JOHN AND MARJORY MOFFAT SANDS

PREFACE

This is one of eight biographies of my maternal ancestors in Australia, whose family tree is shown on the following page. John Sands (1818-1873) and Marjory Moffat Chisholm (1830-1904) were my great-great-grandparents. They came from the United Kingdom to Australia independently, as free settlers in Sydney, New South Wales, where they met and were married.

The biographies in this series are;

Frances Mills (1781-1837) and her many partners

Thomas Kelsey (1804-1866) and Mary Johnson (1802-1877)

Richard Whiting (1811-1853) and Susanna Harley (1812-1867)

Thomas Moore (1821-1890) and Mary Jane Kelsey (1827-1874)

John Sands (1818-1873) and Marjorie Moffat Chisholm (1830-1904)

William George Whiting (1838-1917) and Amy Jane Moore (1853-1935)

John Kane Smyth (1837-1891) and Ada Mary Sands (1857-1946)

Keith Moore Whiting (1882-1939) and Mary Grant Smyth (1887-1969)

George Boyd Connor (1919-2014) and Sybil Kane Whiting (1922-1995).

Each of the stories can be read in isolation. Inevitably, there is overlap between them, so some repetition is unavoidable but I have tried to keep this to a minimum. For easy reference, family trees are included at the end of each story.

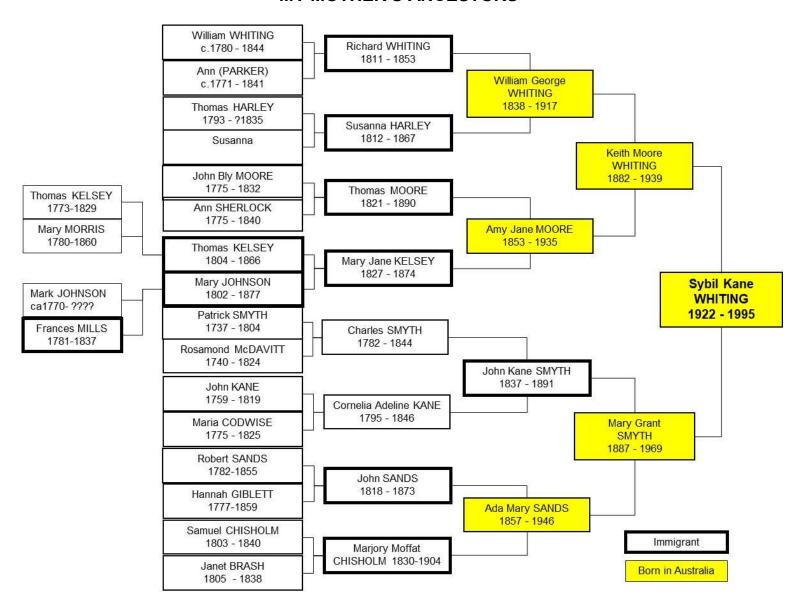
Many organizations have provided research material for this story. In particular, the National Library of Australia 'TROVE' database was an invaluable resource. Ancestry.com.au provided transcripts of many important records of the Sands and Chisholm families. My thanks go to them all. I have included references to important events and facts as footnotes on each page.

Andrew George Connor

Perth, 2018

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MY MOTHER'S ANCESTORS



John Sands' early years in England

John Sands was born in Sandhurst, Berkshire, England on 12 November 1818¹. He was the youngest of the seven children of Robert Sands (1782-1855) and his wife Hannah, née Giblett (1777-1859). Robert Sands was the third generation of a family of engravers, and by the time John was born, Robert had earned himself a reputation in British publishing and art circles for the high quality of his work. He is often referenced for training his young nephew, Thomas Hood, in the art of engraving. Thomas Hood gave up engraving to become a notable writer and poet, but Robert's sons James Sands, Robert Sands junior and John Sands were also apprenticed to be engravers in the family tradition and continued in that profession.



Robert Sands (1782-1855), father of John Sands.

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¹ Australia and New Zealand Find a Grave Index, Ancestry.com.

Engraving in the early nineteenth century was in high demand as illustrated books and reproduced artwork became more accessible to the general population, not just to the wealthy. There were, however, many aspiring engravers in Britain so competition was strong. To produce a high-quality engraving took considerable skill, time and patience, so production was slow and income for an engraver was erratic. Robert Sands supplemented his engraving income from a farming venture in Berkshire (where John Sands was born), and from a book-selling and stationery business in Brewer Street, St Pancras, Middlesex but this was insufficient to prevent bankruptcy in 1832². In 1838, Robert had to pay his debts by selling "valuable Copyright Plates and Stock of a Work entitled Illustrations of Natural History, embracing a series of engravings and descriptive accounts of the most interesting and popular genera and species of the animal world. The work has been conducted and engraved Mr. John Le Keux and R. Sands, from paintings and drawings of eminent artists." So it seems that the Sands family struggled at times, despite Robert's reputation as an engraver of distinction.

On the 6 June 1841, census night, the family of Robert and Hannah with children Mary (35), Maria (25) Jane (24) and John (22) were living at 9 Southampton Terrace, St Mary Islington, Middlesex. By that time, John Sands had completed his apprenticeship and was recognised as an "engraver" ⁴. His elder brothers, James (35) and Robert junior (33), had married, left home and become engravers in their own right.

Around this time, it seems that John was also seeking independence, and a change of climate for health reasons. He and his family conceived a plan to bankroll John into business in the Australian colonies. John's brother Robert junior contributed £145 to the venture⁵ and, altogether, John pulled together more than £500.⁶ Robert Sands and Sons in London were to act as an agency for the colonial business venture and were to receive commission on sales⁷. John bought a large stock of wholesale stationery to start his business in the colonies, and with his family, arranged for regular follow-up shipments.

Emigration to Sydney, New South Wales

On 28 October 1841, John Sands and his sister Maria boarded the 20 years old, 486 ton sailing ship *Royal George* as intermediate cabin passengers. The voyage of 126 days was unremarkable. They met numerous vessels along the way, spent the New Year in Cape Town and then sailed on to Sydney, arriving on the evening of 3 March 1842⁸. John and Maria probably attended dinner and drinks in appreciation of their ship's master, Captain Richards, at the Royal Hotel in George Street on the 8 March.

John wasted no time in establishing a business and announced to Sydney and his competitors that he had arrived. On Saturday 12 March, nine days after landing in Sydney, the following advertisement appeared in the Sydney Herald:

'STATIONERY &c.

THE undersigned has just arrived in this colony, by the Royal George, from London, and has taken the premises lately occupied by Mr. Harvie, watchmaker, a few doors from the Royal Hotel, which he intends opening on Monday next, 14th March; with a well selected supply of Stationery of the very first quality, and in such quantities as will enable him not only to retail, but also to supply wholesale

² Morning Chronicle 31 Oct 1832

³ Morning Advertiser 30 July 1838

⁴ 1841 England Census

⁵ Will of Robert Sands junior, dated 11 April 1845

⁶ Sands, John (1818-1873) by G.P. Walsh. Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol 6, 1976.

⁷ Will of Robert Sands senior, dated 1 March 1855

⁸ N.S.W. State Archives. Unassisted Immigrants Index. And Sydney Gazette 5 Mar 1842.

purchasers at such prices as have not been before known in Sydney. Every description of plain and fancy stationery, coloured papers, albums account books; also, a choice collection of prints, paintings, &c. &c. The patronage of the inhabitants of Sydney is respectfully solicited.

JOHN SANDS. No. 75, George-street, a few doors south of the Royal Hotel.'

This advertisement was an example of how John Sands intended to conduct his business for the next decade. Based on newspaper advertisements and reports, John Sands' principles of good business were as follows.

Advertise often. John Sands quickly developed a good relationship with the Sydney newspapers and, given the column inches of advertising he took, was probably able to negotiate cheap rates. His advertisements were detailed, and as every new shipment of books and stationery from London was opened, he would share this discovery with the public. No doubt there were many inhabitants of Sydney who waited eagerly for the latest shipment from the home country.

Become a landmark. John Sands chose a central location in George street, Sydney and advertised the location by tying his shop to a local landmark, initially "six doors south of the Royal Hotef". In part, this was because street numbers and addresses were not well fixed in Sydney until 1844. After the streets throughout Sydney were renumbered in 1844, John Sands' business address became "386 George Street, opposite the Savings Bank". As time went on, John Sands' shop became a landmark in its own right as he diversified from being simply a bookseller and stationer. The business provided a contact service for people seeking clients, or requiring a central contact point in the city, rather like a message board in a modern shopping centre. The business also became an agency for selling tickets to entertainment events in the city, distributing prospectuses for new enterprises, and sale of country newspapers.

Keep prices low. When John Sands arrived in Sydney, there were already three specialist stationer-booksellers in the city, and one or two other firms which sold stationery as a sideline. Three of these, Evans & Tegg, Colman & Piddington, and the Hibernian Printing Office & Australian Stationery Warehouse were centrally located in George and King streets and were strong business competitors. John Sands had to compete initially on price to get a share of the market, and he relied upon Robert Sands and Sons in London to purchase wholesale stock wisely and cheaply. Low prices also allowed him to win tenders for bulk orders. From 1844 until 1850, John Sands won the tender to supply stationery to the City Council and, towards the end of that period, he was the only tenderer. The New South Wales Government had established a Printing Office, which supplied all Government departments.

<u>Expand</u>. After a couple of years establishing his business in Sydney, John Sands began to export wholesale to stationers and booksellers in Adelaide and Melbourne. He also sent a shipment of wattle gum to London. The export book and stationery trade grew steadily but slowly, until the gold rush – more about that later.

Where or how John Sands attained his business acumen is a mystery, but his formula was very successful. John Sands' Sydney business grew steadily and strongly, and John became a well-known businessman, with a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. His services were demanded on several juries in criminal trials and inquests. He did not seem to have much of a social life, and probably spent long hours in his shop, talking to customers and making his business a success. Robert Sands and Son in London profited also. John's brother Robert Sands junior died in 1845, and by 1850, Robert Sands senior and his eldest son James were running the London end of the business. In 1843, John's sister Jane Sands married Thomas

Kenny, a bookseller and stationer from Liverpool, England. Probably during 1850, John Sands met a young woman, Marjory Moffat Chisholm who lived and worked in her uncle's drapery shop in nearby Pitt Street, and the two became engaged. They may have attended the same Free Church in Pitt street.



John Sands

Marjory Chisholm's early years and emigration to Australia.

Marjory (also spelt 'Marjorie' and 'Margery') was the fourth child of Samuel Chisholm and Janet, née Brash, born on 1 January 1830 at Queensferry, West Lothian, Scotland. The Chisholms were a seafaring family. Marjory's grandfather George Chisholm was Superintendent on the South Side of the Queensferry Passage across the firth of Forth. When Marjory was born, the firth of Forth and the port of Leith near Edinburgh were major trading centres. Like his father, Samuel also worked on the ferries and by 1837, he and his family were living at Inverkeithing, Dunfermline on the north side of the firth, where Samuel was assisting James Scott R.N., the Superintendent North Side⁹. Marjory's older brothers were probably destined to be sailors and ferrymen also.

In 1837, Janet Chisholm died¹⁰, leaving Samuel (34) to look after the children – George Henry (15), John (14), Jane (9), Marjory (7) and Agnes (3). Needing help, Samuel decided to remarry and on 19 May 1838, he wed his first cousin, Catharine Brash, at Dunfermline. Catharine was recently widowed and had a daughter, Janet Hunter (7), from her previous marriage, so the Chisholm family expanded to six children. Samuel and Catharine added a seventh child when Alice Gray Chisholm was born at Inverkeithing in October 1838.

Samuel died on 31 October 1839 at the young age of 36, cause unknown. By then, almost all of Samuel's siblings had left Scotland. Samuel's brother George Chisholm disappeared from the records; possibly he went to sea¹¹. William Walter Chisholm and his wife Cristiana emigrated to Sydney, arriving in November 1833. John Moffat Chisholm emigrated to Port Phillip (Melbourne) via New Zealand in March 1838; Daniel and Margaret Chisholm emigrated to Sydney in February 1839. Only Agnes Chisholm, her husband William Watson and their young family had stayed in Fife¹². Consequently, there were few extended family members left in Scotland who could help support Catharine and her family.

After an extended period of correspondence with the relatives in the colonies (a letter took about 120 days to reach Sydney from Scotland), it was decided to send Samuel and Janet's children to live with their Chisholm relatives in Australia. Catharine and her daughters Janet and Alice Gray remained in Scotland. So, on 2 October 1840, George Henry (18), John (16), Jane (12), Marjory Moffat (10), and Agnes (6) Chisholm boarded the brig *Australia* at Leith, Scotland, bound for Adelaide, Port Phillip and Sydney. The *Australia* was a brand-new sailing vessel of about 250 tons, under the command of an experienced master in the British Merchant Service, Captain Adam Yule, aged 41 from Aberdeenshire. The ship had a full load of cargo including some livestock, twelve crew, five cabin passengers and fifteen passengers in steerage, which included the Chisholms.

The story of their voyage, based on the 1841 account of Captain Yule, has been published several times; first in book form by William Oliphant and Sons of Edinburgh in 1845¹³, reprinted by John Sands of Sydney in 1904, and then serialised in the Williamstown Chronicle (Vic) newspaper between 3 October and 14 November 1931. The following summary of events is

⁹ The Dunfermline Register, 1837. p40

¹⁰ Causes and dates of her death are uncertain.

¹¹ There was a Captain Chisholm that sailed various ships between Scotland and the Caribbean at that time.

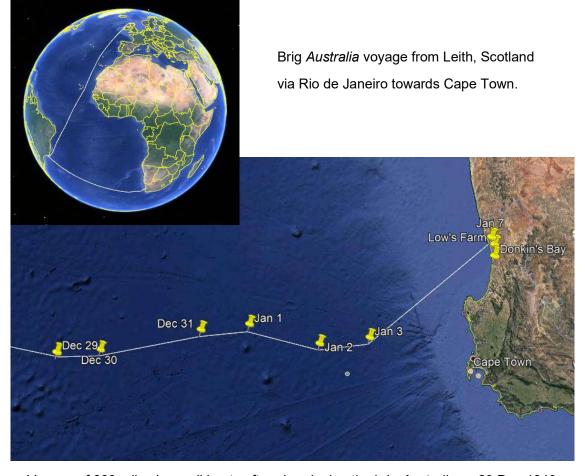
¹² Agnes and William Watson and family emigrated to Brisbane in 1852.

¹³ "Perils by Sea and Land: a Narrative of the Loss of the Brig Australia by Fire, on her Voyage from Leith to Sydney, with an account of the Sufferings, Religious Exercises and Final Rescue of the Crew and Passengers." Edited by Rev. James R McGavin. 1845. William Oliphant and Sons, Edinburgh.

based on these publications and various newspaper reports from the period. All quotations are from Captain Yule's account.

The Australia sailed from Leith on the evening of 2 October 1840, called at Rio de Janeiro for a few days after a pleasant voyage, and departed Rio in early December. Across the Atlantic, they encountered "some boisterous weather and contrary winds" but by the 27 December the ship had found the westerly trade winds and was under full sail in a heavy sea, heading for Cape Town. On the 29 December at 8 p.m., when the ship was about 600 miles from the Cape of Good Hope, one of the passengers smelled burning and alerted the Captain, who immediately began a search for the source of the fire in the hope of extinguishing it. They found "smoke was issuing from the fore bulkhead on the starboard side of the mainmast." "On removing a plank from the bulkhead we saw the whole interior of the vessel like the womb of a volcano, and the entire cargo of coals and combustible goods in a blaze." The Captain immediately realised that the fire could not be extinguished and the ship would be lost, so he made preparations to abandon her. Thick smoke made these preparations difficult. The long boat had been used as a stall for two live bulls and, in trying to get them over the side, one escaped and, terrified, rampaged along the deck until it was eventually subdued. The long boat was eventually launched in thick, choking smoke and their meagre supplies were loaded into the skiff - "two small bags of bread, two hams, two cheese, two or three canisters of preserved meat and a few bottles of wine, with a sextant, some charts, an almanac, my Bible and Psalm-book, and some flannel shirts, blankets, etc., were all that we could secure amid the suffocating smoke." One of two rainwater casks was lost when trying to load it aboard the long boat. As the fire burst from the hold and set fire to the rigging, the crew and passengers abandoned ship at about 11 p.m. – Captain Yule and sixteen others in the long boat, seven in the skiff and four in the small boat. That night in a heavy sea, they stayed close to their sinking ship in the hope that the fire might be seen by another ship and they would be rescued, but at dawn, there was no rescue ship in sight.

They rigged makeshift masts and sails in the three boats and headed eastwards towards the Cape, which Captain Yule estimated was 10 or 12 days away, maybe more. Before the end of the first day however, it was evident that the small boat could not be trusted in high seas and they decided to move the occupants into the long boat (19 persons) and the skiff (9), which were now very crowded and overloaded. Everyone was placed on very short rations to preserve them for the long journey. This meant each person was allowed three tablespoons of water and two small servings of bread each day. Although the passengers begged for more water on many occasions, the captain resisted. Against instruction, some of the passengers began drinking sea water and became delirious. Each morning, noon and evening they held a prayer and hymn meeting to try and keep their spirits high. On the night of 4 January, they were caught in a storm which threatened to separate the two boats, swamp and overturn them but they were very good seamen and managed to recover from the drenching. The storm intensified during 5 January and they were forced to run before it to the north-east. That night, the two boats became separated and both were in danger of being swamped by the tremendous waves coming over the stern, but by providence and good seamanship they survived the night and found each other again at about noon on the 6 January, with much rejoicing. That night was very cold and windy and, at 5 a.m. on the 7 January, the skiff reported to Captain Yule that John Chisholm, Marjory's brother, had died during the night.



Voyage of 680 miles in small boats after abandoning the brig Australia on 29 Dec 1840.



March of 11 miles from landing place to Low's Farm on the Olifants River, 10-11 Jan 1841.

At dawn on that morning of 7 January, they sighted land. The boats approached the shore carefully, trying to find a way through the huge breakers which were being pushed from the south-west by a strong wind and crashing on a rocky shore. Through good luck rather than management, they were forced into "a narrow channel among a cluster of rocks, which was crowned with a sand beach, that no human foresight could have detected, and that was rare on that coast." After hitting rocks and having some people thrown into the surf, both boats and all the people eventually landed safely on the beach. The storm then redoubled its strength, drove the small boats 40-50 feet up the beach, and the narrow channel "instantly became one scene of boiling surge, which would have shattered to pieces the proudest barque and engulfed every living thing on board of her." Continuing on to Cape Town by boat was out of the question.

After erecting some tent shelters and getting some sleep on dry land, the party woke on January 8 a little refreshed. George Peat, who had been carried ashore unconscious, died that morning. George Peat and John Chisholm "were respectfully buried on the successive afternoons, divine service being performed at their interment. They lay side by side on that desert shore where they met their fate and their pilgrimage ceased, where no footstep of friendship shall ever trace the unknown scene of their last repose, and only the murmurs of ocean disturb its solitary stillness." On 9 January after a fruitless search for water, the party now of 26 people prepared to march south along the coast towards Cape Town in the hope of finding a settlement at the Olifants River, which Captain Yule estimated to be about 11 miles away. Early on the 10 January, they set off. At about noon they saw some huts below the cliffs but did not have the strength to reach them. During that day, one of the party lost a water bottle and another stole extra water rations, so Captain Yule placed all the water supply in the hands of his trusted crew. The Captain often had to exhort them to continue walking. At about noon the next day, they sighted the Olifants River and a settlement on the south bank.



Olifants River estuary (looking upstream towards Lows Farm on right bank)

"Never did scene more sweet open upon human vision than met my ecstatic gaze in that landscape. I had no eye, no heart for its natural beauties, but thoughts of life and of rescue arose within me in that glance. It seemed to me an opening paradise. Visions of home, of happiness, rushed back upon my desolate soul."

The settlement was a farm owned by a Dutchman, Mynheer Low. The farmer and his family took them in, fed, clothed and sheltered them until they had recovered enough to head to Cape Town, about 160 miles south. The Captain enlisted the help of an Englishman, Mr Fryer, who owned a store at Donkins Bay, about 20 miles to the south. Mr Fryer immediately arranged for the ladies to stay at his house in Donkins Bay and they left the same evening. According to Captain Yule, "it was remarkable throughout the whole of our afflictions that the ladies, and even the children, bore the sufferings, with the greatest magnanimity and discovered a spirit of patient endurance which might have put to shame the hardiest men." The Chisholm sisters, Jane, Marjory and Agnes, were taken under the wing of the mother-in-law of a Mr Troutar, who was staying near Low's Farm on a fishing vacation. "The good old lady took our three children to her hut, supplied them with frocks and underclothing, and treated them with the solicitude and kindness of a mother".

Over four or five days, the health of the party improved greatly and their appetites were insatiable. Arrangements were made with the Civil Commissioner at Clan William for the party to leave by bullock wagon for Cape Town on the 19 January, via Donkins Bay to pick up the ladies. After sad farewells at Low's Farm and Donkins Bay, and numerous mishaps along the way, the trekkers reached Cape Town at midnight on the 28 January 1841, exactly a month after abandoning the *Australia*. It was a truly remarkable rescue, which Captain Yule and the entire party believed could not have been achieved without Divine intervention. Their faith in God had been severely tested by their harrowing experience and I am sure that this was major influence on the Chisholm sisters' strong devotion to the Presbyterian Church for the rest of their lives. No doubt their shared experience of losing a brother, and surviving the ordeal brought them even closer together.

The merchants and gentlemen of the Cape Colony raised a subscription of £120 to help the castaways on their way, and the Colonial Government paid for their lodgings. All except four passengers who remained in the colony found forward passages to their destinations; the crew were all drafted among other ships' crews, and Captain Yule returned to his family in Scotland.

George Henry, Jane, Marjory and Agnes Chisholm departed Cape Town aboard the barque *Byker* on 10 February 1841 and arrived at the Port Phillip colony (now Victoria) on 6 April as steerage passengers, accompanied by two of the ladies and one crew member from the *Australia*¹⁴. Until the *Byker* arrived, Port Phillip had not heard about the loss of the *Australia* and the fate of its passengers – their arrival on the *Byker* was a complete surprise. No doubt news of the *Australia* would have spread rapidly through the small colony, and the Chisholm children somehow met up with their uncle John Moffat Chisholm.

John Moffat Chisholm was born at Inverkeithing Scotland on 6 May 1807. After leaving Scotland in about 1826, John sailed to New Zealand and after some years, carried on to Sydney. He arrived in Melbourne in about 1837 and married Martha Allott Osbourne on 11 September 1838. John started a drapery business in Collins Street, Melbourne. Following a fire at his store/residence in October 1839¹⁵, John re-established his drapery business in partnership with his first cousin George Chisholm of Sydney, and George's father-in-law Robert Bourne, also of Sydney¹⁶. When the Chisholm children arrived, months late, on 6 April 1841, John and Martha had no children of their own, and John had sold his drapery business the day before¹⁷. He was probably not in a good position to take on an instant family.

¹⁴ Port Phillip Gazette 10 April 1841

¹⁵ Port Phillip Patriot 28 Oct 1839

¹⁶ Port Phillip Gazette 30 Nov 1839

¹⁷ Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser 5 Apr 1841

The families decided that George Henry Chisholm, a young man aged 19, would stay in Melbourne with his uncle John. The three younger girls Jane, Marjory and Agnes would go on to Sydney to live with their cousin George Chisholm. The *Byker* left Port Phillip again on 1 May 1841 and arrived at Sydney on 7 May. The Chisholm sisters may have been on board, and would have been welcomed by George, whom they may have met in Scotland, but were all too young at the time to remember.

George Chisholm was born in Scotland in about 1806, the son of Samuel Chisholm, a draper, and Agnes Moffat¹⁹. In 1832, he emigrated from London to Australia on the *Dryade*, arriving in Sydney on 2 April 1833²⁰, and is described on the manifest as a merchant. Judging by the lists of his imports to the colony in 1835-36, George followed in his father's footsteps and started a haberdashery and millinery business in King Street. In 1836, George met Anne Butler Bourne, the daughter of Robert Bourne, an ex-missionary and, latterly, a draper of Pitt Street, Sydney. Anne was born on 18 January 1819 in Papeete, Tahiti where her parents had been sent by the London Missionary Society. On 3 December 1836, George and Anne were married by special license, Anne being only 17 years old – George was 30. Soon after, Robert Bourne took his son-in-law George Chisholm as a partner in the drapery, and the business became known as Bourne and Chisholm, trading as Robert Bourne & Co. of Pitt Street.

By the time Jane, Marjory and Agnes Chisholm arrived in Sydney in May 1841, George and his wife Anne had a son, George Robert Chisholm; and Anne was heavily pregnant again. One daughter (Anne) born in 1839 did not survive her first year. Probably encouraged by Robert Bourne, both George and Anne were actively involved in voluntary work in Sydney, being on various committees of the Australian School Society, the School of Arts, and the Benevolent Society, in company with many of Sydney's foremost families.

Marjory and her sisters would have finished their education at a school approved by the Australian School Society, which supported the principles of the British and Foreign School Society and promoted teachings from the Bible as a necessary part of any education programme. George's son attended Mr Steel's Training School at 53 (later 188) Pitt Street, so it is likely that every day at 3:45 p.m., Marjory walked the short distance to this well-regarded school where, in the "private class for young ladies" she was taught writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, grammar and geography²¹.

The Chisholm family lived above and behind the draper shop at 253 Pitt street, so Marjory's world was quite small – perhaps limited to a few Sydney blocks. John Sands' bookshop was within this world. When Marjory reached the age of about fourteen (1844), she may have started working occasionally in the draper shop in Pitt street, when she was not helping with the younger children in the house. By October 1849, George and Anne had two sons and four daughters that had survived beyond infancy, plus Jane, Marjory and Agnes. Following the birth of their youngest child Margaretta, Anne became severely ill and the family advertised for domestic and nursing help. Anne did not recover, and she died at Pitt street on 12 April 1850. Marjory had lost her foster mother.

When Marjory Chisholm met John Sands in about 1850 and became engaged, she was 20 years old. They decided that they did not want to wait until Marjory turned 21, so they were married by special license on 6 December 1850 by the Rev. Alexander Salmon in the Free

¹⁸ The Sydney Herald 8 May 1841

¹⁹ N.S.W. Government Archives. Death Certificate 2713/1873 for George Chisholm

²⁰ New South Wales, Unassisted Immigrant Passenger Lists. NSW State Archives.

²¹ The Colonial Observer 14 October 1841 p.16

(Presbyterian) Church, Pitt street.²² Marjory was the first of her sisters to marry, and the only one not to marry a Scotsman.



Marjory Moffat Chisholm

²² Sydney Morning Herald 9 December 1850 p.3

Partnerships and expansion

John and Marjory wasted no time in starting and growing their family. Over the next thirteen years, they produced seven children, namely Robert, John junior, Edith Jane, Ada Mary, Arthur James, Herbert Guy and Joseph Holdsworth Sands. When first married, John and Marjory lived above John Sands' store at 386 George Street opposite the Savings Bank, but on 16 April 1851, the store and residence moved to more "central and commodious premises" at 456 George Street, "two doors south of the General Post Office"23. Robert (16 Nov 1851) and John junior (1 Aug 1853) were both born there. In about 1854, the Sands family moved away from the Central Business District to 255 Albion Street, Surry Hills²⁴, opposite St. Michael's Anglican Church, Edith Jane Sands was born there on 28 June 1855, and also died there on 3 August 1857, aged 2, of bronchitis²⁵. Marjory also suffered from breathing complaints, an affliction held in common with several of her female descendants. Ada Mary (my great grandmother, 22 Nov 1857), Arthur James (10 Feb 1860), and Herbert Guy Sands (11 Apr 1862) were born at the Surry Hills house, but in 1862, the family moved to a larger house with expansive grounds at 21 Albion Street, Waverley, which they called Marmion. Their last child, Joseph Holdsworth Sands was born there on 20 August 1864 and is named after John's great friend J.B. Holdsworth. Marmion remained the Sands' family residence until 1912, long after John and Marjory had died.



The Sands' home, *Marmion*, Albion Street, Waverley (Nine bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, hall, dining room, library, ballroom, stables, coachhouse etc.)

²³ Sydney Morning Herald 12 April 1851 p.7

²⁴ Sands and Kenny Sydney Directory 1858

²⁵ Sydney Morning Herald 5 Aug 1857.

On 9 April 1851, John Sands took his brother-in-law Thomas Kenny as a partner in his business, which then became known as *Sands and Kenny*²⁶. Thomas was a bookseller and stationer who married John Sands' sister Jane in London in 1843. Thomas and Jane had two children. In 1849, Thomas' bookselling and stationery business in Liverpool went bankrupt. A month after settling his bankruptcy, Thomas departed Plymouth for Sydney on the *Thetis*, arriving on 20 May 1850²⁷. Jane and their two children followed him six months later, arriving in Sydney aboard the *Roman Emperor* on 6 January 1851.²⁸ Formation of the Sands and Kenny partnership coincided with the change of business address to 456 George Street Sydney, two doors south of the General Post Office.

Apart from the family connection, there is no clear reason for John Sands to take Thomas Kenny as a business partner, but the timing was fortuitous because, only a month later in May 1851, gold was discovered near Bathurst, New South Wales. In July 1851, gold was discovered in Victoria and the Australian gold rush began. The massive population increase over the next few years was a major opportunity for anyone in a business selling consumables. Sands and Kenny's stationery business was set to benefit, if they could keep up with the market growth and the competition. Melbourne became the fastest growing city in Australia, if not the world, and although John Sands had been selling wholesale books and stationery to the Melbourne market since about 1845, he could not meet the demand while based in Sydney and relying upon shipments of finished product from England. He needed to set up his own retail business in Melbourne, and to start manufacturing finished products on a large scale in the colonies. Thomas Kenny was the man to manage that business.

Sales of stationery in the goldfields grew rapidly, and much of the payment was in gold dust. Sands and Kenny shipped tens to hundreds of ounces of gold from Melbourne to Sydney on a monthly basis, and it was clear to the partners that they needed to react quickly. In September 1852, Thomas Kenny went back to London, presumably to elicit financial support from the Sands family and London banks for a major expansion in Melbourne. He also secured supplies of paper to expand their stationery, printing and bookbinding business. On Thomas Kenny's return from England, Sands and Kenny began negotiating to buy an existing business in Melbourne. In February 1854, they bought James Williams' stationery, account book manufacturing and printing business²⁹, with its outlet at 51 Collins Street, and printing and bookbinding shop at 91 Bourke Street, Melbourne.

Almost a year to the day after buying J. Williams' business, Sands and Kenny's store at 51 Collins street was completely destroyed by fire, a common occurrence in colonial Melbourne. Several premises were destroyed on either side. They lost "a very extensive stock of writing paper and account-books of the first-class makers, and in fact of all the miscellaneous articles incidental to the business of a wholesale stationer. Their property, which may be valued at about £18,000, has been totally destroyed; and we regret to say they are only insured to the extent of £2000 in the Geelong and Western Assurance Company." ³⁰ Despite this set-back, Sands and Kenny were able to maintain production and sales from their Bourke Street shop and, by August 1855, had built their Victorian Stationery Warehouse at 34 Collins Street west. The following year, they opened the Sandhurst Stationery Warehouse at Bendigo. The Sydney business of Sands and Kenny continued as usual, except that in 1854, Freeman Brothers' Photographic Studio took the rooms above Sands and Kenny's George Street store. The novelty of photography plus Freeman's blanket advertising attracted many more customers through Sands and Kenny's

²⁶ Sydney Morning Herald 12 Apr 1851 p.7

²⁷ Sydney Morning Herald 21 May 1850 p.2

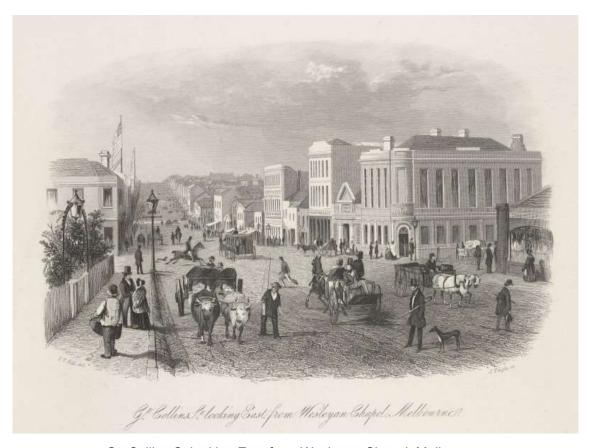
²⁸ Melbourne Daily News 14 Jan 1851 p.2

²⁹ Banner, 10 Feb 1854 p.16

³⁰ The Age 5 Feb 1855, p.5

doors. During the 1850s however, Melbourne was the centre of Australian economic growth, and investment in Sydney was of lower priority.

Having acquired a printing business, Sands and Kenny started focussing on replicating products which, until then, had been largely imported. Local production facilities also allowed them to produce stationery and publications with uniquely Australian content. They began in a small way, producing periodical lists such as electoral maps and rolls, customs bill of entry, compilations of Government Acts and Regulations affecting the colonies, an Australian Commercial Almanac full of useful information and tables for merchants and the Victorian Cricketers' Guide. In December 1854, Sands and Kenny published an *Australian Keepsake* "containing thirty-eight views of Sydney, Port Jackson, Parramatta, Newcastle, Maitland, &c engraved from original drawings, by Mr F. C. Terry." This may have been the first Australian 'coffee-table' picture book published to coincide with Christmas. It must have been a success, because Sands and Kenny sent numerous sketches and water colour paintings by itinerant artist S.T. Gill to London, where they were engraved in steel by John Sand's brother-in-law James Tingle³². Victoria Illustrated containing fifty scenes by S.T. Gill was published by Sands and Kenny in December 1856.



Gt. Collins St looking East from Wesleyan Chapel, Melbourne. (S.T. Gill painter, J. Tingle engraver)³³

³¹ Bells' Life, 23 Dec 1854, p.3

³² James Tingle (engraver) married Elizabeth Ann Sands (map colourer) in 1833.

³³ State Library of Victoria

Probably one of the most important projects that Sands and Kenny initiated during the 1850s was to compile and publish a comprehensive directory of Melbourne and suburbs, financed as far as possible from advertising revenue. The following notice appeared in July 1856;

"THE MELBOURNE DIRECTORY FOR 1857. Preliminary Notice. On the 20th of December will be published the Melbourne Directory. The undersigned propose adding to it, features not embraced by any Directory heretofore published in Melbourne; and they pledge themselves that for fullness, correctness, or style, it shall be unsurpassed by any Directory in the Australian colonies. SANDS and KENNY, Victoria Stationery Warehouse." 34

In fact, the 1857 Melbourne Directory was released on 9 March that year, due to teething problems and relocation of the Victorian Stationery Warehouse to 46-48 Collins Street. The first Sands and Kenny Sydney Directory was published in July 1858.

These directories, published annually with only a few missing years until 1933 (N.S.W.) and 1974 (Vic. and S.A.), became an indispensable reference book in almost every business, library and post office in Australia. Sands and Kenny made sure that it was also distributed to major commercial organisations and centres around the world. Several competitors tried to emulate these directories and openly plagiarised them, but the

SANDS AND KENNY'S

COMMERCIAL AND GENERAL

SYDNEY DIRECTORY,

FOR 1858-9.

Delegate—

Balmain, rishioptrodept, donde, camperdown, cooger, cookie river foard darling point, doger han, giler, nel son's fax, newton, nath shory coonnell town, paddengton, randwich, redferen, hope hay, reducedters hay, south held boads, by lichage, wathon's hay, waverley.

Ferst year of publication.

8 y d n e y:

Sands and eenny, by george street, and 60, Calus Street, Maderial.

1858.

"Sands Directory" brand had such a strong following and recognition that the competitors did not survive for long.

On 2 January 1860, Sands and Kenny admitted Dugald McDougall as a partner in the Melbourne business, which then became *Sands, Kenny and Co.*³⁵ At that date, Dugald McDougall was engaged to Mary Allott Chisholm (b.10 Jan 1843), daughter of John Moffat Chisholm and first cousin of Marjory Sands. Dugald was born in 1834 at Londonderry, Ireland. In April 1851, he was apprenticed to a stationer at Greenock, Scotland³⁶ but soon afterwards, he emigrated to Melbourne where, in 1852, he got a job with the newly-established Sands and Kenny. In 1856 he was described on the Victorian electoral roll as a stationer's assistant on a salary of £100³⁷ and while Thomas Kenny was away in England he had opportunities to demonstrate his management capabilities. He oversaw the expansion of Sands and Kenny's offices in Collins Street in 1859 and earned his position as a business partner. He was also a councillor for the Municipality of Hawthorn. On 8 February 1860, he married Mary Chisholm and became a family member as well.

When Thomas Kenny returned to Melbourne after seven months in England, he brought with him ideas about starting a paper manufacturing venture in the colony. It seems that John Sands and Thomas Kenny were heading in different business directions for, on 31 December 1861, they dissolved their partnership³⁸. In its place, *John Sands* was re-established as the

³⁴ The Age 11 Jul 1856, p.3

³⁵ The Argus 3 Jan 1860 p.8

³⁶ 1851 Scotland Census. Ancestry.com

³⁷ Australian Electoral Rolls, Ancestry.com

³⁸ Sydney Morning Herald 2 Jan 1862 p.6

Sydney business while, in Melbourne, Dugald McDougall became managing partner and the firm was re-named *Sands and McDougall*. Not long afterwards, Dugald introduced his cousin James MacDougall into the Melbourne firm. Thomas Kenny pursued his vision for a paper manufacturing business in Victoria, but he died in 1866 before his vision could be realised and in consequence, his estate was insolvent³⁹.

The Sydney and Melbourne Sands businesses continued to flourish during the 1860s. George Chisholm relocated his Pitt street drapers store next door to John Sands' store in George street. With his businesses and family now on a sound footing, John Sands found spare time to take on other business roles. He was a director of the Phoenix Investment and Building Society, an arbitrator for the Second Mutual Benefit Building Society, an auditor for the Waverley Municipal Council (along with J.B. Holdsworth), a councillor of the Free Trade Association and a supporter of the Volunteer Rifle Corps. He also had some time to speculate as a shareholder in Victorian gold-mining enterprises, along with McDougall and Kenny, and he occasionally went to the horse races at Randwick.

John Sands continued to publish material with local content and interest. In 1861, they published a map of Australia with the explorers' routes, followed in 1862 by a coloured map of New South Wales. They won prizes at the Victorian Exhibition in December 1861 for their account books. They also became the sole agent in Australia for Chubb safes. In 1865, John Sands registered its "Sands of Time" trademark.



John Sands Ltd Registered Trade Mark no 1214

At about 11 p.m. on the 18 Apr 1867, a fire broke out at the back of John Sands' store in George Street, known as Reiby Cottage⁴⁰. Much of the printing machinery and most of the stock was destroyed by fire or water damage, and although George Chisholm's store next door did not burn, his drapery stock sustained water damage also. John Sands had insurance cover up to £12,000, and probably raised another few thousand pounds from sale of salvaged stock. John Sands viewed this tragedy as an opportunity to rebuild and renew his business. On Lots 5 to 7 of the estate of the late Mary Reiby, he set about constructing a new steam-powered printing, manufacturing and publishing facility that was described later as "one of the finest and most complete establishments of the kind in the Southern Hemisphere".⁴¹ The buildings were constructed of brick on a stone base with slated roof, three storeys plus basements, with frontages to George street and Reiby Lane, and backing on to the Tank Stream. Reiby Lane

³⁹ The Age 9 Oct 1866 p.4

⁴⁰ Sydney Morning Herald 19 April 1867, p.5

⁴¹ Sydney Morning Herald 5 Jul 1871, p.7

and the Tank stream have long since disappeared. Following completion of the new facilities, John Sands announced that he had decided to relinquish the retail and bookselling portion of the business and concentrate on printing, manufacturing and publishing.⁴² He was now able to offer very low prices and came under attack in Parliament from the Government Printer who could not match them. John Sands and Sands and McDougall submitted many examples of their work for the Intercolonial Industrial Exhibition in Sydney in September 1870, and were awarded gold, silver and bronze medals for printing and binding, further enhancing their reputation.

George Chisholm died of a gangrenous foot and exhaustion on 7 July 1873 aged 67 at his home in Marrickville. After about two years' illness, John Sands died of abdominal cancer on 16 August 1873 aged 54 at his home, *Marmion*, Waverley. Within a few weeks, Marjory Sands lost her foster father and her husband. John was described in his obituary as "very generally respected" and "a man of unostentatious and large-hearted benevolence." ⁴³ He must have been well-respected and trusted by the seventy or so employees of John Sands, many of whom stayed with the company for their entire working lives and felt themselves part of the John Sands family. John was buried in the Presbyterian section of the Rookwood cemetery, but reinterred at the Waverley Cemetery in 1904.

Marjory Sands' widowhood

Marjory Sands was the sole heir and the executrix of John's estate, which was valued for probate in N.S.W. at less than £20,000, and in Victoria at less than £27,200. J.B. Holdsworth was the other executor. John also made Marjory the guardian of his children, with Dugald McDougall as an alternative guardian in case of Marjory's death.

John and Marjory's sons had been groomed to take over the John Sands businesses. Their eldest son Robert had already served his apprenticeship in the Melbourne and Sydney offices. He was 21 when John died and Marjory could have handed over the management of the business to him but Marjory decided that he was not ready to take over, and she would manage it on her own. 44 A few long-term employees left the company at that time, including Thomas Field who had been John's confidential manager and bookkeeper for 20 years. Perhaps to shore up the morale of the employees, Marjory held a company picnic which was well-received and became an annual tradition each October. In November 1873, Marjory made the voyage to Melbourne to settle John's estate in Victoria and discuss the future of the businesses with Dugald McDougall. According to the partnership agreement between John Sands and Dugald McDougall, the partnership would automatically terminate in the event of the death of either, but there was clearly an option for their heirs to renew it. In the end, Marjory and Dugald decided to dissolve the partnership and go their separate ways⁴⁵. Sands and McDougall continued in Melbourne, and John Sands in Sydney. Due to these disturbances, John Sands could not produce the Sydney Directory for 1874-75 and announced that they would resume publication for the 1875 calendar year.46

⁴² Sydney Morning Herald 1 Feb 1868, p.11

⁴³ Sydney Morning Herald 18 Aug 1873, p.4

⁴⁴ Sydney Morning Herald 9 Sep 1873, p.1

⁴⁵ The Argus 6 Dec 1873, p.8

⁴⁶ Sydney Morning Herald 7 Mar 1874, p.6

Although the Melbourne and Sydney businesses had been separated, the family ties and relationships that had been built over many years between the Sands and Chisholm family in Sydney and the Chisholm and McDougall families in Melbourne remained very strong. There were regular holidays in both directions, initially by steamer but more often by rail after 1883, when the standard-gauge line from Sydney met the broad-gauge line from Melbourne at Albury.

During the 1880s, Marjory's three eldest children married people from Victoria and started families. Robert Sands married (in 1880) Helen 'Nell' Franks, the daughter of a well-known bookseller and stationer from Geelong, whom Robert no-doubt met through business connections during the period that he was apprenticed to Sands and McDougall. John Sands junior married (in 1883) Amy Constance McLeod Chisholm, his first cousin once removed, who had been living with Dugald and Mary McDougall since 1874 after her remaining parent, John Moffat Chisholm, died. Ada Mary Sands married (in 1884) John Kane Smyth, an American who at that time was a businessman, Vice-Consul General of the United States in Melbourne, and a friend of Dugald McDougall. Ada moved to Melbourne after the marriage, but the whole family got together at *Marmion* on many occasions.



The Sands family at *Marmion*, early 1889

Standing L to R: John Sands, John K. Smyth, Arthur J. Sands, Herbert G. Sands, Joseph H. Sands

Seated L to R: Amy Sands (nee Chisholm) with Grant Sands, Ada Mary Smyth (nee Sands) with Marjorie K. Smyth, Mary G. Smyth, Marjory M. Sands (nee Chisholm), Helen Sands (nee Franks) with Grahame Sands, Robert Sands

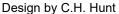
Front L to R: J. Keith Sands, John S. Smyth, H. Marjorie Sands, R. Sydney Sands.

Marjory admitted her eldest son Robert as a partner in John Sands on 1 March 1877⁴⁷. It is not clear how much influence Marjory had on the company's direction after that, but I suspect she maintained a keen interest and made her thoughts known for many years afterwards. In any legal case involving the company, it was always described as *Marjory Moffat Sands and Robert Sands*, trading as John Sands, and for the next twenty years the public and press usually referred to the company as the firm of Mr John Sands, as if John were still alive.

Under Robert and Marjory, the business continued to prosper and grow. In 1878, they opened a Wholesale Stationery Warehouse at 150 Edward street, Brisbane⁴⁸, and they bought into an existing paper mill at Holdsworthy, near Liverpool. The printing works at the rear of the George street store was continuously improved. The Sands family kept a close eye on new printing technology and were happy to trial new machines and methods. If the trial was a success, they invested capital and, in this way, John Sands stayed abreast, if not ahead, of most of the well-established printing houses in Europe⁴⁹. They also invested in hiring staff with specialist skills, and in training new staff through apprenticeships. Robert, John and Joseph Sands occasionally travelled to Europe and America looking for new ideas and innovations⁵⁰.

John Sands continued to produce their Sydney Directory each January, and in 1878 began producing a Country Directory and Gazetteer also, but with the introduction of chromolithography into their George street factory, John Sands saw an opportunity to diversify into the fine arts. In February 1881, John Sands sponsored a competition to encourage local artists to submit 8x6 inch coloured designs for Christmas cards with an exclusively Australian character⁵¹. The public response was outstanding. By the closing date, John Sands had received 662 complying designs, which were put on display at the Art Gallery at the Inner Domain. Ten thousand people visited the exhibition during a single week in November that year. The cards produced by John Sands in 1881 were the first to be designed and printed in Australia.







Design by Helena Forde

Examples of the 1881 Australian Christmas Card Designs, printed by John Sands.

⁴⁷ Sydney Morning Herald 3 Mar 1877, p.10

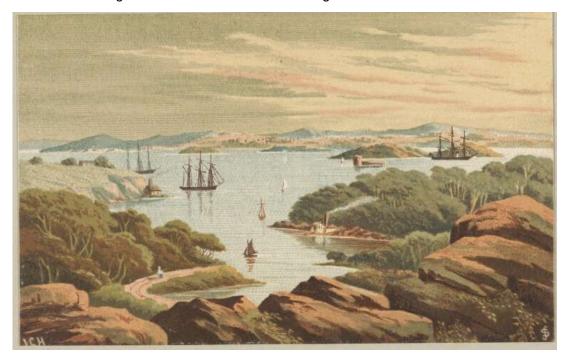
⁴⁸ Brisbane Courier 31 Jan 1878, p.2

⁴⁹ Sydney Daily Telegraph 8 Apr 1882, p.6

⁵⁰ Daily Telegraph 16 Mar 1899, p.4

⁵¹ Sydney Daily Telegraph 16 Feb 1881, p.1

In September 1881, John Sands produced a set of six Sydney scenes by J.C. Hoyte and marketed them as gifts for relatives back home in England⁵².



Port Jackson from Neutral Bay, 1881

From a painting by J.C. Hoyte, chromo-lithography by S. Sedgefield, John Sands. 53

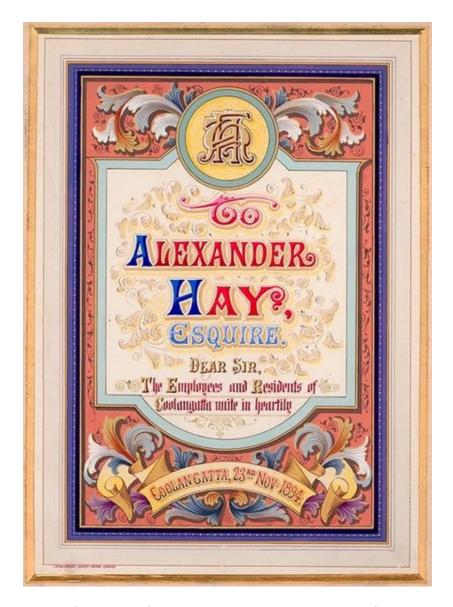
Encouraged by the response to the Christmas card competition, in November 1881 John Sands ran a similar competition for fine art works depicting Australian scenes, life, flora and fauna. The paintings were displayed at the Art Gallery, and John Sands selected six for chromo-lithographic reproduction. The company began to collect art works from European sources as well as from eminent local artists. In October 1883, they added an art gallery and lounge to their store in George street, which was free and open to the public. Exhibitions were changed regularly – Marjory occasionally donated works from her own collection. This initiative became so popular that in 1889, the company had to move the gallery to more spacious premises at 322 George street.

The focus on fine art led to a new product line, the "illuminated address". These were ornate works of art used as presentations or memorials to various people, or for commemorating important occasions. An entire department of John Sands was dedicated to producing them and the company hired heraldic artists from Europe especially for the purpose. Among the thousands of documents and volumes produced by this department, some of the more important works were; a presentation to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her 50th jubilee, and the company's also in 1887⁵⁴; a commemoration volume of the 1891 National Convention; and the Federal Address adopted by the Legislative Assembly for presentation to the Queen in 1899.

⁵² Sydney Daily Telegraph 22 Sep 1881, p.1

⁵³ National Library of Australia, PIC Drawer 2441 #S4601

⁵⁴ John Sands Ltd and the Australian Dictionary of Biography have 1837 as the start of business, but John Sands' presence in England in 1841 and press statement that he had "just arrived" in 1842 suggest otherwise.



The front page of an illuminated address, 1894. John Sands

Recent illuminations were displayed in John Sands store window in George street. Like Harrods or Fortnum & Mason in London, stores in Sydney would spend considerable time and money dressing their windows, particularly just before Christmas. John Sands' was not a large window, but it was always full of small, interesting and fancy items, mostly for sale, and attracted the crowds. On one occasion, they had on display two tons of silver ingots valued at £14,000, a real crowd puller!⁵⁵ The shop windows in Sydney were reviewed in the press every Christmas during the 1890s and John Sands' always attracted praise.

With the advent of chromo-lithography, production of coloured maps became easier. During the 1880s and 1890s, John Sands produced all kinds of maps, both separately (such as the 1890 map of Sydney) and as inserts in their City and Country directories and the Australian Yearbook. By far their most notable achievement was the compilation and production of the 1886 Atlas of Australia, covering the six colonies in detail – the first of its kind, and well before Federation. Demand for printing postage stamps in more than a single colour was possible

23

⁵⁵ Evening News 29 Jan 1885, p.5

and became more popular. During the banking crisis of the nearly 1890s, the Bank of New South Wales ran short of notes (London failed to deliver), so with 24 hours' notice, they contracted John Sands, one of their long-term clients, to print 50,000 numbered banknotes of various denominations. John Sands delivered on time, which was a testament to their professionalism and capability⁵⁶.

In 1897, the firm celebrated its 60th anniversary⁵⁷ and produced a volume with photographs of its directors and key employees. The following photograph of Marjory Sands may have been taken for this event.



Marjory Moffat Sands, ca. 1897 (The heart shaped locket is a family heirloom)

⁵⁶ Barrier Miner 18 May 1893, p.4

⁵⁷ John Sands Ltd celebrates 1837 as its inaugural year, but I cannot find any record of John Sands coming to Australia before 1842.

Of course, no enterprise or family goes through life without setbacks, and John Sands had its fair share. In December 1884, the paper mill at Holdsworthy was destroyed by a bush fire and was never rebuilt. In 1887, there was a recession in Australia which saw the value of property decrease dramatically, so that by 1893, many of Australia's banks became insolvent. But before declaring bankruptcy, they called in their loans. John Sands had some substantial loans and was declared insolvent, but quickly came to an agreement with its creditors for a schedule of repayments in full. However, an unidentified Melbourne creditor offered better terms to the other creditors in the hope of buying the John Sands business cheaply. Sydney friends of Marjory Sands raised £30,000 and were willing to accept some cash and promissory notes in return, so the creditors were paid in full and the Melbourne raider was repulsed⁵⁸. In December 1889, a summer storm blanketed Sydney with hailstones which superficially damaged John Sands' printing premises in George street. The 1890s in New South Wales saw the rise of militant unionism and, despite John Sands management having, by and large, the strong support of its employees and a family-oriented corporate culture, several of the employees followed the union's call for industrial action. As with any profitable and well-respected enterprise, John Sands had occasional instances of embezzlement, robbery and even copyright infringement, but none of the losses were very large. One unusual event was that the John Sands offices and printing works in George street were quarantined in April 1900 as a result of a bubonic plaque outbreak in the city. About 100 employees had to report daily to the health officers for inspection. No-one at John Sands was a casualty, but there were at least 20 deaths in Sydney⁵⁹.

There were family tragedies also. Dugald McDougall died in Melbourne in 1885, and George Henry Chisholm, Marjory's brother and a survivor of the sinking of the *Australia*, died there in 1886. Ada's husband John K. Smyth died in 1891. Ada and her four children moved to *Marmion* after his death, to stay with Marjory. Marjory's sister Agnes (Chisholm) Hughes died in 1902. All three Chisholm sisters had lived close to each other since coming to Sydney, and they had all been closely involved in establishing a new Presbyterian Church at Waverley. Jane (Chisholm) Grahame was a major benefactor, had laid the foundation stone for the church in May 1897 and all three sisters were at the opening of the church in February 1898.

Marjory Sands suffered from severe bronchitic asthma for many years, which restricted her activity, especially as she became older. Marjory enjoyed playing bowls at the Waverley Bowling Club, a fairly gentle activity which suited her well. Marjory was fit enough to visit the re-built John Sands' George street store next to the new G.P.O. in March 1899, and to lay the foundation stone in May 1903 for John Sands' new five storey building, comprising a printing works, bulk store and photographic works at the corner of Druitt and Washington streets in Sydney.

In 1904, Marjory had an attack of acute bronchitis from which she did not recover. Marjory Sands died on the 15 April 1904 aged 72 at her home *Marmion*, Albion street, Waverley with her family around her. She was survived by her sister Jane Grahame, five sons, daughter Ada, ten grandchildren, and a large circle of friends. Marjory was buried the following day at the Presbyterian section of the Waverley Cemetery. One hundred and fifty employees of John Sands preceded the hearse to the cemetery. Matches at the Waverley Bowling Green were cancelled for the day, and the flag flew at half-mast⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Evening News 18 Jul 1887, p.6

⁵⁹ Wagga Wagga Express 5 Apr 1900, p.2

⁶⁰ Sydney Morning Herald 18 Apr 1904, p.6

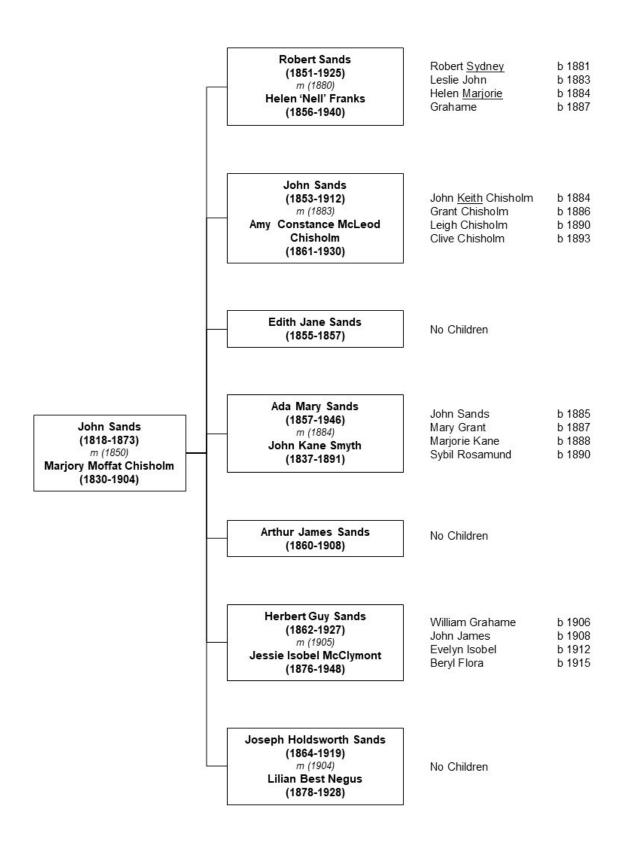
Marjory's estate was valued for probate at £31,116 4s 4d. Her interest in the John Sands company was to be divided equally between her children, with the proviso that they could not cash in their share of the company until ten years after her death⁶¹.



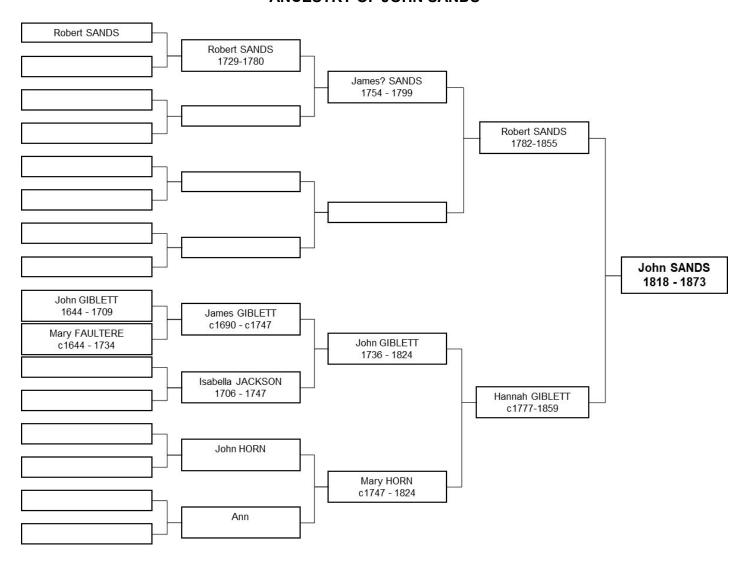
Marjory Moffat Sands

⁶¹ Evening News 6 Sep 1904, p.2

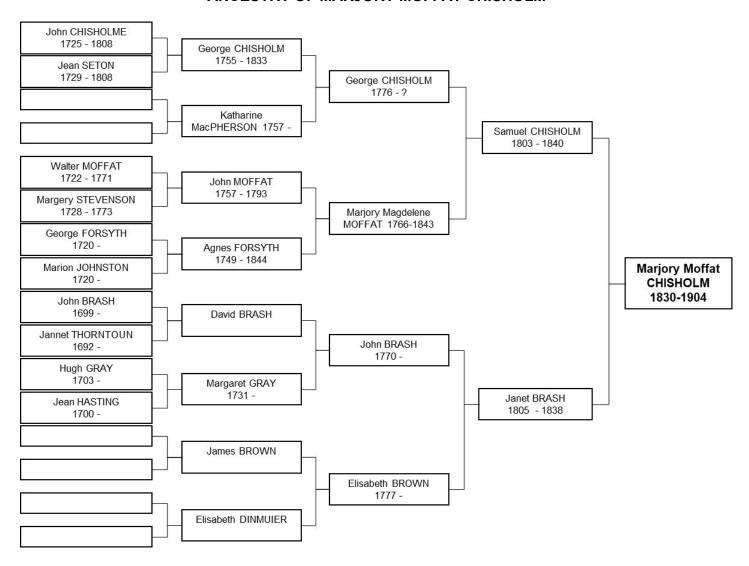
JOHN AND MARJORY SANDS' FAMILY



ANCESTRY OF JOHN SANDS



ANCESTRY OF MARJORY MOFFAT CHISHOLM



SANDS-CHISHOLM FAMILY BUSINESS CONNECTIONS

