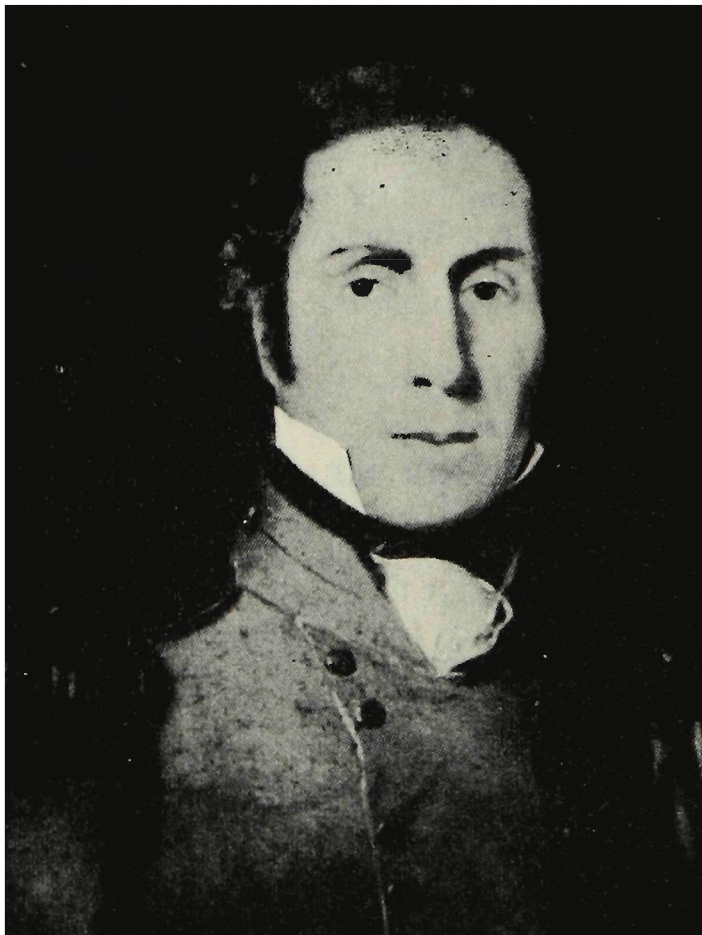


**LIFE OF CAPTAIN PATRICK LOGAN**

[By LOUIS R. CRANFIELD.]

(Read at a meeting of the Society on July 23, 1959.)

Probably no other person played such an important role in the developing and colonizing of early Queensland, as did Captain Patrick Logan. His name is inseparably linked with the State, not only for



CAPT. PATRICK LOGAN

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his untiring energy in exploring the totally unknown regions of Southern Queensland and his efforts to bring about some practical development, but also the faith that he showed in the infant colony, that it would some day become a great State.

He was a member of an ancient Scottish family—the Logans of Burncastle, who can trace their ancestry back to the 14th century, when two representatives were selected by Sir James Douglas to accompany him in the famous “Bruce’s Heart” expedition to the Holy

Land in 1329. He was also a direct descendant of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, the supposed Gowrie conspirator who plotted to murder or kidnap James I at Gowrie House about the year 1600. Strange to relate, Sir Robert's grandson, Patrick, took an active part with William Penn in founding the Quaker religion in America.

Captain Logan was the youngest of nine children, of Abraham Logan, by his second marriage to "Janet" (nee Johnstone) of Templehall, Caldingham. There is some doubt as to the date of Logan's birth, as the personal information is somewhat conflicting. According to his grand-daughter, Miss L. M. Logan, he was born at Berwickshire, on November 30, 1796, but the history of Logan Family, by Major G. J. N. Logan-Home states that he was born in 1792.

### **Fought in Peninsular War**

Nothing more is known of him until he joined the 57th (West Middlesex) Foot Regiment (now known as the Duke of Cambridge's Own Middlesex) as an Ensign on 13 December, 1810, and arrived at Portalegre, the seat of the Peninsular War, on 24 August 1811. In the ensuing months he did much fighting and was in several major engagements against the French. He was promoted to Lieutenant on 21 March 1813 and in June the same year he was present in the great battle of Vittoria which proved the turning point in the war against the French. It proved the hardest fought of all the battles in the campaign and as one historian wrote: "Velvet and silk brocades, gold and silver plate, jewels, laces, cases of claret and champagne, poodles, parrots, monkeys and trinkets lay scattered about the field in endless confusion, amidst weeping mothers, wailing infants, and all the unutterable miseries of warlike overthrow."

The following month he was again present in the battle of the Pyrenees and on 31 July it is recorded that a strong force of enemy soldiers were sighted some distance ahead. The Duke of Wellington, who was present, personally ordered the 57th Regiment to throw off their packs and pursue the enemy. Coming direct from the Commander-in-Chief the order was obeyed with enthusiasm and after a run of two hours the French were overtaken and completely defeated,

their stores were captured, and their survivors driven towards the Naya Pass.

In November, Lieut. Logan took part in the battle of Nivelles, and the following month in the battle of Nive. Early in 1814 he fought in the battles of Orthes and Toulouse. On 14 June the regiment sailed for America and anchored off Quebec on 3 August.

Logan served in the closing stages of the American War of 1812, which concluded with the Treaty of Ghent on 14 December 1814. In August 1815, he was back in France, and on the close of the Peninsula wars served with the Army of Occupation in Paris. In 1817, he was placed on half-pay with the extra lieutenants, but according to the regimental records it seems probable that he stayed with the 57th until it returned to England in November 1818.

In 1819 Logan repurchased his full commission and rejoined his regiment, which was serving in Ireland. He was promoted to Captain in 1823 and was married to Miss Letitia Ann O'Beirne of Drumcliffe, Sligo, about this time.

Returning to England in June 1824, the regiment was ordered for Colonial service, and Logan sailed on the ship "Hoogly" for New South Wales, calling at Rio de Janeiro en route, and arrived at Sydney on the 22 April 1825.

These in brief are the few facts known of Logan's early career. As he was one of the principal founders of the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement, we shall deal briefly with the facts that led to the establishment of the Settlement.

In 1819, Commissioner Bigge<sup>1</sup> was commissioned by the Home Government to prepare a report on conditions at the various penal stations in Australia and Van Diemen's Land. He stressed the urgent need for relieving the overcrowding at Port Macquarie and recommended that a station should be established either at Port Bowen, Port Curtis, or Moreton Bay. The then Governor of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Brisbane, authorised Lieutenant John Oxley to examine these localities.

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1. John Thomas Bigge and his secretary, Thomas Hobbes Scott, reached Sydney on September 25, 1819. He returned to England on February 14, 1821. His first report (an account of the convict system) dated May 6, 1822, was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on June 19, 1822. Two other reports were furnished in 1823.—Ed.

### Moreton Bay Chosen

His report in regard to the first two was not favourable, but in regard to that of Moreton Bay, it was extremely good, so much so, that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, advised against the establishment of the station, as the locale was so very suitable for free occupation. Brisbane was determined to proceed with Moreton Bay, his reasoning being that Moreton Bay should be a place for bad offenders, bush-rangers, and those who had absconded from justice, with Norfolk Island reserved as a place for complete social outcasts. "A prisoner," he said, "will have some chance of getting back from Moreton Bay, but those sent to Norfolk Island will have none at all."

A small station was at first erected at Redcliffe Point, consisting of 45 convicts and 5 soldiers, under the command of Capt. Miller, a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo and father of Henry Miller, the well known Victorian financier. In December 1824, the Governor paid an official visit to the station; he was accompanied by Sir Francis Forbes, the Chief Justice of New South Wales, Capt. McArthur, of Camden fame, and several high officials.

They pronounced Redcliffe to be completely unsuited for the purposes of a penal station, but were gratified with their explorations up the Brisbane River. Tropical vegetation grew all round and beautiful species of pine, often measuring up to 100ft. before the first branch, lined both sides of the river. At the suggestion of Sir Francis Forbes, the present site of the City of Brisbane was selected for the future penal station.

It was to this lovely, but rather difficult locality, that Capt. Patrick Logan came in March 1826. At this time, the convicts numbered about 200, and there were no permanent structures of any kind. Logan immediately set about developing the station and convicts were employed in growing maize on the flats now known as New Farm and Bulimba, the work being done of course with shovels, mattocks, and other implements. The convicts were marched out in the morning in gangs, under soldiers and overseers, and marched home and locked up in the barracks at night.

Female convicts were brought to the station about 1834. They were kept in barracks at Eagle Farm, and for the most part did clearing and cultivating similar to the men.

Queen Street at this time was a winding track which led through the bush from the barracks, on the site of the present Treasury, to the wharves which were at Petrie's Bight.

### Logan's Explorations

Logan was extremely fond of making explorations into the largely unknown region which then adjoined the station, although this activity was not officially part of the Commandant's duties. On 28 August 1826 we find him writing to Governor Darling of the first successes that had crowned his efforts:

"I have, Sir, much pleasure in reporting for the information of His Excellency, that on the 21st inst. I discovered a very considerable river, which empties itself into the Moreton Bay, about 20 miles to the southward of Peel Island, and about double that distance from the mouth of the Brisbane, running from the south-east and varying in depth from two to six fathoms for about 80 miles. Proceeding a few miles further, it gradually diminished to six feet, and some large gums—fallen across the stream—put a stop to my further progress by water, but on tracing its course about ten miles further, I found no diminution, and I have no doubt, if the fallen trees were removed, it would be found navigable for boats for many miles further. As this river is navigable for the largest class of colonial vessels for 80 miles—running through the finest tract of land I have seen in this or any other country—I conceive it a discovery of the utmost importance to these colonies and will be found well worth the attention of settlers. I have named it the Darling, which I hope will meet with the approbation of His Excellency.

"I have likewise discovered an entrance from the sea into Moreton Bay, about 30 miles to the northward of Pt. Danger, having a bar with 11 feet of water. This, I conceive, will be found useful for small vessels, when a northerly wind prevents them from making Amity Point."

On 24 May 1827, Logan again wrote to the Governor stating that he had discovered another large river which emptied itself into the southernmost end of Moreton Bay which he had named the McLeay, after Alexander McLeay, the then Colonial Secretary for New South Wales. The river is now known as the Albert. Darling declined the compliment of having a

river named after him, and directed that it should be known as the Logan, as an acknowledgement of that officer's zeal and efficient service. "I am perfectly satisfied with the state of the settlement," wrote Darling, "and I have relinquished any intention I had of removing you from this command."

In 1827, Darling wrote as follows to the Colonial Secretary: "Capt. Logan, the Commandant at Moreton Bay, has exerted himself very successfully in the cultivation of grain and in improving the resources of the settlement, so that I trust it will not be long before it is able to provide for the maintenance of the establishment, with the exception only of meat, which will be necessary to import for the troops and prisoners."

Darling speaks of the difficulties of keeping the settlement provided for as the Brisbane River could only be negotiated by small craft, and he had found it necessary to build a warehouse and store on Dunwich Island, so that the provisions could be unloaded from the ocean-going vessels and kept until they were ready to be forwarded to their destination.

Logan's second major attempt at exploration was in July 1827, with a view to heading the waters of the Logan River and finding the most direct route from the Logan to the Tweed. He did not succeed, because of the great forest and rough mountainous country, but he gained much valuable information on the formation of the Southern Districts.

### **Branch at Limestone**

About September 1827 Logan started a branch station at Limestone, now Ipswich. He placed the land now occupied by the Ipswich Racecourse under cultivation with maize, oats, and potatoes. Quantities of limestone were also burnt at the quarries and sent down to Brisbane by water. With this stone several buildings were erected, including the old Treasury, which was his military barracks, a large treadmill, which is now the Observatory, and the lower floor of the State Stores Building, which was his Commissariat Store, and still stands.

The next year (1828) Logan, while in the company of Allan Cunningham, Government Botanist, and Allan Fraser, together with five convict servants, set out to explore the country in the region of the south-west. Setting out on 28 July, the party after several days'

travelling came to within three miles of what Cunningham describes as a stupendous range of mountains. The following day they tried to ascend this mountain, in spite of the thick undergrowth, Logan being the only member of the party to achieve the goal.

It is recorded that Cunningham, having achieved an elevation sufficient for his scientific purposes, wisely decided to stay, but notwithstanding the alarming steepness Fraser and Logan continued up the mountain, until they arrived at the base of a rock nearly perpendicular, without as much as a bush to assist them to pass above it. Here Fraser stopped and it was only after the greatest difficulty that he succeeded in retracing his steps, back to his companion, Cunningham.

Logan's journey on is not recorded, but five hours elapsed before he returned to his companion in a state of complete exhaustion. He had carried the extreme summit of Mt. Barney (then known as Mt. Lindsay), which is 5,700ft. high, and obtained the first view of the beautiful undulating country of the Darling Downs, stretching back as far as the headwaters of the Condamine River, the sea being clearly visible on the east. It must be regarded as a fine feat in mountaineering, when it is remembered that it was the most elevated point that a white man had ever reached in Australia at that time.

### **Troubled Years**

These two and a half years of Logan's command at Brisbane were undoubtedly the most trying in the history of the penal settlement. A drought lasting the whole of this period had caused all his crops to fail, and Darling found it necessary to import all the station's supplies from Tasmania. Shiploads of fresh convicts continued to arrive, and Logan had much sickness to contend with. This was put down to the lack of water. Governor Darling realised the disadvantages of Logan's command, when he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, as follows:

"I feel myself called to recommend to your consideration the situation of Capt. Patrick Logan, the Commandant of the Penal Settlement at Moreton Bay. This officer has held the appointment for a period of three years, during which time the numbers of prisoners under his superintendence has increased from 200 to nearly 1,000 which has added proportionately to his duties and responsibilities.

“In recommending, Sir, that Capt. Logan’s salary may be increased from 10/- per day to £300 per annum from the commencement of the present year, I beg to mention that from his knowledge and habits, he appears qualified in no ordinary degree, for the situation of commandant of a penal settlement.

“Independent of the immediate duties of his station, which he has performed in a very satisfactory manner, he has explored the country for some distance from the settlement, and has discovered two rivers in the neighbourhood of Brisbane.

“I venture to think you will not consider the salary proposed for Captain Logan too high, when it is recollected the commandant of Norfolk Island is allowed a salary of £600 per annum, where the number of prisoners is little more than 200.

(Signed) RALPH DARLING.”

On 14 January 1830, Sir George Murray authorised the increase in Logan’s salary. However, he was not destined to live long to enjoy it. In July Logan set out on a further expedition to the south. His diary, entitled “A journal of a journey through St. George’s Pass to the Richmond River, for the purpose of finding a route to Port Macquarie,” is in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and reads as follows:

“July 4th. I left the settlement at Brisbane Town, at 11 o’clock, and proceeding by Cooper’s Plains and the East Bank of the Canoe Creek, I arrived at the basin on the Logan. Lat. 27’ 47”, long. 153, at 4 o’clock p.m. The boat with provisions did not arrive till 2 o’clock the following morning. On my way up Canoe Creek, I came unexpectedly on a tribe of natives. One of them was on a tree cutting up some animal with a stone tomahawk. He was very much alarmed, and cried out lustily to his comrades to make their escape. I should think he belonged to the tribe who murdered the boat crew, and expected to be severely dealt with.

“July 5th. Left the boat at 7.30 and proceeded up the left bank for some time, crossed in the evening and stopped for the night at Letitia Plains.

“July 6th. Proceeded up the river for two miles, and crossed at the ponds, and reached Dunsinane Hill at 10 o’clock. Left Basaltic Hills on our left, and crossed the foot of Edgar’s Range; stopped for the



night in a valley. This part of the country being described in my journal of 1828, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

“July 7th. arrived at Mt. Sydney (the word Sydney is crossed out) at 12 o'clock. The day being cloudy did not get a meridian altitude. Proceeded up the valley towards Mt. Hooker, and observed traces of natives evidently passing to the north. Stopped for the night at the base of Mt. Tyrone. Showery during the night.

“July 8th proceeded through the Pass of St. George. and experienced some difficulty in passing through the ravines and thick brush, there being some high ranges in front of the pass. I kept a south-west course and at noon, being clear of all difficulty, I found, by a meridian altitude, and the bearing of Mt. Hooker, that we were: Lat.  $28^{\circ} 9' 53''$  and long.  $153^{\circ} 25'$ . At 2 o'clock came on the Richmond, which was skirting an extensive plain, which I named 'Clunie Plains' in compliment to the officer intended as my successor.”

None of the names given in Logan's Diary have survived. It is known that "Mt. Hooker" is now Mt. Lindesay, and that Logan's party must have travelled on substantially the same route now followed by the New England Highway and came across the extreme headwater of the Richmond River. St. George's Pass is not now known under that name.

### Logan's Last Journey

In October 1830 the 57th Regiment were due for relief and were being transferred to India. Logan was anxious to complete his survey map of the country to the west of Brisbane before he left. He never completed the map, for he was murdered, supposedly by hostile natives, on 18 October.

The most complete account of Logan's death was written by Lieut. George Edwards to his Commanding Officer, Lt.-Col. Allan, and published in the United Service Magazine for the latter half of 1831. As it is not only an account of Logan's death, but also a description of one of Queensland's first attempts at exploration, we shall quote it in some detail:

“Sir,—I have the honour to communicate to you the painful and distressing intelligence of the death of Captain Logan, who was surprised and killed by the blacks, while on a journey of discovery, about three weeks since. As I am the only remaining 57th officer,

now at Moreton Bay, I thought it my duty to communicate to you at length the following melancholy particulars of the last days of a much-lamented friend and officer of the regiment.

“Capt. Logan’s object on his last journey was to lay down correctly on his chart the windings of the river between the Pine Ridge, Lockyer Creek, and Brisbane Mountain, and to ascertain more correctly the course and determination of a creek striking out of the main river at the foot of the Brisbane Mountain, in a north-easterly direction, and afterwards (if he met with no obstacles) to proceed to Pumice Stone River, and the Glass Houses, and from thence back to the settlement.

“On Saturday, 9th of October, he left this place and reached the Limestone Station, the same night. The next day they all set out upon their journey, the party consisting of Capt. Logan, Private Collison, his servant, five prisoners (all good bushmen), with two pack bullocks. They travelled 14 miles in a north-westerly direction, and encamped on the Limestone side of the river. Two or three blacks were seen near the camp place at night. On Monday, the 11th, the party left their encampment, which was near the river, at 7 a.m., but they had to proceed four miles further up before they could ford it. On approaching the river bank at the fording place, the blacks assembled in great numbers, upwards of 200, and covered the hill close to where they had to pass, on the Limestone side of river, and at this place they began to show a hostile feeling by throwing and rolling large stones down on the party, but no spears were thrown.

“At the time, Capt. Logan was in advance, and finding he could not proceed on account of the natives, was obliged to fall back and await the coming up of the party. Collison, seeing what was going on ahead, fired a shot over their heads to frighten them. This had effect and for a time they kept more aloof, but while the party were in the act of fording the river, the blacks closed on them again and a further shot was fired. The natives appeared to know Logan for as soon as he had crossed, they repeatedly called out, ‘Commidy Water,’ intimating thereby, it is supposed, he should go back over the water.

“They followed at a distance all this day, hiding themselves occasionally behind trees and in the long

grass. The party then proceeded to a place where Logan's horse was lost on a former journey and encamped about 10 miles to the north of Lockyer Creek, about halfway to Mt. Irwin (now Mt. Beppo). Here the tent was pitched for three days and two nights. On the 12th and 13th no blacks were seen. The men were distributed in twos in search of the lost horse, and Capt. Logan was alone in exploring in the north-westerly direction from Brisbane Mountain. On the morning of Thursday the 14th the tent was struck, and all went towards the junction and camped about a half mile from it. No blacks were seen and nothing particular occurred this day. The next day was employed in traversing a newly discovered creek. On the Saturday, Capt. Logan left the party early in the morning to explore this creek and in doing so discovered a second creek. This perplexed and retarded him for a time, and it was late when he returned from the examination of both.

“On Sunday 17th Capt. Logan said he had accomplished all that he could accomplish at this time, and by his directions about seven in the morning the party commenced their return journey back to the Limestone Station; at eight, he left the party and went away alone, after having previously told Collison to make the nearest way to the junction of the river, saying he would meet the party about this spot. He fell in with them between twelve and one o'clock, much sooner than was expected, and remained with them about two hours. No blacks were seen; and on crossing the river a track was perceived, which resembled that of a bullock or horse. He told Collison to go on and pitch the tent on the side of a creek, on the spot where they had camped about 12 months before.

### **Logan Leaves the Party**

“Capt. Logan then left the party for the last time, to trace the horse or bullock track which led him away in the direction of Mt. Irwin, at which place he was desirous of obtaining some basaltic formations. Collison and party reached the camping place about four in the afternoon (Sunday), the ground pointed out by Capt. Logan. Soon afterwards, the men thought they heard him ‘Coo-ee.’ They answered, and four or five shots were fired at intervals during the evening, and the men fancied they heard him ‘Coo-ee’ in reply two or three

times, between the shots, but he did not return. The next morning early, Monday the 18th, two men were sent down the creek to search, because it was known that he must cross the creek on returning home. The men saw the track of his horse in the direction of Limestone. It was then taken for granted that he had gone on ahead, having missed the party. The tent being struck, all pursued their journey back. About 12 o'clock on the same day, 50 or 60 blacks made their appearance with spears, shields, and waddies. They hovered about the party shouting and getting behind trees, endeavouring to close upon the party undiscovered. No shots were fired. They continued their course, and an hour or two after the blacks went in the direction of Mt. Irwin, the same course as Capt. Logan had taken the previous evening. Nothing more occurred and the party reached the same fording place as they had crossed the Monday before.

“The encampment this night was chosen on the Pine Ridge side of the river, thinking some signs of Logan's tracks might be found on that side, but nothing was seen. The men marked the trees, and made marks in the sand at the crossing place so that he might know that the party had gone on ahead, if he had not already passed. The men walked one by one after the bullocks, to make their tracks more distinct. They left the camp on Tuesday morning and nothing occurred until they reached Limestone Station on the Wednesday afternoon.

“Not finding Capt. Logan at the above place, Col-lison, four prisoners and Private Hardacre, of the 57th, set out next morning on a second journey in search of him. The party had light baggage and travelled about 30 or 40 miles, arriving at the camp where Logan had lost his horse on a former journey, about five that evening.

“The first thing seen on reaching the ground was the saddle lying beside a tree, with the stirrup leathers cut asunder, evidently by a stone tomahawk, and the stirrup irons gone. The saddle was about 30 yards from the remains of a fire, and it appeared to have been taken there by blacks for the purpose of cutting it on a fallen tree. A space had been eaten around where the horse had been tethered, and around where he had

taken it to water—it also appeared that he had been roasting some chestnuts at a fire, as their remains lay about the stump of a tree that had been burning.

### **Rushed To His Horse**

“It was at this place that the blacks must have surprised him, for his footmarks were very distinct, with long strides where he had rushed from his fire to his horse. A further search was then made to see if there were any signs of struggling or violence, but as nothing of the sort could be found, it was assumed that he must have jumped on his horse bareback and made his escape.

“The party then returned to Limestone Station without having seen a black on the whole journey. Being disappointed for a second time at not finding Logan, another party comprising of five soldiers of the 57th and 12 prisoners set out. They traversed all the country about the junction. On the second day (Tuesday, 26th) they fell in with another searching party under Dr. Cooper. Both parties united and travelled together, and on the Wednesday they reached the place where the saddle had been found; Collison, two prisoners and one soldier then separated from the rest and on searching about, they found a place where the blacks had resorted to, but there was no camp. It was on this plain that the back part of Capt. Logan’s waistcoat was found covered with blood. Part of his compass was also found, as well as some leaves of his notebook. Nothing else being found at this spot, they returned back to the remainder of the party.

“On the following morning Dr. Cooper, Collison and five or six men left the camp on a further search; after travelling about a mile the doctor smelt something unpleasant and made towards it. On approaching a small creek with shallow water, he discovered the horse dead in the bottom, covered over with boughs. It appeared that Logan must have attempted a leap over the creek and from the way the horse lay, it could not have reached the other side. The blacks must have pursued him to this place, and the marks were those of a horse in full gallop. One broken spear only was found in the opposite bank, and at this spot the blacks must have certainly closed upon him.

### Logan's Body Found

“The party on going over the creek found the body of poor Capt. Logan about seven or ten yards from the opposite bank. The back of the head appeared to have been much beaten with waddies. The blacks made him a grave about two feet deep and buried him face downwards. The body had been carefully covered over by them, but the native dogs had scratched away the earth from his feet, which were found quite exposed. No clothes or any coverings were found except his shoes which were left near him; the grave appeared to have been made with some care, and long sticks were laid on each side of it. The body was then taken up, put into blankets, and taken by stages to the Limestone Station and afterwards by water to the settlement.

(Signed) GEORGE EDWARDS,  
Lieut. 57th Reg.”

To Lt.-Col. Allen,  
Commanding Officer,  
57th Regiment.

A great deal has been written around Logan's death. Some writers believe that he was murdered by his own convicts, others that he was murdered by the blacks at the instigation of the convicts, but I think that after reading the account given by Edwards, the only thing that can be said for this theory is that the blacks could have possibly been out to get Logan for some particular reason.

However, Major R. W. J. Smith, Historian to the Duke of Cambridge's Own Regiment, sent me the following extract of a letter written by Colonel Elgee to that Regiment in 1926, which is worth quoting. He says: “I came across a long and most detailed narrative of the sad affair, both in New Zealand and the Mitchell Library in Sydney, and they all appear to agree unquestionably that he was murdered by his own convicts. It is agreed that he had been all through the Peninsular Wars, with its iron discipline, and that he maintained this rule also with the convicts, etc., etc. On this particular occasion, he took with him, as always, his soldier servant, and a gang of eight convicts to carry survey instruments, rations, etc., through the bush. He was mounted on his grey mare.

“At one point he sent his servant back with a note to the camp and rode on alone, or so the convicts

stated. As he did not return to camp, a search was made for him by Lt. G. and party and on the third day their attention was drawn by flies, etc. The body of the horse was found in a swampy place — stirrup leathers torn off, saddle, etc., showing signs of a struggle. Then some days afterwards his waistcoat soaked in blood was found, partially concealed—finally his body with a blackfellow's spear broken off, in, and stuck through his back, while he had been terribly battered by waddies, native clubs, etc., in a swamp."

It will be remembered that, according to Edwards, it was only on about the fourth attempt that the search party found Logon's body, even though it was lying close by all the time. Col. Elgee goes on to say: "Prof. Cumbrae-Stewart, of the University of Queensland, showed me the survey places, and upon asking his opinion, he said he had, of course, read all the statements made in various books, but does not think that the convicts got hold of native spears and waddies, etc., but that it was really horrible blackfellows that murdered him. As I said to him, the convicts would hardly have killed the horse. I asked C.S. where his stone was likely to be found, but none knows or cares. If only there were more interesting, delightful men like C.S. of Brisbane."

Col. Elgee was at a disadvantage coming from England, not understanding the unpredictable habits of the Australian aborigines, but many strange things have happened in history, and it is possible there were some outside circumstances associated with Logon's death.

### Tribute to Logan

The facts relating to his funeral are easily obtainable in the "Sydney Gazette" of November 1830. Mrs. Logan, having a decided objection to her husband being buried at the Brisbane Convict Settlement, his remains were conveyed to Sydney via the ship "Isabella" and he was accorded a State Funeral on 23rd inst. Writing in the "Government Orders" of 17 November 1830, the Hon. Alexander McLeay, Colonial Secretary, said: "The circumstances of Capt. Logan's death prove the ardour of his character was not to be restrained by personal considerations. His life was devoted to the public service; professionally, he possessed those qualities, which distinguish the best officers, and in the conduct of an

extensive public establishment, his services were highly important to the colony.

“The Governor, though he deeply regrets the occasion, is gratified in expressing his sentiments of Capt. Logan’s character and services. He is assured that every feeling mind will sympathise with the afflicted widow, who with her infant family had, by an act of savage barbarity, sustained a loss which cannot be repaired.

“As a tribute to the memory of this meritorious officer, His Excellency requests the gentlemen of the civil service will join the military, in which due notice will be given.”

Capt. Logan’s funeral was one of the most spectacular seen in early Sydney, when notwithstanding the most unfavourable weather, a large concourse of people turned out to witness it. The procession which left the Old Barrack Square at 4 p.m. on the 23rd was led by the Grenadier Company of the 57th Reg., and followed by the band playing the “Dead March,” the Surgeon of the Regiment, the hearse, with six military officers on either side, a detachment of naval, military and civil officers, clergy and magistrates and a party of soldiers in that order. The procession proceeded first to St. James’ Church and thence to the Protestant burial ground in Devonshire Street, Surrey Hills.

According to Sir Ralph Darling,<sup>2</sup> Capt. Logan died much in debt, and his widow was left almost entirely without means of support, which is not surprising considering the rates of pay for army officers at that time. For Infantry of the Line Regiments, a captain received 11/7 a day, a Lieutenant 6/6 a day, and an Ensign 5/3. Considering that all promotions had to be purchased, the rates for which were Captain £1,800, Lieutenant £700, Ensign £450, the officer of his day could not have had much chance of putting anything aside for a rainy day.

### **Mrs. Logan’s Pension**

Mrs. Logan’s application for a colonial pension was recommended by Darling, but as the Colonial Governor had no power to grant such a pension it was submitted to the Colonial Secretary in London. Her application stated:

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2. Governor of New South Wales, December 1825 to October 1831, in which year he was recalled.



“The memorialist humbly showeth that her late husband, Capt. Logan of the 57th Regiment, entered the army in the year 1810, by the purchase of an ensigncy, succeeded to a Lieutenancy in 1813, and was placed on half pay with the additional Lieutenants in 1817, and again returned to full pay in 1819 by paying the regulated difference, and purchased his company in 1823. He was present at the battles of Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nive, and Nivelles.

“He was sent as commandant to the penal settlement of Moreton Bay, New South Wales, in March 1826, which troublesome and arduous command he conducted with credit to himself, the entire satisfaction of the Government, and importance to the colony, until the 23rd of October 1830 (4 years and 7 months) when in the execution of the duties of his command, he was barbarously murdered by the natives near that station, and has left his afflicted widow in a very precarious and delicate state of health, and two young children unprovided for to lament his untimely end.

“The memorialist beseeches that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take this case into your favourable consideration and strongly recommend them to the notice of the Home Government for a Colonial pension and gratuity, which has been granted on former occasions to families of others who did not die by violence.

Letitia Ann Logan.”

It appears that Mrs. Logan had to wait 13 years for a pension, as the regulations had been altered the previous year, to state that next-of-kin of Army officers who died on Colonial Service would not be granted a pension, but extract No. 2 of Colonel Elgee has this to say on the subject: “Prof. Cumbræ-Stewart, a very pleasant and interesting man—knows everything connected with the History of Queensland from the very commencement and has studied all poor Capt. Logan’s surveys, etc.—showed me the papers relating to the correspondence which took place between Mrs. Logan and Lord H. The whole affair, suffice it to say, was most infamous, the scoundrels ignoring all and any claims of the poor woman to a pension at first, and finally after 15 years’ petitioning and waiting his widow was granted £70 a year.”

Capt. Logan's only son was Robert Abraham, born 1824. He followed in his father's footsteps by joining the British Army, and had a very distinguished career. He joined the 41st Foot Regiment, as an Ensign, on 26 October 1841 and transferred to the 57th on 19 November, became a Lieutenant in 1843, and was promoted to Major in June 1855. He served in the Crimean War and commanded the regiment in the New Zealand Maori Wars of 1861. He highly distinguished himself and was personally thanked by his commanding officer after his overwhelming defeat of the Maoris in the battle of the Katikare River on 4 June 1863. He was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1865. He later served in the Arab campaigns and at Hounslow in 1877. He was promoted to Major-General on 1 July 1881 and retired with the hon. rank of Lieut.-General on 6 May 1882. He died in London on 27 January 1890.

Capt. Logan's daughter was Letitia Bingham. She was aged 2½ years at the time of her father's death.

### Logan's Personality

In conclusion, we come to the most unfortunate part of Logan's biography. That he was a man who gave fine public service, with no thought of personal or pecuniary gain cannot be doubted, but he has also been accused of being a despotic tyrant, and a man who was guilty of much cruelty and unfeeling conduct. Whether this is correct or not may never be known, but after trying to give his case dispassionate consideration, I believe that his conduct was unreasonable even in his own day, even though it must be admitted that there is not one shred of concrete evidence to prove that he was other than a just and honourable man.

J. J. Knight in his book, "In the Early Days," published in Brisbane in 1895, has this to say of Logan's character: "Capt. Logan's only point was his love of, and success in, extending the geographical and botanical knowledge of the district. Overbearing in his manner, and always willing to meet the exigencies of a small offence by ordering the maximum punishment at the triangles, it is not a matter of wonder that his reign was spoken of as one of terror. It is said that several designs on his life were only averted by some lucky and miraculous circumstance."

In fairness to Logan, however, it should be pointed out that Knight admits that there were only one or two convicts of the era remaining in Brisbane when he wrote, and they would hardly be likely to give him a fair and accurate account of Logan's character.

On the other hand, many historians have been inclined to write Logan's severity off as being necessary considering the bad class of offenders he had under his command.

### Darling's Harsh Regime

As much as we would like to admit that this was the case, there are unfortunately some reliable pointers which suggest to the contrary. This brings us to the question of what evidence can be accepted as a reliable guide to Logan's character. We clearly cannot place too much credence on Sir Ralph Darling's commendations. It would be no exaggeration to say that there was never a darker period in New South Wales history than Darling's term of office, as he appears to have undone much of the efforts of Macquarie and Brisbane to bring about a reform in the penal settlements. I think that the following letter from Darling to the Under Secretary for Colonial Affairs, R. W. Hay, on 10 February 1827 gives a fair indication of the type of justice he tried to expound. He wrote: "Soon after my arrival here, I discovered that the issues of extra provisions to the prisoners at Port Macquarie under the head of indulgences exceeded a thousand a year. Punishment or example seems to have been quite out of the question; the object was to keep the prisoners quiet by indulging them as much as possible. My own opinion is that every man at the penal settlements should be worked in irons, that the example may deter others from the commission of crime, and I shall very soon see if this cannot be effected."

The only completely fair statement made at the time of Logan's death was a brief comment made by W. C. Wentworth<sup>3</sup> (a very severe critic of Darling's). He wrote in his paper "The Australian," on 19 November 1830: "Capt. Logan, though severely strict, was on the whole a well-disposed man and a man disposed to do impartial justice." As against this, however, there

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3. William Charles Wentworth (1790-1872), the most eminent political figure of his time.

are some points which suggest that his strictness was downright brutal.

About the year 1830, Darling issued a proclamation which could have been an outcome of Logan's severity, an extract of which read:

"I, the Governor aforesaid do, by this proclamation, declare and direct that the commandants or persons in charge of the several penal settlements, shall have full power and authority to punish all offences committed by convicts while under their charge, excepting mutiny, murder or attempted murder, by solitary confinement, increased labour, working on the tread-mills or whipping, according to the discretion of such commandants or two or more magistrates, but that no offender shall be whipped more than three times for the one offence, nor shall a greater number of lashes than 100 be inflicted in any one day."

It is fairly clear that this proclamation would never have been issued if it had not been for the excessive brutality of some of the commandants. Another interesting point was made in the "Sydney Gazette" of 17 November 1835. Commenting on the services of Capt. Clunie, Logan's successor at Moreton Bay, it stated: "Capt. Clunie unites in his own person those two rare qualities to be met with conjointly; namely that of a rigid disciplinarian and a mild-mannered gentleman. The consequence has been that since the time he took command at Moreton Bay we have heard of none of those tumultuous risings and murderous doings among the prisoners there, which distinguished his predecessor's reign of terror, and which have occasionally marked the sister colony of Norfolk Island."

This article should be accepted as authoritative, as the "Sydney Gazette" was a government journal, and could be relied on in such an instance as this. Though the whole situation has been exaggerated out of all proportion, records do show that there were a number of murders among the convicts, and Capt. Logan himself, in requesting the services of a second surgeon for the settlement, made a point of how often the surgeon had to go to Sydney to attend murder trials.

Acknowledgements: My grateful thanks are due to the following, who in no small measure made this paper possible.—The staffs of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, the National Library at Canberra, The Brisbane Public Library, The Melbourne Public Library, Major Smith (Historian to the Duke of Cambridge's Own Middlesex Regiment), The Hon. Mr. Justice J. V. Barry, Vict. Supreme Court, Dr. R. R. Wettenhall, Major Warren-Perry, and Mr. W. Anderson, of the Ref. Dept. Melb. Public Library.

List of References:

1. "Genesis of Queensland" by Russell.
2. "Sydney Gazette," 1824-30.
3. "United Service Magazine," 1831.
4. "Historical Records of Australia."
5. "War Office and Regimental Records."
6. "Army Lists" (Great Britain).
7. "Oman's History of the Peninsular War."
8. Logan's "Journal" and "Letters to Gov. Darling," Mitchell Library.
9. Family records by Major Logan-Hume, Brisbane Public Library.
10. Proceedings of the "Royal Geographical Society," Qld. Br. 1897.

Appendix: the following is an extract of a letter from Logan to Gov. Darling dated 28 July 1827:

Sir,—I regret that the site and plan of the hospital does not meet with Your Excellency's approbation. The plan was drawn up by Capt. Bishop previous to my arrival, and forwarded for approval by the vessel which took him to Sydney. It was returned by the Colonial Secretary, with instructions to commence the building, and when the other plan arrived, it was too late to change. This I had the honour to report, for His Excellency's information.

It was my intention to propose that it should be converted into a military barracks, for which it is more adapted than the present purpose; and build a hospital on the hill above the prisoners' barracks. I did not commence the prisoners' barracks till after the arrival of the "Governor Phillip," when I was at a loss to provide accommodation for so many; and besides, they were

constantly making attempts to break through the slab buildings, which I find are more expensive than stone and require much more time in erecting. I shall not in future commence any building, however, without the plan being submitted for Your Excellency's approval.

I feel much gratified that the general state of the settlement has merited your approval, and while I remain here, I shall continue to exert myself and to carry Your Excellency's instructions into effect without any deviation.

(Signed) P. LOGAN.