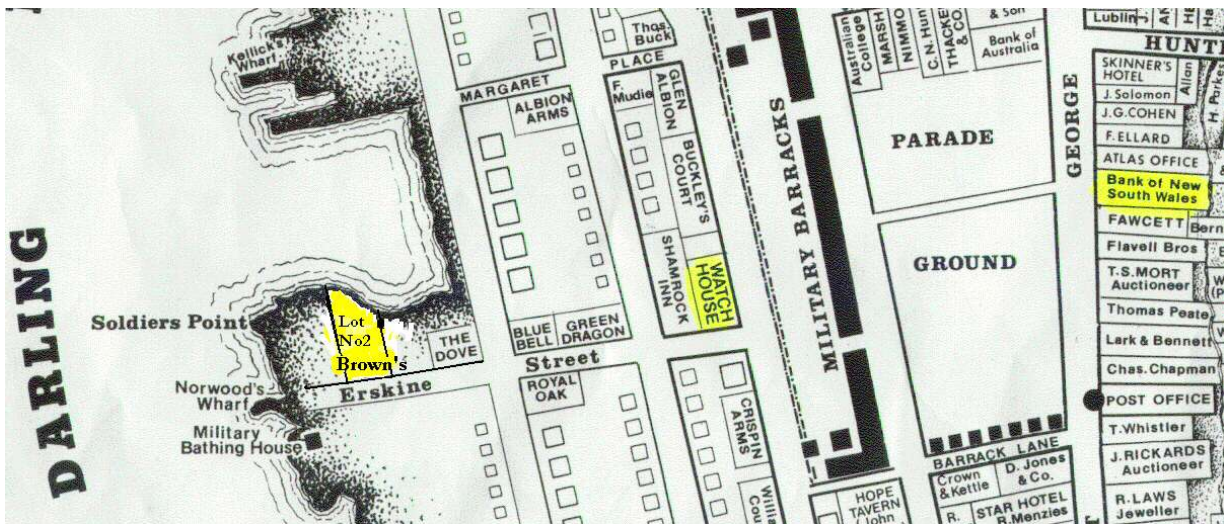
With the death of his father in March of 1837, it then fell to Jas and family then to come to the aid of his cousin's widow and her children. That is in addition to the considerable efforts of Father Therry, and the generosity of his father having gone mortgagee for Thomas Brown's Erskine Street property in 1832.

On Wednesday, 29 November 1837 the NSW Government Gazette, under 'COURT OF CLAIMS' announced the following:

'Notice is hereby given, that the following **CLAIMS** for **DEEDs** of **GRANT** of land and Town Allotments will be ready for examination by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, at the expiration of two months from this date, before which date any Caveat or Counter-claim must be entered at this Office, Due notice will be given of the day appointed for the hearings.

Case No. 109 – Rev. J. J. Therry and John O' Sullivan, in trust for MARY ANN BROWN, Widow.⁷⁵⁴
 Fifty-two perches,'

One must wonder at the cost and effort that this notice implied. However, any anxiety about the outcome of the claim was alleviated on 28 February 1838, when the Court of Claims awarded that the Erskine Street property be transferred to Father Therry and a Mr. John C. Sullivan to be held 'in trust' for Thomas' wife for her life and then to his children.⁷⁵⁵



Layout of Sydney c1844 – 1848. The Brown property in Erskine Street, west of 'The Dove' and backing onto Darling Harbour. The Bank of NSW in George Street was still on lease from the Chisholm family.

Mary Ann died three years after her husband, in 1839, being about 41 years of age. A burial service for her was conducted at St Mary's Cathedral.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵³ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today, by Josie Ashley-Riddle, February 1987.

⁷⁵⁴ P. 894.

⁷⁵⁵ NSW Government Gazette No. 306 of Wednesday, November 1836. Deeds were transferred 7 April 1838.

⁷⁵⁶ BDM Reg No V1839 184 132 0 & V1839 164 0 St Mary's



Thomas and Mary's surviving children were now orphaned. Sarah was 13, Amelia 10, and Roseanne 9 years old. All the boys (at least three) were deceased - The circumstances of their deaths are unknown.

Sarah is said to have been fostered by a Roman Catholic family, and the other two girls taken in by Protestant families. This is typical of the time and seems more likely than the claim that they 'continued to live comfortably at Erskine Street.' Whatever the arrangements for the foster care of the three girls, it is certain that Jas arranged for their education.⁷⁵⁷ It is likely also, that his wife, Elizabeth, was of considerable help in dealing with his female relatives.

Family lore says that James Brown, their uncle, long thought to be dead, and his wife took a great interest in the welfare of the girls, and often visited them. It is said that they were quite elderly. If James Brown had had returned he would have been close to 60 years of age. However, James resurrection is unlikely. More probable is that this legend has confused the recollection of a long dead uncle with the interest and care known to have been given by James Chisholm senior, and his son.

Division of St Andrews

On James Chisholm's death, the St Andrews property was apportioned to his three eldest sons. Jas inherited the 'Gledswood' homestead and 1,150 acres on which it stood. 'Gledswood' came to represent the name for that portion of the original St Andrews property. The remaining portion of St Andrews, now comprising 3,300 acres was divided among his stepbrothers.

On the now smaller 'Gledswood' property James planted grapevines that over the years produced fine wines, it being on the Winamatta shale belt. On occasions, he was loaned six vinedressers from a friend and neighbour, James Macarthur of Camden Park. James Macarthur had gained government permission to bring these vinedressers from the Rhine Valley, Germany in 1839. In 1847, James imported two vinedressers of his own.

Elizabeth and Jas Chisholm had nine sons. As their children grew up with the children of his tenants, Jas built a school on the Kippilaw property and engaged a tutor for them.

Elizabeth spun her own wool and made knitted socks and garments for her large family. During the shearing season she was extra busy, supervising the meals for the many shearers employed. Elizabeth tended her gardens with loving care, both at 'Gledswood' and 'Kippilaw'.

The severe drought that began in 1838 and afflicted the colony for several years, caused the Nepean River to cease flowing. The Wollondilly River that traverses the Goulburn region did not flow for many years. Lake George became a dry plain where cattle and sheep wended their way to market. By 1841, water was so scarce, Elizabeth wrote in her diary "A cup of water was so precious". The well in the courtyard at 'Gledswood' had dried up. The household carted water in wooden buckets from the waterholes along the creek. Washing was



'Kippilaw' homestead built at Goulburn by Jas Chisholm⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁷ Rossanne's granddaughter's recollections appear to be a confusion of a number different situations and people: 'She had lived in Erskine Street Sydney with two sisters after the death of their friends Mr and Mrs James Brown who had considerable means and interest in Jerry's Plains.' Country Memoirs, 'The History of a Homestead' by Marjory Ross Smith. Chapter 1. This paragraph attempts to interpret that recollection against the facts as known.

⁷⁵⁸ An article in The Australian Financial Review of 5 November 2012, p44, was headed '\$2m price cut on 1832 residence'. The 'vendors had substantially updated the interiors since paying \$2.6 million for it in 1997.' 'The property is on a working farm of more than 161 hectares.' 'The property has 6 bedrooms, bathrooms, a wine cellar, library, tennis court and pool. Other structures include an original stone coach house and stables and a machinery shed.' 'There is also the Kippilaw school house, which has been converted to a two-bedroom apartment.'



reduced to a minimum. All kitchen water and washing water was saved for the vegetable and flower gardens.

During the drought, flour of inferior quality rose to the exorbitant price of 100 pounds per ton. Elizabeth was forced to make bread from potatoes and hops.

When the drought broke that year, the Chisholms were in residence at 'Gledswood'. Their children and those of James' tenants danced for joy in the rain. Jas took a few bottles of wine from his extensive cellar, mustered the men together and they drank in the convict-built coach house. He was a man among men, stern but fair, honest and true and he had no time for laziness. He appreciated a man's good efforts of labour and he was very well thought of at both Camden and Goulburn.

In 1841, livestock was in great demand in the Adelaide colony and Jas Chisholm undertook to fit out an expedition to send four thousand sheep from his two properties 'Gledswood' and 'Kippilaw'. Mr. Dashwood in the Adelaide colony agreed to purchase on delivery. Such a pioneering journey in those days was an especially challenging prospect, for much of the country had only recently been explored by Sir Thomas Mitchell. The natives were known to be both hostile and treacherous.

All went well with the expedition to Adelaide until it reached the banks of the Murray River, where it was attacked by large groups of Aborigines. After a desperate fight in which a few white men were seriously injured, the whole of the stock and equipment fell into the hands of the natives. They drove the flocks of sheep into the most inaccessible part of the country, where they slaughtered a number of them. When news reached Melbourne, a relief party was dispatched and a few natives were shot, but not a single trace of the stock and equipment was ever recovered.

Jas and Elizabeth and their family had many happy times during the winters they spent at "Gledswood". Jas and his gardeners laid the foundations of the extensive old-world gardens comprising five acres gracing the homestead. They had their own butcher shop, the meat being stored in wire cages of fine mesh and the hooks for hanging the carcasses can still be seen in the ceiling today. They had a great orchard and house cows that provided them with milk and cream from which they made their butter and cheese. 'Gledswood' at this time was one of the finest rural properties of Camden District.⁷⁵⁹

Licence No 214 issued on 24 August 1844 to Jas Chisholm to depasture on Crowns Lands at 'Neave' in the district of Lachlan from 1 July 1844 to 30 June 1845.

'Jas Chisholm had a great market in England for his fine wool, where it brought the highest price on the market. He had a good industry. Bales of fine wool were stacked on horse drawn drays and sent to Sydney from "Gledswood" and "Kippilaw" from where it was shipped to England. The yearly wool-clip had made him a very wealthy man.'

Arrival of the Duracks

In 1849, Darby Durack and family, arrived in Goulburn from Ireland. They were but a part of a large group that had endured the long, rough, coach ride from Sydney. 'So keen was the competition for labour at this time that a crowd had gathered at the immigration reception depot' for the arrival of coaches bringing immigrants. "Squatters, for the most part, big bearded men in broad-rimmed cabbage tree hats and moleskin trousers, smoking heavy pipes, flicking at the flies with the crops of their stock whips, appraised the newcomers descending stiffly from the muddy carriages. The man who at once drew Darby and his wife aside was Jas, was hardly typical of this image of 'squattocracy'." The Duracks fondly remembered Jas at that time as 'tall, spare and clean shaven except for side-whiskers, and of a quiet, considerate manner' who provided them with comfortable employment on his property 'Kippilaw'.

The Durack's were to become known for their heroic cattle drive to Australia's northwest, and as pioneers of the Kimberleys. They were to learn much about the stock management in Australia, from their time at 'Kippilaw'.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁹ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today, by Josie Ashley-Riddle, February 1987

⁷⁶⁰ Kings in Grass Castles, P19.



By then the ‘Kippilaw’ “homestead enclosure, its lawns and gardens stretching to the river banks, was like a little village with two storey ‘Government House’ of white stone, its four wings surrounding a courtyard, convict built with shingled roof, gables, long shuttered windows and creeper shaded verandahs. Other buildings included a small stone church, stables, a store, butchery, and blacksmith’s ‘shop’ and a long barracks that had housed assigned servants of earlier years and now accommodated free labourers. Married couples and their families occupied smaller stone buildings, each with kitchen-living-room below and loft above, equipped with straw palliasses for sleeping.”⁷⁶¹

Thomas Brown’s Daughters

The education of Amelia and Roseanne Brown, gained courtesy of the Chisholms, put them in good stead. About 1850, they were recruited to the employ of Mrs. Henrietta Bloxsome of Ranger’s Valley,

Glen Innes, New England to be in her employ as governesses. While there, Amelia and Rosanne met their respective husbands.



Henrietta Bloxsome ⁷⁶²

Amelia married John McMaster Jr. (1823-1907) on 12 May 1851 at St Andrews Presbyterian church, Maitland.⁷⁶³ Colin Ross was witness to the marriage.

John McMaster had been appointed manager of "Rangers Valley" station by Oswald Bloxsome in the Glen Innes region that same year. Under John’s management, between 1851 and 1871, Bloxsome’s holdings expanded. to encompass "Dundee", Yarrowford" and "Whitmore" stations, an area of 215,000 acres. In 1871, John left Bloxsome's employment and moved to his own property, ‘Glendon’.

Amelia died in 1877.⁷⁶⁴ Amelia’s year of death coincided with the birth of Constance Ida and John’s leaving Bloxsome’s and moving to his own property, Glendon.

John was again approached by Oswald Bloxsome Snr and asked to return to ‘Rangers Valley’ in 1879. He went on to manage all of Bloxsome’s stations which now included a number of Western properties, until 1885, when he purchased ‘Croppa’ station in the Warialda district.



John McMaster in latter years⁷⁶⁷

In 1882, John McMaster had established the ‘Wyreema’ Kelpie Stud at Warialda. This famous sheep dog stud is still operating and in the hands of the McMaster family, but at Narrandera, NSW.

Amelia and John are said to have had ten children, two of whom died in infancy.⁷⁶⁵ Children identified on the Births Register as being born to Amelia and John McMaster⁷⁶⁶ are:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| i. | Amelia, 1855 - ; | iv. | Female, 1865 - ; |
| ii. | Rosanne, 1856 - ; | v. | Robert N A, 1866- ; |
| iii. | Eva 1863 - ; | vi. | Constance Ida, 1871 ; |

Rosanne met and married Colin Ross (1822-1882) at the home of his sister, Mrs. Fletcher, Glen Innes, in 1851. She moved with her husband to what was then known as ‘Byron Plains, New England’ in August of 1853 and established a store there.

⁷⁶¹ Kings in Grass Castles, P20.

⁷⁶² Photo *per* NLA

⁷⁶³ NSW BDM 1851191 80 ‘Amelia Frances Brown’ & ‘John McMaster’

⁷⁶⁴ BDM 1877 Ref No 9367

⁷⁶⁵ Photo per Wyreema Kelpie Stud web page <http://www.kelpieswyreema.com.au/the%20early%20years.html>

⁷⁶⁶ There are another five children registered 1863-8 at Wellingrove to ‘Amanda’ and John McMaster. Their children are Donald b1859; Oswald 1861; Hugh 1863; Alice H 1866; and Lucy 1868.

⁷⁶⁷ Wyreema Kelpie Stud web page <http://www.kelpieswyreema.com.au/the>



In that same year Colin request that a town be surveyed. In 1858, this was done and in the following years the plan was approved and the first land sale was held. Colin Ross is described as the ‘founder of Inverell’ and as having ‘sufficient means to start many industries and the good sound knowledge to regiment the working of such businesses’; and that his influence guided the town of Inverell for thirty-odd years.⁷⁶⁸

Rosanne is said to have been appointed 'vaccinator for the Glen Innes District' when there was a smallpox scare.⁷⁶⁹



Rosanne⁷⁷⁰

By 1992 the widowed Rosanne was living at ‘a large house, Edgecliffe, with a wide garden which swept down to rugged cliffs above the McIntyre River.’ About that time she purchased “Argyle” a 2500 acre property, adjoining her daughter’s property ‘Woodstock’. Which she rented out to her son-in-law to managed both properties jointly.

In her latter years, when visiting her family at Woodstock, as 'Granny Ross', Rosanne insisted on visiting her Argyle property nearby. She was offered the safety of a buggy ride for the journey, which she dismissed with 'I would prefer to go on horseback'. 'In this way I will get a clear picture of my land. You must remember I am accustomed to riding horseback. I rode many miles over trackless land when I was just married - and I always carried my baby on my lap.'⁷⁷¹ Rosanne intriguingly 'used to talk of paddling on the beach at Circular Quay.'⁷⁷²

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As ‘Granny Ross’ she was remembered as a quite a disciplinarian, ‘very stern, though kind’. “She was a strict Presbyterian too. “No riding on Sundays, none, at all” was her order, and we had to obey.”⁷⁷⁵

Rosanne passed away on 9 April 1916.

Rosanne and Colin’s children were:

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|-----|----------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| i. | Amelia, 1852 - ; | iv. | Catherine R, 1860- ; | vii. | Byron, 1865- ; |
| ii. | Sarah , 1855 - ; | v. | Rose M, 1862 ; | viii. | Herbert E, 1868 - ; and |
| iii. | Chisholm 1857 - ; ⁷⁷⁶ | vi. | Colin J, 1863 - ; | ix. | Lillian May, 1870 - ; |

In September 1855 and March 1856, Sarah Brown, then a woman of some thirty years of age, wrote to her cousin, James Chisholm, expressing gratitude for the assistance his family had been to her and her sisters.

⁷⁶⁸ Country Memoirs, The History of a Homestead by Marjory Ross Smith. Chapter I.

⁷⁶⁹ Notes by Alaster Glennie.

⁷⁷⁰ Image Mrs Colin Ross per Glenn innes Historical Society

⁷⁷¹ Country Memoirs, The History of a Homestead by Marjory Ross Smith. Chapter IX.

⁷⁷² Notes by Alaster Glennie.

⁷⁷³ Country Memoirs, The History of a Homestead by Marjory Ross Smith. Chapter IX.

⁷⁷⁴ Notes by Alaster Glennie.

⁷⁷⁵ Country Memoirs, The History of a Homestead by Marjory Ross Smith. Chapter I.

⁷⁷⁶ Chisholm was said by Miriam Chisholm to have been in appreciation by the Brown girls of their cousin, James, and the Chisholm family in general. Merryll Hope suggests that it was to honour Colin’s Mother Mother’s maiden name.



Sarah offered him payment for the expenses he incurred on behalf of her sisters and herself while at school. At the time, Sarah was living with Rosanne and her husband, Colin Ross, at Inverell.

Further evidence of this appreciation by the Brown girls of their cousin, James, and the Chisholm family in general, is born out in the naming of Rosanne's son, Chisholm, in 1857.⁷⁷⁷

Indicative of the lot of women at that time, Sarah explained in her letter of 6 March 1856: *'I have no prospects, when I had they often turned contrary to my expectations. I have none now, but perhaps sometime I may have'*. However, unlike many single women of her day, Sarah had her own income, making marriage less crucial to her existence. The Erskine Street property gave her some element of security and independence. Sarah eventually met a William John Piper and married him in 1876⁷⁷⁸, but had no children – She died on 17 March 1905. The marriage was said to have not been a particularly happy one.



merchant traders, with some professional Erskine Street 1871 looking west to Darling Harbour – Evidently, street of long established tradesmen and people.

The three women were able to eventually benefit from one of the few successful financial decisions that their father had made, i.e. the trust arrangement with Reverend Therry. Sarah explained in her letter to James that the Erskine Street property was leased to an architect for the term of 14 years, *'the rent of which is £210 a year. Mr. Norton, Solicitor, prepared a conveyance of the trust property, from Rev. Mr Therry & Mr O'Sullivan for us. The Deed's executed and he took up the grant so that the title is perfect and it is in the Supreme Court. He also collects the rent for us.'*

'My sisters & myself are quite satisfied with this management of the property.'

The Latter Years of James

Jas had political ambitions. 'He was appointed a member of the Legislative Council on 11 June 1854, by Charles Nicholson, the Speaker of the House at Macquarie Street, Sydney, along with his life-long friend, James Macarthur. He thus earned the right to the title, the Honourable James Chisholm.'⁷⁷⁹

In 1857 Jas was made Magistrate of the Territory.

On 13 August 1859 Jas acquired an additional 1253 acres on the Northern side of the Wollondilly River - An area subsequently to become known as 'North Kippilaw'. In the early sixties the entire 'Kippilaw' station is said to comprise in excess of 7000 acres.

Three to four miles farther west of 'Kippilaw' was Jas' 'Merilla' station. It comprised land north and south of the Wollondilly and was managed by Jas' second son, William Alexander. When the property was sold in November 1981 it comprised 6500 acres.⁷⁸⁰

On the Third Breadalbane Plain, and more specifically west of the Parkesbourne-Breadalbane community' lay a further Chisholm holding known as 'Raeburn'. The property was to comprise over 8500 acres during

⁷⁷⁷ Miriam Chisholm Collection, NLA MS 6207.

⁷⁷⁸ BDM 1876 Ref No 632

⁷⁷⁹ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today, by Josie Ashley-Riddle, February 1987

⁷⁸⁰ Henry Parkes Utopia. P31.



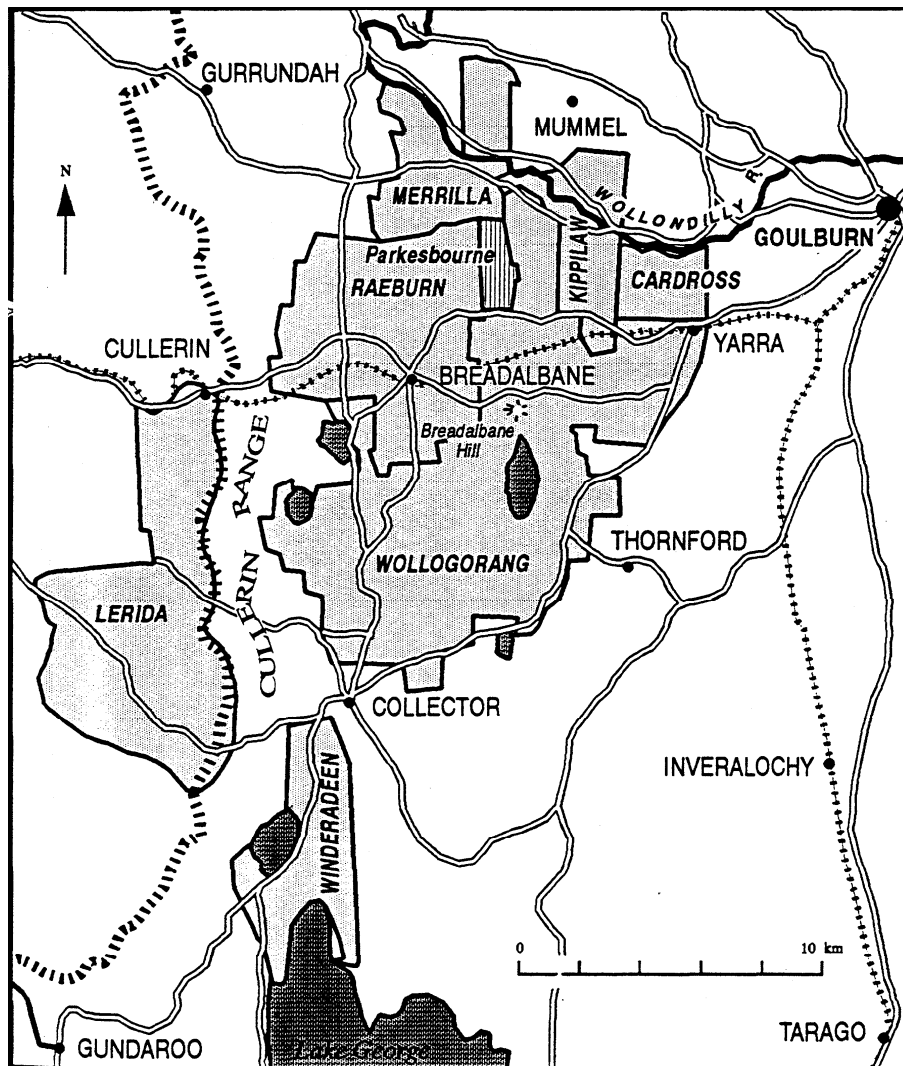
Jas' time. South west of 'Raeburn' was another extensive Chisholm property called 'Lerida'. The headquarters was located on the top of the Cullerin Range. The station property comprised the eastern slopes of the Cullerin Range and extending from the southern outskirts of the town of Collector. 'Lerida' encompassed some 11700 acres.

Beginning in 1859 Jas began to put together a series of properties between West Wyalong and Grenfell aggregating around 60,000 acres known collectively as the 'Bland Property'. At the time it was used to grow sheep, but later became famous for wheat production.

'Mummell' property, two miles to the west of 'Kippilaw' was occupied by Jas' half brother, John William Chisholm. John W acquired the very substantial 'Wollogorang' property from Henry Edenbrough in 1854, thus bringing about the Chisholm family encirclement of the Parkesbourne community for many years to come.



James (Jas) Chisholm about the time he was elected to parliament in 1861



Map showing Chisholm properties and Parkesbourne small holdings in their midst c1898.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁸¹ Henry Parkes' Utopia



Jas' involvement in the Parliament of the Colony of NSW took on a different character in 1861, when he was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the member for Yass. While in parliament he enjoyed a continuous correspondence with Sir Henry Parkes on the subject of education, a topic of great interest to him all his adult life.

James fulfilled a long-standing desire to visit Britain in 1872. He was unlucky enough to strike an especially bad wet season that had an adverse effect on his health and 'he was not sorry to come back to the warmth of Australia's climate'.⁷⁸²

'Elizabeth and Jas celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary in 1879. They went by horse and carriage, driven by their coachman, from 'Kippilaw' to Goulburn Railway Station and from there they travelled by train to Sydney for a celebration at their son's home at Mosman. When the train reached Liverpool Station, Elizabeth noted changes from earlier days when they had travelled from 'Gledswood' to Liverpool to shop'. She remarked to her husband, that "*the railway station replaced the houses and shops*".⁷⁸³

Jas Chisholm died at 'Kippilaw' on 24 June 1888 and is buried in the vault beside the small country Church of St James that he had built by convicts. The Chisholm land holdings by then dominated the Goulburn region, much of that due to his hard work, and shrewd and careful management.⁷⁸⁴

Elizabeth lived until 1 July 1894 and is buried with her husband.

Jas and Elizabeth's children were:

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------|------|--------------------|--------|---------------------|
| x. | Jane K, 1829 - ; | xiv. | Edward 1837- ; | xvii. | Arthur B, 1842- ; |
| xi. | James K, 1830 - ; | xv. | Charles K, 1839 -; | xviii. | Walter, 1845 -; and |
| xii. | William A, 1832 - ; | xvi. | John, 1841- ; | xix. | Robert, 1846 - . |
| xiii. | Andrew S, 1833; | | | | |

Of the nine sons Jas and Elizabeth had, seven survived to mature years. The management of the vast area of land accumulated by James was parceled out among the growing sons and by the time of Jas' death in 1888 the ownership was divided between them.⁷⁸⁵

Of Browns and Chisholms

To what extent there were direct links with the Browns, is uncertain. However, an awareness and an honoring of their association with the Chisholms continued to be evident in the naming of the John Brown's (1821-1896) grandson, Chisholm Roy Brown, (the son of Richard and Olivia) in 1887.

⁷⁸² MS6207 – Miriam Chisholm Notes

⁷⁸³ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today, by Josie Ashley-Riddle, February 1987

⁷⁸⁴ See also *Obituary Australian Town and Country Journal 30 June 1888, p 44* <http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/chisholm-james-15705>

⁷⁸⁵ Henry Parkes' Utopia. P30.