

MAKING GOOD IN VAN DIEMEN'S
LAND

ROBERT LOGAN - CONVICT AND MERCHANT

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Abbreviations used in footnotes:

AA: Australian Archives, Bellerive
AOT: Archives Office of Tasmania
ADB: Australian Dictionary of Biography
BMD: Births, Marriages and Deaths Records
GST: Genealogical Society of Tasmania
HRA: Historic Records of Australia
HRNSW Historic Records of NSW
HTA: *Hobart Town Advertiser*
HTC: *Hobart Town Courier*
HTG: *Hobart Town Gazette*
IGI: International Genealogical Index
LC: Legislative Council
NRO: Northumbrian Record Office
PRO: Public Record Office, London and Kew
RAHS: Royal Australian Historical Association
SLT(Tas): State Library of Tasmania
(Tasmaniana)
THRA: Tasmanian Historical Research
Association

Where other reference is not given, file
numbers are from AOT

INTRODUCTION

The name Tasmania, still more its former version, Van Diemen's Land, is inextricably linked in the public mind with convictism and the era of transportation. The worst aspects of convictism, naturally enough, are the ones which have for many years captured the attention of writers of works such as Marcus Clarke's "For the Term of his Natural Life"¹, the obvious example. The excessive severity, by today's standards, of the original sentences, the horrors of the passage out, the brutality exercised frequently in the name of discipline, the total helplessness of victims of unjust treatment, the sheer animality of the degradation to which some were reduced and which to others was habitual, the violence of one convict to another, all tend to fix the 'horror' image in the public mind to the extent that even today it is a rich source of sensational ideas for the popular writer and the tourist industry.²

In contrast, last century, the 'They'd-never-had-it-so-good' school of thought, concerned with maintaining the punitive function of the system and uneasily suspicious that convicts came to Van Diemen's Land as to the promised land and flourished mightily, were bolstered in their beliefs by tales reaching England of cases like that of Henry Savery, clerk and journalist, and of countless others living like gentlemen in exile. More recent studies which contrast social conditions in British cities of the time, especially London, with life in

¹ Australian Classics edition, Hawthorn Vic.1970

² Recent work at Port Arthur attempts a more balanced approach, with mixed success.

the colonies, imply with more justification and more moderately, that in most cases the intended sufferer was in fact better off as a convict or ex-convict transportee than at home.

Witnesses before the Select Committees of the House of Commons last century set up to examine the system supplied ample evidence to support both extreme views. In any case their conclusions tended to reflect, or at least be coloured by, the moral attitudes of their members. A totally accurate picture was unlikely to emerge from those sources.

The innumerable modern studies of the system - as a whole or in part - most prominently A G L Shaw's "Convicts and the Colonies" and L L Robson's "Convict Settlers of Australia"³, emphasise the enormous complexity of the system in Van Diemen's Land and the variety of convict experience under both the assignment and probation systems. For an unfortunate many, the system was indeed a hell on earth, whether in government gangs or with private masters; on the other hand, for others material success came to a spectacular degree. There was as well a more muted kind of success - to survive the servitude, earn enough to live on, establish a family and a place in the colony, even if unable to return 'home', to bear, however lightly, the criminal 'brand' for the rest of one's life - this too was the convict experience. This was the experience of Robert Logan.

Obviously there is no such person as the typical convict. It is possible however to examine the histories of individual convicts in sufficient detail to be able to say, "Well, for this man, it was like this." This study is only indirectly concerned with the theoretical

³ London 1966 and Melbourne 1965 respectively

aspects of secondary punishment and its purposes, punitive and reformatory. It follows Robert Logan on his road to respectability, a road surprisingly close to the path followed by the colony of Van Diemen's Land itself.

As a convict Robert Logan arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1829 to find a struggling settlement, predominantly convict in population and spirit and struggling economically. When he died in Sandy Bay in 1882, Van Diemen's Land had become Tasmania. It had achieved responsible government, if not total independence; it was economically more secure, and had done its utmost, as a society, to remove the shameful traces of its convict past. The same might have been said of Robert Logan.

Logan's history is that of an ordinary man, yet it impinges on most of the main issues in the colony between 1830 and 1880. He experienced the convict system at the height of Governor Arthur's organisation; he suffered some of the effects of the change from assignment to probation. He was a shepherd at Bothwell when the Midlands were being opened up for the pastoral industry. He participated in the transformation of the Hobart district of Battery Point from a seamen's village to an residential suburb. He bought a ship which had been built for whaling and had taken miners to California in '49; his timber business felt the boost of the Mainland gold-rushes. His wife's father was a seaman in the First Fleet, yet his grandson planned the Ulverstone railway and his son-in-law was involved in the mining boom of the '80s.

Logan's experience prompts an examination of the matter of pardons, particularly the use of Absolute Pardons. For later policies

concerning Conditional and Absolute Pardons under Eardley-Wilmot, Denison and Fox-Young reference had to be made to the original despatches in the papers of the Governor's Office and to the *Hobart Town Gazette*. Logan's quest for an Absolute Pardon ended with his Petition to the Queen in 1853, and the correspondence resulting therefrom. Colonial Office despatches make it clear that the main concern of Her Majesty's Government at that time was to prevent the return of pardoned convicts to the United Kingdom.

His story confirms the experience of others, that while the attitudes of mid-Victorian society to ex-convicts and their descendants were almost incomprehensibly rigid in the eyes of today's more tolerant society, and generated violent antipathies in their time, these attitudes could be overcome to some extent by long and patient effort and business success. Nevertheless, the usual strategy was complete secrecy for several generations about the family background.

For many convicts, once here, the period of actual penal servitude was comparatively short. Much of it was served under assignment to private employers where conditions were often similar to those of ordinary labourers.⁴ A much greater proportion of a convict's life was spent in the colony after release. Logan served as an assigned servant for eight years; on a Ticket-of Leave or Conditional Pardon he was his own master for the next 44 years. Important though it is, the convict system is only part of the story; the man and the colony are the rest.

⁴ The helplessness of an assigned convict under a ruthless master was of course one of the main faults of the assignment system. The extent of abuse of the system is difficult to quantify. See Shaw A G L, *Convicts and the Colonies* Melbourne 1981 p 226

To evaluate his part in the system, it is necessary to examine not only his experience and the experiences of his immediate descendants, but to look at what was happening around him in this new world into which, like so many others, he was so abruptly catapulted.

1 - BERWICK UPON TWEED

Circumstances were unfavourable for Robert Logan from the very start. He was born in Berwick upon Tweed, in the extreme north of England, on 13 June 1808, the illegitimate son of Grace Logan, single woman, by Robert Inglis. His baptism on 22 June is recorded in the Anglican parish register for that town. In 1812 a Grace Logan, who termed herself a widow, married a John Griffin and vanishes, leaving no further record.¹ Some clue as to Logan's education comes from the fact that his marriage certificate signed in 1841 in Hobart is marked with a cross, although later, after his marriage he could produce a perfectly presentable signature.² Nothing more seems to be known of Robert Logan until he was concerned in a somewhat spectacular crime in Berwick upon Tweed in 1829.

This old town near the Scottish border held within its walls a mass of old tenements, narrow alleys, cobbled streets and dark laneways. Parts of the walls were popular promenades; other parts crumbled in ruins, the fortifications abandoned. Money was scarce - it was a town of small businesses and a centre for local farmers.

From the trial papers emerge a few facts concerning Logan's way of life at that time. Aged 20, he worked for a butcher, a Mr Shanks, and lived in a house that was referred to as Logan's place, but which appears to have been something of a tenement. Not only did he and his

¹ IGI Index for Northumberland.

² AOT RGD 43/2 422; CSD1/68 p30



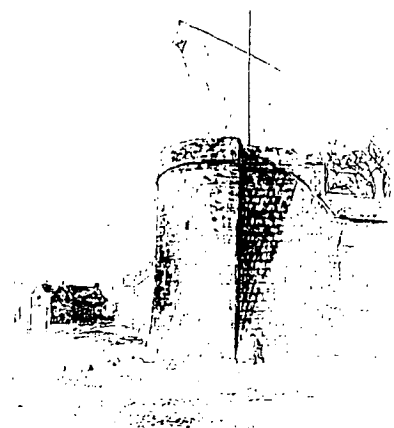
The Sallyport, Berwick.



Berwick from the Scots Gate.



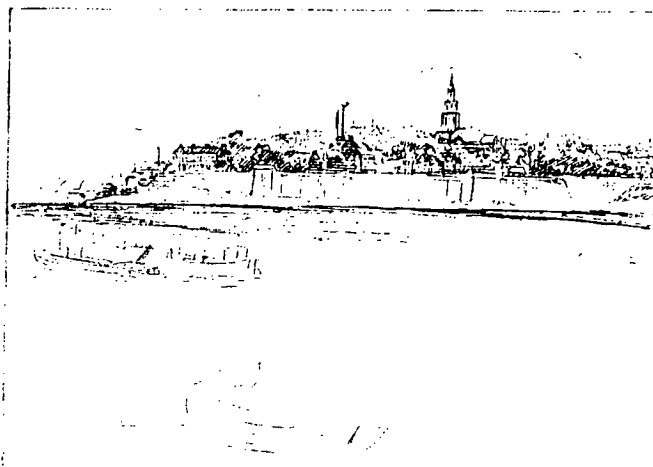
A Eynay, Berwick.



Walls of Berwick, low tide, showing storm drain.



House in Berwick, Berwick.



Berwick, from Spittal.

friends send upstairs to buy whisky, but another older man, James Penman, was said to have a room on the same floor as Logan. Penman had a wife and two children, but there is no indication that they lived there too. Also in the house, one witness said in Logan's room, lived two young boys, James Shortridge and Roger Bryson. Logan was said to have explained that they were there because they had nowhere else to go, and when, in the course of the robbery Logan told all the men to remove their shoes, it was noticed that the two boys were already barefoot - this in Berwick in March would hardly be by choice. Isabella Pearson, Logan's aunt received and pawned some of the stolen property. She claimed she did so under threats, but was said by Penman, who admittedly was trying to discredit her evidence,

*" to be addicted to every kind of debauchery,...known to remain in a state of intoxication for months at a time... and her want of veracity is so proverbial that the slightest credit cannot be given to what she relates."*³

And on the day of the crime, a working day, a group of young men had gathered in Logan's room, drinking and playing cards from 3 pm until about 1 am. All these factors add up to a general picture of low life, in fact, near depravity. One's impression is that the young men were not undeserving of the description of 'young delinquents' and 'juvenile banditti' later used by the *Berwick Advertiser*,⁴ which also remarked, after their arrest

*These youths seem to have entered into a system of housebreaking as they were provided with a great quantity of skeleton keys.*⁵

³ *Berwick Advertiser* 9 May 1829

⁴ *Berwick Advertiser* Editorial, 9 May 1829

⁵ *Berwick Advertiser* 10 April, 1829

The newspaper also suggested that they were suspected of complicity in an earlier serious robbery. Apparently they were known to the police.

Penman was older, 27; most of the men were in their early twenties or less, and the boys younger still. Of Logan's character, more later, but the whole sorry affair seems to have been in the nature of a drunken spree, in an environment of poverty, rough living and crime.

The offence was committed on 19 March 1829, the men were arrested about 11 April and were tried on 6 May.⁶ Penman, Logan and an acquaintance, Ralph Todd, who lived elsewhere, together with the two boys Shortridge and Bryson, were charged with breaking into the warehouse of David Chartres, cabinetmaker and upholsterer, and stealing a quantity of furnishing chintz, cottons, webbing and some brass fittings, valued by Chartres at £10-£15.

The story, as told by Messrs Bathbridge and Ingham, the prosecutors, was that all the accused, together with Henry Winn and John Shanks, son of Logan's employer, had met at Logan's about 3 pm on Thursday, 19 March, drinking and playing cards until late at night, when it was proposed that they should go out on a spree. After discussion, it was decided to rob Mr Chartres' shop. Winn disagreed and left, later being called as witness.

The prisoners and Shanks went to Hyde Hill (the street of the warehouse) and the boys were sent to see if a door onto the passage (or alley) was open. Logan and Penman kept watch, then Logan produced keys and opened another door to the wareroom. All removed goods to Logan's house, but when they proposed to return for another

⁶ Northumberland Record Office, Gaol Delivery papers C6.

lot, Bryson refused to go. Finally returning home, they decided to hide the goods in a recess called the Flanker, part of a bastion on the old city walls, the town's fortifications. The booty was placed in a canvas bag and placed behind a big stone there. About a week later, Shanks, feeling some compunction, proposed to Todd, who appears to have been thoroughly frightened, that Chartres' property should be left in the alley near his warehouse. On visiting the Flanker with Winn, however, they found the bag had been removed.

The prosecution said that Isabella Pearson, Logan's aunt, would testify to having heard the men talk of the robbery, and to having tried to pawn certain pieces of cloth. A Mrs Pounder would admit to having bought the cloth, under instructions from a constable. Finally, a canvas bag containing brasses had been turned up in a field on 27 April by a farmer while ploughing.

This was the account as given by the prosecution, and Winn, Mrs Pearson, Mrs Pounder, Chartres and Huntley the farmer all gave evidence to confirm it. But the chief witness and most damaging was one of the ringleaders, John Shanks himself, who had chosen to save his skin by turning King's Evidence, after having first run away and been arrested at South Shields. Not even the Recorder (a type of judge) could find much in favour of Master Shanks -

No human being can appear before a jury of his countrymen whose evidence can entitle him to less credit than John Shanks, for he tells you that he was intimately acquainted with the prisoners, that he was in Logan's rooms on the night the offence was committed, drinking and gambling, and that he actually proposed to them to go and break into Mr Chartres' warehouse and possess themselves of his property by violence; therefore you must take it for granted that without corroboration, he is not entitled to the least credit. However (and here one may even detect a slight note of regret in the Recorder's tone), if you find other witnesses

*whose evidence confirms his statement, you will say, bad as he is, we nevertheless think his statement is true.*⁷

Shanks' story confirmed that of the prosecution, and brought out as well that Logan had not been drinking and was sober, though the others were quite unsteady, and that it was Logan who had made most of the decisions and had attempted to dispose of the goods later. Whether the evidence suggests an admirable clear-headedness on Logan's part, or a less admirable criminal ability, is open to question. At this point Logan stands out as the one sensible figure in a gang of drunken louts, but whether his feet were on the path of virtue or vice is doubtful. We seem to be reduced to judging the man by the company he kept. Moreover, it was a spree involving violence, proposed by Logan, who at first suggested knocking someone down and emptying his pockets. The boys claimed to have been forced to participate. One of the women witnesses claimed to have been threatened by Shanks with use of a knife. On these counts, Logan does not measure up very well, but he was, it should be remembered, not yet 21.

After evidence of identification of the goods and other details, Messrs Greenwood and Marshall, who according to the *Berwick Advertiser*, were acting gratuitously as counsel for all the prisoners, were left with very little to say, though indeed several points remained obscure. It had been suggested that Logan had been given the keys by Winn, though how Winn had got them was not clear, and the reliability of the women witnesses and others seems doubtful.

The prisoners being severally asked if they had anything to say in their defence, Penman handed in a long defence in writing. (This document is remarkable in its degree of literacy, and is well thought

⁷ *Berwick Advertiser* 9 May 1929

out, but mainly attempts to discredit each witness in turn, quite ingeniously, but unsuccessfully)⁸. Ralph Todd, described by Penman as a weak creature, and by Shanks as being too drunk to know anything that went on, claimed he was innocent and knew nothing until told of it by Shanks the next morning. Logan said he had no knowledge of it till Shanks came the next morning and called him out of bed about 5 o'clock and told him he had got a fine(illegible) and took him to the Flanker and showed him all the things "so John Shanks has brought me in for a thing I am innocent of". The other two prisoners said nothing for themselves.⁹ All were found guilty, the two boys being recommended for mercy because of their youth.

In sentencing, the Recorder's words throw an interesting light on current attitudes to transportation and its use as a means, not of reformation, but of removing offenders from the country -

Prisoners at the Bar, he said, you have all, after a very long trial, and I hope a fair one, been found guilty of a most serious crime, and certainly this is one of the most aggravated cases to be heard of in this place for a long course of years; not content with stealing the property of one person, you seem to have met for the purpose to commit depredations, to knock down and rob defenceless people in the streets - if you had done so your lives would have been in danger. The extent to which you have carried on your system of crime shows that you appear to have been part of a gang of deprecatory (sic) who do not choose to make use of any other forms of gaining a livelihood. Your continuance in Berwick cannot be permitted for a moment, and if you were in another place, perhaps you might continue that same course; therefore under those circumstances the Court do order and adjudge you, Robert Logan and James Penman, to be transported for the term of your natural lives; you, Ralph Todd, for the term of fourteen years; and you, James Shortridge and Roger Bryson, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances under which you were placed and the humane representations of the jury, to be imprisoned for two calendar months and during that period to be twice privately whipped.¹⁰

⁸ Northumberland Record Office, Berwick Quarter Sessions, C6

⁹ Berwick Advertiser 9 May 1829

¹⁰ Berwick Advertiser 9 May 1829 (Underlining is mine. EF)

The crime seems to have been unusual for Berwick, and was reported in full locally. Other cases dealt with at the same Sessions were more of the nature of disagreement about inheritance, petty stealing of a silver tea-spoon and non-payment of rent. On 6 June, it was reported:

*The convicts, Penman, Logan and Todd, on Saturday last, were put on board the Ann smack, and proceeded on their destination to the hulks. ... They appeared much affected on taking leave of their friends, who as well as all those who witnessed their departure forgetting their crime commiserated the unhappy situation to which it had brought them.*¹¹

Logan and his two partners in crime, James Penman and Ralph Todd, left Berwick upon Tweed under escort on 29 May 1829 in the smack *Ann* bound for the south of England,¹² whence they would leave by convict transport to serve their sentences of life, or in Price's case 14 years, "beyond the seas in such part or parts as His Majesty shall appoint them to go".¹³

After being held some weeks on the hulk *Ganymede* at Woolwich Arsenal, the three were placed on the *Surrey* to make the voyage to Van Diemen's Land, where they duly arrived in December 1829. It was the second ship of that name to be used to transport convicts, hence Logan's convict record always shows him as *Surrey/2* No 474.¹⁴

It may have been sheer bravado which inspired him to declare to his mates in Berwick even before their arrest that 'he did not care if

¹¹ *Berwick Advertiser* 6 June 1829

¹² *Berwick Advertiser* 6 June 1829

¹³ Northumberland Record Office C6 Record of Conviction.

¹⁴ The first *Surrey* made many voyages; *Surrey/2* appears to have made only three, of which this was the first. See Bateson C, *Convict Ships* Glasgow 1959 p172-3. Confusion exists even in official documents and in Bateson, concerning both the identity of the ships and the spelling of the name, which in this paper has been standardised to *Surrey* in all cases. Bateson attributes this 1829 voyage to the old *Surrey* (*op cit* p 386); Ship's Indent, Surgeon's Report and convict records are of *Surrey/2*.

he were transported'¹⁵ or 'he did not care if he were transported tomorrow'¹⁶. Alternatively, he may have genuinely wanted an opportunity to leave Berwick and the life there to which he was committed. Whatever his motivation, while his Gaol Report from Britain says; 'Bad character' and 'Once a month for disorderly conduct' (without specifying what happened once a month), it is a fact that once on the hulks his conduct became 'Orderly'¹⁷, and never again was a justifiable complaint made against him.¹⁸ In this he outdoes his two companions, whose records in Van Diemen's Land show that they never rose above the drinking and pilfering which brought them to Hobart Town in the first place. Logan's case appears to be one where a young man, faced with the opportunity of making a fresh start, took full advantage of it in a way that would have delighted Governor Arthur's heart, concerned as the latter was with the reformatory aspects of the convict system.

¹⁵ Evidence of John Shanks, *Berwick Advertiser* 9 May 1829

¹⁶ Evidence of Henry Winn, *Berwick Advertiser* 9 May 1829

¹⁷ AOT ML9 Ship's Indent

¹⁸ A later charge of theft was dismissed when found to be without foundation.

2 - THE CONVICT 1829-1838

The three Berwick men destined for Van Diemen's Land were perhaps fortunate in not spending a long period of time in the hulks waiting for a ship. Having left Berwick in the smack *Ann* on 31 May 1829, they would have arrived on board the *Ganymede* at Woolwich a few days later. Here they were held until sent on board the *Surrey/2* which sailed on 14 July, not much more than a month later. Conditions on the hulks were notoriously bad, with problems of overcrowding, poor food, rot and vermin.¹ Old like all these floating prisons, *Ganymede* had been the French *Hebe*, captured in the Atlantic in 1809 and converted to use as a convict ship in 1819. 127 feet in length, vessels of similar size were recorded as accommodating 500 men, in cubicles partitioned off from passageways running the length of each deck. If fit, the men worked in chains in the dockyards during the day.

200 convicts with a contingent of soldiers and some army wives left on the *Surrey/2* for Van Diemen's Land. By 1829 conditions on these transports had improved; scales of rations were fixed and each transport carried a naval Surgeon-Superintendent who was fully responsible for the convicts. The report after the voyage of the *Surrey/2* indicates that the journey was a comparatively painless one, with only one death and a minimum of hospital cases. The most

¹ Shaw AGL, *Convicts and the Colonies*, Melbourne 1966, pp 134-138. For a personal account, Tucker J, *Adventures of Ralph Rashleigh* Melbourne 1970 (this edition) ch 5. Hughes R *The Fatal Shore* ch 5.

serious of these came from among the army wives with young babies, one of which was born on board. Henry Gordon Brock, surgeon, writes:

Little comment is necessary. The prevailing disease was scurvy, which was limited in extent and mild in attack when it is considered that only 16 men were affected out of 300, all of whom were labouring under the same remote causes and equally exposed to those agents calculated to incite it. 12 of the scorbutic patients were discharged cured and the other four sent to the Colonial Hospital in a state of convalescence.

This disease appears to have been very prevalent on board the convict ships sent out this season but particularly so on board the Dunvegan Castle and America. The exciting causes on board the Surry were most manifestly augmented by a continuance of rainy weather after passing the Cape of Good Hope, by tending to vitiate the air in the prisons, particularly during the night time when the convicts were unavoidably immured below. Sgd. H G B .²

From Logan's experience of the hulks and the voyage, it would seem that the lot of a convict in 1829 was not necessarily the tale of horrors experienced by the unfortunates of the Second Fleet. Logan's next eight years under assignment to a private employer tend to confirm this judgement as his record appears remarkably troublefree. These records, part of Lieut. Governor Arthur's system of keeping complete information on the careers of all convicts, were commenced as the men left the ships for the Prisoners' Barracks in Hobart and describe Logan as follows:

1. Ship's Indent. No 474 Robert Logan alias Inglis 5'4½" Age 21. Butcher and Undershepherd - used to cattle - draw lambs and can thraw. Convicted Berwick upon Tweed 26 May 1829. Life. Native place Berwick. Single. Prot. Can read and write. Offence Warehouse-breaking. Remarks Once a month for being disorderly, very industrious.³

² PRO ADM101/70/1 Journal Surrey June-Dec 1829.

³ AOT ML 33/2

2. Conduct Register Similar to above but with *Crime, Wearous Breaking (sic) and Gaol Report, Bad character*⁴

3. Description Lists *Shepherd, 5/4½, 21, Complexion dark, Head long, Hair dark brown, Whiskers d bro, Visage long, Forehead high wrinkled, Eyebrows brown, Nose Roman, Mouth wide thick lips, Chin Short fleshy underneath, Remarks none.*⁵

With space left in the Conduct Register for future entries concerning the convict's subsequent career in the colony, it is easy to see how Arthur gained the reputation of knowing all about his charges. In fact, arriving as he did in 1829, serving his time in the 1830s when the convict system was at its greatest numerically, and having his record documented under the system established by Arthur, Logan becomes an individual example of the system in action and proof, if one were needed, of its more beneficial and less horrific aspects.

In a statement made many years later, Logan, or his legal spokesman, tells how "when he arrived in the Colony, His Excellency Sir George Arthur the then Lieutenant Governor assured Your Petitioner in common with the other men by the same Ship, that provided their conduct continued good, and becoming persons of reformed character, they should in time receive Absolute Pardons"⁶ In his zeal for reformation, or possibly for ensuring the efficiency of his convict administration, Governor Arthur was in the habit of speaking thus personally to newly arrived transports as they waited at the Prisoners' Barracks for assignment to private or government servitude. Logan appears to have taken his words to heart, for it is

⁴ AOT CON 31/27

⁵ AOT CON 18/19

⁶ PRO CO 280/305 Reel 722 Petition for Absolute Pardon. For further comment on Arthur's 'promise' see Chap 8.

from this time that the 'youthful delinquent' of Berwick gives place to the earnest and ambitious tradesman of his later life.

Of the 200 convicts on *Surrey/2*, 135 were transferred to settlers.⁷ Logan was perhaps fortunate in being assigned to James Sinclair Brodie, settler on the Upper Clyde, away from bad company, while his two companions remained in Hobart Town with its temptations, to which they rapidly succumbed. Being classed as a shepherd, Logan found himself in a rural setting, almost at the edge of settlement; Penman and Todd, both cabinet-makers, went to masters in the capital before being removed to road gangs at Spring Hill and Grass Tree Hill for misdemeanours. Logan's story therefore touches upon another aspect of the wider history of Tasmania - the expansion of pastoral settlement in the 1820s and 1830s in the Midlands. He was assigned briefly to a Mr I or J Bisdee in the Midlands before being sent by 1832 to James Sinclair Brodie.⁸ His employer, J S Brodie, had arrived with his father David Brodie and several brothers from Caithness in Scotland in 1823. David Brodie obtained a grant of 1250 acres on the Clyde south-east of Bothwell and named the property 'Berriedale'. He was part of a considerable Scottish community in the area. It was high, rough country, fairly heavily timbered but good for sheep, valued by the Land Commissioners on a visit in March 1827 at 4/- per acre.⁹ They also commented "Brodie lives on his grant", a lonely, even hazardous, undertaking, as was shown when on 2 February 1830, his hut was burned and he himself was speared three times in an attack by aborigines.¹⁰ David Brodie made over his grant

⁷ PRO CO 714/146

⁸ Initial ambiguous in HO 46 AJCP Reel 78, Convict Muster. Mr Isaac Bisdee was at Bothwell, Mr Joseph Bisdee at Oatlands in 1843 Census; Mr John Bisdee held land at Jericho (ADB 1).

⁹ McKay A (ed), *Journals of the Land Commissioners* Hobart 1962 p46

¹⁰ *Colonial Times* 12/2/1830

to his son James Sinclair Brodie and Logan was assigned to J S Brodie as a shepherd. As a holder of 1250 acres, Brodie would have been entitled to about four assigned convicts, and several ruined huts about the property today suggest the use of at least some shepherds for outlying flocks. A contemporary Bothwell neighbour enlarges the picture:

My father got some prisoners on the usual terms: £9 a year wages and their rations, - an abundant supply of meat and flour, tea and sugar.¹¹

Logan stayed with J S Brodie for the whole eight years of his term as an assigned convict. This in itself is a testimony to his good behaviour. He appears to have given complete satisfaction as not even the smallest complaint was lodged against him, with one exception. In that case, the record states:

June 15 1831 J S Brodie/ Suspected of Stealing or being Accessory to Stealing Ten one pound Notes of Van Diemen's Land. Dischd./A. Reid Esq.¹²

Logan's version of the incident is that it

'originated in a misapprehension on the part of his Master, Mr Brodie (the money mentioned therein having been subsequently found by him) upon which occasion Your Petitioner was of course at once and fully acquitted.¹³

Certainly Logan was lucky to have had this last minute reprieve, as such a charge could have meant a flogging, might well have prevented his obtaining a Ticket of Leave and possibly doomed him to suffer a period at Macquarie Harbour or Port Arthur - enough to change the whole course of his future life. His two former partners in crime went into the chain gangs for much less.

¹¹ Jane Reid in *Clyde Company Papers: Prologue* p 30

¹² AOT CON 31/27. Presumably the notes were those of the Van Diemen's Land Bank.

¹³ AOT CO 280/305

Either Brodie was a kindly master or suffered pangs of conscience over the incident, or both, but Logan also records that on leaving his service with a Ticket of Leave six years later, he was presented, in addition to his wages, with £100 'for faithful service and good conduct'. The gift of £100 is a large amount, since, while comfortably off, Brodie does not appear to have been a wealthy man. In requesting a grant of 800 acres, adjoining but independent of his father's, in 1828, he stated his assets to be £800.¹⁴ He sold 'Berriedale' in 1839 to John Patterson for about £3,000 so, viewed in proportion to his capital, Brodie's gift to Logan was no mean gesture.

One is left with the impression that the years of servitude, of hard but rewarding work in a new country, have resulted in Logan becoming a trusted and valued servant, a far cry from the young delinquent of the Berwick alleys. With his Ticket of Leave and nearly £200, Logan moved back to Hobart Town and comparative freedom.

¹⁴ AOT CSO 1/306. Grant not made.

3 - THE MERCHANT

Any young man starting to make his way in the world in the 1830s could not have started much lower than as a convict in Van Diemen's Land. When after eight years, Robert Logan had achieved his Ticket of Leave and a nest-egg of nearly £200, he was already ascending the ladder. As a ticket holder, he could work for himself provided he reported regularly to the authorities as required and subject to a number of other minor restrictions.

Logan appears to have lost no time in moving to Hobart Town. By 1841 he had established himself in trade and is described in various land transactions as a 'dealer', 'general dealer' and eventually as a 'timber merchant'.¹ He may have returned briefly to his old trade of butcher, as in 1841 he married a 37-year old widow named Sophia Lloyd, and she too had some slight connection with that occupation, her first husband having been, not only also a convict, but also a butcher. Lowly though Sophia Lloyd's status was at the time of her marriage to Logan, it helped him take another step up the social scale, as she owned a little property, a block of land in the Wapping district of Hobart with two small houses on it.

Sophia's background was in colonial New South Wales. Her father Frederic(k) Meredith was one of the very early free settlers to be granted land there.

¹ Reg.Deeds, Memorial 3/1023,2566

At the Liberty Plains near Parramatta, [Major] Grose granted land to the free settlers who had arrived in Port Jackson on the Bellona in January of 1793. To the most respectable of these..[one only].. he allotted one hundred and twenty acres, and to Frederic Meredith and[two others] allotments of eighty acres each. All of them received seed and tools from the public stores, supplies for two years, and the services of convicts free of charge. They and the officers began their settlement in high spirits, as from their efforts Grose was confident of increasing considerably the cultivation of the country.²

These were the first four settlers to leave England with the express intention of settling in New South Wales. Meredith had also previously visited the colony with the First Fleet in 1788 as a steward on the *Scarborough*, being transferred to the *Sirius* as an able seaman (baker).³ He returned to England in 1791 and came back on the *Bellona*. He had a bakery in Sydney in 1809 and later became a constable in the Botany district.⁴

In the General Muster for New South Wales 1805-6, a convict woman, Sarah Mason, is stated to be employed by, or living with, Frederic Meredith, while the 1811 Muster records that she also came as a convict in the *Bellona*, having been sentenced in London to transportation for 14 years.⁵ Between 1801 and 1813 numerous baptisms are registered as a large family was born to the couple, one member of which was Sophia, baptised 1802.⁶ Their marriage is recorded in St Phillip's Church, Sydney on 26.2.1811 and Sarah's

² Clark CMH *History of Australia Vol 1* Melbourne 1962 p 133, citing Collins D *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* London 1798 and 1802 pp 267-8

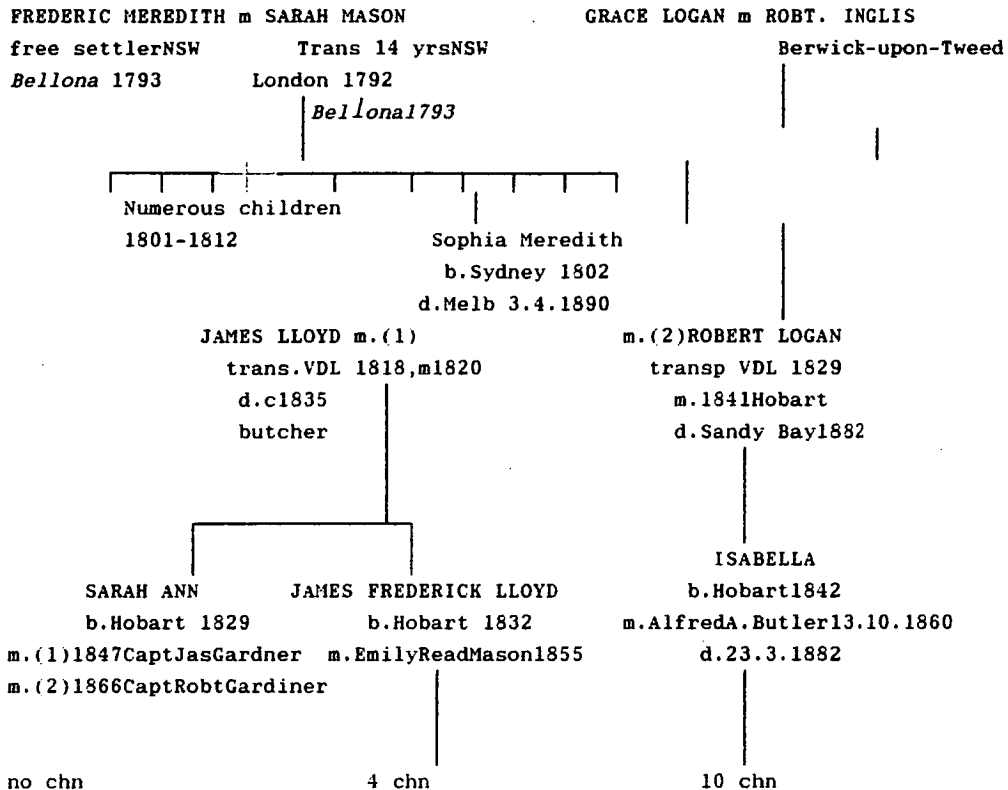
³ HRNSW Vol 2 pp 15,35,477. Other records place Meredith on the *Scarborough* as a steward; Collins *op cit* refers to his being on the *Sirius*. M.Gillen *Founders of Australia* Sydney 1989 is clearer.

⁴ Campbell J F 'Liberty Plains of the First Settlers' *RAHS Journal* Vol 22 1936 Pt 5 p 317; Gillen *op cit*.

⁵ *NSW Musters 1805-6, 1811* Sydney 1988

⁶ Archives NSW: Baptisms prior to 1856, 1802 Vol 1 No 1221. Mother's name given variously as Mason and Mann, probably a misreading of handwriting. There was no Mann in the 1805-6 Muster.

death 30.7.1832. Meredith then remarried. He died in Bankstown 23.6.1836.⁷



Sophia left Sydney for Hobart on 9 May 1818, as servant to Mrs Read.⁸ In Hobart on 6 March 1820, a free woman aged 17, she married James Lloyd, aged 22, a convict (Lord Melville/54).⁹ Lloyd had been transported for 14 years for sheep-stealing, arriving on 7 March, 1818. By the date of his marriage he had already appeared twice before Rev. Knopwood and others, charged first with the theft of a bullock's head and offal, the property of HM Government, and second, with assaulting and beating Mark Hillay, both serious charges. In each case he was acquitted, probably for reasons connected with his later history of mental instability, as in 1820, 1823 and 1826 he was again charged, recorded as being an invalid, 'found

⁷ 1788-1820 Association's Pioneer Register, Vol I Sydney 1981

⁸ Sydney Gazette 9.5.1818

⁹ AOT RCD 36/1 1820 No 375

wandering the streets of Hobart Town', 'bound over to keep the peace', 'suffering temporary derangement'. Finally, after he had 'abused the Chief Police Magistrate in the street' in 1831, he was considered to be insane and placed in the Colonial Hospital.¹⁰ He received a 'Free Certificate' on 7 March 1832, having served his 14 years.¹¹ His death is apparently not recorded, but must have occurred in the next few years. As an invalid, Lloyd appears to have been left virtually to his own devices, to live and even work in Hobart Town. In 1831 James Ross' description of the streets of Hobart Town mentions a butcher named Lloyd as operating in Lower Collins Street, down in Wapping on the low-lying land on the edge of the rivulet near its mouth.¹² In 1829 and 1838, respectively, Sarah Ann Lloyd and James Frederick Lloyd (born 1832) were baptised in St David's parish by Rev. William Bedford; mother - Sophia Lloyd, father - James Lloyd, butcher.¹³ As a widow, Sophia Lloyd held an allotment of land in Wapping, Lower Collins Street, with two houses on it, one wood, one brick. From these facts one can reconstruct a picture of the couple living and working in Wapping in the tiny buildings they had somehow acquired, having the two children, then on Lloyd's death, Sophia in her thirties struggling on in what was even then the most wretched part of town.

On 5 April 1841 Logan, holding a Ticket of Leave, made application to marry Sophia Lloyd (free woman) and, permission being granted, on 31 May 1841, Robert Logan alias Inglis, TL per Surry/2, aged 33 years, was married to Sophia Lloyd, 37, widow, at St David's

¹⁰ AOT CON 31/27 p 17

¹¹ AOT HO 46 AJCP Reel 78 Convict Muster 1832

¹² Ross J, *Anniversary Directory*, Hobart 1831 p 72

¹³ AOT RGD 32/1, 3069, 8408. Years of birth 1829 and 1832.

Church, Hobart Town, by William Bedford, Senior Chaplain.¹⁴ Obviously this 37-year old widow, with two young children and a property on her hands, would welcome Logan's help. He too would benefit by the alliance.

Considering his previous occupation in Berwick, one can guess that Logan may possibly have worked as a butcher for Sophia or James Lloyd when he first came to Hobart Town from Bothwell in 1838. However, it was as a dealer that he was living, with his wife and two step-children in Sophia's wooden house in the 'Creek' area of Collins Street, across a lane from the 'Young Queen' pub, at the time of the 1842 census.¹⁵ In this same 1842 census also, Robert is classed with 'Other free persons', that is, not born in the colony nor arrived free, since he had been granted a Conditional Pardon on 8 September 1841.¹⁶ By the 1843 census, the household had increased, with the birth of the Logans' only child Isabella on 18 March 1842.¹⁷ The second house on the block, a brick one, was in these years occupied by Sarah Garth, the owner of the 'Young Queen'.¹⁸

These two houses mentioned were the first of the fourteen small houses which Logan acquired or built over the next ten years. By the time of his death in 1882, these 14 houses, together with another house and orchard where he lived in Sandy Bay, and his income as a merchant and ship-owner, formed a substantial estate for the once no-good lad from Berwick. While acquisition of property may not necessarily be an indication of virtue, in this case it must surely betoken an industriousness not noticeable in Logan's character before

¹⁴ AOT RGD 43/2, 922; CON 52/2 p 105

¹⁵ AOT CEN 1/17 p 91

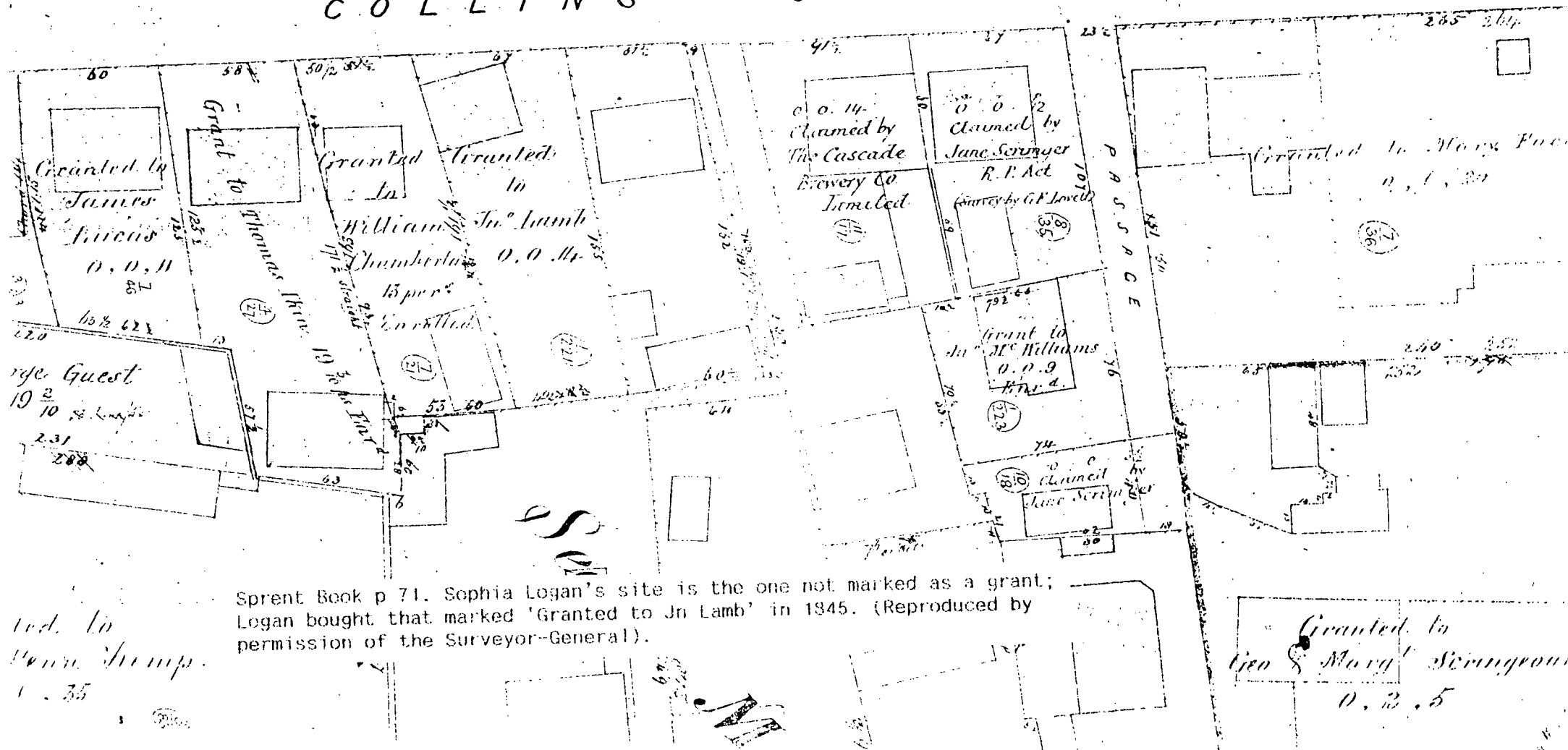
¹⁶ AOT CON 31/27 p 105

¹⁷ AOT RGD 33/1 1842 No 754

¹⁸ AOT CEN 1/56 p 205

HOBART TOWN RIVULET

COLLINS STREET



Sprent Book p 71. Sophia Logan's site is the one not marked as a grant; Logan bought that marked 'Granted to Jn Lamb' in 1845. (Reproduced by permission of the Surveyor-General).

red. to
Horn Shump.
1. 35

the convict years. From his marriage and Conditional Pardon in 1841 to his purchase of the Sandy Bay property in 1857, the story is one of a steady accumulation of small assets.

In 1845 Logan acquired for £60 the adjoining block of land in Lower Collins Street originally granted to John Lamb, although James Mitchell had been using it for a fruit and vegetable business and was to be allowed to continue for life.¹⁹ Either there was a house on this or they built one, as later Assessment Rolls show the Logans owning three houses along the rivulet; for a while they lived in one of them. A page from Surveyor-General Sprent's map book clearly shows two small buildings squeezed somewhat awkwardly on Sophia's narrow allotment facing the rivulet, and another on the newly acquired Lamb grant next door.²⁰ Several early photographs show these houses west of the 'Terminus' Hotel, as the 'Young Queen' was later known.²¹ (These unpretentious cottages were long after Logan's day to be acquired by the Hobart City Council and demolished about 1920 when the rivulet was rechannelled.)

Even in the 1840s Wapping enjoyed an unsavoury reputation. The houses were small and often old and badly built, street frontages narrow, flooding frequent and damp problems constant. Prostitution, crime and violence were common and 'the evils of intemperance were most pronounced'.²² Says *The Critic's* 'Commentator' in 1924, speaking of Wapping not long after Logan's time there,

It was distinctly impossible to get any decent morality in such surroundings. Some of the inhabitants raised

¹⁹ Registry of Deeds Memorial 3/1023; SLT Tasmaniana, Land Grant Map 1944. Mitchell died in 1849.

²⁰ Dept. of Environment and Planning, SB 71, dated 1846 on reverse side.

²¹ AOT Photographic Collection. See Wapping History Group: *Down Wapping* Hobart 1955 for reproductions pp 89, 110, 151 and front end-paper.

²² *Critic* 15/2/1924 p 4 c 1

*themselves from the dirty levels, although they made a precarious and generally miserable existence.....[A] fairly large stream of vice flowed through the whole locality and it was only when the apostles of social improvement got to work that any change was shown.*²³

The fantastically bizarre warren of Hal Porter's *The Tilted Cross* was probably actuality not so greatly exaggerated.²⁴

The authors of *Down Wapping* have pointed out that even at its worst the area at the mouth of the rivulet had a core of self-respecting working-class families who stayed because they liked the place and fiercely maintained their own standards even under difficulties. But it was not a place for a man who wanted to raise himself socially. By 1847 Logan had contrived to remove himself and his family to a more salubrious and respectable environment.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Porter H, *The Tilted Cross* Melbourne 1961

4 - BATTERY POINT

Within a few years, Logan transferred his attention to another less depressing area of Hobart, one which was in the 1840s being divided up and built on fairly rapidly, and where development was, partly at least, of the cottage type which would be within his reach. He moved his activities to Battery Point.

This small ridge of land projecting into the Derwent in a commanding position on the southern side of Sullivan's Cove, had, except for the military post which gave it its name, remained for some years after the first settlement as largely undeveloped cleared land granted to two men, Rev. Robert Knopwood and former Lieutenant Governor Sorell. The 1820s and '30s however had seen the area being used as port and shipbuilding yards for whaling and general shipping business. A small grant on the waterfront went to George Frankland (Surveyor General) in 1830. Reclamation of waterfront land; the building of the New Wharf and the warehouses along Salamanca Place; in particular, the boom first in bay, then sperm whaling, had meant that the slopes behind the wharves and slips appealed as a dwelling place to both master and man, producing an odd mixture of mansions and cottages, their occupants mostly connected with maritime commerce. The area may have appeared more sympathetic to a family from Wapping than the fashionable smugness of the villas and gardens of Newtown on Hobart's northern fringe as

PUBLISHED BY F. J. WOOD, LITHOGRAPHER,
LIVERPOOL STREET

October 4th
1854



"Plan of the City of Hobart Town compiled partly from Frankland's map and partly from recent surveys." 1854 (From SLT, Tasmaniana).

described by Louisa Meredith.¹ Logan chose to venture into Hampden Road and De Witt Street in the heart of the Battery Point village.

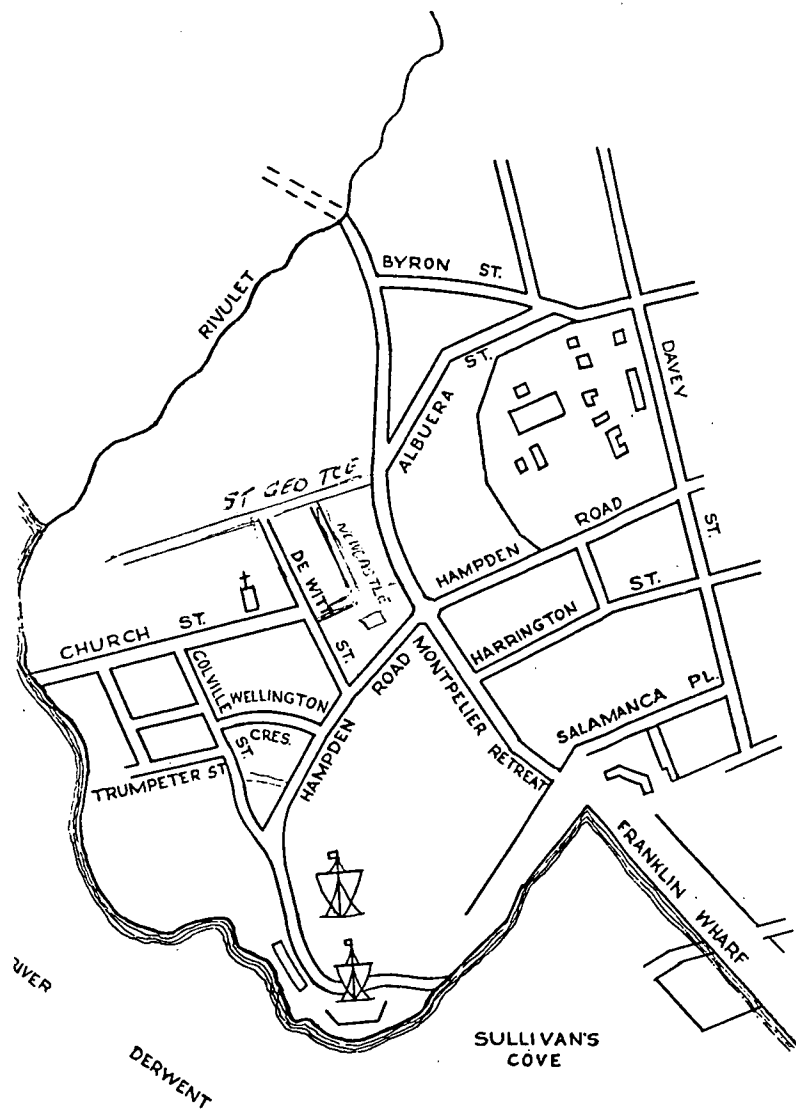
Hampden Road divided the original Knopwood and Sorell grants and as these properties were themselves resold and broken up, small shops and workrooms, bakers and butchers, blacksmiths and shoemakers, shared its length with imposing residences such as Captain Andrew Haig's 'Narryna' (1836), John Montagu's 'Stowell' (1832), Surveyor General George Frankland's 'Secheron' (1831), interspersed with more humble homes. In nearby Kelly Street closely packed cottages housed seamen and merchants giving them convenient access down the whaling captain's steps to the New Wharf.

Similarly on the southern side of Hampden Road, the Sorell grant had proved a fertile field for speculative land purchases, large and small. The Sorell property², a large area of 90 acres from Sandy Bay Rivulet to Knopwood's boundary, given by Governor Macquarie in 1819, passed into the hands of William Kermode in 1824 and was subsequently sold in various sections. After several transactions, an area of six acres bounded by what would now be described as Hampden Road, Sandy Bay Road, Newcastle Street, St George's Terrace and De Witt Street was purchased by Mr George Frederick Read in 1828.³ Read, Managing Director of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land, established there a substantial dwelling, stable and outbuildings. These appear to have been the 'farm buildings' originally on the site of the former Alexandra Hospital in Hampden Road. The whole property was leased in 1835 by a merchant named Robert Kerr who

¹ Bolger P, *Hobart Town* Canberra 1973 pp 25-6

² Strictly speaking, this was a 'location' not a grant, since title was not actually applied for until later.

³ AOT SC 285/432 which includes Logan's abstract of title.



fenced and occupied it. It was then purchased outright by Kerr and his partner, William Bogle. Kerr finally bought out his partner in 1839.⁴

Robert Kerr was a young Scotsman of good family who had arrived in Hobart, probably for health reasons, from Dumfriesshire, accompanied by his sister Margaret. He became manager of the firm of Kerr, Bogle & Co., with offices on the New Wharf and a branch in Launceston managed by another Scot, Alexander McNaughton, who later married Margaret Kerr. Her brother occupied the former Read villa and the area of over six acres stretching along the full length of De Witt Street. At that time this area around Hampden Road and Montpelier Retreat was known as Cottage Green, after Robert Knopwood's original house in the area, but was later absorbed under the name of Battery Point.⁵ Kerr was a well-to-do and well-respected merchant, and was one of the four men who gave guarantees of £350 each to support the building of St. George's Church in 1836.⁶

The present generous width of De Witt Street is attributable to Kerr and Bogle, who voluntarily surrendered to the City a wide strip of their De Witt Street frontage, and the stone wall that bounded it, at the time of the building of the church. They believed, they said, that such an imposing edifice should have suitable approaches.⁷ A subsidiary result of their civic-mindedness relevant to the present study is the fact that the row of cottages later built by Robert Logan face onto and are enhanced by one of the few streets

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See *Hobart Town Courier* Kerr death notice 17.1.1846 'at his residence, Cottage Green, Hobart Town'.

⁶ AOT Wayn Index cites Arthur papers No 17188

⁷ Rowntree A, *Battery Point Today and Yesterday* Hobart 1951 p 54

of ample width in the Battery Point area, enabling their quality as a 'streetscape' to be appreciated.

In 1845, Kerr attempted to sell some of the farmland behind his house. Mr T Y Lowes, auctioneer, offered, on 13 May,

The whole of the Parcel of LAND in De Witt Street in rear of the Residence of Robert Kerr Esq, which will be divided into allotments suitable for the erection of first rate buildings, and with sufficient space for a paddock and garden for each.⁸

Although not a good period for business, - Kerr may, in fact have needed to sell-, the *Advertiser* could report:

The sale by Mr T.Y.Lowes on Tuesday of building sites (in De Witt street and a new street to be called Newcastle street), adjoining St. George's Church, was well attended, and realized good prices.[The] allotments severally consisted of 50' frontage, by a depth of about 200'. The biddings for many of the lots were very spirited, and we learn that 490 feet brought the considerable sum (in these times) of £973...⁹

Robert Kerr died on 15 January 1846 at the age of only 37. His will instructed that his property in Van Diemen's Land be sold and the proceeds divided in meticulously stated proportions among his relatives and friends mostly in Scotland. Accordingly, Alexander McNaughton and his wife, Kerr's sister, as the main executors, arranged, and Messrs Lowes and McMichael, auctioneers, advertised the sale of:

That spacious FAMILY RESIDENCE, with convenient Out-offices, of every requisite description, and extensive Garden, opposite the Reservoir, fronting on Hampden Road.¹⁰

⁸ HTA 13.5.1845

⁹ HTA 30.5.1845

¹⁰ HTC 28.3.46.p 3. The Reservoir referred to was a construction known as the Quatre Bras and Napoleon Fountain in the middle of the intersection of Hampden Road and Montpelier Retreat. It was used to supply water to the New Wharf.

This sale was to be followed the next day by the sale of elegant and substantial household furniture, wines, books and all the appurtenances of a gentleman's home. Also to be sold on the first day were 'several Valuable Building Sites adjoining the residence.':

The BUILDING SITES front on Hampden Road, Montpelier Retreat and Dewitt street, opposite St. George's Church: most desirable allotments for the erection of private residences, suitable for all parties having offices¹¹ and otherwise connected with the wharves and shipping.

McNaughton appears to have taken over the Kerr house and farm himself, probably as part of his wife's share of the Estate, as they held the property for many years afterwards, until in fact, it entered into the story of Logan's heirs.¹²

This area into which Logan was considering moving had quality. These were quite large allotments, potential sites for merchants and professional men, surrounded by homes like Kerr's own and Narryna, and shadowed by St. George's Church. Even the great red mill with its miller's house facing the church had a certain grandeur, nothing of the meanness of the Wapping area about it. Obviously his career as a timber merchant, possibly in association with his lifelong friend William Belbin on the New Wharf, was lifting Logan well above his old convict status, for him to consider establishing himself in such a respectable, even elegant neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, development of the De Witt Street blocks was dragging a little. Though several had been sold, a few changed hands again quickly and for others payment was slow in appearing. On 20 February 1846, Logan arranged to buy Lot 17 from Daniel Fisher, an

¹¹ HTC 28.3.1846 p 3

¹² See Chap 7, purchase by Pierce Logan Butler

RETREAT

Sprent Book p 36. Kerr's land was the L-shaped area shown, excluding that granted to Gamaliel Butler. The 'roadway' became Newcastle Street; St George's Street became Logan Street. Logan bought the additional block right of his grant in 1851. (Reproduced by permission of the Surveyor General).

Granted to
Gamaliel Butler

1/3, 21

(109)

1/3

Granted to
Robert Logan

0.3.3 1/2

(22)

Granted to
John O. I. Gray

(22)

0.0.25 1/2
Claimed by
Henry Joshua Wise
R.P.A.C.

Agred. for Police Purp.
together with R. & W.
over Boundary
Commence 14/1/99.
Cont. 210/54

ROBINSON

HAMPDEN

Leased - 300⁰⁰ Transferred
to H. H. W. Queen
Cont. 31/9203

ROAD

STREET

DE WITT

ST GEORGE'S

TERRACE

1737-5 1001

original purchaser. An undated, but pre-1847 Sprent map shows just one small building in the whole of De Witt street, and that seems likely to have been built by Logan. It is a small house built on one side of Lot 17, a traditional cottage with two front windows and a front door, and Logan lost no time in having a twin to it built on the other half of the block and under the same roof, a passage with an arched entrance separating the two and giving access to a large area of land at the rear. The Hobart City Council Assessment Rolls of 1847 show Logan as the owner of two houses in De Witt Street and occupier of one of them, one of only two residents in the whole street.

The pair of houses are an interesting indication of Logan's resources at the time, and of his aspirations. The anticipated 'gentlemen's residences' implied by the 50' frontages were obviously not going to eventuate in the economic climate of the time, but two dwellings to a block was a practical proposition, an idea which was followed when further houses were built. At the same time, the decorative fanlights and doors, the use of brick, the two 12-paned windows in front, not one, the moderate size, show that their builder was aiming higher than the most modest of the usual seamen's cottages. Logan had made for his family and himself a more socially acceptable environment in No 17.¹³ Probably only Logan, his wife and the young Isabella lived there for long, as his step-children may have soon left the family circle; James Lloyd at 15 was making a career at sea, and in 1847 the 18-year-old Sarah Lloyd married well-

¹³ No 25 in modern numeration. Henceforth modern street-numbers only will be used. Lot numbers remain as they were.

known whaling sea-captain James Gardner, aged 39, at St. George's Church.¹⁴

Meanwhile Robert Logan was wasting no time in increasing his property in his new suburb at a quite spectacular rate. In 1847, Charles McLachlan, a very substantial investor at this time, was subdividing and selling a triangle of land between Hampden Road, Colville Street and Wellington (now Waterloo) Crescent. A new road, Frances Street, was planned through the subdivision. On 9 March 1847 Logan bought Lot 14 on Hampden Road for £6.2.9 cash and £56 in Bills of Exchange and put up another pair of conjoined cottages, smaller than that in which he was living, but sturdy single-fronted little dwellings in the warm pinkish-red brick of the time.¹⁵ Street directories show them as being occupied by a succession of tradesmen, James Arundel, shipwright; William Motton, boot and shoemaker (1854); Andrew Hunter Finlayson, baker ; William Chandler, shoemaker (1857); ¹⁶ - a steady stream of reliable tenants and respectable tradesmen.

In De Witt Street, in 1848, the executors sold Lot 16 of the Kerr Estate to Logan. Another fairly large double-fronted cottage appeared.¹⁷ Then another sea-captain, James William Robertson, who had bought Lots 14 and 15 in 1846, surrendered them to the executors in 1848, and on 27 June 1850 Logan bought these as well.¹⁸ By now he had four large blocks of land, 3 roods 34½ perches in all, starting 40' away from St. George's Street, as Kerr had named what

¹⁴ AOT RGD 37/6 1847 No 865; see also Chap 7.

¹⁵ Reg.Deeds Memorial 3/2566. Nos 40 and 42 today

¹⁶ SLT Tasmaniana: Directories. Missing or erratic house numbering and alphabetical arrangements make these names unreliable but likely.

¹⁷ No 15, now No 23.

¹⁸ Reg Deeds Memorial 3/1855

is now Logan Street. As this was still officially part of the Sorell 'location', Logan lodged a claim for a Grant of the whole area.¹⁹ He had already by then built on it two more pairs of brick cottages, single-fronted this time, but on two levels to take advantage of the slope of the land, Nos 13-15 and 17-19.²⁰ Finally on 13 January 1851, he bought from Thomas Hughes, who had purchased it in 1847, Lot 13, the remaining 40' frontage on the corner of St. George's Street.²¹ On this last area, and part of Lot 14, Logan appears to have had more money to spend and to have intended these last two buildings for the use of his family. Certainly he built on a more elaborate scale than the earlier brick dwellings. He built two double-fronted houses of dressed stone,²² shingle-roofed as they all were at that time, with bigger rooms, high ceilings, some decorative plaster work, shuttered windows and joinery which a modern architect described as 'a cut above the usual Battery Point workmanship'.²³ No 13 in particular, with its Grecian entrance porch and basement rooms, is a larger, more imposing dwelling than its neighbour, but even the smaller one has signs of quality. The larger stone house bears the name 'Novar' but it is uncertain whether this relates to Logan's time. In any case 'Novar' and its stone neighbour stood proudly at the end of the row of cottages by 1854, witnesses that Robert Logan was making a place for himself among the merchants of Hobart Town.

¹⁹ HTG 30.7.1850 p 583 Granted February 1851.

²⁰ Today Nos 15-17 and 19-21.

²¹ Reg Deeds Memorial 3/5713

²² Now Nos 11 and 13.

²³ G. Forward 1989.

5 - THE COTTAGES

Earlier this century, the Reverend A A Bennett, of 'Ellerslie',¹ at the upper end of Hampden Road, quoted old residents' tales of the way to church in the 1840s:

*Lest it be wondered what were the approaches to St. George's Church from Hampden Road at the time 'Ellerslie' was built,open ground existed for a long time across to St. George's Hill, and an old resident remembered that this was strewn with large boulders and interspersed with scrub, around and through which vehicles and pedestrians would wind their way.*²

This boulder-strewn scrub was the area which Logan converted in a brief ten years to a row of neat suburban cottages. In 1847, he had been an occupant of one of the only two houses in the street.³ By 1852 he owned a long frontage in De Witt Street and by 1857 he had nine cottages along it, as well as his two in Hampden Road and three in Wapping.⁴ In 1865 there were 21 houses in the street, and the only vacant land of any size was an area to the south near what was later St. George's Terrace. This remained in the hands of Robert Kerr's trustees, McNaughton and Bogle, still not subdivided, until it was sold in 1875 to Hobart lawyer, Charles Henry Elliston, whose impressive stone mansion gave extra dignity to that end of the street, always rather aloof from the cottages around its skirts. By that time, the major part of the street was closely settled. Logan had seen, indeed participated in, the transformation from vacant land to

¹ Rector of St George's Church 1934, formerly of Victoria

² Norman L. *Pioneer Shipping of Tasmania* Hobart 1938 pp 107-8

³ The other was No 2, owner R. Brown. Assessment Roll 1847

⁴ Hobart City Council Assessment Books 1857

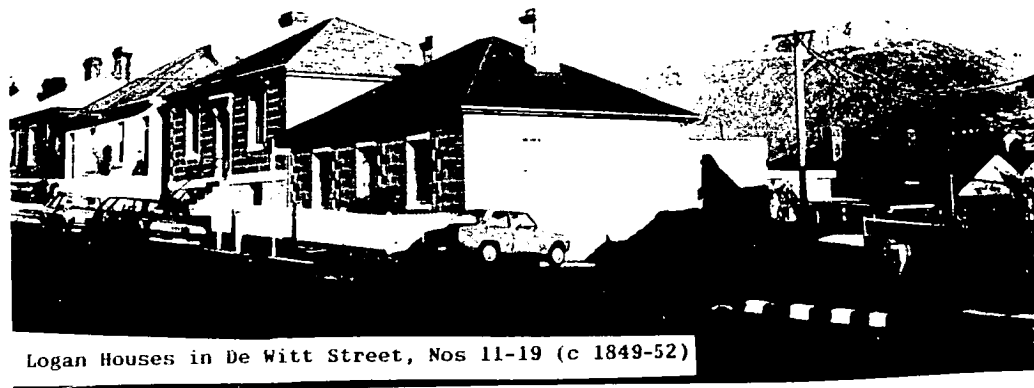
city, paralleling his own metamorphosis from ticket-of-leave labourer to substantial merchant. He would have observed the steady urbanisation of his street, in line with the growth of Battery Point itself in the '50s and '60s.

Little information is available on Logan's activity as a timber merchant at this time, although the speculation arises as to where the former convict-butcher acquired the substantial sums necessary to buy the land and erect so many buildings on it in such a short time. In addition, in 1853, he invested a substantial amount in shipping, and in 1857 bought an additional two acres of land in Sandy Bay for £672.10s.0.⁵ So he must have had considerable resources.

These resources almost certainly came from his business as a timber merchant, for so he was described in directories and official documents of the period, but here the mystery deepens, as an examination of Hobart City Council Assessment Rolls for 1857 and 1860 shows that none of the timber yards listed were occupied by Robert Logan. Nor was any advertising in the newspapers done in his name. It is of course likely that the backyards of his residences in Wapping and De Witt Street were so used, but if so, the city rates assessors made no mention of that fact. However, at the back of the De Witt Street cottages, immediately behind the twin houses occupied by Logan and Belbin, was a large area of land which Logan had fenced off from the cottages, along his Newcastle Street boundary. Since this was bought in the early years of this century by the then Roberts & Co for use as an apple case-making yard,⁶ it seems likely that it was a timber yard before that.

⁵ Reg. Deeds Memorial 4/4838 11.8.57.

⁶ Bell E A, *An Historic Centenary: Roberts, Stewart & Co 1865-1965* Hobart 1965 p 32



One of the pair of cottages, c.1847, on Lot 17 (now No 25) showing on the left the entrance to the 'tunnel', the passage between the two.

It is possible, even likely, that Logan was a business associate of William Belbin, another timber merchant, of the firm of Belbin & Dowdell, on the New Wharf. Belbin, the son of an ex-convict, was later Mayor of Hobart (1883-4) and a Member of the Legislative Assembly (1871-91).⁷ His name appears so often in the Logan story and over so long a period as to suggest an even closer connection in business as well. Belbin and the Dowdell family (Belbin's 'in-laws') were connected with the public house 'Young Queen' (At other times named the 'Terminus' or 'Victoria') in Wapping in the '40s and hence Belbin was a neighbour of Logan there;⁸ further, he and a James Belbin lived from 1854-1857 in the 'twin' cottage next to Logan's own residence in De Witt Street;⁹ he was one of the executors of Logan's will. He like Logan had shipping interests and was deeply involved in the commercial life of the New Wharf. Moreover as the son of James Belbin, ex-convict from Norfolk Island, whose history was well-known in Hobart, Belbin would certainly have some fellow-feeling for a man in Logan's position.¹⁰ It is at least possible that Logan's timber dealings were carried on through his firm, and probably both were involved in the yard behind their houses. Although this source of income and its scale is admittedly speculative, in any case friendship with a man of Belbin's standing was a powerful social asset, another step on the road to social acceptance.

Another source of income was rent from the cottages. Logan lived in one himself until he moved to Sandy Bay in 1875, and others were used by members of his family, but he never financed one

⁷ Bennett S & B, *A Biographical Register of the Tasmanian Parliament 1851-1960* Canberra 1960 p 12

⁸ *Down Wapping* p 120

⁹ Nos 25 and 27 today

¹⁰ For James Belbin, ADB Vol 1 p 78

house by selling another; all 15 were part of his estate when he died in 1882 and most remained part of the Logan Estate into the 1920s.

Logan lived for several years in a brick cottage next to the first pair he completed, with Belbin as his neighbour. Even this was a step up in the world from the near-slum of Lower Collins Street. However upright one's own life might have been there, it was better to be a merchant with a substantial business, moving between the wharves and the neat homes of the Point. In 1857 Belbin moved to Battery Square, overlooking the New Wharf, and Logan progressed to the stone house recently built for him on the corner of St. George's Street at the other end of his row. Before long he had moved into its neighbour, 'Novar', and had the satisfaction of feeling himself master of the most superior dwelling in the street at the time. A small gratification, perhaps, but one which probably meant a lot to a man with Logan's background.

Logan's family, too, shared his changed environment. In 1847 Sarah Lloyd, his stepdaughter, married a sea captain, James Gardner of the *Harriet Nathan*, later of the *Lady Emma*, at St. George's Church in Battery Point.¹¹ James Lloyd, his stepson, master of the *Harriet Nathan* for 13 years from 1 July 1854, lived in one of the conjoined single-fronted pairs for some years after his marriage in 1855, before replacing Logan around 1865 in No 23 as his family increased. Logan's daughter Isabella was married to Alfred A. Butler in 1860 from her father's house, and they lived in No 13 from 1875 to 1882 with a family that eventually numbered eleven, although several died in infancy. This was in 'Novar', the larger of the two stone houses which had been occupied by Logan himself; he and Sophia seem to

¹¹ See Chapter 6 Shipping below. Logan bought *Harriet Nathan* in 1853.

have made way for his daughter's large family. Even after Isabella's death in 1882, Alfred Butler remained there for another ten years. Logan himself took another upward step and moved to Sandy Bay, where he had a house and over two acres of orchard between Regent and Grosvenor Streets. Finally grandson Pierce Logan Butler, a civil engineer, occupied No 11 with his family for a time around 1890.

The records of occupancy of the other Logan houses reveal a busy, constantly changing population, much involved at first with the business needs and activities of the port area of Hobart. The houses rarely stand empty, even in the bad times of the '60s, but almost every Assessment Book or directory lists a different tenant for each dwelling. Outside this pattern, however, was Thomas Flood, who stayed at No 15 from 1890 to 1900 and then moved to No 11 where he remained for another ten years. Miss Janet Frazer ran a boarding house at No 19 from 1880 to 1900, but the most stable tenants of all were another Kerr family, Alexander Kerr, his widow, his son and daughter (or granddaughter?) who between them occupied No 27 after Belbin from 1858 to at least 1900. Alexander Kerr & Co were merchants on the New Wharf, and the long stay of the family in De Witt Street is no doubt linked with that fact. With these exceptions, the tenancies were constantly changing as workers moved in and out of the port area.

Further evidence of the close connection of the area with shipping and ship-building at the height of Hobart's maritime prominence is in the occupations of residents of Logan houses listed in the 1857 Hobart Town Directory: Logan and the Belbins (timber merchants), Alfred Danby, James Lloyd, William Marr, William Walters and Thomas Mason (all master mariners), Mrs Weevil (not given). On

the opposite side of the street were John Babbington (Harbour Master), Alexander Harley and James Hutchinson (shipwrights), James Garth (timber merchant) and William Brown of the Bonded Stores.¹²

As urbanisation intensified, the maritime factor became less dominant. Not all directories give occupations, but that of 1887 emphasises how in thirty years De Witt had become a street of city folk, more varied in occupation: Nos 1 and 3 had been built and housed a boarding house keeper and a flour-miller; the Logan houses had in order James Murdoch (merchant), A A Butler (mining agent), Mrs F Sargison (pattern-maker), James McDowell (mariner), Miss Frazer's boarding house, John Tegg (storeman), E Delaney (cabman) and Mrs Kerr (laundress). Beyond, J M Short, clerk to the public service, had been joined by Mrs Dart (No 31, private) and Charles Elliston (lawyer) in his big stone mansion at No 35. Over the road were not only an Under-treasurer and two solicitors¹³, but the interesting occupations of bark merchant, jam maker and billiard marker, as well as baker, bootmaker, gardener and alderman.¹⁴ A much wider range than earlier, and one which served the city rather than the wharves.

Once the remaining areas of vacant land at either end of the street, around Read's (later McNaughton's) farm and along St. George's Terrace were divided and built on, as they were between 1880 and 1900, and after the separation and sale of the land at the rear of the cottages, the street seems to have followed the over-all trends of the twentieth century, deteriorating during the Depression of the 1930s and enjoying an inner-city revival as the now 'historic'

¹² *Hobart Town Directory 1857*

¹³ John Packer, C W Butler and James Young

¹⁴ Middleton & Manning, *Tasmanian Directory and Gazetteer 1896-7*

dwellings were restored and rejuvenated. This trend still continues in 1992.

Logan himself left Battery Point in 1875, though he never gave up ownership of the cottages.¹⁵ The main event concerning the De Witt Street houses linked in particular with Robert Logan in the twentieth century is probably the renaming of St. George's Street.

St. George's Street, off De Witt Street, was created when the Kerr land was sub-divided in 1845-7, though it remained an unmade track for long after that and was probably part of Rev. Bennett's stony route to church. In 1890 it was referred to as German Lane, the name change no doubt the result of confusion with St. George's Terrace which had been established not far away.¹⁶ A further change of name was occasioned by the anti-German fervour of World War I, and the little street appropriately acquired the name of the builder of the first houses near it and became Logan Street.¹⁷

¹⁵ Assessment Roll 1875, Hobart Town Gazette.

¹⁶ Tasmanian Post Office Directory 1890

¹⁷ 23.5.1920 Declaration attached to Conveyance 14/9110

6 - SHIPPING

In 1853 Robert Logan moved further into the economic life of the colony. From the purchase of land and the building of residences thereon, he ventured into the more high-powered world of trading and shipping, an area through which many of his fellow emancipists were finding satisfactory openings into social environments otherwise closed to them, half-way between the seamy underworld of Wapping and the drawing rooms of the officers and gentlemen and their ladies. On 1 August 1853 he completed the purchase of a controlling interest in the trading vessel *Harriette Nathan*.¹

Throughout the 1840s the economic progress of Van Diemen's Land had been mainly based on the pastoral industry on the one hand and on whaling and shipping on the other. It was this latter field that Logan was seeking to enter, albeit towards the end of the most active period of growth for the Hobart-based part of the trade. Perhaps encouraged by the temporary euphoria engendered by the coming of limited self-government in 1852, possibly mindful of the career of his stepson John LLOYD, now aged about 19 and serving in merchant ships, possibly also with an eye to the demands of the hordes of diggers flowing into the newly discovered goldfields over Bass Strait and the opportunities offered to his timber business, whatever his motives, Logan took the plunge.

¹ CUS38/2 p 148

With his purchase, he was buying history. In her short career so far, the *Harriette Nathan* had already played an active part in the economic and social life of the colony. She was locally built, a product of the slipyards that functioned busily around Battery Point and Sullivan's Cove. Even the description of her launching from Williamson's slip near Secheron² on Battery Point in 1844 captures vividly, and somewhat tantalisingly, an aspect of the social life of the time, when 'the Point' was a venue for genteel promenades and social gatherings:

Launch On Monday at 1 o'clock the inhabitants of Hobart Town had an opportunity of witnessing the ship *Harriette Nathan* glide into her future element from the shipyard of Mr Williamson. The day was remarkably fine. The ship was well dressed with flags and fired a salute - the large concourse of well-dressed people that strolled around the Point, listening to the music of the brass band of the 31st, which ever and anon came floating along the breeze, gave to a spectator on the spot immediately surrounding the ship the idea more of a general holiday than that it was the occasion only of the launching of a small ship. She was named the *Harriette Nathan* by Mrs Nathan, the lady of Mr Nathan of the firm of Nathan, Moses & Co, (the owners of the lately wrecked *Camilla*), to which, with Mr Young, the enterprising whaler, and Captain Gardener, the ship belongs. She is of 186 tons (new measurement) and is destined for the whaling trade. With a hospitality it would be well should be emulated on such occasions, Mr Nathan had erected a large tent, in which were laid "the dainties of a costly feast" and at which successive parties of gentlemen partook. Many toasts were given, chiefly in relation to the commercial interests. The health of the owners of the ship and the generous hosts, of Mr Thomas Horne, as one of the earliest of our colonial speculators in ships - that of Mr Lowes as one of our most liberal merchants - of Mr Lewis individually and as one connected with the magistracy were successively given and responded to and not until late afternoon did the party separate. The launch of the *Harriette Nathan* will from the agreeable reminiscences of the happy party assembled to witness it, and from some ludicrous circumstances attending it, be recalled hereafter by many. May it prove a happy event to each owner

² Usually attributed to Charles Williamson, but William seems to have been also involved as well. Lawson assumes it was launched by Charles; the Register of Shipping Register says 'built by William Williamson at Hobart'.

individually - qui fragilem truci commisit pelago ratem ⁻³
*who has committed this frail bark to the merciless sea.*⁴

The firm of Nathan, Moses & Co was one of a group of substantial merchants, importers, shipping agents and frequently ship-owners, many of whom had warehouses on Salamanca Place - New Wharf, as it was then known - and who frequently auctioned whole ships' cargoes on the 'squares' or open spaces of the New Wharf. Louis Nathan and Samuel Moses were well known merchants and agents in Hobart Town and held 20 shares in the *Harriette Nathan*; William Young held 24; James Gardner, who was also the master, held 20. The ship was a carvel-built three masted barque, 81 ft. long and 21 ft. in breadth, with a single deck, a standing bowsprit, a square stern and a female bust as a figure-head. She was registered as being 126 tons and sometimes carried one gun.⁵ Her first whaling voyage to the South Seas with a crew of 24 lasted 10 months. She returned in November 1845 with a cargo of oil and bones. Within a few days of her return, on 28 November 1845, William Young sold his 24 shares to Nathan, Moses & Co, giving them a controlling interest.

The *Harriette Nathan* became a regular visitor to the Hobart wharves, making three more whaling voyages to the South Seas, each of several months' duration, and bringing back oil and bones. In 1848 she was transferred to coastal trading, and with a crew reduced to nine or ten sailed to and fro across Bass Strait to Port Albert, Adelaide and Twofold Bay, carrying over there all sorts of general cargo and returning with mainly cattle and sheep in quite surprising numbers - 40 cattle and 300 sheep were by no means uncommon. Items carried to the mainland were fruit, hops, boots, wine sherry,

³ Horace: *Odes* Bk I, 3, lines 10-12

⁴ *Hobart Town Courier* 19 Nov. 1844.

⁵ AOT CUS38/2 p 148

tobacco and, in one case, 1300 bags of copper ore. On a trip to Port Nicholson in New Zealand the return cargo was oil. But the parlous state of the Tasmanian economy in the early 1840s is reflected in the fact that while the regular loads of sheep and cattle from Gippsland were competing with the local product, return trips were more and more often being made in ballast.

The *Harriette Nathan* shared in the promise of the California gold rush of 1848-9 and made two visits, the voyage to San Francisco taking about three months each way. On 16 February 1850 the *Hobart Town Courier* mentioned 16 vessels in the harbour at one time, all bound for California. But the promise was short-lived. Twenty passengers and a general cargo which included brandy and rum, saddlery, beef and mutton hams, and medical drugs travelled on the *Harriet Nathan's* first voyage in 1849-50 but much of the cargo was brought back plus four passengers, and only three passengers left on the second trip on 22 March 1850.⁶ The *Harriette Nathan* was put onto the run to and from Port Phillip, bringing back cattle and the occasional passenger or bag of mail, so that her owners were well placed to take advantage of the rush across Bass Strait to the Australian goldfields after 1851 and the demand for merchandise that accompanied it. Even on return voyages to Hobart after the gold rushes the ship was by no means empty. Although the export of sheep from Victoria ceased, cattle were still sent, about 30 at a time, no doubt to supply the vigorous demand created by the recently established convict probation stations.

There was a steady trickle of cabin and steerage passengers to Hobart from Melbourne from as early as March 1852. It is tempting

⁶ *Hobart Town Courier* 22.Mar.1850 and others; MB2/39/12

to regard the cabin passengers as successful diggers and the steerage passengers as the reverse, especially as the proportion coming steerage increases steadily into 1853.

One factor which did indeed provide what was no doubt very welcome backloading was the conveyance from Melbourne to Hobart after May 1853 of quite large numbers of bounty emigrants, up to 50 at a time.⁷ So the trade into which Logan bought in August 1853 was quite promising.

The sale is recorded as:

2 August 1853 Shipping Register Customs House Hobart Town. Samuel Moses of Hobart Town, Merchant, Louis Nathan and Hyam Leopold Moses, late of the same place, Merchants, but now in parts beyond the seas, (by their attorney the said Samuel Moses) all co-partners trading under the Firm of "Nathan Moses and Company" have transferred by Bill of Sale dated 1 August 1853 Fortyfour Sixtyfourth shares to Robert Logan of Hobart Town aforesaid Timber Merchant.⁸ [Captain Gardner retained his 20 shares until 1856].

Details from the mid-50s may give a clearer picture of the hungry markets opened up in Victoria and the rush to the goldfields:

8 June 1853 Harriette Nathan left Hobart for Melbourne with 3 cabin passengers and 15 steerage. Her cargo consisted of shoes, bedding, boots, bedsteads, ropes (Agent, Dickenson); boots, doors and sashes (Agent, Crouch); seeds, hardware and pipes, boots, hardware, clothing and food from various other agents; 3 wooden houses (Nathan, Moses & Co); 200 palings.

3 August 1853 Harriette Nathan left for Melbourne with 4 cabin passengers including Robert Logan, one steerage. Cargo 27,000 ft timber, 3,000 palings, shingles, 24 bales hay, a whaleboat, 7 carts, 28 packages furniture, 135 bags potatoes (Agent, Nathan Moses & Co); 14,000 ft timber, 20,000 shingles, 4,000 palings, 150 bushells oats (Toby & Park); 3 bundles brooms (McMechern); 360 bundles shingles (F A Downing).

⁷ CB7/13 p83-123. See also Appendix 2, Bounty Immigration from Victoria, 1853-4.

⁸ CUS 38/2 p 148. The sale must in fact have occurred earlier as Logan is recorded as the owner in MB2/39/17 of 15.7.53, (arrival from Melbourne)

29 August 1853 for Melbourne. 40,000 ft timber, 1250 posts and rails, 6 tons hay, 100 bags bran, 15 tons potatoes, 3,000 shingles, 3,000 laths (Agent R Logan).⁹

With this last cargo, Logan is trading on his own account, and when one considers his other interest, the timber yard in Hobart, and the demand from Victoria for building materials to house the booming population and its businesses, one can see what an opportunity it was. The size of the consignment is impressive and is an indication of Logan's economic progress, with his timber yard, his cottages and his ship.

Further similar mixed cargoes of timber, foodstuffs and tools were carried for other agents in the next few years mostly to Geelong, but, after sailing to Melbourne and back on her first trip after he became owner,¹⁰ Logan appeared content to manage the business from Hobart. That he was accepted as a person of standing in the merchant community of Hobart is evinced by his signature, one of 40 shipowners and others, on an 1855 petition to Governor Sir H E F Young concerning the appointment of George Hawthorn as Shipping Master.¹¹

His next aim was to concentrate on establishing his family's position as securely as his own. On 1 July 1854 Logan's stepson James Frederick Lloyd, master mariner, aged 22, took command of the vessel, a command he retained for the next 13 years. He married, and was frequently accompanied on voyages to Melbourne by Mrs Lloyd as cabin passenger, later with first one, then two, then three, then four

⁹ In these entries, details of inward cargoes from port records, of outward cargoes from *Hobart Town Courier*.

¹⁰ 13 August 1853 *Harriette Nathan* from Melbourne 10 cabin passengers including Robert Logan, steerage 17 male and 3 female adults plus 11 male 1 female emigrants.). As holder of Conditional Pardon 1st Class Logan had right of entry. See ch 8.

¹¹ CSD1/63 p 30

children. In July 1856 Logan bought out Gardner's 20 shares and formed a partnership, 16 shares each to himself, Lloyd, Alfred A Butler (his son-in-law), and Butler's brother Francis. Whether these transactions were by sale or gift is not clear, but this family partnership continued to operate the vessel until first Logan made over his shares to LLOYD (1859), then Francis Butler sold his 16 shares to his brother (1861)¹², and finally Alfred sold his 32 to Lloyd, making the latter both captain and outright owner (1864).¹³

During this period the *Harriette Nathan* traded steadily from Hobart to Geelong or Melbourne with timber and general cargoes. Carriage of emigrants soon stopped and return voyages were made with a few passengers, sometimes a bag of mail, usually with sheep or skins and hides from Geelong. As time went on into the 60s, more return voyages were simply 'in ballast'.

By 1867 Lloyd was venturing further afield. There was a trip to Auckland returning via Spring Bay with a load of stone, and even a return from Melbourne via the Kent Group of islands in Bass Strait where ten letters were picked up 'from Joe Master's boat'. On 27 July 1867 Lloyd finally sold the *Harriette Nathan* to a Henry L T Peak for £855 and gave up the command.

Peak sent the ship on three voyages to Hokitika in New Zealand to return with kegs of butter, or hides and skins, and on one to Newcastle for coal, but fortune deserted her and on 17 March 1868 she left Hobart again for Hokitika never to return. The Register

¹² This brief business contact seems to have been the only dealings A A Butler had with the rest of the Butler family during his marriage, giving rise to the speculation that his family knew of the convict background and were not happy about it - the usual attitude of the time and one of the hurdles Logan and any other emancipist had to surmount.

¹³ AA Film CRS A7562 Vol 7 p 64

of Shipping simply records: *Vessel Lost - Struck off. July 1872.*¹⁴ But by this time she was out of Logan and Lloyd's hands, their fortunes no longer dependent on her. She had however played a major role in Logan's long, determined climb into respectability and acceptance in his new sphere.

¹⁴ AA Film CRS A7562 Vol 9 p 50

7 - THE FAMILY

Robert Logan's move to 32 Grosvenor Street, Sandy Bay, in 1875 took him a further step away from his convict background and delinquent origins. The property consisted of an allotment of over two acres on the south-eastern corner of Regent and King Streets, Sandy Bay, which he had purchased from Frederick Bell in 1857 for £657 and upon which an orchard had been developed.¹ To this had been added a further block purchased for £51, fronting onto Grosvenor Street nearby.² On this portion Logan built his last house, a Victorian villa in brick with the more elaborate decoration of its period, and of a more pretentious type than his previous houses. Its patterned brickwork, cast iron lace verandah, stained glass windows and tiled front path all achieve for the house the ultimate effect of Victorian middle-class respectability in what was, even then, one of Hobart's more desirable suburbs. To this haven Logan retired.

Apart from his venture into ship-owning in 1853 - 1859³, little factual detail has been revealed to depict his later life to any extent. When he died at Sandy Bay on 22 June 1882, aged 79, he was described as being a 'Retired Timber Merchant', so presumably timber had remained his main occupation, with his ship-owning and investment in houses as sidelines.⁴ His monument in Cornelian Bay

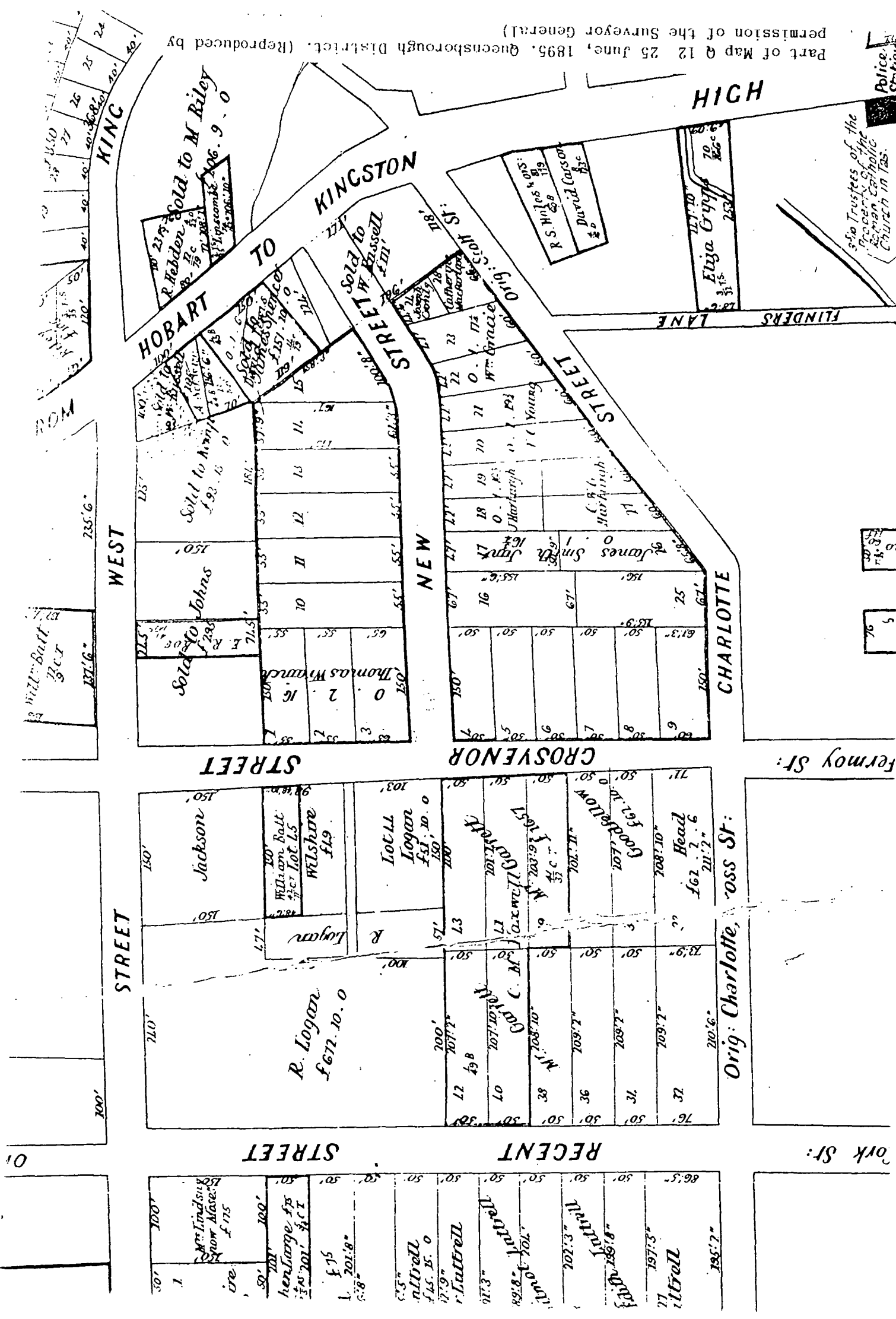
¹ Reg. Deeds 4/4838 11.8.1857; Assessment Rolls 1875-1899 and after.

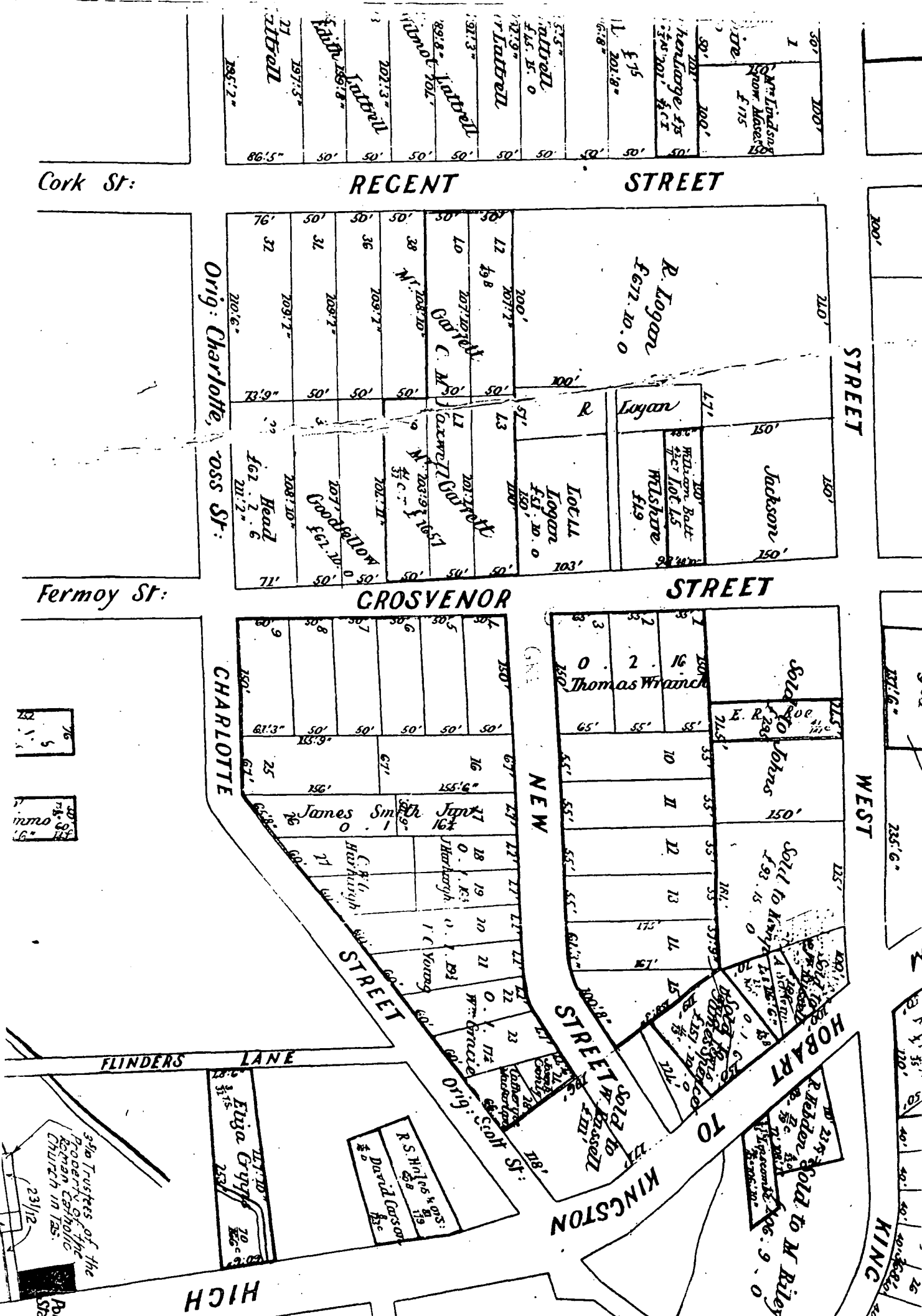
² Now No 32. Street names as given are modern. In 1857, King Street was the Port Davey Road, Regent was Cork Street and Grosvenor was Fermoy. (Bell came from Fermoy, Co. Cork, Ireland and had, in fact, already returned there.)

³ See Chapter 6.

⁴ RGD 35/9 22.6.1882

Part of Map of 12 25 June, 1895, Queensborough District. (Reproduced by permission of the Surveyor General)





Part of Map Q 12 25 June, 1895. Queensborough District. (Reproduced by permission of the Surveyor General)

Cemetery is singularly uninformative - name, dates and a short text give no clue to the man's origins or history. Logan had used his opportunities to rise above his past and he left behind him a family securely based and before long, even unaware of its predecessor's 'shameful' past.

The Logan descendants were members of one of the numerous families in Tasmania to prove that a the convict experience was not necessarily tragic and that a convict background was no absolute deterrent to success in the colony. Many other families, some much more prominent, had similar experiences. The Davies of the Hobart *Mercury*, the Belbins - sons of Norfolk Islander James Belbin -, the Rowntrees, the Crisps were others with convict beginnings. The history of Logan's descendants follows the pattern of determined effort and the achievement of prosperity and respectability which he had set. He had brought himself and Sophia a long way from their joint convict backgrounds - he an ex-convict, still on a Conditional Pardon; she, the daughter and wife of convicts. Logan gave to their child, and to Sophia's two other children, a firm social footing and after his death the family continued whence he had left off. Logan and Sophia provided a more stable home for their children and more economic support whenever it was needed than many of the poorer free settlers were able to do.

Logan must have assumed a considerable degree of responsibility for his two stepchildren, since the careers of both were obviously the result of contacts made through Logan's business. Both achieved a comfortable economic and social position. Sarah Ann Lloyd, who was 12 years old when Logan married her mother, shared in the move from Lower Collins Street to Battery Point, and the

improved life this involved. On 4 November 1847, at the age of 18, she married Captain James Gardner, aged 39, in St. George's Church, Battery Point. Logan was a witness.⁵ Gardner was a well-known figure in Hobart maritime and business circles. He had captained whaling and coastal vessels, and held shares in several, including *Harriet Nathan*, later owned by Logan. He was in fact bought out by Logan after captaining her as part-owner for some years.⁶ The age discrepancy in his marriage might imply a marriage of convenience, but was less uncommon in Victorian times than it is today and offered some degree of social position and security. After Gardner's death in 1858⁷, Sarah, still a relatively young woman, married another Hobart sea-captain, Charles Gardiner, in Melbourne⁸ - a man formerly of some standing in the areas of Hobart where Logan worked and now a prosperous squatter of Cape Schank station. The *Mercury* of 30 March 1878 reports:

Tasmanians in South Australia

*The foundation stone of the Port MacDonnell Institute was laid on 12 March by Mrs Robert Gardiner, a lady well known in Hobart Town and at present a resident in South Australia. Mrs Gardiner is a daughter of Mrs Logan of Sandy Bay and is the wife of Captain Robert Gardiner formerly connected with this port, who for many years assisted with Mr Seal, Captain McArthur and others in whaling pursuits, which he subsequently relinquished to become a squatter in South Australia..... Mrs Gardiner, of Cape Schank.....*⁹

The Gardiners moved to Melbourne; Sarah eventually returned to Hobart, where she died at Lower Sandy Bay in 1894.¹⁰ Her second

⁵ RGD 37/6, No 865

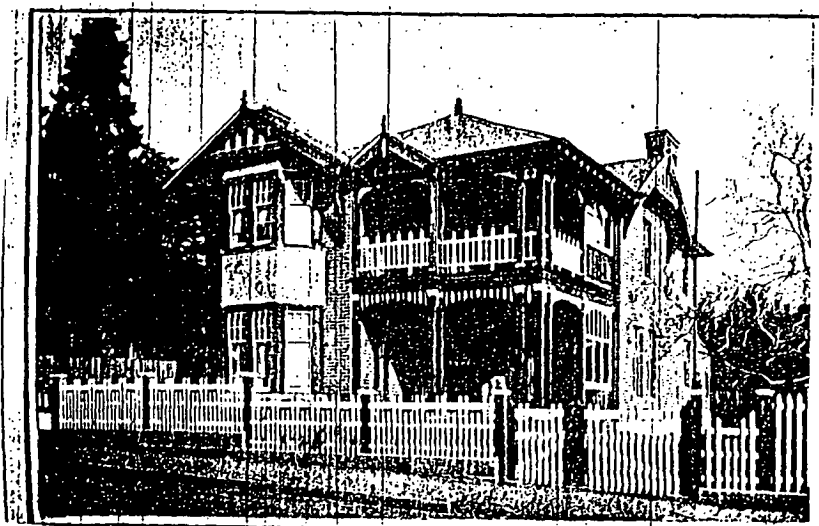
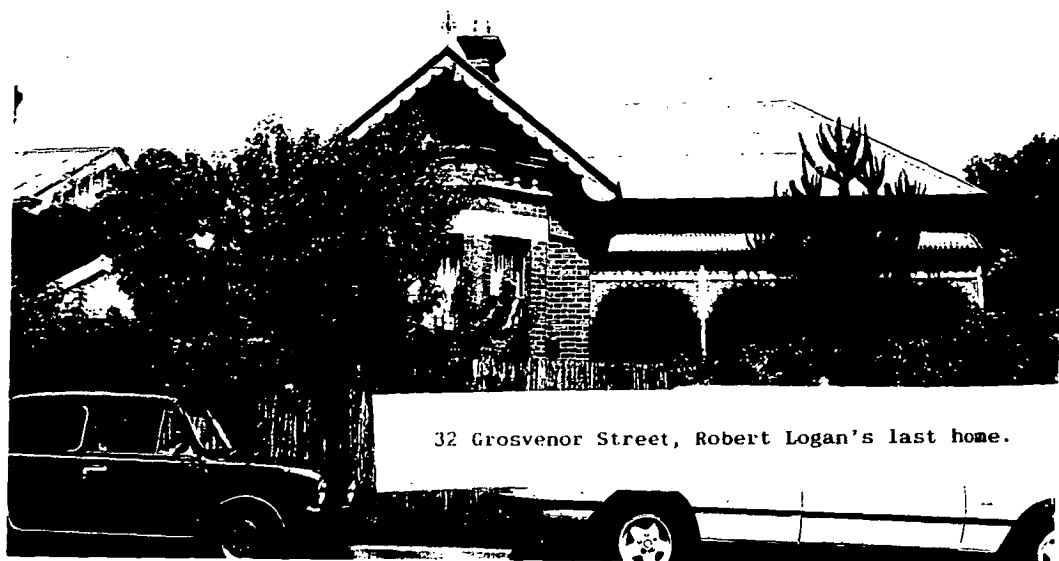
⁶ See Chap. 6; O'May H *Wooden Hookers out of Hobart Town* Hobart 1978 portrait; Shipping Lists; *Hobart Town Chronicle* 5.1.53.

⁷ *Mercury* 7.5.58

⁸ Registrar General Victoria, *Marriages* 1866 No 755. Gardiner's second marriage; a great-grandson by the first marriage was dancer-choreographer Robert Helpman.

⁹ *Mercury* 30.3.1875 p 14 c 2

¹⁰ Inscription N40 Cornelian Bay Cemetery.



Mrs Pierce Butler's House. (Tasmanian Mail, 7.3.1912) —



marriage certificate, a Victorian one, described her ex-convict father as 'James Lloyd, Gentleman'. Sarah had come a long way from Wapping.

James Frederick Lloyd, Sarah's brother, grew up in Logan's shadow and built his career on Logan's trading and maritime dealings. He was nine years old when he moved with Logan and Sophia to Battery Point, and lived there until he went to sea as a member of Hobart's whaling fleet. He almost certainly owed his start to Logan's connections. An article on crew agreements 1860-1898 points out:

...while the majority of the officers were professional seamen, they were also related to members of the whaling fraternity. Many officers were either brothers or sons of Master Mariners, or were related to the owners of whaling vessels. A total of 242 Officers out of a total of 354 examined in the survey were either relations of the Master or related to ship owners.....Young men would have had very little opportunity of entering into the entrenched ranks of the professional seamen, or of becoming officers, unless they were related to the captain or the owner of a whaling vessel.¹¹

The writer was referring specifically to the whaling industry, and to a slightly later period when the industry was in an even greater state of decline, but such also was young Lloyd's experience when he took to the sea. The great value to him of Logan's influence was shown when he became master of Logan's *Harriet Nathan* in 1854 at the age of 22, sailing the little vessel on her trading voyages to Victoria in the gold-rush period. Logan allowed him to purchase a part share in 1856 and to acquire gradually all 64 shares to give him full ownership by 1864. He captained the *Harriet Nathan* for 13 years until she was sold in 1867.¹² He married a local woman, Emily Read

¹¹ Chamberlain S, 'An Analysis of the Composition of the Tasmanian Whaling Crews based on their Crew Agreements - 1860-1896.' *THRAPP* 30/17

¹² See Chap 6; AA CRS A7562 Vol 7 p 64, Vol 9 p 50

Mason, in 1855¹³ and they lived at various times in Logan houses, No 15 De Witt Street in 1857-8, No 23 in 1865-8 as his family increased.¹⁴ In his will, Logan left him a life interest, after the death of Logan's wife, in the two houses in Hampden Road, Nos 40 and 42.¹⁵ James F Lloyd, master mariner, like his sister, rose well above his parents' convict background, and appears not to have been handicapped by it to any extent in his career. James died in Melbourne in 1903 at the age of 70.

Similarly, whatever Logan's own upbringing in the alleys of Berwick's poorer quarter may have been, Isabella, his daughter, seems to have suffered no deprivation as she grew up in the Battery Point of the 1850s. Only child of a reasonably prosperous merchant, her older step-brother and step-sister already left home, she may very well have been the cosseted darling of middle-aged parents. Isabella was brought up as a lady. She is reputed by her granddaughter to have 'sung at Government House', although no record has yet been found of the occasion. The only known photograph of her shows a sharp-featured little woman in a hooped taffeta gown of the style of the 1850s, elaborately ruched and tucked, hair carefully curled - certainly a portrait of a lady of some social standing. No wedding ring is visible, but the subject seems older than the 19 years at which Isabella married. The probability is that the portrait is of 'Mrs Logan', her mother.¹⁶

On 13 October 1860, Isabella married Alfred Alexander Butler, son of Gamaliel Butler, who had been a prominent Tasmanian lawyer

¹³ RGD 37/14 No 534. Chalmers Free Church, 27.9.1855, father Alfred S Mason.

¹⁴ Dates as given in directories; actual occupancy may have been longer.

¹⁵ Probate Registry, Hobart 11.8.1882

¹⁶ My copy from member of family EF

and property owner.¹⁷ Gamaliel Butler had died in 1852, but his widow and family still occupied 'Stowell', the large mansion in nearby Hamden Road built originally by John Montagu in 1832. The marriage service was conducted by the well-known Congregational minister George Clarke in Logan's house, the witnesses being Logan himself, a John and E M Swain, and E S Fisher, Sophia's sister.

The fact that the service was Congregational, in Logan's less impressive house, and with none of the Butlers as witnesses, gives rise to the query whether the Butlers knew of Logan's past history and disapproved. Furthermore, A A Butler, a merchant and shipping agent, had very little contact with any other members of his family except Francis Butler, which tends to confirm the idea.¹⁸ It appears that while a convict background may not have prevented a person achieving success in business affairs and moderate comfort in his lifestyle, there was still a considerable social stigma attached to a convict parent. Certainly many Hobart families went to quite extreme lengths to conceal such backgrounds, even when that same ancestor may have helped to establish them in the comfortable social position they enjoyed. If Miss Logan, or Mrs Butler, sang at Government House, one wonders how widely her father's record was known, especially as present-day Logan descendants, while well acquainted with the facts about Isabella Butler, knew absolutely nothing of her father. Was this simply a manifestation of the usual ignorance of typical Australians, except for those actively researching the matter, of any ancestors earlier than grandparents? Or had his story at some stage been deliberately suppressed in the interest of preserving a respectability so painfully acquired?

¹⁷ RGD 37/19 1860 No 335. For Gamaliel Butler see ADB I, p 190.

¹⁸ See Chap 6; also directories for trade advertisements.



Mrs A A Butler formerly Isabella Logan

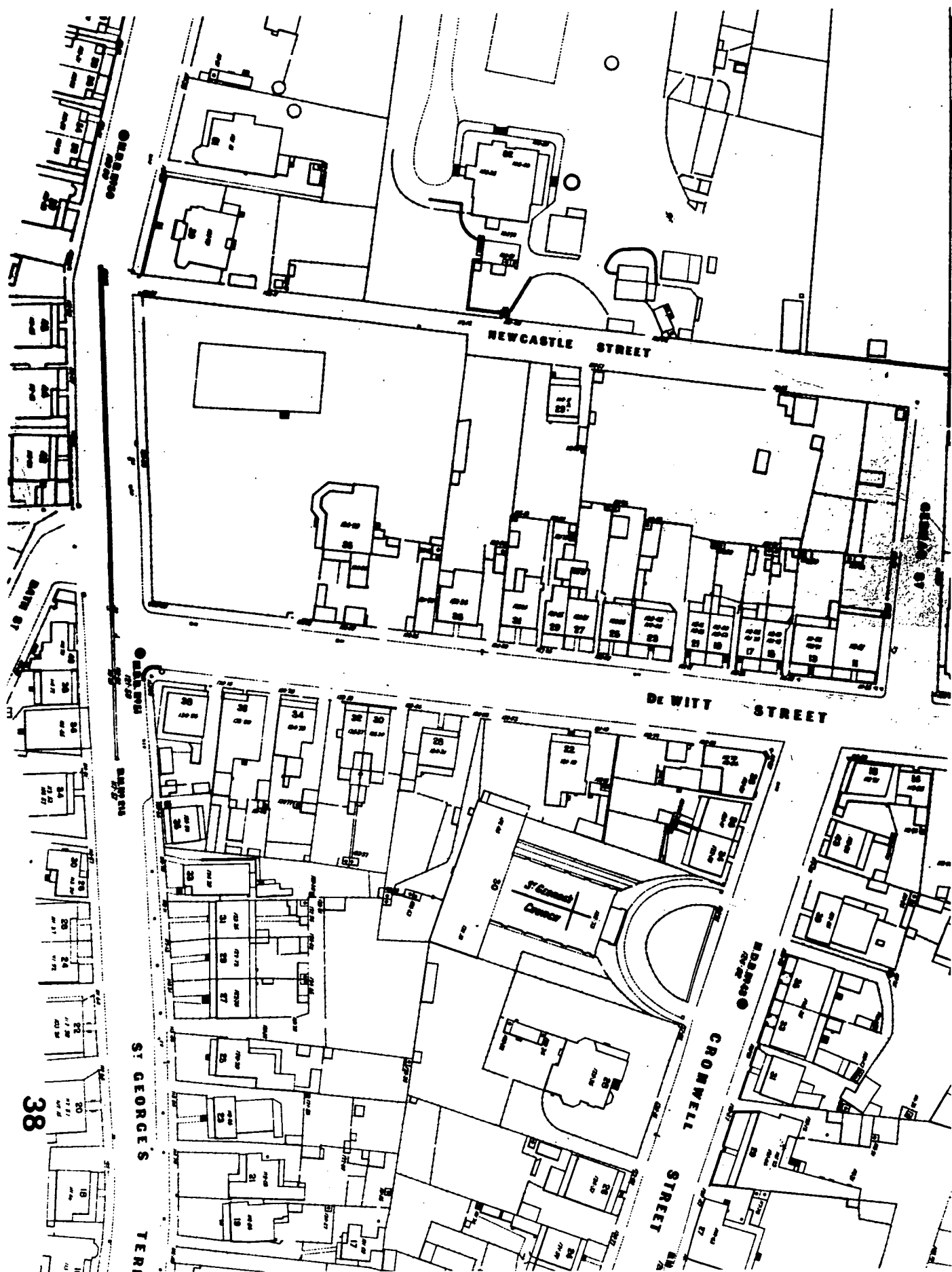
While it is not possible at this distance to determine at what point the convict connection was erased from the family memory, or whether the fact was known generally or to the Butlers in particular at the time of the marriage, it is certain that the union with one of Hobart's prominent families marked yet another upward step in the Logan family story.

A A Butler lived with Isabella and his family of three sons and six daughters (two other children had died in infancy) in his father-in-law's stone house at 13 De Witt Street. The three boys went to the Hutchins School. Butler himself carried on his agent's business from offices in Collins Street and later on the New Wharf. With the coming of tin mining to the north-east corner of Tasmania in the late 1870s and 1880s, A A Butler found a new direction for his business activities as Manager or Legal Manager of mines at Ringarooma and Gould's Country: the Blue Tier, the Atlas, the Albert and the Emu.¹⁹ In 1880 he was a member of the local School Board for Battery Point.²⁰ When Isabella died in 1882, when her youngest daughter Ruth was only two years old, Butler and his family continued to live in the Logan house for at least another ten years. One is left with the impression of a merchant family, comfortably off, though not excessively wealthy, and securely settled in a permanent home. The fact that Isabella died at the age of 41,²¹ after having in her 22 years of marriage born 11 children and reared nine of these, hints at sheer physical exhaustion, a situation however common in her time, and still consistent with a comfortable social position. Certainly her

¹⁹ Scholl M, *A Handy Book to Tasmanian Mines and Mining* Hobart, various editions 1981-1891

²⁰ Walsh's *Hobart Town Almanac 1880*. Local School Boards

²¹ RGD 35/10 21.3.1882 No 65. Cause: Dysentery and disease of heart.



Metropolitan Drainage Board Plan 1905-10
 Part of Sheet No 37 Battery Point
 (From SLT, Tasmaniana)

early death was not a misfortune of her parents' making and the history of her children takes a happier course.

The career of Logan's eldest grandson is perhaps the high point of the post-convict record of Logan and his kin. Pierce Logan Butler was born in Battery Point in 1863 and educated at the Hutchins School. Entering the Public Works Department as a boy in the Railway Survey branch in 1878, he later became a draftsman. In 1887 he was assistant engineer on the Fingal railway construction works and was in charge of the survey of the Ulverstone and Castra Railway. Joining the Roads Department in 1888, he eventually became Inspector of Roads for Tasmania in 1903. A man of stature socially as well as professionally, he was an active yachtsman and member of the Derwent Sailing Club.²² He married Amy Lord, daughter of the Hon. John Lord MLC and in 1891 bought the quite extensive property in Battery Point which used to be the old Read farm and which later belonged to Robert Kerr and then Alexander McNaughton.²³ Soon he was living in a new two-story house named 'Logan' built on part of that land.²⁴ The old farm was known to the family as 'Blinkbonnie' and a Butler child remembers horses being grazed there.²⁵

Pierce Butler was accidentally killed on 1 March 1904, near Sorell, from head injuries received when he was thrown from his horse on the way to Bream Creek in the course of his duties²⁶, but the way of life at 'Logan' continued. Mrs Amy Butler, his widow, sold

²² *Mercury* 2.3.1904 p 4 col 3, 2.7.1924 p 3 col 3 'A Family Centenary'; *Cyclopaedia of Tasmania*, vol 2, p 138;

²³ Chapter 4, also Hudspeth A & Scripps L, *Battery Point Historical Research* Hobart 1990 p 77

²⁴ Then 70 (now 56) Hampden Road, occupied 1992 by the Heart Foundation, part of the Hampden Road Centre.

²⁵ Information from Mrs R Jones, Bellerive, a descendant.

²⁶ *Mercury* 2 Mar 1904

the old farm and surrounding land in 1905, when it was used for the Queen Alexandra Hospital,²⁷ but 'Logan' was occupied by her, and after her death in 1919 by her son, until at least 1947. The Logan connection with Battery Point was a long and lasting one.

Examination of the histories of the other Logan/Butler grandchildren would serve little purpose except to reinforce the point made in reference to Pierce Butler - that the family had a place in Hobart life, it had links with families like the Butlers and the Lords, and it was eminently respectable and comfortably off.

It is a matter for speculation only whether Robert Logan would ever have amounted to anything in his native Berwick, but the omens were hardly good. His Tasmanian experiences may well have produced for himself and his descendants a lifestyle better than anything possible to them in England. That is, of course, as much as one can say. Even that is very different from the convict experience as seen by, say, Marcus Clarke.

²⁷ Hudspeth & Scripps, *op cit* p 77

8 - THE PARDONS

Of all the goals Robert Logan set himself in his time in Tasmania, only one was not achieved; he never obtained an Absolute Pardon.¹ In view of the direction his life took in his steady pursuit of respectability, and of the care with which he provided for the status and security of his dependents, it might have been the goal most important to him. The failure was by no means his fault and does not detract from his very real achievements nor from his position as an example of the beneficial aspects of the assignment system. However this personal disappointment introduces a minor note of tragedy into an otherwise successful life-story and may explain Logan's apparent withdrawal from active commercial affairs during the latter part of his life. After having received a Conditional Pardon in 1841, he failed in his attempt to become totally free - to obtain an Absolute Pardon, having come tantalisingly close. In 1844 he was actually recommended for one by Lieutenant Governor Sir J E Eardley-Wilmot and the fact was published in the *Hobart Town Gazette*.²

The granting of Pardons in 1844 was in the hands of the British Government. From 1790 until the New South Wales Judicature Act of 1823, the Governors of New South Wales, which included Van Diemen's Land, were empowered to remit absolutely or conditionally

¹ To be consistent with CO despatches, the terms Absolute Pardon and Conditional Pardon are capitalised throughout.

² *Mercury* 24 May 1844

the whole or part of any prisoner's sentence. However fears were expressed from time to time that too much leniency was being shown. The Judicature Act of 1823, while confirming all previous pardons, limited the power of the Governors only to recommending pardons, not granting them. The power to grant tickets-of-leave was never questioned, since these were revocable.³ Conditional Pardons in each colony were conditional upon the holder not leaving that colony. This situation remained virtually unchanged until the 1840s, although after the administrative separation of the two colonies proclaimed in 1825 the Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land made his recommendations directly to London.

On 8 January 1853 Logan made a petition to the Queen which tells its own story of events up to 1853. Even allowing for the legal terminology, it not only gives a first hand account of an assigned convict's experiences but also is a practical example of the drastic change that affected the system of pardons in the 1840s. It also illustrates Governor Arthur's habit of meeting transports of newly arrived convicts personally and explaining their future prospects - Logan understood him to have made an outright promise of an Absolute Pardon if it was well earned by good behaviour.⁴ The Petition runs:

The Humble Petition of Robert Logan of Hobart Town in Van Diemen's Land holding 1st Class Conditional Pardon

Most respectfully Sheweth,

That Your Petitioner was tried at Berwick upon Tweed on 6th May 1829, sentenced to Transportation for Life, and arrived at Hobart Town aforesaid pursuant to such sentence in November per ship "Surrey"/2.

That Your Petitioner was a young man at the

³ 30 GeoIII c 47; SC on Transportation 1512; Bigge Report 1519; NSW Act 1523 4GeoIV c 96 secs 34,35. Also Shaw *op cit* p 82-83

⁴ Forsyth, *op cit* p 49

period of his conviction.

That Your Petitioner on his arrival in Van Diemen's Land was assigned to Mr. G. S. Brodie a Settler on the Banks of the River Clyde with whom he faithfully served the long Period of Eight years required by the then regulations of the Colonial Government:- when he received a Ticket of Leave.⁵

That Your Petitioner on leaving his Master was presented by him in addition to his wages with the sum of One hundred Pounds as a reward for his faithful service and good conduct.

That Your Petitioner about 3 years afterwards received the Indulgence of a Pardon Conditional on residing in Van Diemen's Land .

That in May 1844 Your Petitioner was recommended by the Colonial Government for an Absolute Pardon, a notification whereof was published in the Hobart Town Gazette on the Anniversary of Her Majesty's Birthday 1844.

That in consequence of some alteration in the Regulations of Her Majesty's Government, the Indulgence granted to Your Petitioner upon such recommendation was an extension of Your Petitioner's Pardon to all places except Europe.

That by a subsequent regulation of Her Majesty's Government Your Petitioner's Pardon was further extended as available in all places except the United Kingdom.

That Your Petitioner has for many years been established in business at Hobart Town as a Timber Dealer;- is married to a respectable Free woman by whom he has a family; and has by honest industry, and a continuance of the good conduct that procured the first amelioration of his condition, amassed a considerable freehold property sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of himself and family :- in any Country.

That Your Petitioner has served upwards of Twenty three years in the Colony; and from the moment of his landing under sentence down to the present time has not been charged with a single offence, except in one instance, which originated in a misapprehension on the part of his Master Mr Brodie (the money mentioned therein having been subsequently found by him), upon which occasion Your Petitioner was at once and fully acquitted.

Your Petitioner humbly submits that when he arrived in the Colony His Excellency Sir George Arthur the then Lieutenant Governor assured Your Petitioner in common with the other men by the same ship that provided that their conduct continued good, and becoming persons of reformed character they should in time receive Absolute Pardons.

Your Petitioner further humbly submits that having served in the land of his expatriation the long period of Twenty three years and upwards with good and

⁵ Convict Records indicate assignment to J S Brodie of Berridale. The error is Logan's.

honest conduct and a retrieved character, he has fulfilled the great and beneficial aim of all Secondary Punishment, namely the reformation and restoration to Society of the Offender; and he therefore humbly hopes that he may be deemed a deserving object for the extension of the Royal Mercy.

*Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, That You will be pleased to take his case, long servitude and reformed character into favourable consideration, and to give effect to the recommendation of the Colonial Government of 24th May 1844, by submitting His name to Her Most Gracious Majesty for the Indulgence of an Absolute Pardon.*⁶

The petition was accompanied by testimonials from William Watchorn, Davey Street, Hobart, who stated that he had known Logan for nine years, and also John Hiddlestone J P of Brisbane Street. Both men were influential citizens, members of wealthy merchant families prominent in local government.

Governor Denison duly forwarded the petition to London, enclosing it in a despatch to the Rt. Hon. Sir J S Pakington, Colonial Secretary, with the comment:

*I have to add that Logan's conduct has been free from offence since arriving in the colony.*⁷

The application was refused. The letter from Lord Newcastle, now in office, to Denison explained:

*For many years all pardons granted to convicts in the Australian colonies have been given subject to the condition that they are not to return to the United Kingdom. It is obvious that much inconvenience would result now from any attempt now to reverse this principle retrospectively or from making casual exceptions to it. I can only express my regret therefore that I do not feel at liberty to comply with the present application.*⁸

The letter is endorsed "Logan notified", though what form the notification took is not clear. Logan appears not to have been the

⁶ AOT CO 280/305 Reel 722 p 272

⁷ AOT GO 73 88, Despatch No 58 p 679-684

⁸ AOT GO1 89 p 124 16.8.1853 Newcastle to Denison

only sufferer. As he said, notice had appeared in the *Hobart Town Gazette* on 24 May 1844 to the effect that:

*It is hereby notified to the under-mentioned individuals, that it is the Lieutenant-Governor's intention to recommend Her Majesty the Queen to grant them Absolute Pardons.*⁹

Twelve names follow, including Logan's. The schedule of recommendations for Absolute Pardons, showing the reasons for Logan's inclusion as '*for very good conduct*', was enclosed in the new Lieutenant Governor Sir J E Eardley-Wilmot's dispatch on 28 May and came to the Home Office 16 October 1844.¹⁰ However a check in the Record Books on other men on the list shows that they, like Logan, received, in March 1845, not a free pardon, but a further Conditional Pardon "for A C" - doubtless standing for "for All Colonies" or "for Australian Colonies". Here each man's Convict Record ends.¹¹

The question why Logan was refused the Absolute Pardon when he had fulfilled the required conditions goes back to 1844. Had his case been presented even a year earlier Logan would probably have been made a free man without delay. However Logan and his fellows had become innocent victims of the vendetta that was developing between the new Governor and the Colonial Office, which was far from happy with his administration. Eardley-Wilmot had assumed office on 21 August 1843. An irate despatch from Lord Stanley, Secretary of State dated 7 September 1844 pointed out that in January and February of 1844 Eardley-Wilmot had forwarded lists of recommendations for Absolute Pardons, but also had had the temerity to forward a list of thirty pardons he had granted himself.

⁹ *Hobart Town Gazette* 24.5.1844

¹⁰ JCP Piece 58/59 Reel 84 p 379, dated 1 June 1844

¹¹ CON 31/ Individual records

This in spite of having received instructions to proclaim an Act one clause of which expressly denied such power to any colonial Governor or Lieutenant Governor.¹² Some of these pardons were dated within the six weeks period allowed for the Act to be made law, but others were not. Eardley-Wilmot was reprimanded. Stanley went on:

*Her Majesty's Government think it essential that Absolute Pardons, which entitle the individuals receiving them to return to this Country, should be given with a very sparing hand and be reserved as a reward for cases of a very special nature.*¹³

He indicated that, to keep faith, approval would be given to the present thirty cases, but those convicts who had only been recommended would be given Conditional Pardons valid for the Australian colonies. He went on:

*You will of course abstain as much as possible from recommending any persons in future for Absolute Pardons. If any very special case shall arise in which you think such an indulgence as an Absolute Pardon to be clearly deserved, you will make a full report to me of the circumstances on which your opinion is formed in order that they may be submitted for Her Majesty's pleasure.*¹⁴

Until the despatch was received in the colony,¹⁵ the unfortunate Eardley-Wilmot's lists of recommendations for Absolute Pardons continued to arrive at the Colonial Office, provoking increasingly exasperated replies:

*For the reasons explained in my Despatch of 7th Ultimo No 297, HM Government have been unable to advise Her Majesty to comply with this recommendation, but Her Majesty has been graciously pleased instead to authorise you to grant to those Convicts Conditional Pardons*¹⁶

¹² 6 Vic c 7, clauses 2 and 5

¹³ AOT G01/56 p 23 Despatch No 297 Stanley to E-W 7.9.1844. For full text see Appendix 1.

¹⁴ *ibid* p 24

¹⁵ This was answered 7 Jan.1845

¹⁶ G01/56 Despatch No 339, 30 Oct 1844.

These were the usual pardons valid only in Van Diemen's Land. Logan was among this group. It was not much comfort when he already had a Conditional Pardon. On another occasion:

*In any future recommendation for Absolute Pardons it will be proper that a statement should be furnished of Special [?circumstances] or some special reason should be assigned in every case as the ground of such recommendation.*¹⁷

In this last case, of 15 convicts recommended for Absolute Pardons, five who had no Conditional Pardon before were granted one, four had claims which, based on having held a Conditional Pardon for a certain time, were refused as insufficient, and six had claims which were dismissed as not sufficiently strong or special. The Colonial Office was taking a strong line with Eardley-Wilmot and in this atmosphere Logan's claim had no more chance than those quoted. A great many Conditional Pardons valid only in the Colony were granted, two lists of 118 and 198 on 31 October 1844, but almost no Absolute Pardons. The Colonial Office was taking no chances of "free" pardons permitting many ex-convicts to return to the United Kingdom. Logan's perhaps idealistic view as stated in his petition that the primary purpose of secondary punishment was 'reformation and restoration to society of the offender' was given a lower priority by Her Majesty's Government. Reformation was a very desirable virtue but not to be enjoyed in the United Kingdom.

Logan as a "Lifer" could not earn a Certificate of Freedom merely by serving his full term as could those with sentences of seven or fourteen years, so he was doomed to remain on a Conditional Pardon unless the policy of the British Government changed again.

¹⁷ G01/56 Despatch No 352, 22.11.44

Circumstances did indeed force a change and raised his hopes. 1840-42 had seen the introduction of the probation system of convict management in Van Diemen's Land, which required all convicts, after a period of reformatory work in the gangs, to be issued progressively with first, second and third class passes enabling them to find jobs and work for wages, later being given tickets-of-leave and pardons. However, coinciding as it did with a severe agricultural depression and an enormous increase in the numbers of convicts arriving after the cessation of transportation to New South Wales in 1840, allied to the spate of Conditional Pardons resulting from refusal of most free ones, it produced a massive problem of unemployment in Van Diemen's Land. In May 1844 there were 16,000 requiring work - 4,000 holding Conditional Pardons, 5,000 with tickets-of-leave, 7,000 pass-holders - and 2,000 about to be given passes.¹⁸ Many wished to seek work in other colonies. Free settlers, emancipists and ex-convicts could do this; conditional pardoners could not, though many desired to do so. The *Colonial Times* pointed out:

Conditional Pardons. It may not be generally known that since New South Wales ceased to be a penal colony the Lieutenant-Governor has had no power (except in cases of extreme illness where change of climate is necessary) to grant permission to any person not entirely free to visit either of the adjoining colonies. In a short time, however, we are told, his power on such matters will be extended.¹⁹

The *Colonial Times* was right, unpopular though the idea may have been on the mainland. First, Eardley-Wilmot, sensing an injustice, extended the pardons of those refused who already had a Conditional Pardon and made them valid for the mainland.²⁰ Stanley

¹⁸ Shaw A G L *op cit* p 300

¹⁹ *Colonial Times* Tues 9.11.1844.

²⁰ Despatch No 13 6.3.45 E-W to Stanley

graciously deigned to approve.²¹ Then measures were taken in 1845 to alleviate the pressure of unemployment by reorganising the whole system of Conditional Pardons. The proposed arrangement created two classes of Conditional Pardon: the first class to be valid everywhere except in Europe and to be granted to those individuals who would previously have been eligible for an Absolute Pardon; the second class to be valid only in the Australian colonies including New Zealand and to be granted to such as would under ordinary circumstances be recommended for Conditional Pardons. It did not preclude the award of Absolute Pardons 'under very unusual circumstances' and applied retrospectively to those affected by the earlier ban on Absolute Pardons.²² In 1846 its range was extended to cover any part of the Empire except the place where the holder was originally convicted.²³

In spite of spirited objections from the other colonies, especially when the gold discoveries from 1851 accelerated the flow of hopeful adventurers across Bass Strait, the British Government continued to support the Van Diemen's Land governors' intention to legalise the movement of holders of Conditional Pardons to the Mainland. The Convicts Prevention Act of Victoria, 1852, enforced against all 'Vandemonians', was directed as much against Conditional Pardoners and ex-pirees as escapees and the Home Government supported Denison's arguments that it discriminated against the worthy and the unworthy alike. The 'extended' pardon was retained.²⁴

²¹ GO1/58 p 376 Despatch No 486 30.6.45 Stanley to E-W

²² GO1/57 p 137 Stanley to E-W. 5.2.45 Received 17.6.45. For full text see Appendix 1.

²³ Shaw A G L, *op cit* pp 301-2

²⁴ Serle G, *The Golden Age* p 127-8

Thus in his petition in 1853 Logan could describe himself as the holder of a First Class Conditional Pardon and explain how his original pardon came to be extended, first to the mainland, then to everywhere except Europe, then to include all of Europe except the United Kingdom. It is also the reason why as a ship-owner in 1853 he was able to visit Melbourne as a passenger on his own vessel without offending against his pardon conditions.²⁵

In 1853 Logan sent his petition to London through Denison, with the negative result described. This must have been a bitter disappointment and he would have had some grounds for feeling aggrieved. The promise, as he understood it to be, made by Governor Arthur was not being upheld and he had no guarantee that the policy would be any different in the future. Moreover a trickle of Absolute Pardons was coming through. This was not altogether consistent with the total ban implied in Newcastle's letter to Denison. In July 1844 forty American political prisoners out of eighty who had been transported in 1839 for their part in an uprising in Canada received free pardons; most of the rest were freed within the next year.²⁶ Admittedly, political prisoners were often treated as special cases. Again, in 1847, while he was Administrator in Van Diemen's Land, C J La Trobe was sending lists recommending Absolute Pardons, and in June, July and August 1856 Sir Henry Fox Young sent lists of 37, 17 and 62 recommendations respectively.²⁷ Most of the lists returned by the Colonial Office were approvals for Conditional Pardons only, as before, but a few Absolute Pardons were awarded.

²⁵ See Ch 6

²⁶ McRae M M, 'Yankees from King Arthur's Court' *THRAPP* 19/4 Dec 1972

²⁷ AOT CO 714/150 Index to Governor's Correspondence 1847-56

Also in 1856 a new development concerning Conditional Pardons is evidenced in the *Hobart Town Gazette*.²⁸ While the usual lists of recommendations appeared for Conditional Pardons valid for all places except the place of conviction and the United Kingdom, there was also a small number of Conditional Pardons granted by the Lieutenant Governor himself available 'everywhere save in the United Kingdom and the island of Tasmania'. Nothing in the Colonial Office despatches to the end of 1856 gives authority for this, nor is it clear why these recipients were to be so exiled. One of the recipients was the former bushranger Martin Cash who went to New Zealand for four years and then returned,²⁹ which suggests that some authority had been given to the Governors in such cases. It is another indication that the British Government's attitude regarding pardons was by no means fixed.

Logan does not seem to have tried again, although by the date of his death, 1882, he had been in the Colony 53 years. A life sentence indeed. How much his convict past affected his later life is hard to tell - possibly very little. His extended Conditional Pardon had made it possible to visit the mainland states if he wished and by 1852 legislation had been passed enabling conditional pardoners to vote at elections for the Legislative Council.³⁰ The only restriction under which he laboured as a holder of a Conditional Pardon was the ban on returning to the United Kingdom and it would seem that Berwick upon Tweed had little to offer him. As an illegitimate child,

²⁸ HTG 1856, May 13 and 20, June 10,17, July 1,8,15 are good examples. Most issues from Feb. have some entries.

²⁹ ADB I p 214, HTG 26 June 1856 p 849. See also Appendix 1 HTG notice.

³⁰ GO1/87 p 567 Despatch No 50 Newcastle to WD; 15 Vic 3 1852 'An Act to enable persons holding certain Pardons to vote at Elections of Members to serve in the Legislative Council of Van Diemen's Land'. It established the right to vote of holders of all types of CP.

whose mother had later married another man, not his father, and was probably dead, with no property to speak of, no home or family ties to call him, Logan probably had few regrets at being unable to return. A deeper wound was no doubt the one to his self-esteem, when he had worked so hard and so long to remove the stigma. Perhaps that was the real punishment achieved by transportation - permanent exile and the loss of self-respect.

At least his 'shame' seems to have been ignored by his family. Logan lived the life of a successful retired business man, collecting his rents, tending his 2½ acre orchard in Sandy Bay. On the other side of the world lay Berwick upon Tweed, where fifty years before a twenty-year old lout had contemplated 'knocking someone down for his money' on an evening's spree. They were indeed poles apart.

APPENDIX 1

DESPATCHES CONCERNING CONDITIONAL PARDONS 1844-5

GO1/56 p 53 Stanley to Eardley-Wilmot

Despatch No 297

Downing Street,
7 September 1844

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches of the 16th and 30th January last, Nos 12 and 23, and 20th February last No 51, the first enclosing the duplicates of 30 Absolute Pardons, the second and third enclosing Lists of Persons to whom you recommend that Absolute Pardons should be granted.

With reference to the instruments enclosed in your Despatch No 12, I think it necessary to call your attention to the Provisions of the Act 6 Vic c.7 of which a copy was transmitted to you in my Despatch of 24 April 1843, No 2. By the second Clause of that Act it is enacted that neither the Governor nor the Lieutenant Governor of any place, where Felons have been transported should have the power of granting to such Felons either Absolute or Conditional Pardons but that they should only have the power of recommending to Her Majesty for Conditional or Absolute Pardons such Felons as they might think deserving of such an Indulgence. By the 5th Clause it is provided that this Act shall be proclaimed within six weeks after a Copy of it shall have been received by the Governor or Lieutenant Governor of any place to which Felons have been transported and shall take effect from the date of such Proclamation.

You arrived in Hobart Town about the 20th August 1843 and would appear to have assumed the Government on the 21st or 22nd. The majority of the Instruments in question are I observe dated in August and September and consequently within the period during which you were at liberty to suspend the Proclamation of the Act 6 Vic c 7, but some of them are dated as late as the 11th and 19th October, after the period of six weeks must have expired and consequently after the date at which I presume you must have proclaimed the Act of Parliament. I think it necessary to notice this apparent irregularity and to request you to explain it to me, because it is of the utmost importance that the Laws and Regulations in regard to transported Convicts should be invariably and implicitly observed.

But independently of this point, HM Government think it essential that Absolute Pardons which would entitle the individuals receiving them to return to this Country, should be given with a very sparing hand and be reserved as a reward for cases of a very special nature. While therefore Her Majesty has been graciously pleased under the special circumstances of the case, and to prevent the possible appearance of a breach of faith, to approve and allow the Absolute Pardons granted by you to the thirty individuals recommended for that Indulgence in your Despatch of the 16th January last No 12, and whose names are stated in the enclosed Schedule marked No 1, Her Majesty has been unable to approve the recommendations contained in your Despatches Nos 23 and 51. But in lieu of the Absolute Pardons recommended by you Her Majesty is pleased to grant to the Individuals recommended in those Despatches pardons conditional on their remaining within the Australian colonies.

I enclose herewith Schedules marked Nos 2 and 3 of the names of the persons to whom these Conditional Pardons are to be granted.

In pursuance of the views of HM Government which I have explained above, you will of course abstain as much as possible from recommending any persons in future for Absolute Pardons. If any very special case shall arise in which you think such an Indulgence as an Absolute Pardon to be clearly deserved, you will make a full report to me of the circumstances on which your opinion is formed in order that they may be submitted for Her Majesty's pleasure.

GO1/57 p 137 Despatch No 386
Stanley to E-W 5.2.45
Recd 17.6.45

Para 1 refers to Despatch No 297 restricting Absolute Pardons.

.... and in consideration of subsequent recommendations for Absolute Pardons made by you [In Margin: May and June 1844, Desp. Nos 74,75,115,116,131]. HM Government as you will have observed have felt bound to act on this principle. On consideration it appears an arrangement might be adopted which, while it would be free of the objection of all convicts to return to this country before the expiry of their original sentence, would not deprive the Governor of the opportunity of holding out to Convicts the most powerful incentive to good conduct.

The arrangement which HM Government propose to adopt is to divide the Conditional Pardons into two classes, the first class to be valid everywhere except in Europe and to be granted to those Individuals who under the former system would have been recommended for Absolute Pardons - the second class to be valid only in the Australian colonies including New Zealand and to be granted to such as would under ordinary circumstances be recommended for Conditional Pardons. This arrangement however will not preclude you from recommending to Her Majesty for an Absolute Pardon any Individual, the special circumstances of whose case may appear to you to justify such a recommendation - still less will it fetter Her Majesty's discretion in the exercise of Her Royal Prerogative of Mercy. But it is the rule which except under very

peculiar circumstances it is the intention of HM Government to observe, and you will accordingly take care to enter into no pledge nor make any promise of an Absolute Pardon to any Convict without the previous consent of the Crown signified to you by the Secretary of State.

Nor is it the intention of HM Government that this rule should apply only to future cases - on the contrary to at once to give it a retrospective effect in reference to all cases in which it may be applicable. I enumerate in the margin the number of those in whose favour recommendations for Absolute Pardons have been received since September last and to whom only Conditional Pardons have been granted. To all of these you will immediately upon receipt of this Despatch extend Pardons of the First Class - that is, Pardons valid everywhere except in Europe, unless indeed in any case later events should have led you to consider any particular Individual unworthy of such an Indulgence. In respect of Conditional Pardons of the Second Class - vizt Pardons valid in the Australian colonies and New Zealand, you will observe that in my Despatch to your predecessor of the 25th November 1842, it was intended to make Conditional Pardons co-extensive with the Australian colonies. In his report of the 12 July last the Comptroller General observes that had you been able to carry out that intention, an outlet would have been opened by which the pressure on the labour market would have been reduced. I am unable to understand what has been the obstacle and your Despatch supplies no information on the subject.

But it appears to HM Government that it is of the first importance at once to carry out their original instructions in this respect with a view to drawing off that redundance of labour which at present interferes with the employment of Pass-holders - and even of the poorer class of Emigrant settlers - and of establishing an outlet to carry away the excess of freed labourers who must otherwise accumulate, to their own detriment and that of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land. You will therefore immediately take steps for extending to the Australian Colonies generally and New Zealand all Conditional Pardons now existing in Van Diemen's Land, the condition of which at present restricts their operation to that Colony.

You may probably find it most convenient to carry this measure into effect by a Proclamation to be issued for that purpose, in HM Government's name - but on that point you will consult your Law Advisers.

I should desire to receive from you a report of the steps which you may adopt in consequence of this Despatch with any observations which you may consider useful for my information.

[In margin: list of 7 despatches Jan-June 1844 and number of eligible CPs considered to be in each - 126 in all].

APPENDIX 2

BOUNTY IMMIGRANTS FROM MELBOURNE 1853

During 1852 Governor Denison's concern about labour shortages in Van Diemen's Land was made greater by the flood of able-bodied men who left for Victoria after the initial news of the gold-rushes. In that year over 15,000 persons had entered the Colony but nearly 22,000 had left.¹ To make matters worse, schemes being planned for the enlistment of Bounty migrants from the United Kingdom seemed to be foundering on the question of financial liability. Alternative schemes put forward by both the Colonial and the Home Governments were mutually unacceptable.

While Denison personally favoured assisted immigration from Britain only as an adjunct to transportation as a reliable supply of labour, the shortage in 1853 had become so acute and the prospects of obtaining migrants from Britain so slim, that Denison tried other sources.

1. Address to Legislative Council 8.3.1853 V & P

....The demand which exists for any description of labour has been impressed upon my notice most urgently during my visit to the Northern Districts of the Colony. I have in consequence been induced to attempt to introduce into Van Diemen's Land some of the very numerous emigrants who have landed at Melbourne. I have communicated on this subject with the Government of Victoria.....

2. Enclosure to above. Letter to Col. Sec. Melbourne, Vic from Col Sec Office.

.....I am directed ...to acquaint you, that as the attraction of the Gold Fields at Victoria and New South Wales has withdrawn from Van Diemen's Land a large portion of its labouring population, insomuch that great inconvenience is felt by the Flock-owners, employers of Agricultural labour, and by the inhabitants of the Town who are in need of Domestic Servants, Sir William Denison has decided to appropriate from the Crown Revenue of this Colony a sufficient sum to defray a portion of the passage money to Van Diemen's Land of such persons who may engage with an employer here for twelve months.

¹ Legislative Council Papers 1554 No 61

It is the intention of His Excellency to appoint an Agent for the purpose of making the requisite agreements with the persons in question; and this Officer will be instructed to place himself in communication with the authorities in Melbourne, and to take care not to engage or afford a passage to anyone who has been imported into Victoria at the cost of the funds of that Colony, unless he first obtains the consent of His Excellency Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe.

3. The Agent appointed was Henry Downer.

4. G O 33/78 p 624 Despatch No 48 Denison to Pakington 10.3.53

...the demand for labour has been more and more urgent and as it was suggested to me that many of the emigrants landing at Melbourne would gladly come across to this Colony to seek for service here, I decided to publish the enclosed Gazette informing the people of Van Diemen's Land that an Agent would be employed at Melbourne to hire such servants as they might require and despatch them to Launceston or Hobart whichever might be most convenient - that the Government would take upon itself the cost of defraying the Salary of the Agent employed and of the passage of the emigrants from Melbourne, subject only to a deduction of £1 for each male and 10s. for each female which would be paid by the Applicant.

The cost of the passage of the Emigrant will not exceed £3.15.3 per head and the Agent (a mere temporary employment) has been engaged to serve for a month on a salary of 10s. per day with a gratuity of 10s. upon each of the Emigrants engaged.

The expense is likely to be but small, as no more than 73 people have as yet availed themselves of the opportunity, and the wages which they are disposed to give are not such as are likely to tempt persons from a Colony where much higher wages are given.

I trust you approve and sanction the outlay from the Land Fund of such a small sum. (Enclosed, Govt. Notice 632, No 15 CSO 10 Feb 1853 from HT Gazette)

5. LC V & P Session 1853 p 244 Denison, speech on proroguing of Legislative Council.....Announces hopes for resumption of migration scheme from Britain.....

In the meantime, I have directed the Emigration Agent at Melbourne to use every effort in his power to increase the number of Emigrants forwarded from thence; and I hope that the supply will be sufficient to neutralise any extraordinary pressure upon the labour market which might be induced by the stoppage of Emigration from England.

6. The Sequel

CB7/13 (AOT) lists a dozen or so ships which transported emigrants from Melbourne at this time, including the *Harriet Nathan*, which made five voyages to Hobart between 22 May and 23 December 1853 carrying in order 12, 55, 12, 4, and 13 bounty emigrants, often with other steerage passengers as well. The success of the scheme seems to have been mixed as most left the ship on arrival, few appear to have gone to the nominators. A report by the Hobart agent

complained of the poor quality - many returned immediately to Victoria, others were in ill-health, behaviour was offensive and demands exorbitant.²

Logan purchased the *Harriet Nathan* in August 1853 and ceased to carry bounty immigrants in December. The scheme continued for a little longer but was eventually replaced by that bringing emigrants from Britain.

² LC Journals 1854, Paper No 28 Report of Immigration Agent for Half-year to June 1854

DEPARTMENT.*Office, 1st March, 1856.*

ose apprehension a reward
such lesser sum as may be
ting Magistrate:—

1856, from the service of Mr.
Office, Hamilton.

ornwall, tried at Leeds Q.S.,
tonecutter, 5 feet 2, age 35,
yes brown, native place near
mermaid crucifixion bracelet
and flagon left arm, bracelet

2, Esq., of New Norfolk, on
ry, 1856.

Ratcliffe 2, tried at Hobart
years, cook and steward, 5
ow, hair and whiskers dark
Bristol, scar bridge of nose.

son, of Davey-street, on 27th
1856,

Blenheim 3, tried at Park-
al, 2nd June 1846, 14 years,
complexion sallow, hair and
native place, Gallowayshire,
ght hand crooked.

gal, of Argyle-street, on 27th
1856.

ce of Cornwall, tried at Lon-
rs, servant, 4 feet 11, age 27,
yes blue, native place County
under-left eye, red mark left

mons, of Lansdowne Crescent,
uary, 1856.

ke of Northumberland, tried
1852, 7 years, servant, about
air, freckled, hair light, eyes
on right arm.

idence, on 1st February, 1856.

ady Montague, trial at Col-
years, labourer, 5 feet 3, age
brown, eyes dark, native place
ight arm, G N left arm.

ide Factory from the Police
ebruary, 1856.

ria, tried at Central Criminal
needlewoman, 5 feet, age 32,
wn, eyes grey, native place
right side of neck.

right, of Sandy Bay, on 24th
1856.

ndon, tried at King's County,
l again tried at Hobart Town

r Robert Seppings.

hess of Northumberland.

nn, ditto.

Anna Maria.

nheim 3.

CONVICT DEPARTMENT.*Comptroller-General's Office, 1st March, 1856.*

IT is hereby notified to the under-mentioned indi-
viduals, that His Excellency the Governor has been
pleased to grant them Conditional Pardons, available
every where save in the United Kingdom and the Island
of Tasmania:—

2219 Allen, Edward, per Layton 4.

2102 Essex, John, per Moffatt 3.

1313 Rogers, Thomas, per Lord William Bentinck.

W. NAIRN, Acting Comptroller-General.

CONVICT DEPARTMENT.*Comptroller-General's Office, 1st March, 1856.*

IT is hereby notified to the under-mentioned individuals
that it is the intention of His Excellency the Governor
to recommend them to the gracious consideration of Her
Majesty the Queen for Conditional Pardons:—

11,062 Brady, Patrick, per Orator.

19,410 Bull, Thomas, per P. Bomangee 2.

18,501 Burton, Philip, per David Malcolm.

1287 Carr, Mary, per Midlothian.

19,443 Emery, James, per P. Bomangee 2.

559 Gordon, Lydia, per Aurora.

846 Henderson, Elizabeth, per Barretto Junior.

226 Oldbury, Thomas, per Recovery.

429 Purtill, Mary, per Duke of Cornwall.

892 Scanlon, Bridget, per Australasia.

17,772 Sims, John, per Maitland.

W. NAIRN, Acting Comptroller-General.

CONVICT DEPARTMENT.*Comptroller-General's Office, 1st March, 1856.*

IN accordance with the Act of Council 6th Victoria,
No. 18, I hereby give notice, for the first time, that
His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to approve
of the solemnization of Matrimony between the under-
mentioned parties:—

John Bell, free, and Catherine Hurley, T.L., John William
Dare, both residing in Hobart Town.

Thomas Birmingham, free, and Mary Ryan 1, T.L., Earl
Grey, both residing in Hobart Town.

Hugh Murphy, T.L., Tory, and Ann Fitzgerald, free, residing
in Hobart Town.

John Post, free, and Ellen Lane, Barretto Junior, both residing
at Jerusalem.

John Stephens, free, and Mary Lynch, T.L., Blackfriar, both
residing in Hobart Town.

Isaac Tucker, T.L., Gazelle, and Marion Tweedie,
Robert Seppings, both residing at Sorell.

Philip Whelan, and Mary Leavy, T.L., Mary Ann, both
residing at Jerusalem.

W. NAIRN, Acting Comptroller-General.

CONVICT DEPARTMENT.

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