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The Hon. Sir John Robertson K.C.M.G. 1816-1891

On the 15 October 1816 at Bow (home of the Bow Bells) near London, England, a fourth child was born to James Robertson, watchmaker and pastoralist, and his wife Anna Maria(Ripley). The baby boy was the couple's third son and they named him John.

James was a friend of Bro. Sir Thomas Brisbane, Governor of New South Wales. Acting on Sir Thomas's advice James and family emigrated to New South Wales aboard the "Providence" which arrived in Sydney on 8 January 1822. He was appointed superintendent of Government clocks and also worked as a watchmaker and silversmith.

He was granted 86 acres on the northern shores of Sydney Harbour which he named Robertson Point (Cremorne) where he took up residence, he had previously resided at Castlereagh St. Sydney. He also acquired a property in the Hunter River District at Jerry's Plains.

His son, John, began his formal education at Mr. McLeod's School in Phillip Street, Sydney, and then J. Bradley's school. In 1826 he became the first pupil at Dr. J. D. Lang's school and completed his school education firstly with J. Gilchrist and then with W. T. Cope.

John's informal education developed as he gained an intimate knowledge of the streets of Sydney and also by sailing on Sydney Harbour. He was adopted by the native born youth of the town as one of their own.

He had been born with a cleft palate and although this made his speech abnormal, and he consequently suffered some juvenile taunts and mockery by some adults in later life, he retained the loyalty and friendship of his young friends who appreciated his personality and love of life. Despite his handicap he developed a command of the spoken word including, what was to be described in later life as 'the voice and profane language of a bullocky'.

In 1833 against his parents' wishes he worked his passage to England aboard a ship named "Sovereign". He carried letters of introduction, including one from James Day, a convict servant assigned to Robertson Snr., to Day's mother who was a friend of Lord Palmerston. He spent three days on the Palmerston estate. Another, a letter to Governor Sir Richard Bourke, he simply posted.

While in England he studied both navigation and farming techniques, inspected the dockyards at Plymouth, and visited several coastal towns. He travelled to both Scotland and France before returning to New South Wales, visiting Brazil and other South American countries en route.

On his return to New South Wales, in 1835, although he would have preferred to continue a career at sea, he joined his father on a property at Plashett, Jerry's Plains in the Hunter River district. Here he gained valuable experience as a station manager. He also explored some of the land to the north-west of the Hunter, crossing the Liverpool Plains to the Namoi River and then down the Darling River to the site of the present day town of Bourke.

Although he had become a squatter he was sympathetic to the claims of the people on the land. In 1838, in response to Governor Sir George Gipps' moves to prohibit further expansion beyond the north-western limits of settlement Robertson represented the pastoralists of the Namoi region at a protest meeting of some 50 squatters held at the Royal Hotel in Sydney.

Among those present at the meeting, which had a successful outcome, were Alexander Busby and (Sir)Saul Samuel.

On 9 May of that year he married Margaret Emma Davies and purchased free-hold land near Scone in the upper Hunter district where he grew wheat.

By 1840 Robertson was the licensee of a 20,000 acre property called 'Arrarrowme' in the Liverpool Plains district. Three years later, because of financial problems, he was forced to sell a 320 acre farm at Jerry's Plains.

In the same year of the forced sale, 1843, the first elections for the Legislative Council were held and the seat for the County of Durham was won by Richard Windeyer. One of Windeyer's strongest supporters was John Robertson. When Robertson's first son was born, in 1851, he was named Richard. By now Robertson was beginning to understand the complex land question and the inferior legislative position of the farmers and the class bias of some of the wealthy squatters.

In 1844, because he was concerned about Governor Gipps' powers and also the interference of the British Government in Colonial affairs, he once again supported the squatters against the Governor's arbitrary regulations. He campaigned throughout the Hunter District- Muswellbrook, Scone, Singleton, Jerry's Plains and Maitland. Petitions were sent to both the Legislative Council and the British Government in Westminster. Despite his active support of this campaign he totally rejected the claims of the squatters to security of tenure of their leases and refused to support Archibald Boyd and join the Pastoral Association of N.S.W.

Robertson's active participation in rural affairs was developing his political beliefs: the need for responsible government based on equal electorates and a franchise to control both the arrogance of the squatters and the local and British imperial authorities.

He did not at that time become involved in any form of government but he did share some of the aims of the newly formed 'Constitutional Party' which included people such as Bro, (Sir)Charles Cowper, Sir Charles Nicholson, Bro. William Charles Wentworth, Lang and Windeyer. At Maitland, in 1848, a meeting was arranged to protest against Bro. Lord Grey's Constitution. Robertson proposed an amendment, which was carried, 'that the Colony did not want a House of Lords or a bench of Bishops'.

The 1850s saw the emergence of Robertson as perhaps the politician most representative of the colonists of N.S.W. Most of his contemporaries were still influenced by Imperial snobbery and family connections, with the possible exception of Bro. W. C. Wentworth. However the latter's outlook had been changed by age and wealth and he was no longer the radical of his youth. Only Robertson had an intimate knowledge of the out-back and the question of land. Land was to remain a major problem for the rest of the 19th century and consequently to be the focus of Robertson's Parliamentary career.

Because of Robertson's peculiar voice, embellished by a profane vocabulary and an enviable capacity to partake of, and to hold, his liquor which combined with a complete lack of sartorial elegance, his bushman's clothes were always crumpled from time spent in the saddle, he was not accepted by so-called "polite" society. In spite of these shortcomings he was described as being "handsome, with reddish brown hair and beard, with blue eyes, slightly above middle height and apparently very healthy".

After the separation of Victoria from N.S.W. The Legislative Council seats were redistributed by an Act of Parliament known as Thomson's Electoral Act of 1850. This redistribution-towns 11 members (pop. 75,000), the Counties 17 (80,000) and pastoral districts 8 (30,000) and a restricted franchise convinced Robertson that Wentworth, the squatters and local officials had co-operated to maintain a monopoly of the land.

In 1853 Wentworth chaired a meeting which submitted a responsible Government constitution bill and stated that it had 'no wish to sow the seeds of a future democracy'. Because of this statement Robertson joined, and became the most radical member of the Constitution Committee whose aim was to liberalise the Constitution. In correspondence to Lang he claimed that Wentworth was attempting to 'saddle us with a hereditary upper house...and all the paraphernalia of attendant rascalities'. He thought that the British Constitution was vague, aristocratic and largely inapplicable to colonial conditions.

He argued for universal adult suffrage, though he reluctantly quoted the Bible to exclude women and children, and electorates based on equal population. He wanted only one House, serving a two year term, but yielded to public opinion which wanted two Houses. His upper house was to consist of 25 members, elected by the Assembly, and with 5 members to go out every two years.

At a public meeting, in 1854, he was successful in having adopted a petition that was against the nominee upper House, the two-thirds majority for amendment and the electoral distribution clauses of the Constitution. The petition was forwarded to Premier Lowe for presentation to the British Parliament.

The subsequent Constitution of 1856, modified in London, was far removed from his ideal and his intense opposition to it caused a break-down in his health- affecting his voice and his heart.

At the first election in 1856, despite his health preventing him from active participation in campaigning, he won the seat of Phillip, Brisbane and Bligh. His platform was manhood suffrage, vote by secret ballot, equal electoral districts(in population), abolition of state aid to religion, National education, free trade and free selection of Crown land before survey.

He believed that the key to basic social reform was change in land policy allowing settlers, mainly agricultural with very little capital, to have ready access to land even if already occupied on lease-hold by squatters.

Over the next five years, 1856-61, Robertson was dominant in colonial politics. His determination and unique insight led him to implement land reform. He stressed the interdependent rights of both farmers and graziers. He opposed bills submitted by Donaldson, Parker and Cowper and was recognised as the outstanding land reformer.

Cowper appointed him secretary for lands and works on 13 January 1858. He at once began reforming and extending the infant Department of Lands. In Parliament, apart from land regulations, he assisted Cowper in his successful electoral amendment bill which brought in adult franchise, increased the seats from 54 to 80 plus 1, provisionally for the University of Sydney. These numbers were later reduced to 72 plus 1 when Queensland separated in 1859.

In the general election of June 1859, now representing Upper Hunter, and as Secretary for Land, Robertson re-organised the Surveyor-Generals Department. In September of that year he put forward three bills- crown land sales, crown land occupation and leased land occupation. When the last of these bills was lost, 27 for to 20 against, he withdrew the other two bills.

Cowper put forward a public education bill with which Robertson was in complete disagreement. The bill was defeated in the Parliament and the ministry resigned. Cowper resigned his seat the next day and Robertson became Leader of the Opposition.

The new ministry, led by Forster, only lasted until February 1860 when Robertson formed his first ministry, as Minister for Lands, with Cowper, as a Council member as Colonial Secretary. By September of that year he had his land reform ready when he brought down the Crown lands alienation bill and the crown lands occupation bill. Both bills passed the second reading but in October an important clause was defeated in committee- 33 to 28. Robertson sought and obtained a dissolution on the issue and faced a General election in December.

This political crisis attracted Australia wide publicity. It was obvious that Robertson had manipulated proceedings so that he could get his land reform before the electors. This was the first time that electors had an opportunity to decide any political issue. After land reform probably the most important issue, as far as Robertson was concerned was state aid to Churches. He was supported by a cross-section of liberals, including Cowper who was back in Parliament as member for East Sydney.

The momentum built up by the reform agenda drew support from electors from both town and country. Robertson experienced a personal triumph from the outcome of the elections. Of the 53 candidates who said they supported land reform 35 were elected and of these 25 wanted abolition of State aid. The 14 candidates who opposed land reform were all defeated. There were no clear party lines but it was obvious that what was now referred to as the 'new democracy' had helped to dissolve the old conservative order.

Robertson decided that in order to see his legislation through both Houses it would be better to stand down as Premier which he did on 9 January 1861 and Cowper became Premier again. He was obviously beginning to annoy the establishment as 'The Sydney Morning Herald' of the day began to refer to him as the 'Dictator'

He submitted his bills on 16 January and both were sent up to the Council on 27 March. He resigned from parliament on the next day and was appointed to the Council, on 3 April and stubbornly refused to accept any amendments put forward by the conservatives. He convinced Cowper to persuade the Governor, Sir John Young, to swamp the Council or the Cabinet would resign. The Governor, influenced by the fact that the end of the first 5 year appointments were imminent, agreed. This caused the President, Sir William Burton, and 18 other conservatives to resign leaving the Council without a quorum.

On 24 June during the subsequent reconstruction Robertson was re-appointed but was unable to re-introduce his legislation due to a technicality. This was not to prove to be a barrier as on 18 September Cowper presented both bills in the Assembly and assent was obtained on 18th October. One, An Act for Regulating the Alienation of Crown Lands, 24 October 1861, was known as Crown Lands Act of 1861 or Robertson's Land Act.

Robertson's land reforms have been seen by some historians as triumphs for the 'middle classes' including owners of freehold land and urban liberals, over the squatters, with no sincere intention of concentrated land settlement. This over simplification was not acceptable to colonial society. Some of the squatters were, in fact, urban residents of varied occupations and interests, both financial and political. Even Robertson was an example of the social and political complexity. He was a country freeholder, who also held squatters leasehold and who leased land to tenant farmers.

It is said that only Robertson had the depth of knowledge of the demand for easy access to land for all who wanted it and also that agriculture was a means for both land settlement and economic differentiation.

His colleagues, most of whom did not really understand the complexities of what he was trying to achieve were carried along by the force of his personality and his relentless energy to accept the proposition that freehold land could now be purchased in 320 acre lots at £1 per acre, on a deposit of 5 shillings per acre. The balance was to be paid within 3 years, interest free for three quarters of the loan and so as to obstruct speculators a bona fide residence was to be built on the land. This was to be the greatest social theme in nineteenth Australian History.

With the assistance of John Garrett, father of his friend Thomas Garrett, he was able to re-enter the Assembly as the member for Shoalhaven on 7 January 1862. During that same month he lost some of his popularity when he not only allowed the promoters of the first English Cricket team to charge admission to a match in the Sydney Domain but also arranged a free stand for parliamentarians.

In October he was able to assist Cowper to push through his grants for public worship prohibition bill. Robertson had gathered around him a group of admiring followers and he had a few electoral agents but in no sense did he have a political party. His giving of complete loyalty distinguished him from devious and ambitious politicians like Martin and Parkes.

Because of difficulty in managing colonial finances Cowper lost office in October 1863 and this began a period of 15 years in which there were no less than 11 ministries of which Robertson led 3. The other ministries were Martin 3, Cowper 2, Parkes 2, and Bro. J. S. Farnell 1.

Robertson contributed to this instability and was also affected by it. It was a time when the colony was suffering from a balance of payments deficit and Martin was proposing a protective tariff. The fiscal issue appeared for the first time at the 1864-65 election. Robertson, always a free trader had always put land reform before economics and his constituency at West Sydney was predominantly a free trade area with working class voters.

This financial problem predominated in Cowper's new ministry, in which Robertson was again Secretary for Lands, 3 February 1865, and Martin's plans needed to put into operation. This conflicted with the liberal ideas of the '50s dream of a new prosperity based on free trade and liberal land reform, religion, railways and education. Robertson also found that the Lands department could not be reorganised quickly enough to cope with problems of increased work and complexity.

As well as parliamentary financial problems he had problems of his own. His political career had ended his control of his Upper Hunter property and he had speculated in squatting in North Queensland. As these properties demanded his attention he resigned from Parliament on 10 October 1865 but under pressure from his constituents who requested that he 'devote such portion of his time and attention...to watch and defend[his] great measures of reform'. They renominated him and he regained the seat again on 18 October and by the end of the year he was again active in the Assembly.

The investments in Queensland were undertaken with a syndicate comprising Robertson Bro. Sir Alexander Stuart (a former Premier of New South Wales), J. G. McDonald and Captain Robert Towns- founder of the port that bears his name, Townsville. The syndicate took up 1,000,000 acres watered by the Gregory, Nicholson and Leichhardt Rivers. The properties included Floraville, Gregory Downs, Inkerman, Carpentaria Downs, Miranda Downs and smaller runs. Towns was later to take over the interest of the others by settling a bank mortgage for £25,000. MacDonald remained on as manager and pastoral inspector. Robertson's debt to (Sir) Alexander Stuart and Captain Robert Towns was £168,783, but his final deficiency was £6746.

In September 1868 MacDonald, famous for his long horseback rides, led a party from the port of Bowen to the Gulf of Carpentaria and back. This was a ride of 740 miles each way. A member of the party was 'a rough and ready bushman, John Robertson, a leading member of the New South Wales Parliament and former Premier (he was to be Premier 3 times more). He was one of Robert Town's partners. "Big John" Robertson, as he was known, was also famous for his bullocky's profanity and for his forthright speech.'

The party was feted in Burketown after their 740 mile ride. They then boarded the "Pioneer" and sailed to Sweers Island in the Gulf and attended another banquet. They returned to the town on the Norman River (now Normanton) where they and 40 guests sat down to dinner at Borck's Hotel. They then set on the 740 mile return trip to Bowen via Carpentaria Downs and the Upper Burdekin.

In 1865 after 4 years of operation of his land Acts, which had solved some of the problems, it was becoming evident that the pastoral industry was still pre-eminent and run lessees remained both vocal and powerful and further reforms were needed. Even if Robertson's personal affairs and political conditions had been favourable it is doubtful that his own vanity and obstinacy would have allowed him to admit changes were necessary. But in the climate then prevailing changes were impossible.

Cowper, on 1 January 1866, in an attempt to arrest his group's political decline brought Robertson back as Secretary for Lands. In the election following his appointment the anti-Robertson feeling amongst his opponents showed the extent of the disillusionment. After an electoral meeting at which he was shouted down '*The Sydney Morning Herald*' remarked 'that his incomparable eloquence no longer had the power to charm'. The paper also blamed him for shortcomings of the previous administration's application of the Land Alienation Act. Despite his protestations to both the paper and the working class voters he lost West Sydney on 17 January and the Ministry resigned on 21 January.

Part of the Herald's attack was that he was 'the President of the Fennian Society'. He denied this and said that he was sympathetic with the Irish [National] League 'which upheld Ireland's just claims and requirements'. In fact he had responded to a powerful demand on colonial politicians: discreet adjustment to various sectarian pressures. He was the President of the local branch of the league in 1864-65 but, as a Freemason, he nicely combined independence, open-heartedness and tolerance, and was never controlled by any organisation. As the member for Clarence he was elected at a by-election and supported Parkes' public schools bill, although he argued that it conceded too much to denominational prejudices.

By now Robertson was living in a fine house, "Clovelly" (Robertson Park), Watson's Bay and any problems, personal and political, did not affect his spirits. 'In the House his voice remained the loudest, his language the most violent and his attitudes the most distorted'.

In 1867 A. A. P Tighe remarked 'He may be a great man in the club-houses, at the street corners, and in the taproom; but in this house he is no more than myself' and Martin compared him to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus 'in that both advocated the cause of free selection, both hit upon the same amount of land for each individual...[and] both had been the idols of the people...[and] both had been deserted by the people'.

Cowper again became Premier on 13 January 1870 but Robertson resigned his seat on 22 February because of his bankruptcy.

As a sign of the progress being made in the social fabric of the colony, the 'new democracy' and the establishment came together to assist Robertson. Two public meetings were held in March and a committee of 28 was formed to raise and invest money for the benefit of Mr. Robertson's family.

He regained his seat on 2 March, was discharged from bankruptcy in August and returned as Secretary for Lands. The Ministry lasted until Cowper accepted the position of agent-general in London and his government resigned on 15 December 1870. The next day, much to the shock of his friends, Robertson joined Martin's ministry as colonial secretary. This action reflected the flexibility of colonial politicians and heralded in a decade of sterile exchanges of governments between Robertson and Parkes.

In the next two years the Martin ministry only passed 7 of 18 non-financial bills and had managed to upset Victoria because of failure to re-negotiate the border duties agreement. Robertson entered into some lively correspondence with (Sir) Charles Gavan Duffy and spoke strongly of what he called Victoria's rapacity.

In 1874, Robertson upset the Governor, Bro. Sir Hercules Robinson, when he criticised the Governor's language in his executive Council minute on the release of the bush-ranger Frank Gardner. The Parkes ministry fell because of this issue and in the subsequent election, in February 1875, Robertson collected most of the support. The Governor at first refused to commission him as colonial secretary but finally did so. This ministry included his old friend Bro. W. B. Dalley.

This ministry lasted until March 1877, then Parkes until August when Robertson returned again only to obtain a dissolution in October.

Although he had been made a K.C.M.G. and was known as the 'Knight of Clovelly' his support was declining. At his nomination for West Sydney in October 1877 he was booed more than he was cheered and he lost his seat. But he was still popular in the country. He was nominated for both Mudgee and East Macquarie and took up the seat for Mudgee.

With the Governor's assistance events were starting to catch up on both Robertson and Parkes who, although they had a mutual dislike, were about to combine in the strongest pre-1894 colonial government. It is said that Robertson made several cronies out of his many friends but that Parkes had few friends.

In December 1878, when Farnell failed to amend the land laws and was defeated, Sir Hercules Robinson refused a dissolution and requested Robertson and Parkes to form a coalition ministry, believing this would be the only viable government.

Robertson true to form demonstrated his intention, in regard to co-operation, by selecting a ministry from amongst his friends, one of whom, Watson, shared the Governor's views. It did not take Robertson long to realise that his proposed ministry would not function and that Parliament was fast becoming unworkable. On 13 December he resigned his seat in a characteristic mix of stubborn pride, solidarity and self-sacrifice. This action ensured that his friends were able to remain and form part of a coalition cabinet, and he also knew that Parkes could attract enough of those friends, and with his own supporters, he would then be able to organise an effective government.

There was no actual collusion between Robertson and Parkes but his resignation did facilitate a meeting between his and Parkes supporters. They then elected Sir Henry as Leader of the Opposition and then, on 18 December, defeated Farnell. Which was the result that the Governor had intended when he refused Farnell a dissolution.

In order to ensure Robertson's on-going support Parkes offered Robertson the positions of vice-president of the Executive Council and representative of the Government in the Legislative Council, on salary. Robertson accepted on 21 December.

The new Government then proceeded to clear the back-log of legislation caused by ten years of neglect. 131 public bills were brought down by ministers in that term of office and 85 were passed. In fact, for the first time, ministers' bills exceeded private bills- reform was achieved in electoral law, education, hotel licensing and changes were made to land, mining and local government laws. Much to the relief of Sir Hercules Robinson financial legislation was passed on time. So successful was the coalition that they were re-elected in 1880.

Robertson quickly adjusted to the quite different methods of the Council and was responsible, to a large part, in its success. He added the important portfolio of the first minister of public education to his posts. But he finally fell out with Parkes and resigned on 10 November 1881 because of Parkes's antagonism towards his friends E. A. Baker and Garrett over the Royal Commission report on the Milburn Creek Copper Mining Co.

His resignation provided the opportunity to amend his land laws which were proving to be more and more un-workable. A number of factors such as geography, transport and markets ensured that agriculture was inferior to the pastoral industry. Robertson's Acts had contributed to substantial increase in land settlement and wheat acreage. As a result there was a great deal of conflict between squatters and selectors and this brought about litigation and some lawlessness. Robertson refused to accept that change to the law was necessary but he was losing support, even from free settler groups, and his absence was seized upon to implement the changes.

But when Parkes, because of ill-health and a trip overseas, invited Robertson to become acting Premier he jumped at the chance. The minister for lands, S. H. Terry, resigned his seat of Mudgee so as to make way for Robertson and he immediately set about reversing the new land policy.

His domination of the Cabinet was such that when he brought down his crown law bill in October, Parkes had resumed as Premier in August, it virtually re-introduced his bill of 1861. The bill failed to pass the second reading, a dissolution was granted and the government resigned on 4 January 1883. The government lost the subsequent election but Robertson retained his seat.

The new Stuart government took almost 12 months to pass a new Crown Lands Act, 1884 and Robertson was to a large part responsible for the time it took. This period was almost the end of a great parliamentary career. He retained the seat of Mudgee in the election of October 1885 and through his opposition to the financial policy of Bro. (Sir) G. R. Dibbs brought about the fall of that ministry on 22 December. He tried without success to persuade Parkes to join a coalition ministry. Parkes, sensing Robertson's decline, refused stating 'So that he might bucket me the first chance he had'. Robertson formed a ministry but it collapsed on 25 February 1886.

Robertson was responsible for the reservation and dedication of the (Royal) National Park, south of Sydney, and was Chairman of Trustees. While working in the Park, after the fall of his ministry, he injured his leg. This accident only added to his dejection and with money problems he resigned his seat. on 18 June.

His 30 years service to parliament was recognised by the Jennings government decision to grant him £10,000, a decision with which the colony agreed.

Robertson was strongly opposed to Federation, in fact, his idea of Australia was the original New South Wales and he had an intense dislike for Victoria. When proposing a toast of 'Prosperity to Victoria' he had said 'I have never had any miserable objection or petty feeling against Victoria....I claim to be an Australian'. In the 1860s and 1870s Victorian settlers had moved into the Riverina and Victorian politicians had made statements about annexation.

In 1875 he had made a submission to the British parliament stressing the urgency of Britain occupying New Guinea and its adjoining islands. His view of Britain's role was one of his objections to national union. He had spoken out strongly in Parliament 1884-85 to criticise Federation and was opposed to New South Wales joining the Federal Council in 1884. He wrote numerous letters to the press in the late 80s expressing his opinions- described as 'some cogent , others violent and irrational.' Unlike Parkes he failed to see the need for or the advantages of Federation.

Lady Robertson had not shared her husband's public life but had lived quietly at their home at Watson's Bay where she died on 6 August 1889 leaving two of her three sons and five of her six daughters.

Robertson died on 18 May 1891 and was buried beside his wife in the Presbyterian Section of the nearby South Head Cemetery. Public subscriptions raised the money for the erection over the grave of a stone obelisk, carved by J. H. Hunt. Statues of Robertson are situated at the Sydney domain and the Lands Department building in Bridge Street, Sydney.

Robertson's name lives on in the township of Robertson, the centre of a rich dairy and potato growing district, which was named in recognition of the fact that Robertson's Land Act enabled the development of the area formerly known as Yarrawa. The district is situated in the Southern Highlands on the edge of the Illawarra escarpment and is accessible from Kiama and Wollongong by a very steep and winding road known as Macquarie Pass.

Possibly the most revealing story about Robertson's genial and convivial character is his reported reaction to the death of James Day, who fell into a well at "Clovelly". "When Robertson found out he started swearing in the full vigour of his man-hood. He had kept the man from the days of his laghood, and now when he had b..... well got him to a home where he could end his days in comfort he must go and b.... well drown himself. Robertson gave him a b.... good funeral and was chief mourner".

Masonic Career

John Robertson was admitted to Freemasonry as a member of Robert Burns Lodge of Australia No. 1119 English Constitution. This lodge later became No. 817 E.C. and then No. 21 United Grand Lodge of New South Wales.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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