



Chapter 14 – Landowner, Merchant and Banker

(1819 - 1837)

It is said that there were two distinct social groups of influence having evolved in the early 19th century. One was based on wealth from trade, and the other from land and livestock. James Chisholm managed successfully to have a foot in both ‘camps’, and to even go beyond that, to finance.

As a consequence of James’ second marriage (to Mary Bowman) his family expanded steadily over the following years. The first was a son, John (James’ father & father-in-law’s name) William, born to James and Mary on 9 October 1819. Barely nine months later, another son, Alexander (James’ brother’s name), was born to James and Mary on 27 June 1820.

James’ new family and business interests tended to put him on a different path to other members of the Brown family. There is evidence enough that he and they continued to keep in touch, and be aware of their connection.

During the 1820s James continued to acquire quality real estate to compliment his already considerable holdings. Prospect, Parramatta, Quakers Hill, Camden, and Cabramatta were areas in which he invested.⁴⁵⁴ His son, James, extended the Chisholm’s interests considerably in the Goulburn region and elsewhere in southern NSW.

James’ farming property in the Camden region at the start of the new decade exceeded 3,500 acres. In building it up he had spent considerable time at his St Andrews property making it his business to oversight its management and acquainting himself with what was happening in the neighbourhood. Consistent with other reports of his character he was a good neighbour. At least John and Elizabeth Macarthur had reason to think so. During her husband’s long absences from the colony, Elizabeth Macarthur was left to manage their property. Elizabeth made constant mention in her various letters of that period, of her neighbour, James Chisholm, being a good friend to her with advice.⁴⁵⁵

A great part of James’ income depended, as did many of the settlers at the time, on supplying goods to the Government’s Commissariat Stores in Sydney. Indicative of this are the following transactions: March 2 and 26 of 1819, Bills were drawn on H.M. Treasury in favour of James for £501-11-3 and £500, respectively, and again on September 24 for £1000.⁴⁵⁶ The odd amount is likely to be for supply of fresh meat, which he often provided. An example is the Commissariat Department’s Sydney Store receipt issued on 24 May 1821 to James for his having supplied 26,167 lbs. of fresh meat @ 5d per lb. totaling £545-2-11 sterling.⁴⁵⁷

About 1820 James transferred his licence to sell wine and spirits to Mrs. Mary Reibey. This appears to have been the groundwork for the relocation of the Bank of NSW from her premises to James’ George Street property in 1822.

James name was on the list of persons dated 5 March 1821 for whom grants of land had been handed over to the Surveyor General for delivery, with amount of fees to be charged.⁴⁵⁸

About this time the merits of cedar for the manufacture of furniture was becoming increasingly appreciated. James seems to have joined in the exploitation of cedar for a brief while. On 19 April 1821, James was at an auction sale where he purchased cedar seized from Hamilton Hume. He was one of five

⁴⁵⁴ For example Parramatta 1340 acres, Melville (Quakers Hill) 1050 acres, and Cabramatta 460 acres.

⁴⁵⁵ Some Southern Homes of NSW, p16

⁴⁵⁶ NSWSR Reel 6049; 4/1745 pp.77-8, 83 & 372-3, 378 [second copy]

⁴⁵⁷ NSWSR Reel 6051; 4/1748 p. 174

⁴⁵⁸ NSWSR Fiche 3266; 9/2652 P.62



who were successful in their bids. James acquired 1165 feet of the timber for £16 -3-0.⁴⁵⁹ On 1821 November 14, James was permitted to procure three thousand feet of cedar in the District of Illawara and to employ sawyers, Thomas Millar, and Richard Kippas, both free, and a carrier, James Howarth, for this purpose.⁴⁶⁰ This interest in cedar may well be about utilizing the services of his father-in-law by his first wife, David Brown, and his cabinet-making business at Erskine Street.

On 13 July 1821, James gave an address of welcome to Governor Lachlan Macquarie on his return from Van Dieman's Land.⁴⁶¹

Severe embarrassment confronted the Bank of NSW during 1821, when it was discovered that the bank's Chief Cashier had stolen half its subscribed capital. None of the missing funds was ever recovered.⁴⁶²

On 6 August 1821 James' signature appears in a recommendation of application for auctioneer's licence.⁴⁶³

On 4 September 1821, James wrote a memorial to the Governor seeking a grant of land and refers to his being a former soldier. He explained that he has livestock, property, and buildings, *'all procured by his own industry which form a Capital of at least six thousand pounds.'* The same day the Governor, Lachlan Macquarie, approved his being granted 500 acres on the basis of him being a *'Grazing Farmer'*.⁴⁶⁴ On 22 September 1821, James' name appeared on a list of persons to receive grants of land in 1821.⁴⁶⁵



Sir Thomas Brisbane
Governor NSW
December 1821 to December 1825.
Born 1773. Died 1860.

On 2 December 1821, Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane took Office as Governor of the Colony of New South Wales. Like his predecessor, Macquarie, Sir Thomas Brisbane was a career soldier. Brisbane had served with particular distinction in the Peninsular War in 1812 under the Duke of Wellington, and had been mentioned in dispatches for his bravery at Toulouse in 1814. Like Macquarie, James Chisholm, and John Piper, he was Scottish. Like John Piper he had been born in Ayrshire. Brisbane was forty-seven years old at the time of his arrival, some six months James' junior.⁴⁶⁶

Landmark Moment for James

On 19 April 1822, James was on the list of members of the Governor's Court.⁴⁶⁷ The Governors Court sat once a month for hearing and determining complaints entered for examination.⁴⁶⁸ This suggests an ombudsman role? Whatever its overall purpose and responsibilities of the Court, it implies James had some standing in the community, and with the governor! This may well be a landmark in James' social standing. From this time on, he was especially sought after by other notables to have his name included on petitions and corporate boards.

⁴⁵⁹ 1822 April 2, NSW Reel 6055, 411760 p.6; Reel 6017, 4/5783 p.22

⁴⁶⁰ NSWSR Reel 6008; 4/3504A p.79

⁴⁶¹ Catalogue of Manuscript material at Mitchell Library

⁴⁶² <http://www.westpac.com.au/about-westpac/westpac-group/company-overview/our-history/>

⁴⁶³ NSWSR Reel 6051; 4/1748 pp.413-6

⁴⁶⁴ NSWSR fiche 3035; 4/1826 No.21

⁴⁶⁵ NSWSR fiche 3266; 912652 pp.67, 7 1).

⁴⁶⁶ Descent, Vol 11, March 1981. Article by Miss C. Liston on Sir Thomas Brisbane refers

⁴⁶⁷ NSWSR Reel 6055; 4/1760 p.31b

⁴⁶⁸ SG 27 March 1823. p1.



James leased the Thistle Inn in June/July 1822 for £200 per annum to the Bank of New South Wales (Bank of NSW) for its premises that they used until 1853.⁴⁶⁹ He had advised the board of directors by letter on 18 June that this particular property of his was available for rent. The bank relocated from Mrs. Reiby's premises in Macquarie Place, where it had been since the Banks inception.

Authorities in Britain argued that Macquarie had not been empowered to grant a charter to enable the establishment of the Bank of NSW. W.C. Wentworth and others insisted on its validity and the Charter was renewed in 1824. In 1827, the old bank was formally dissolved and reconstituted as a joint stock company.⁴⁷⁰

In a shrewd move, James arranged for his eldest son to complete his business education by serving several years as clerk in the Commissary Department, c 1822 to 1825⁴⁷¹ in order to be schooled in the trade of commerce. It was also a useful means of gaining contacts; an insight into commerce from the official perspective; and an awareness of government bureaucratic processes.

In August of 1822, James was one of many notable merchants and land owners who were signatories to a petition objecting to '*.. the system lately adopted by the Commissariat in paying for supplies required by the Government, in **Spanish dollars***'⁴⁷²

In September of 1822 James was on a list of persons receiving an assigned convict⁴⁷³

James wrote to Lord Torpischam (James Sandiland, 10th Baron), his foster brother, in Calder, Scotland, on 15 February 1823. He told Lord Torpischam of his progress in the colony and his hopes of soon visiting his native country and having an 'interview with your Lordship'. Captain Bell of the Brig 'Minerva' a 'very respectable and intelligent man' was to be the bearer of James' message.

William Campbell, a particularly notable merchant of his day and the owner of Campbell's Wharf and Warehouses, was someone who had James' confidence. Campbell property was located on the northeast side of Sydney Cove and was a significant landmark. James and another merchant, John Dickson⁴⁷⁴ were called on by William Campbell to sign an undertaking on 1 March 1823, to pay £6,000 (a considerable sum of money at the time) if a Court of Appeals judgment should rule against him (Campbell) in his long running case against John Macarthur.

In March of 1823, Ann Curtis sought financial assistance, through a petition, following the destruction of her brew-house at Parramatta. In addition to this loss, this unfortunate woman pleaded in her petition, that she was not long widowed, with five children, who had recently lost her eyesight in an accident. James was on of a handful whose signature appeared as subscribing to donate money to the cause.⁴⁷⁵

#A daughter, Mary Anne, was born to James and Mary on 31 March 1823 in Sydney.

⁴⁶⁹ Clan Chisholm in Australia 1790-1990

⁴⁷⁰ Economic Reform Australia Newsletter.

⁴⁷¹ NSW SR. Fiche 3123. p681. & Letter 24 May 1825, NLA MS 6207. Box 2, Folder 9

⁴⁷² NSW SR Reel 6017; 4/5783 p. 124a

⁴⁷³ NSW SR Fiche 3291; 4/4570D

⁴⁷⁴ Successful proprietor of steam engine operated grain mill at Cockle Bay and grazier. Came free per "Earl Spencer", 1813. *John Dickson, an associate of James Chisholm and Robert Campbell, was a grazier, and the successful proprietor of one of the steam engine operated grain mills at Cockle Bay from 1819 and perhaps earlier. Came free per "Earl Spencer", 1813*

⁴⁷⁵ NSW SR Reel 6059; 41/1771 p.340c



Commissariat Office, Sydney, 4th June, 1823.

BILLS OF EXCHANGE- The Sum of £10,000, being shortly required for the Services of these Colonies, will be drawn for at Thirty Days' Sight, on the Lords Commissioners of H.M Treasury, against Spanish Dollars. Persons, disposed to supply the Whole, or any Part of that Sum, are requested to send sealed Tenders to this Office by Twelve o'Clock of Thursday the Twelfth instant, defining in words at Length, the Premium per Cent; and endorsing each Tender thus, "Tender for Bills".
William Wemyss, Deputy Commissioner General.

N.B. - The Spanish Dollar will be received as heretofore, at Five Shillings; the Colonial Dollar at three-fourths of the Spanish Dollar; and the Dump at One-fourths.⁴⁷⁶

James was a signatory on 4 August 1823 to a petition, to the Governor for assistance in establishing a Presbyterian Church in the colony.⁴⁷⁷

On 31 October 1823, James was listed as a shareholder in the Bank of NSW.⁴⁷⁸

Wine and Spirit Trading Continues in James Name

Even though James' Thistle Inn premises had been rented out to the Bank of NSW his wine and spirit import trade had not abated:

On 15 August 1823 James was granted a 'gratuitous remission' of excise duties on wine purchased on board the "Avon".⁴⁷⁹

An account dated 15 December 1823 for gin imported by James in the Bonded Store since 1 January 1823.⁴⁸⁰

Campbell's case against Macarthur failed; he then appealed to the colonial Court of Appeal, which upheld the judgment of the Supreme Court. Campbell then decided to appeal to the Privy Council in London. This had to be done through Goulburn who, as well as being Colonial Secretary, was also Registrar of the Supreme Court. William C. Wentworth Esq. wrote to the Colonial Secretary's Office on 8 November 1824 concerning the long running appeal. The case had been in progress more than two years, (since 16 August 1822). James Chisholm and John Dickson are mentioned by Wentworth as going security to the value of six thousand pounds (for Campbell).⁴⁸¹ Probably through negligence or ignorance of the rules of Court, Goulburn neither obtained Governor Brisbane's consent (as was required), nor followed the prescribed procedure in forwarding the appeal to London. Nor did he inform Macarthur's solicitor that an appeal was being made.

Macarthur heard of it only by chance about a year after all the papers had been sent to England. When the appeal came before the Privy Council it was immediately dismissed; John Macarthur had submitted a petition, supported by affidavits from New South Wales, setting out the irregular circumstances under which it had been sent.⁴⁸² It seems that, depending on William Campbell's financial circumstances at the time, James was highly vulnerable to having to make good his guarantee.

On 30 November 1824, James brother-in-law, Thomas Brown of Erskine St married Mary Ann Bridget O'Neil at St Phillip's Church of England.⁴⁸³ Their family was to have a significant association with the Chisholm family in later years, perhaps more than other branches of the Browns?

⁴⁷⁶ SG. Thursday, June 23 1823. p1a.

⁴⁷⁷ Fiche 3308; x65.1 p.1

⁴⁷⁸ NSW SR Reel: 6040; SZ1049 p.2.

⁴⁷⁹ (Reel 6056; 4/1764 p.32)

⁴⁸⁰ NSW SR Reel 6059; 4/1773 p.32.

⁴⁸¹ NSW SR Reel 6013; 4/3512 pp.697-8

⁴⁸² Eliza Macarthur and her World, p108.

⁴⁸³ BDM Registration V1824 3461 3B O, page 127, and V1824 379 8, St Phillip's.



James was paid £168 on 31 December 1824 from the Colonial Fund for a horse he supplied on 10 August that year.⁴⁸⁴

A Passing Acquaintance

One day James, while standing in front of his George Street residence, got into a conversation with a gentleman of about the same age as himself, who happened to be passing by. That person was Alexander Kinghorne, who had not long arrived in the colony. Kinghorne in later writings is said to have described his initial impression of James as an elderly gentleman.

‘On the strength of their common nationality, each was at once favourably impressed by the other; and after a little conversation on the street, Mr. Kinghorne was invited by the other to partake of his hospitality.’

When he returned home however, Kinghorne ‘was much concerned at having been the guest of quite an unknown person, and feared he might have compromised his character by accepting hospitality from a convict.’ ‘Having made inquiries, Kinghorne was much relieved to find his newly acquired friend had never undergone a conviction, and was in every way a respectable individual.’⁴⁸⁵ ‘This acquaintance so accidentally begun, eventually led to James’ junior marrying Kinghorne’s daughter, Elizabeth.

Alexander Kinghorne, a surveyor,⁴⁸⁶ had put ashore at Sydney Cove in October 1824 on the ship ‘Portland’⁴⁸⁷ with his family, having sailed from Leith, Scotland. Aboard the same ship were soldiers of the 48th Regiment. On arrival, as a result of an official request from the colonial office, Governor Brisbane appointed Kinghorne as Superintendent of Convicts at Emu Plains - An office that may have made him another useful connection for the Chisholms. Kinghorne subsequently acquired Drummond’s 100 acre farm at Liverpool, and became a magistrate there.

#A daughter, Marie, was born to James and Mary on 13 April 1825.

James Chisholm is mentioned 20 April 1825 Re bail in case of Campbell appeal against Macarthur⁴⁸⁸

On 9 May 1825 James signed in recommendation of Thomas William Middleton’s memorial re retaining the situation of Inspector of Cattle.⁴⁸⁹

James’ order dated 31 October 1825 on the Colonial Treasurer for supply of sundries for Government.⁴⁹⁰

Described as a ‘Merchant of George Street’ James appears on a list dated 1 Nov 1825 of persons liable to serve as jurors in the district of Sydney.⁴⁹¹

Treasury Order dated 15 November 1825 drawn in favour of James Chisholm.⁴⁹²

On 22 November 1825, James wrote to the Colonial Secretary in support of his son’s (James) application for a grant of land, twelve months prior:

My Son some time back previous to the lamented Indies Indisposition of Major Ovens gave in a memorial praying for a grant of land. I take the great liberty of

⁴⁸⁴ NSWRS Reel 6039; 4/424 p.438

⁴⁸⁵ ‘Speeches and Reminiscences’ James (III) per Clan Chisholm in Australia 1790-1990

⁴⁸⁶ History of Goulburn, p36.

⁴⁸⁷ The ‘Portland’, was 385 ton vessel owned by the Australia Company with 28 crew under command of Capt William Snell Arrived Sydney 16 Oct 1824. Per Shipping Arrivals & Departures Sydney. SN 557

⁴⁸⁸ NSWRS Reel 6014; 4/3514 P.119

⁴⁸⁹ NSWRS Reel 6062; 4/1782 p.48b

⁴⁹⁰ NSWRS Reel 6070; 4/6037 p.62

⁴⁹¹ NSWRS Reel 6062; 4/1782 p. 1 1 Ob

⁴⁹² NSWRS Reel 6063; 4/1784 p.187a



addressing myself to you Sir, and under the circumstances stated, I am induced to hope his request will be granted. My son Sir, (is) 20 years of age and a native of this colony. He has Sir, served 2 years as clerk in the Commissary Department. And as he is inclined to Farming I have given him one hundred head of cattle besides horses. And as he never had any hand given him by Government in the Colony, I am inclined to hope his memorial will be attended to.

He not receiving any answer to his memorial I (have) taken this liberty of addressing with hope you will be kind enough to serve me in this respect.

I would wish, if it is possible to be done, purchase from 2 to 3 thousand acres at the old regulations For him by using your best endeavour to serve me in my sons' behalf you will confer an Everlasting favour.

*I Remain Sir
Your Humble
and Obedient servant
(Signed) James Chisholm⁴⁹³*

This letter was delivered on the morning of the day it was written. James got a very prompt and favourable response. His name appears on list of lands granted and reserved by Sir Thomas Brisbane, as receiving orders for two grants of land, one on behalf of his son on the same day, 22 November 1825.⁴⁹⁴ The Governor appears to have rushed to get this outstanding business out of the way before his term of office expired at the end of the month – Perhaps as a favour to a friend?

Sir Ralph Darling began his term as Governor of the Colony of New South Wales in December 1825.

John Bowman (b.1763), James' father-in-law of his second marriage, died at James' house on 22 December 1825.⁴⁹⁵

James Chisholm a founding shareholder in the Bank of Australia in July 1826.⁴⁹⁶

On 27 June 1827 James acquired 800 acres of land adjacent to St Andrews from Alexander Stell. For which he paid for £720.⁴⁹⁷ The total St Andrews holding by then amounted to over 4400 acres of prime farmland.

Goulburn Interest

Young Jas, while doing very nicely at 'St Andrew' came to believe that there was a need to expand his farming enterprise. In doing so, he looked south to the Goulburn region. In 1826, when he first visited Goulburn Plains on horseback and with a packhorse, there was one solitary shepherd's hut standing on the

⁴⁹³ NSWRS Fiche 3123, 4/1840C No. 121pp.677-84 (p681).

⁴⁹⁴ NSWRS Fiche 3269; 9/2740 p.7, 1825 November 22, and Fiche 3266; 912652 p.87

⁴⁹⁵ Sydney Herald.

⁴⁹⁶ "[Australian Bank Shares](#)". Sydney Gazette. 10 May 1831. p. 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Miriam Chisholm Collection, NLA MS 6207. List of Farms purchased by James Chisholm.



hill that today is the thriving town of Goulburn. At that time a Mr. William Bradley had already settled in the district, and occupied the greater part of the plains as a sheep station. In later years, Jas was fond of describing the appearance of the Goulburn Plains when first he travelled through them.⁴⁹⁸

‘Being of true pioneering spirit, he carved from the wilderness a great holding which still stands today.’⁴⁹⁹ Jas ‘selected and applied for a grant of 1200 acres of land on the southern side of the Wollondilly River, about 7 km west of Goulburn. This was granted on 3 February 1827 but the same piece of land was also granted to Rev. Richard Cornelius Cartwright. The latter was in possession of it until August 1830 when he was declared bankrupt’ - And consequently not being able to comply with the terms of the grant and was bought at auction by Jas for £285. The grant was finalized in Jas’ favour on 29 October 1834 on completion of development condition. The property was the beginnings of an estate that spread about the fertile valley of the Wollondilly River that became known as ‘Kippilaw’. The property began as a cattle station ‘but was soon growing also wool, wheat and maize’.⁵⁰⁰

Adjoining the Cartwright property on the east was a 2000 acre parcel of land granted by Governor Brisbane to Alexander Kinghorne, Jas’ father’s friend. Kinghorne is said to have established himself at Goulburn Plains in 1827, the same year the Cartwright land was granted. He named his property ‘Cardross’.⁵⁰¹

The 1828 Census shows Kinghorn(e) to be 56 years old, and that his farm (known as Drummond’s Farm) was 100 acres, and that he had cleared 70 and cultivated 20. His livestock consisted of 2 horses and 6 cattle. His children were Alexander (junior) age 24 years, Elizabeth 19 years, Helen, the eldest child at 28 years, Isabella 16, and John Kerr age 18 years. Kinghorne must have been a widower at this time as there is no wife in the census.

Kinghorne had three Government Servants assigned to him. Also as part of his household was a nine year old boy, Jesse Loudon, who had arrived in the colony that year, and was employed as a servant. In addition, at his Cardross property on the Goulburn Plains, Kinghorne had six persons employed there, four of them convicts - Their occupations comprised, overseer, dairyman, shepherd, and three labourers.

Brown and Company – Wine Merchants

A special Act was passed in 1827 fully legitimising the Bank of New South Wales, and other banks established in the colony. Until then they had been operating without a Royal Charter. The old bank was formally dissolved and reconstituted as a joint stock company.⁵⁰² This legislative correction that overcame uncertainty in respect of his interest in the Bank of NSW coincided with the James Chisholm co-founding a wine and spirit business known as Brown and Company.

The creation of Brown and Company neatly removed James name from involvement in the wine and spirits business as a significant trader / merchant, and allowed him to concentrate on his banking interest. The registration Brown and Company probably formalised a *de facto* and proven arrangement that James set in place. Retaining part of the original name, Brown and Company is still in business under different ownership, as Harbottle Brown and Company.⁵⁰³ The Chisholm family’s association with this company as shareholders continued on long after James’ passing.

The Browns associated with this successful company are claimed by some to be the sons of David Brown Snr. The records of Brown and Company date from 1827 and refer to John, James, and Thomas Brown as being the founders of this company. The Browns associated with the formation of this company may be related to David Brown snr, (James Chisholm’s father-in-law). However, as evident from earlier chapters in this work, David’s sons were: James (*Deceased 1812*), David (jnr), and Thomas Brown. David snr’s letter of January 29, 1822 to the Governor on his behalf of his then two surviving sons reinforces this point. He did not have had a son called ‘John’.

⁴⁹⁸ The History of Goulburn, p44.

⁴⁹⁹ The History of Goulburn, p44.

⁵⁰⁰ Kings in Grass Castles. Chapter 3.

⁵⁰¹ Henry Parkes Utopia. P26-7.

⁵⁰² Economic Reform Australia Newsletter.

⁵⁰³ Correspondence re Harbottle, Brown & Co 1827 – 1842. Catalogue of Manuscript material at Mitchell Library.



David's son Thomas may be the person mentioned in the Brown and Company records. Thomas seems to have done much of his growing up in the care of his sister and consequently in James Chisholm's household. James well made a point of bestowing this opportunity on this youngest brother of his beloved first wife and the son of his good friend (*and father-in-law*). This venture seems to have arisen as the Thomas, with a young family was attempting to run his carpentry business at Erskine Street and resolve difficulties his various land holdings and investments. Being part of a successful initiative is out of character with what is known of Thomas Brown's generally unfortunate run of business ventures. It is unlikely that having had many years of close association with Thomas that James Chisholm would have not had 'the measure of Thomas'. If Thomas was party to this initiative, it is likely to have been one of acquiring shares without 'hands on' involvement. Thomas would have had to, at some point, sell to his shares pay his debts. His brother David may well have fared better, had he been involved, but he was busy and effective elsewhere; at Cattai, and the Hunter River.⁵⁰⁴

Possible contenders (aside from Thomas of Erskine Street) as shareholders in Brown & Co that can be found among the many names listed as 'Brown' (*and Browne*) in the 1828 Census are: John Brown, age 30, Publican, George Street; James Brown, age 20, Merchant, George Street; and Thomas Brown, age 28, Mariner, George Street.⁵⁰⁵ Whether any of these have a family connection to David Brown snr is another question.⁵⁰⁶ The John Brown who is identified as founder of Brown and Company is likely to be the same John Brown who was one of the two executors of James Chisholm's will.

Harbottle Brown and Company advertising significantly makes much of being founded in 1817.⁵⁰⁷ This coincides with James Chisholm being registered in 1817 as the publican of the 'Crown and Thistle' at his George Street premises.⁵⁰⁸

#A daughter, Eliza, was born to James and Mary (nee Bowman) on 21 October 1827.

The 1828 Census shows James Chisholm as aged 55; 'Merchant, George St, Sydney'; and lists his second wife, Mary, aged 30, Came Free on the Barwell; and their children: John 9, Alexander 7, Mary Anne 5, Maria 3, and Eliza 1 yrs. Boarding with him is a Mary Gray (CF) aged 46, who has arrived that year on the Portland.

The census shows as belonging to James:

- 5574 acres of land, of which 747 were cleared, and 348 cultivated;
- 20 horses;
- 600 head of cattle; and
- Other: 'NB' (an unspecified number of Native Blacks)

⁵⁰⁴ Due to their young age at that time, the sons of David Brown jnr: John (b.1821), James (b.1819), and Thomas (b.1817) also seem unlikely to have been James' business partners in this venture. David jnr's brother, Thomas, fathered several sons but sadly they were short lived. The third brother, James, was never married.

⁵⁰⁵ 1828 Census Ref No 2614, John Brown age 30, FS, Ocean (probably first voyage Ocean thought 2nd 1823 is indicated, 1818, Publican, George Street; Ref No B2688 James Brown, age 20, Merchant, George Street; Reference No B2652 Thomas Brown, age 28, CF, Caroline 1828, Mariner, George Street. Whether any of these have a family connection to David Brown is another question. Thomas Brown son David Brown is Ref B2770

⁵⁰⁶ They may offer a useful clue to the beginnings of David Brown (1750-1836); as might the witness to David Brown jnr's will: Henry J. Brown of Sydney - Gentleman.

⁵⁰⁷ See <http://listings.fta-companies-au.com/l/100669528/Harbottle-Brown-And-Co-Pty-Ltd-in-Glebe-NSW>. Also, an advertisement by Harbottle Brown and Co claims that James had been granted a Rum licence before the end of the 18th Century. The licence claim may be as inaccurate as the family legend that states James was 'a commissioned officer'.

⁵⁰⁸ The earliest record of James being granted a licence to sell liquor is evident in the Sydney Gazette of Sunday, 5 March 1809.

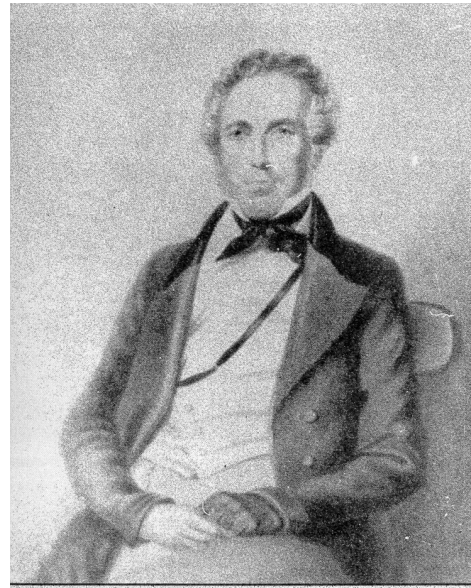


A Good Master to His Men

The census at James' St Andrews property, Lower Minto, aside from being part of the considerable acreage shown above, reveals much more.

The 1828 Census also shows Jas, his grandfather, David Brown senior, then age 78 years, and an Alexander Chisholm, residing with him at St Andrews, Lower Minto (now known as Narellan, near Camden). It is apparent that in addition to managing his own property, James' son was increasingly tending to St Andrews.

Alexander Chisholm (CF), supposedly aged 55 years, who like Mary Gray, lodging at the George Street residence, had come on the ship 'Portland'. They had been in the colony since 2-3 July that same year, having set sail from Leith, Scotland, on 3 December 1823. It is probable therefore, that Alexander and Mary have a close family relationship with James Chisholm. Especially Alexander, who is likely to be James' older brother who was born 10 June 1770 and therefore Jas's uncle.



Portrait said to be of James Chisholm Snr
c.1828 Courtesy of the Mitchell Library⁵⁰⁹

The census return describes young Jas as 'Settler' and having 4000 acres of which 500 acres are cleared, 100 cultivated. Also on the property are 6 horses, and 100 cattle. David Brown senior no doubt took grandfatherly delight in young Jas' company and in offering guidance.

An indication of the activity at St Andrews is evident from census returns by the other persons present there at the time:

Henry Berry (GS), age 28, Labourer;
Henry Broadridge (GS), age 19, Labourer;
Esau Cheeseman (FS), age 38, Bricklayer;
John Craymore (GS), age 33, Fencer;
Thomas Dibitot (GS), age 36, Fencer;
Roger Gatehouse (GS), age 40, Fencer;

George Grimaway (CF), age 13, Brickmaker;
Joseph Hanmore GS), age 26 Brickmaker;
Edward Kelly (F), age 30, Labourer;
Thomas Osborn (GS), age 40, Carpenter;
James Phillips (GS), age 50, Gardener; and
Thomas Timlin (P), age 28, Fencer.⁵¹⁰

The following editorial comments in the Sydney Gazette, of Friday, January 25, 1828 would have been of special interest to James Chisholm. Shareholders like James could not have been happy with this report on the performance of the Bank of New South Wales:

'THE Bank of Australia may be said now to be permanently established, and bids fair as far as to outstrip the Old Bank, unless the required changes are seasonably made, as the latter once had the start on Bank of Australia.'

'There is no bickering, no partiality, no undue influence, no usurious practices at work, in the Direction of the Bank of Australia; and whilst such continue to distinguish that,

or any other Establishment, prosperity will be the natural consequence.'

'We believe that the wise men in the Direction of the Bank of New South Wales - those who have some regard for their character - are at length determined upon falling in with those views, which have so repeatedly and forcibly been represented for their consideration. If this should prove to be the case, and our information is

*elicited from a pretty authentic sources, we shall yet indulge in the hope of witnessing the return of better and more prosperous days to the Bank of New South Wales; but that institution, by the late said discords, will never regain that superiority over the Bank of Australia which it once did unquestionably possess. However, we should like to witness equal prosperity attending each of these institutions.'*⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ 'The Vineyards of Sydney – cradle of the Australian wine Industry', by Dr. Philip Norris (published 1990). Page 155

⁵¹⁰ However, there was also David Brown, aged 70, cabinet-maker, arrived 1821 on Earl Cornwallis, shown as residing there – Also several of the entries of convicts and workers are doubled up as working with Alexander Chisholm as well as young James. David Brown's second entry is for his age likely to be confused in part due to the numeral 'eight', being written looking like '2' or a '0,' similarly the date given for the Earl Cornwallis - There is no record of the Earl Cornwallis coming to Australia after 1801. Again the '2' is probably meant to be a '0'.

⁵¹¹ SG, 2b.



James' election as a director of the Bank of NSW on 10 December 1828 has to be significant in the light of the above article. He remained a director until 1837.⁵¹² Clearly, James had something to offer as one of the wise men of Bank of New South Wales. The bank eventually got things right and went on to survive many difficult times. On the other hand, the Bank of Australia was to fail badly well before the end of 19th Century.



George Street from the Hospital Wharf end of what used to be Market Place - Just down the road from James Chisholms' property.

The view is looking south from the southern end of the then General Hospital.

From Select Views of Sydney, NSW drawn and engraved by John Carmichael. Printed by A. Hill, Sydney, 1829.

On 9 June 1829, young Jas married 21 year old Elizabeth M. Kinghorne the 2nd eldest daughter of Alexander Kinghorne. The ceremony was officiated by the Rev. Dunmore Lang.

James built the homestead at the St Andrews property, Lower Minto, as a wedding present for the newly married couple, that same year. It was constructed alongside to the small sandstone house built by Count Gabriel Huon using convict labour in 1810. The Huon structure became the servant's quarters. The 'newly marrieds' settled there. It was young Jas' bride who, in 1829, named the house 'Gledswood'; in honour of 'Gledswood Cottage' in Melrose, Scotland of which she had some association. It would have been timely for David Brown to move from St Andrews to Cattai - He was known to have lodgings at his son, David junior's, Little Cattai Creek property.



The servants quarters at Gledswood.

It incorporates the sandstone house built by Count Gabriel Huon using convict labour in 1810.

Jas continued to manage St Andrews successfully on his father's behalf. He ran a fine herd of cattle and developed many breeds of sheep. Jas prospered and employed tenant farmers that settled with their families along the creek.⁵¹³

⁵¹²Pioneer Families of Australia, Percy Mowle Conrad. P 93.

⁵¹³ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today.



Jas was known to travel into Liverpool with his young wife, Elizabeth, in a carriage with a high spirited, well-groomed horse. It was one of the most fashionable carriages in the district of Camden.’ On one such occasion, Jas and Elizabeth were stopped by three well-armed bushrangers. They were the notorious and his gang. They robbed James, but did not try to steal from Elizabeth. Donohoe was reputed to be a gentleman and never harmed women. ‘When Donohoe enquired as to the name of his victim and James identified himself, the bushranger apologised and immediately returned everything. *"I always heard" he said "that Mr Chisholm was a good master to his men. If I had known that you were on the road you would never have been molested"*.’⁵¹⁴ Two weeks later, on 1 September 1830, Bold Jack Donohoe, the Wild Colonial Boy, was shot dead at Bringelly, close to "Gledswood".

Elizabeth was granted 1280 acres on the Breadalbane Plains, as a ‘marriage portion’ from the government on 15 October 1831. It was granted on the basis of her husband having been born in the colony, though it seemed to benefit mainly newly weds of ‘respectable’ families. These were one of the rarer forms of land grants. Legislation had been introduced on 1 September 1828, just a few months before Jas’ and Elizabeth’s marriage. The marriage portion was immediately south of the Cartwright land that Jas had experienced difficulties in acquiring. This no doubt to compliment her husband’s intended grant in that locality, and perhaps an offset over the government’s embarrassment in its mishandling of Jas’ grant. At that time a married woman could not hold property in her own name, therefore the grant was made in the names of her father and the Rev. Hugh Gilchrist as trustees for her.

On 15 June 1830, James with the eight other directors of the Bank of New South Wales wrote to Governor, seeking his assistance for the bank’s activities.⁵¹⁵

#A son, James Kinghorne was born to Jas and Elizabeth on 9 August 1830 and baptised 10 October. He was James’ first grandson and David Brown’s first great grandson.

In 1830, Jas purchased the 1,000 acre Bredalbane Hill from John Pringle for an unspecified amount. This acquisition expanded his holdings in the Goulburn region to 1,700 acres.

#A son, Frederick was born to James and Mary on 7 March 1831.



Gledswood Homestead at the Andrews property in the 1880s - with considerable additions by James’ grandson James Kinghorne Chisholm.

In a petition to Governor Darling of September 1831, Thomas Brown of Erskine Street made a passing reference to his deceased sister having been ‘intermarried with Mr. James Chisholm of George Street’ - A connection that stood to have some sway with someone like the Governor.

James was a signatory to the farewell address to Governor Darling in October 1831.⁵¹⁶

Sir Richard Bourke began his term as Governor of the Colony of New South Wales in December 1831.

James wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 11 April 1832, soliciting that a free grant be made out to him for his George Street property where he had ‘resided on the same spot for 41 years’ and where his dwelling house was now.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today.

⁵¹⁵ Manuscript A1267 –12 p752 Mitchell Library

⁵¹⁶ Catalogue of Manuscript material at Mitchell Library

⁵¹⁷ Miriam Chisholm Collection. Box 2, Folder 9



On 9 June 1832, James Chisholm, along with high profile citizens of the day: James Dowling, John Blaxland, Roger Therry, Henry Tudor Shadforth, William Charles Wentworth, Thomas Walker, William McPherson, and Edward Deas Thomson,⁵¹⁸ were officially declared in the Government Gazette in compliance with relevant legislation of the day, to be trustees of the Savings Bank of New South Wales.⁵¹⁹ The Savings Bank of NSW opened on 18 August 1832 at James' three-story house next door to the trading bank.⁵²⁰

The Parramatta Road has been rendered quite dangerous from the late rains.'

'The lower part of George Street, near the gaol, is in parts knee deep in mud'
Monday, 20 August 1832.⁵²¹

James Chisholm on jury duty re
Cockle Bay.
Thursday, 25 Oct 1832⁵²²

At a meeting held at Cummings Hotel on Tuesday, 25 September 1832, James Chisholm was nominated as one of twelve to form a committee of 'The Emigrants Friends' Society'. The gathering noted that there were 'numerous Free Emigrants in the humbler walks of life being at present on their way to this colony'. It was recorded that it 'is expedient to form a committee' in 'pursuance of measures adopted in the Mother Country by the board of Emigration.' The purpose of the committee was to assist Free Emigrants 'with such advice, on their arrival at the colony, as may facilitate their speedy and comfortable settlement throughout the Territory.' Office holders of the committee were to be resolved by them.⁵²³

James was made the Treasurer.⁵²⁴ Other members of the committee were Messrs. Barker, Dickson, Graham, Hall, Hopkins, Captain Hunter, Messrs. McDowell, Morgan, Ryder, S. Stephens, and Therry.

James was one of eleven signatories of eleven council members of the Australian College who signed an announcement published on 1 October 1832 for a general meeting for consideration of a bill to be put to the Legislative Council.

The Sydney Herald of Thursday, 8 November 1832 carried a notice about a Equity Court hearing pertaining to 'James Chisholm and Thomas Cooper v Kirkby and wife' regarding freehold property in Pitt Street. William Wentworth applied to court on James' and Thomas Cooper's behalf to appoint A. B. Sparks and John Lamb as trustees.⁵²⁵

St Andrews Day Celebrations

Likely to be of general interest to James and other Scotsmen of the colony was the following advertisement for 'The Burns Tavern' in York Street:

A MEETING of SCOTCHMEN, and friends of Scotland, will be held at the Burn's Tavern, TUESDAY Evening Next, at 7 o'clock, to appoint Stewards, and make arrangements for the celebrating of the ensuing St Andrew's Day.⁵²⁶

Monday, November 19, 1832

Perhaps of interest to a different socio-economic gathering from those 'SCOTCHMEN, and friends of Scotland' who met at the Burn's Tavern following the advertisement for 'The Cumming's Hotel' was this report concerning St Andrews Day, Friday, 30 November 1832: -

⁵¹⁸ Edward Deas Thomson was Clerk of the Executive and Legislative Councils. A Tory who had impressed Governor Bourke with his diligence, good manners, and sound intellect. He became son-in-law to the Governor the following year.

⁵¹⁹ NSW GG No 15, of Wed June 13, 1832.

⁵²⁰ SH Monday 3 September 1832 p.3

⁵²¹ SH, Domestic Intelligence, p3.

⁵²² SH, Courts.

⁵²³ SH, Editorial, 1 October 1832.

⁵²⁴ History of Goulburn, p51 Ref Aust. Almanac 1835; Teggs, 1842.

⁵²⁵ Sydney Herald, Thursday, 8 Nov 1832

⁵²⁶ Sydney Herald, Monday 19 Nov 1832. The Robert Burns Tavern in York Street near the Barracks gate as of 14 May 1832 formerly The York Hotel. Acquired by Francis Low on 30 April 1832.



'We seldom had to record a more festive scene than that which occurred under the auspices of the sons of

Caledonia, at Cummings Hotel, on Friday evening last.'

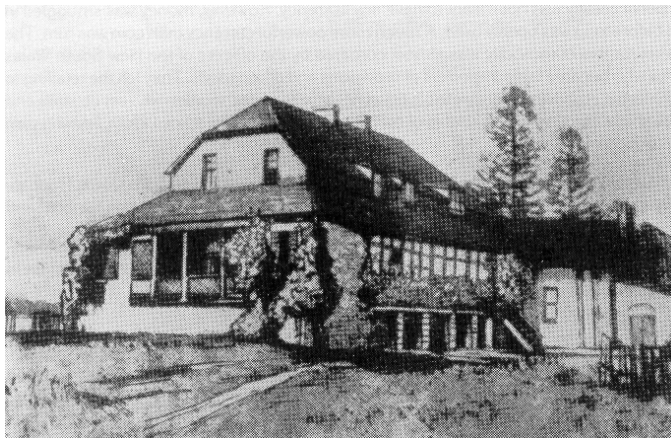
'Of all the national dinners, none is more steadily kept up, than that of St Andrews'.⁵²⁷

Indicative of the support for the occasion was the attendance by Major Mitchell, Captain Hunter, and Mr. E. Deas Thomson. This appears to be the circle of acquaintances he mixed with, however he does appear to get a mention as being in attendance.

James now approaching his 61st birthday had a young and expanding family to accommodate.

During the intervening years of his marriage to Mary Bowman, he built a substantial home on 57 acres of land in Redfern granted to him on 31 August 1819.⁵²⁸ He called the property 'Newtown Farm'. His house there he named 'Calder House', no doubt in honour of Calder House in Scotland where his foster family, the Sandilands lived.

Newtown Farm came to be incorporated into the Eveleigh Railway yards. Calder House was situated where the Eveleigh railway workshops are at Redfern.⁵²⁹ It is said that the children of his second marriage grew up there. Though it is uncertain as to when he actually spent much time there, except as a weekend retreat and holidays, given his address up to 1835 was constantly given as George Street.



Calder House

at Eveleigh /Redfern.

Some thirty-nine citizens of the Colony signed the following petition. James was one of them as were: J. Underwood, W. C. Wentworth, and R. Campbell jnr. It recalled, in a small way, memories of 'No taxation without representation' of an earlier time on another continent:

We, the undersigned Inhabitants of the Colony, and Payers of Taxes, request that you will 'convene a PUBLIC MEETING of the Colonists at an early day, to consider a PETITION to His Excellency the Governor, and the Honourable Legislative

Council, praying that they will not sanction the appropriation of any portion of the Revenue raised in New South Wales, to the Payment of any Salaries or Pensions granted to individuals for services not performed in the Colony, and further praying

a revision of the estimates, with reference to the appropriation of Revenue to the Church and School Corporation, to the Hospital Department, and to Payment of Salaries generally.

**The Australian,
Monday, July 1, 1833**

James was one of the purchasers of 'Nine Allotments of land at Mrs Darling's Point sold at the Police Office by Mr John Paul' on Friday, 11 October 1833. He acquired Allotment 9 for £29 an acre, having paid £275-10-0 in total.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁷ SH, Monday 3 December 1832.

⁵²⁸ Miriam Chisholm Collection. Box 2, Folder 9. History of Gledswood – A House Alive Today. p15. Says it was granted to James by Governor Bligh while still a soldier.

⁵²⁹ Clan Chisholm in Australia 1790-1990.

⁵³⁰ Sydney Herald, Oct 1833



During 1833 Jas commenced paying Quit - rent on land at Breadalbane Plains that had been formally granted to a John Drummond. Jas is said to have purchased it from Drummond for 500 Spanish Dollars. It seems likely that this was the same John Drummond who had owned the 100 acre farm where Jas' father-in-law lived at Liverpool.

The land originally granted sought by Jas but granted to Rev. Cartwright in 1827 was acquired by Jas at auction and finalized in his favour October 1834.⁵³¹

A further 2560 acres adjoining the 'Cartwright' land is said have been granted to Jas in the Goulburn region in 1834.

On 17 October 1834, the Colonial Secretary's Office announced the reallocation of certain land grants to Jas Chisholm which reflect this expansion:

Original Donee	No. of Acres	Parish or District	Annual Quit-rent	Date of Commencement of Quit-rent 1 st January
George and John Paul	625	Breadalbane Plains	Peppercorn	In Compensation
George and John Paul	640	Breadalbane Plains	Peppercorn	In Compensation
Thomas and Alison Scott	640	Bamballah	£5 - 6 - 8	1839
Louise Abell	1280	Breadalbane Plains	£10 - 15 - 4	1838
John Drummond	500	Breadalbane Plains	£4 - 5 - 4	1833
Neil Campbell	640	Upper Wollondilly	£5 - 6 - 8	1835

About this time Jas decided to build a homestead on the land acquired at Goulburn. It was built on a portion of land originally granted to Rev. Cartwright and named by Jas 'Kippilaw' after his wife's birthplace.

Late in 1834, James became Treasurer to the Australian Wheat and Flour Company:

<p style="text-align: center;">Australian Wheat and Flour Company</p> <p>In pursuance with the Resolutions adopted at the general meeting of the Share holders, held at the Royal Hotel, on the 9th day of December, the Directors take leave to call on the Subscribers for the first instalment of Ten Shillings on each Five Pound Share, which they are respectfully requested to pay James Chisholm, Esq. of George-street, Sydney, Treasurer to the Company; or, on his behalf, at the</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Bank of New South Wales;</p> <p>During the hours of Bank Business, where printed receipts will be given on account of the Company; for deposits paid.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Henry Francis Secretary, pro. tem</p> <p>The beneficial results anticipated⁵³²</p>		

James' brother-in-law, 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.⁵³³ This event appears to have been intended to provide an opportunity for the members of the Brown family in the Sydney region, such James, to participate in a reunion. The choice of Scots Church is significant as James was a founding member. Also, David Brown senior was probably one of the members of its congregation.

In May of 1836 a Levee at Government House provided an opportunity for the notables and officialdom of the colony to meet the Governor, and vice versa. Prior to the Levee the following presentation was made to

⁵³¹ The History of Goulburn, p44.

⁵³² The Australian, 30 December 1834, p1.

⁵³³ BDM Reference V1834 2898 45B 0. NSWSR Reel 5016, V1834 76 47 0. NSWSR Reel 5017 (NLA mfm 229)



the Governor Bourke, to which James was a signatory. Its purpose appeared to be to politely encourage Governor's support for the expediting of the building of Lansdowne Bridge. The Superintendent of Bridges also appears to have been well encouraged in the process. The now historic bridge, noted because of its construction using convict labour, is on the Hume highway approaching Liverpool from Sydney. The presentation was reported in the newspaper:

Sir, - We the undersigned, landed proprietors and residents of the southern districts of the Colony, request your Excellency's acceptance of Landsdown Bridge, which we do ourselves the honour respectfully to present to your Excellency as expressive of the sense entertained by the inhabitants in general of those districts for the benefit conferred,

not only on themselves, but upon posterity, by the erection of a structure at once useful, durable, and highly ornamental.
.....

On this occasion, we hope it may be also permitted us respectfully to record our opinion of the meritorious conduct of Mr. Lennox, the Superintendent of Bridges, in

Planning and directing the building of Lansdowne Bridge and with great deference we would submit for your Excellency's consideration, the propriety of conferring upon him, in addition to his salary, an allowance, either in land or in money, commensurate with the service he so ably performed.

**The Australian,
May 31, 1836**

Aside from James, some of the other 56 signatories were: James, William, and Hannibal Macarthur; Alexander Kinghorne; Charles Cowper; D. Wentworth; John Blaxland; John Lord; and R Campbell. To which Governor Bourke responded:

'I accept with great thankfulness'

'To me it would afford the greatest pleasure to be enabled to proceed more rapidly to completion of many of which are required in this flourishing colony. Certainly no exertion is spared on my part to facilitate this object; but the difficulty of procuring contracts, and the expediency of not engrossing in public

employment all the mechanical skills and labour of the community to the hindrance of private undertakings, arrest or delay progress..... 'instructions have been given a considerable number of artificers from Great Britain, and a ship with the first selection of these may be expected from Scotland about the end of the year.

It will afford me great pleasure

to attend your recommendation, and propose to the Legislative Council to confer on Mr. Lennox a suitable gratuity.' *'The design, and all the mechanical arrangements for the bridge were his, and he was required to instruct unpracticed hands, by whose forced labour the stones were raised, prepared, and set.'*

**The Australian,
May 31, 1836**



*The General Post Office
Sydney Town 1836*

James' brother-in-law, Thomas, by his first marriage died in Sydney on 27 May 1836. Evidently James was soon made acquainted of the event and the parlous difficulties Thomas' widow and young children faced. As it was, James had been actively involved in their welfare in cooperation with Reverend Father Joseph Therry since June 1832 as the mortgagee of the Erskine Street property. It is likely the informant was the old David, who seemed command lasting respect with James up to the last. The Chisholm family support for Thomas's family continued for many years.

Five months later, when David himself passed away, it appears that James tended to his father-in-law's funeral. The entry for Saturday, 22 October 1836 in the parish register of burials at Scots Church, Elizabeth St, Sydney, bears an exceptional and very pointed notation that David was 'Father-in-Law of James



Chisholm'.⁵³⁴ It conveys the idea that James was very much in attendance and proud and respectful of his connection with the man being interred. It also suggests a sense of loss, perhaps of a good friend.

Early in 1837, James visited his son, Jas, and family in their new house 'Kippilaw', at Goulburn.

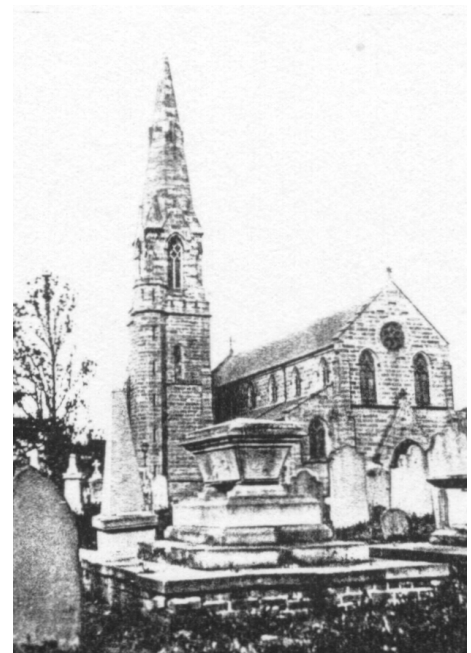
While there, he caught a cold. When he returned home to Calder House the illness got the better of him and resulted in his death on 31 March 1837. James was buried in the grounds of Calder House with his first wife, Mary Brown. The inscription on James Chisholm's grave read in part:

"He was a native of Scotland and upward of 47 years a resident of this Colony, where he maintained a character which for simplicity of manner and integrity will long be remembered."⁵³⁵

When considering all that is recorded of James' life and his achievements in this history, the words 'astute', and perhaps more appropriately, 'kenny' come to mind as apt succinct descriptions of him. He was a man whose opinion was valued and sought, a man of considerable influence, who made a difference to the development of the Colony. Not least, he was a family man, and concerned and caring person for the welfare of others regardless of their status.

A son, Edwin, was born to Mary on 30 July 1837, some four months after James' death. It is fascinating to note that Edwin and his father, as two generations, represent an exceptional span of nearly 150 years.

James and Mary's remains were moved to the Chisholm vault (in the form of a sarcophagus) of Camperdown cemetery in 1867.⁵³⁶



Camperdown cemetery. What is purported to be Chisholm Sarcophagus is in the foreground.⁵³⁷

James Chisholm and Mary Bowman had seven children:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------|--|
| i. | John William (1819-1899), | v. | Eliza (1827 – 1863), |
| ii. | Alexander (1821-1846), | vi. | Frederick (1831 - 1896 ⁵³⁸), |
| iii. | Mary Ann (1823 - ?), | vii. | Edwin (1837 – 1921). |
| iv. | Marie (1825 –1865), | | |

A point of interest at this juncture is the in name of the one the two executors of James will: 'John Brown'; the other being William Bowman, a son of his second father-in-law. John Brown is the name of one the founders of Brown and Company.

James was 65 years old when died. His demise was barely five months after David Brown's death. From very early in the arrival of David Brown and family in the colony James had remained very much part of the Brown story.

⁵³⁴ NSW BDM Reference V18361112 102

⁵³⁵ Miriam Chisholm Collection. Box 2, Folder?

⁵³⁶ "A Stroll through the Historic Camperdown Cemetery" 1946, p38.

⁵³⁷ Miriam Chisholm Collection. Box ?, Folder?

⁵³⁸ BDM Registration No 4339 Wagga Wagga, 1896.