

THE ENGLISH AT THE DERWENT, AND THE RISDON SETTLEMENT.

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I. THE ENGLISH AT THE DERWENT.

IN a paper which I had the honour to read before the Royal Society last November, entitled "The French in Van Diemen's Land," I endeavoured to show how the discoveries of the French at the Derwent, and their supposed design of occupation, influenced Governor King's mind, and led him to despatch the first English colony to these shores. That paper brought the story to the 12th September, 1803, when the *Albion* whaler, with Governor Bowen on board, cast anchor in Risdon Cove, five days after the *Lady Nelson*, which had brought the rest of his small establishment.

The choice of such an unsuitable place as Risdon for the site of the first settlement has always been something of a puzzle; and, in order to understand the circumstances which led to this ill-advised selection, it will be necessary to go back some years, and follow the history of English discovery and exploration in the South of Tasmania.

I have already noticed the elaborate and complete surveys of the Canal D'Entrecasteaux, and the Rivière du Nord, made by the French navigators in 1792, and again in 1802; but it must be remembered that the results of these expeditions were long kept a profound secret, not only from the English, but from the world in general. Contemporaneously with the French, English navigators had been making independent discoveries and surveys in Southern Tasmania; and it was solely the knowledge thus acquired that guided Governor King when he instructed Bowen "to fix on a proper place about Risdon's Cove" for the new settlement.

The English discoverer of the Derwent—a navigator who, though less fortunate than Admiral D'Entrecasteaux, yet merits the title of original discoverer equally with the illustrious Frenchman—was Lieutenant John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, to whom I have already alluded. The occasion of Hayes' expedition is sufficiently curious to justify a few words of remark. It was the only exploring expedition ever sent out by the East India Company into Australian waters. In those days the great Company was at the height of its power. Its

royal charter secured it an absolute monopoly of trade, not only with India and China, but with the entire East, including the whole of the Pacific Ocean. So exclusive were its privileges, and so jealously maintained, that the colonists of New South Wales could not trade with the home country except by permission of the Company. So late as the year 1806* it successfully resisted the sale in England of the first cargo of whale-oil and sealskins shipped by a Sydney firm in the *Lady Barlow*, on the ground that the charter of the colony gave the colonists no right to trade, and that the transaction was a violation of the Company's charter and against its welfare. It was urged on behalf of the Court of Directors that such "piratical enterprises" as the venture of the owners of the *Lady Barlow* must at once be put a stop to, as "the inevitable consequence of building ships in New South Wales will be an intercourse with all the ports of the China and India Seas, and a population of European descent, reared in a climate suited to maintain the energies of the European character, when it becomes numerous, active, and opulent, may be expected to acquire the ascendancy in the Indian Seas." The Lords Commissioners of Trade decided that the action of the colonists was irregular in respect to the Company's charter. Sir Joseph Banks exerted himself strenuously on behalf of the colonists, and represented to the Court of Directors that the Lords Commissioners in future cases "are disposed to admit the cargo to entry, in case the Court of Directors see no objection to this measure of indulgence towards an infant and improving colony," and further, that their Lordships intend, without delay, "to prepare instructions for the future government of the shipping concerns of the colony, on a plan suited to provide the inhabitants with the means of becoming less and less burdensome to the mother country, and framed in such a manner as to interfere as little as possible with the trade prerogatives and resources of the East India Company." It was mainly owing to Banks' diplomacy and energy that an Order of Council was obtained allowing future cargoes from Sydney to be landed and sold in England.

Brabourne
Pamp., p. 14.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that the Company should have contributed so little towards the exploration of regions which it held to be an appanage to its Indian dominions, for at that time the Southern Seas offered few

* See Pamphlet containing a summary of the contents of the Brabourne Papers, Sydney, 1886, p. 11.

or no temptations of profit to a great trading corporation. As to New Holland, and Van Diemen's Land, its supposed southern extension, they were merely obstacles in the way of the lucrative China trade—jutting out inconveniently into the South Sea, lengthening the voyage and increasing its dangers. For the sake of the vessels employed in this trade, a knowledge of the Australian coast and its harbours was desirable.* It was probably with the object of finding a convenient harbour of refuge for ships following the southern route to China in their passage round the stormy South Cape of the Australian continent, that, in the year 1793, the Company fitted out an expedition destined for Van Diemen's Land. Cook and Bligh had recently brought home reports which encouraged the idea that a suitable port might be found there, and it is quite possible that rumours of the visit of D'Entrecasteaux the year before had stimulated the Board of Directors to action.

Lieutenant John Hayes was appointed to the command of the expedition, which consisted of two ships, the *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess*, and was despatched from India to explore the coasts of Van Diemen's Land and its harbours, and to make its way back to India by the South Sea Islands and the Malay Archipelago. This service Lieut. Hayes performed in a very satisfactory manner. He surveyed the coasts of Tasmania, parts of New Caledonia, of New Guinea and other islands, his voyage extending over two or three years. Unhappily, the results of these valuable surveys were lost to his employers and to England, for the ship taking home his charts and journals was captured by a French man-of-war, all his papers were taken to Paris and have never since seen the light.† A rough sketch of the Derwent made by Hayes found its way to Sydney, and is frequently referred to by Flinders in the account of his voyage. This is all we know of his exploration of Tasmania, and of the Honorable East India Company's first, last, and only discovery expedition to Australian waters.

Low's Hist. of
the Indian
Navy, i., pp.
200-205.

Flinders'
Voyage,
Intro., p. 94.

* It was considered a chief object of every exploring expedition to find harbours suitable for the East India Company's ships. When Flinders was about to sail in the *Investigator* to explore the Australian coast, the Court of Directors, on being applied to, made him an allowance of £1200 as "batta money"—a practical recognition of their interest in his expedition.—Brabourne Pamphlet, p. 13.

† There is good reason to believe that Hayes' charts and journals are in the National Library in Paris, or possibly in the Department of Marine and Colonies. It would be well if an effort were made to discover them and have them published. See Appendix.

Lieut. Hayes' ships reached Storm Bay in the year 1794. He had heard of the visit of the French to these shores two years before, but knew nothing of what D'Entrecasteaux had done. He explored and surveyed the approaches of the Derwent, and sailed up that river nearly as far as Bridgewater; while, in the belief that he was making an original discovery, he gave new names to various localities. These have in some instances superseded those bestowed by his predecessor D'Entrecasteaux. Thus it is to Hayes that we owe the name of the Derwent, which has replaced the French appellation of the Rivière du Nord, and D'Entrecasteaux Channel was long known to the English by the name of Storm Bay Passage, which it bears on Hayes' chart. Other names which are still remembered are Betsey's Island, Prince of Wales Bay, Mount Direction, and, lastly, Risdon Cove.* It is said that Risdon Cove and River were named by him after one of the officers of the ship, but this I have not been able to verify.†

Flinders' Voyage, Intro., p. 138.

It was in the early spring of the year 1798 that Governor Hunter gave to Flinders—then a young Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Reliance*—the *Norfolk*,‡ a little colonial sloop of 25 tons, to try to solve the vexed question of the existence of a strait between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. Flinders secured Dr. George Bass as his companion in the expedition, and on the 7th October, 1798, the *Norfolk* sailed from Port Jackson with a crew of 8 volunteers, taking twelve weeks' provisions. They examined the North Coast of Tasmania, entering Port Dalrymple, and sailed for the first time through the Straits, to which, at Flinders'

* Adamson's Peak, Mount Lewis, Cornelian Bay, Taylor's Bay, Court's Island, Fluted Cape, Ralph's Bay, were also named by Hayes.

† Mr. Justin Browne informs me that Risdon is a name borne by a county family of Devonshire; (see "Marshall's Genealogist's Guide," p. 524), and that it occurs also as a place name in Gloucestershire, (see also Burke's *Armoury*, Ed. 18.) The popular derivation from a supposed "Rest-down" may perhaps be credited to the fancy of the enterprising and pugnacious printer, Andrew Bent. So far as I have been able to discover, it first occurs in "Bent's Tasmanian Almanac" for 1827. It has been copied by West and other writers.

‡ The *Norfolk*, which has the credit of having first circumnavigated Van Diemen's Land, was built at Norfolk Island, of the pine for which that island is celebrated. She was afterwards used by Flinders in his exploration of Moreton Bay. Labilliere's *Early History of Victoria*. Vol. i, p. 26.

request, Governor Hunter gave the name of Bass' Straits.*

Leaving Bass' Straits the *Norfolk* sailed southwards along the West Coast—Flinders naming Mount Heemskirk and Mount Zeehan after Tasman's two vessels—and on 14th December, arrived at the entrance of Storm Bay. Flinders had with him a copy of Hayes' sketch chart of the Derwent, but had never even heard of D'Entrecasteaux's discoveries six years before. Bass, in speaking of Adventure Bay, says,—“This island, the Derwent, and Storm Bay Passage were the discovery of Mr. Hayes, of which he made a chart.” More than a fortnight was employed by Flinders in making a careful survey of Norfolk Bay, and of the Derwent from the Iron Pot to a point some 5 miles above Bridgewater. In the Introduction to his *Voyage to Terra Australis*, he gives the result of his observations. Bass devoted his attention more particularly to an examination of the neighbouring country, its soil, productions, and suitability for agriculture. He took long excursions into the country, having seldom other society than his two dogs, examining in this way the western shore of the river from below the Blow Hole at Brown's River to beyond Prince of Wales Bay, visiting various parts of the eastern shore, and ascending Mount Wellington and Mount Direction. His original journal has never come to light, but the substance of it was published in 1802, by Collins, in the second volume of his *Account of New South Wales*.

Flinders, Intro., p. 181.

Collins' New South Wales, ii., p. 183.

Flinders, Intro., pp. 181-189.

Collins, ii., pp. 143-194.

It is interesting to learn how the country with which we are so familiar struck the first visitor to its shores, when as yet the land was in all its native wildness, and untouched by the hand of man, and I shall therefore give some of Bass's observations on the country about the Derwent. The explorers had some difficulty in getting the *Norfolk* as far up the river as the mouth of the Jordan, which Flinders named Herdsman's Cove. Thence they proceeded in their boat some 5 or 6 miles higher up. They expected to have been able to reach the source in one tide, but in this they were mistaken, falling, as they believed, some miles short of it. I regret to say that Bass did not show the good taste of the

Ibid, p. 186.

* “No more than a just tribute,” says the generous Flinders, “to my worthy friend and companion for the extreme dangers and fatigues he had undergone in first entering it in the whale-boat, and to the correct judgment he had formed from various indications of the existence of a wide opening between Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales.”—*Voyage to Terra Australis*, Intro., p. 193.

Collins, ii.,
p. 183.

Frenchmen who were so enthusiastic on the grandeur and beauty of the harbours and rivers which they had entered. He describes our noble river as a "dull, lifeless stream, which after a sleepy course of not more than 25 or 27 miles to the north-west, falls into Frederick Henry Bay. Its breadth there is two miles and a quarter, and its depth ten fathoms." He further remarks, "If the Derwent River has any claim to respectability, it is indebted for it more to the paucity of inlets into Van Diemen's Land than to any intrinsic merits of its own." Yet his impression of the country on its banks was distinctly favourable. "The river," he says, "takes its way through a country that on the east and north sides is hilly, on the west and north mountainous. The hills to the eastward arise immediately from the banks; but the mountains to the westward have retired to the distance of a few miles from the water, and have left in their front hilly land similar to that on the east side. All the hills are very thinly set with light timber, chiefly short she-oaks; but are admirably covered with thick nutritious grass, in general free from brush or patches of shrubs. The soil in which it grows is a black vegetable mould, deep only in the valleys, frequently very shallow, with occasionally a mixture of sand or small stones. Many large tracts of land appear cultivable both for maize and wheat, but which, as pasture land, would be excellent. The hills descend with such gentle slopes, that the valleys between them are extensive and flat. Several contain an indeterminate depth of rich soil, capable of supporting the most exhausting vegetation, and are tolerably well watered by chains of small ponds, or occasional drains, which empty themselves into the river by a cove or creek." Black swans were seen in great numbers, and kangaroo abounded, but Bass came to the conclusion that the natives must be few in number, as although they frequently found their rude huts and deserted fires, during a fortnight's excursions they fell in with none of the aborigines, except a man and two women, with whom they had a friendly interview some miles above Herdsman's Cove. Bass contrasts New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in respect of their fitness for agriculture: his opinion was that they were both poor countries, but in point of productive soil the preference was to be given to Van Diemen's Land. He found on the banks of the Derwent various tracts of land which he considered admirably adapted for grain, for vines, and for pasturage, and no place combined so many advantages as Risdon Cove. Bass grows almost

enthusiastic in describing Risdon. "The land at the head of Risdon Creek, on the east side," he remarks, "seems preferable to any other on the banks of the Derwent. The creek runs winding between two steep hills, and ends in a chain of ponds that extends into a fertile valley of great beauty. For half-a-mile above the head of the creek the valley is contracted and narrow, but the soil is extremely rich, and the fields are well covered with grass. Beyond this it suddenly expands and becomes broad and flat at the bottom, whence arise long grassy slopes, that by a gentle but increasing ascent continue to mount the hills on each side, until they are hidden from the view by woods of large timber which overhang their summits. . . . The soil along the bottom, and to some distance up the slopes, is a rich vegetable mould, apparently hardened by a small mixture of clay, which grows a large quantity of thick juicy grass and some few patches of close underwood."

Flinders was, however, disappointed with Risdon River, and notices the insignificance of the little creek, which even his boat could not enter, and at which he could barely manage to fill his water casks. Among "the many local advantages of the Derwent" to which King alludes in his despatch to Lord Hobart, and which determined him to choose that place for a settlement, there is no doubt that Bass's glowing description of the beauty and fertility of Risdon filled a large place, and induced him to direct Bowen to choose its neighbourhood for the new colony.

Collins, it.,
p. 185.
Flinders.
Intro., pp.
185, 189.

King to
Hobart, 9th
May, 1803.

2. THE RISDON SETTLEMENT.

It is now time for us to return to Lieut. Bowen and his little colony, whom we left on the 12th September, 1803, in the *Albion* and *Lady Nelson* at anchor in Risdon Cove. A week later Bowen writes to Governor King by the *Albion*, reporting his arrival, and his definite selection of Risdon as the site of the new settlement. He seems to have accepted Risdon as a foregone conclusion, for although he tells the Governor that he had explored the river to a point rather higher than Flinders went, it does not appear that he made any sufficient examination of the western bank. If he had done so he could hardly have written to King—"There are so many fine spots on the borders of the river that I was a little puzzled to fix upon the best place; but there being a much better stream of fresh water falling into Risdon Cove than into any of the others, and very extensive valleys lying at the back of it, I judged it the most

Bowen to
King, 20th
September,
1803.

convenient, and accordingly disembarked all the men and stores." He could never have written thus if he had examined either Humphrey's Rivulet or the stream falling into Sullivan's Cove. Bowen's choice of Risdon does not lead us to form a high opinion of his qualifications as the founder of a new colony. On the other hand, it is only fair to take into account his difficulties. Doubtless he felt himself in a great degree bound by the instructions he had received from Governor King to fix on a spot in the neighbourhood of Risdon Cove. He also knew that Bass had carefully examined both shores of the river and had found no place so eligible. Moreover, it would be unjust to judge his choice by our present knowledge. Every settlement in an unknown and thickly wooded country must be more or less tentative, and the objections to the locality were not so evident in its original state as they now are. At present the Cove is silted up in consequence of a causeway having been built across it, but when Bowen entered it it was a fairly deep and commodious harbour. There was much to recommend the site to a new comer. When the *Albion* sailed up the Derwent the best valleys running down to the river were full of a dense scrub, most discouraging to a settler, and at that period Risdon probably presented the most open land on this side Herdsman's Cove. It was early spring, and at that season there would be a good stream of water in the creek, the open land of the Risdon valley was covered with rich and luxuriant grass, and higher up the creek was a fair amount of the good agricultural land described by Bass. The unsuitability of the valley as a site for a large town would never occur to Bowen, who was content if he could find for his handful of settlers a sufficient space for their gardens, and a few cornfields to supply their immediate requirements. The small scale of the establishment with which he was entrusted would inevitably limit his ideas. Still, after every allowance has been made, it remains evident that Lieut. John Bowen was not one of the men who are born to be the successful founders of new States.

The site of this first settlement is on the farm so well known as the home of the late Mr. Thos. Geo. Gregson, M.H.A. It lies about two miles from the landing-place of the Risdon ferry. A stone causeway crosses the cove not far from the mouth of the creek. For some 100 or 150 yards before the little stream falls into the cove it finds its way through a small marsh of some 20 acres, shut in on each side by steep hills. In Bowen's time this stream was fresh and clear-flowing; now it is brackish,

sluggish, and muddy, choked with weeds and slime, and altogether uninviting in aspect. At the upper end of the marsh, where the valley suddenly contracts, a dilapidated stone jetty marks the old landing-place on the creek, at present quite inaccessible for a boat. On the narrow strip of flat ground between the jetty and the steep hill beyond are the barely discernible foundations of a stone building, the first stone store in Tasmania. From this point a road leads upwards along the hillside for some 150 or 200 yards to the top of the rise, where there is a level piece of land of no great extent, bounded on the north by rough hills and on the south sloping steeply to the valley. On the edge of this level ground, overlooking the flat and commanding a fine view of the Derwent and of the mountains behind it, stand some dilapidated wooden buildings, for many years well known as the residence of Mr. Gregson, the little cottage in front being not improbably Lient. Bowen's original quarters. A good garden extends to the rear of the house, and in this garden, about 100 yards behind the cottage, there still stand the ruins of an oven with brick chimney, which Mr. Gregson for many years religiously preserved as the remains of the first house erected in Van Diemen's Land. From this point the valley is narrow, the ground sloping down steeply, but there is good agricultural land in the bottom, and on the northern slope where Bowen's free settlers were located—the other side being stony and barren. A plan which Bowen sent to Governor King enables us to identify the locality with absolute precision. He tells King—"We are situated on a hill commanding a perfect view of the river, and with the fresh water at the foot of it—the land excellent."

After pitching his tents at Risdon, Bowen was not idle. He set his people at once to work to build huts. During the first week he made a boat excursion up the river; examined Herdsman's Cove, and thought of locating his free settlers there. He describes the Derwent as "perfectly fresh" above Herdsman's Cove, and "the banks more like a nobleman's park in England than an uncultivated country; every part is beautifully green, and very little trouble might clear every valley I have seen in a month. There are few rocky spots except on the high hills, and in many places the plough might be used immediately; but our workmen are very few and very bad. I could with ease employ a hundred men upon the land about us, and with that number—some good men among them—we should soon be a flourishing

Bowen to
King, 20th
September,
1803.

Bowen to
King, 27th
September,
1803, *per*
Lady Nelson.

colony." Next week he made another trip up the Derwent, but without further results. He sends King a plan of his settlement,* and already within a fortnight of his arrival he had got quarters built for his soldiers and prisoners, had located his free settlers on their five-acre allotments up the valley about a quarter of a mile from his tent, and had Clark, the stonemason, at work building a stone store.

King to
Hobart, 1st
March, 1804.

He had—probably in accordance with King's instructions—named the new settlement "Hobart,"† after Lord Hobart, the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

His Returns, dated "Hobart, Van Diemen's Land, 27th September, 1803," show an effective strength of 22 men—21 convicts and their overseer—of whom 2 were in charge of stock, 4 employed on buildings, (*viz.*, a blacksmith, carpenter, and two sawyers), the bulk of the convicts forming a town gang. The three women are returned as "cutting grass," probably for thatching. Of the stock, the Government owned 9 cattle and 25 sheep, the Commandant had a mare, and the Doctor a cow, while the Officers and Birt and Clarke, the free settlers, were possessors of 7 sheep, 8 goats, and 38 swine.

Bowen to
King, 27th
September,
1803.

Within a fortnight from his landing, as I have said, Bowen had all his people housed, and reports to King that the soldiers and prisoners have got very comfortable huts. He fixed his own quarters on the spot where Mr. Gregson's house now stands; the soldiers' huts were a little behind Dr. Mountgarret's quarters, and the prisoners' huts were placed on the brow of the steep bank overlooking the creek. (See plan). The Commandant tells King that he has not yet drawn any lines for the town, waiting till he can cut down the large timber which obstructed his view. To lay out a town in such a situation must have been a difficult problem, for his little settlement was perched on the top of a high almost precipitous bank, on the edge of a very narrow gully, and the narrow plateau on which it stood, shut in at the back by rough hills, did not afford room for a fair sized village. But the difficulties of the locality were as nothing to the difficulties of the human material out of which he had to form his colony.

Ibid.

The soldiers of the New South Wales Corps, who formed his guard, and on whom he had to depend for

* See Appendix.

† "Town" was not added to the name until some time after the settlement was removed by Collins to Sullivan's Cove.

the maintenance of order, were discontented, almost mutinous. Within a week of his arrival they were grumbling at the hard duty of mounting one sentry during the day and two at night. The Commandant thought they had been spoilt by too easy a life in Sydney, and begged the Governor to send him down an active officer or sergeant who would keep them to their duty.

As to the prisoners, they were of the worst class, ill behaved, useless, and lazy. Indeed, when we find that some of the worst offenders in New South Wales had been sentenced by the Criminal Court in Sydney to serve a certain number of years at Risdon Creek, we cannot wonder at Bowen's complaints of their conduct, nor can we be surprised that he was able to effect so little.

Meanwhile, Governor King did not forget the interests of the new colony. In his reply to Bowen's first letters, he expressed himself as well pleased with the selection of Risdon, and with the progress that had been made with the settlement. He also promised the reinforcements for which Bowen asked, and, accordingly, towards the end of October the *Dart* brig was despatched to the Derwent. She took 42 prisoners—of whom 20 were volunteers—and these latter were told that, if their behaviour was good, they should be allowed at the end of two years to choose between settling at the Derwent and returning to Sydney. The Governor also strengthened the Military force by sending down 15 soldiers under the command of Lieut. Moore. He strongly urged Bowen to leave their discipline entirely to their officer, to give them good huts, full rations, a plot of ground for a garden, and to employ them on military duty only, so that they might have no just ground for complaint. The *Dart* took six months' supplies of pork and flour for the new arrivals, and also two carronades which had belonged to the *Investigator*, and as to the care of which King gave the Commandant very special cautions. No more free settlers were sent, as the Governor wished first to get a better knowledge of the country and of its suitableness for agriculture. To this end he sent down James Meehan, a surveyor who had done good work in New South Wales under Surveyor-General Grimes, and had recently formed one of the party who had made the survey of Port Phillip in the *Cumberland*. Meehan was to be employed in surveying and making observations on the soil and natural productions of the colony, and was to advise with respect to the distribution of the town, church, and school lands,

King to
Bowen, 18th
October, 1803.

King to
Hobart,
24th October,
1803.

King to
Bowen, 18th
October, 1803.

Knopwood's
Diary, 6th
March, 1804.

fortification, court-house, settlers' allotments, and government grounds for the purpose of agriculture and grazing. He remained some four months at Hobart, returning to Sydney in March, 1804, after having completed the first surveys in Tasmania. Flinders' map shows that Meehan explored from the Coal River in a north-east direction, returning by way of Prosser's Plains and the Sorell District, but we have no particulars of the result of his observations.

Collins to
King, 29th
February,
1804.
Harris's
statement.

Bowen's little colony now numbered something like 100 souls. It had been established about two months, and might fairly have been expected to have made at least a start towards definite progress. But it was predestined to failure. The few meagre facts that can be gleaned from the Record Office papers show that matters went most persistently wrong. The Commandant may not have been to blame for this ill success—possibly no man could have achieved success with the like material. The first arrivals had been bad, the second batch was certainly no better. We have Collins' testimony, very emphatically given, that many of them were "abandoned, hardened wretches"—"more atrocious than those imported from the gaols of England." The story of the escape of seven of these convicts, under the leadership of one Duce, gives us an idea of their lawlessness, their ignorance, and their utter recklessness. One night, Duce and his six companions stole the Commandant's boat as she lay in the cove, gained possession of two guns, and got away down the river. Some of the party wanted, without compass or provisions, to run for New Zealand, which they thought could easily be done. Others, not quite so ignorant, preferred to try to make Timor. Violent quarrels ensued, but they kept on their course along the east coast, living on fish and such vegetable food as they could collect on the shore, and constantly on the verge of murderous conflict, until they reached Bass Strait. Here one of the party was left on a desolate rock, Duce threatening to shoot any one who interfered. The rest made Cape Barren Island, where they fell in with a sealing party. Duce and three others designed to seize the vessel, but were betrayed by their companions. The sealers overpowered them, and put the four, with some provisions, on one of the islands, where they left them. Whether they perished, or whether they helped to swell the number of lawless runaways who for so long a time infested the islands in the Straits, no one knows.

The soldiers were almost as great a trouble to the Commandant as the convicts. They were always

discontented, occasionally mutinous. At times, instead of guarding the stores from depredation, they connived at the prisoners plundering them. An occasion of this sort, when a soldier was proved to have been accomplice in a robbery, led to Bowen taking a very extraordinary step. He could not try the man, not being able to constitute a court martial, and was so puzzled to know what to do with him, that when the *Ferret* whaler chanced to put into the Derwent, he actually determined to leave his post, and himself take the culprit to Sydney for trial. Accordingly, he sailed from Risdon for Sydney in the *Ferret*, on the 9th January, 1804.

King to
Hobart, 1st
March, 1804.

With all these signs of the utter disorganisation of the settlement, we cannot wonder that no progress had been made, and that when Collins arrived a few weeks later, he found that after five months' residence not a single acre of land was in preparation for grain upon Government account.

Collins to
King, 29th
February,
1804.

But the Risdon settlement was already doomed, owing to a series of events of which neither Governor King nor his Commandant was yet aware. Before Bowen had made his first abortive start for the Derwent, and before Governor King's despatch of 23rd November, 1802, respecting French designs could have reached England, the Home Government had taken a resolution which—not by any intention of theirs—was destined to bring Lieut. Bowen's colony to an end, by its extinction in a more systematic and extensive settlement on the banks of the Derwent. In January, 1803, an Order in Council appointed Lieut.-Colonel David Collins, of the Royal Marines, Lieutenant-Governor of a settlement intended to be formed at Port Phillip, in New South Wales. The new establishment sailed from Spithead on the 24th April, 1803—a month before King had given Bowen his commission as Commandant of Hobart—had just left Cape Town when Bowen sailed from Sydney in the *Albion*, and arrived in Port Phillip on the 9th October, 1803.

Downing-
street to
Admiralty.

Knopwood's
Diary.

This is not the place to give an account of Collins' proceedings, at Port Phillip or elsewhere, except in so far as they affected the fortunes of the Risdon settlement. Suffice it to say, that Collins found, or fancied, that Port Phillip was unfit for a settlement, and after corresponding with Governor King, and dawdling near the Heads for some three months, he finally decided to remove his establishment to the Derwent. Thereupon, King sent Collins a letter addressed to Bowen, directing the latter to hand over to Collins his command at the Derwent,

King to
Bowen, 26th
November,
1803.

and to send back to Port Jackson his detachment of the New South Wales Corps. And so a game of cross purposes began. For while Collins was still fuming and fidgetting at Port Phillip, balancing the comparative advantages of Port Dalrymple and the Derwent, and gradually making up his mind in favour of the latter place, Bowen had sailed from Risdon in the *Ferret* with his burglarious soldier, and had presented himself to the astonished Governor King at Port Jackson. The Governor seems to have taken no pains to conceal the annoyance he felt at his Commandant leaving his post on so trifling an occasion, and sarcastically remarks in a despatch to Lord Hobart, that Bowen's "return was occasioned by the necessity he conceived himself to be under of bringing up a soldier who had been implicated with the rest in robbing the stores." He was the more vexed at this inopportune return, as he knew that Collins was on the point of leaving Port Phillip, and he was particularly anxious that the Risdon Commandant should be at hand to give the new Lieutenant-Governor the benefit of his experience and knowledge of the locality.

The colonial cutter *Integrity* had just been launched. She was hastily fitted for sea, and Bowen was ordered to return in her to the Derwent forthwith, calling at Port Phillip to join Collins, to give him all necessary assistance, and accompany him to Risdon. The *Integrity* sailed on the 5th February; but Bowen's ill luck still attended him. When he reached Port Phillip he found only a remnant of Collins' establishment, under the charge of Lieut. Sladden, the Lieutenant-Governor himself having sailed for the Derwent in the *Ocean* with the bulk of his people two or three days before. Bowen accordingly hastened on with his despatches, but shortly after sailing the cutter's rudder fastenings carried away, and she was placed in a very dangerous position. However, she managed to reach Kent's Bay, Cape Barren Island, and there they found a sealing party belonging to the American ships *Pilgrim* and *Perseverance*. The necessity for getting on was imperative; so Bowen made a verbal agreement with the American skipper, Captain Amasa Delano, to carry them on in his ship, and afterwards, if required, to proceed to Port Jackson. From the diary of the Chaplain of Collins' party, the well known Rev. Robert Knopwood, we learn that the *Pilgrim* cast anchor in Sullivan's Cove on 10th March, and that at six in the evening, a boat brought ashore "the Governor of Risdon Creek, Lieut. Bowen, of the Royal Navy."

It must have proved a considerable mortification to

9th January,
1804.

23rd January.

1st March,
1804.

Ibid.

30th January,
1804.

King's Order
to Palmer,
29th August,
1804.

Knopwood's
Diary, 10th
March.

the Governor of Risdon Creek to learn the events that had occurred during his unlucky absence. Lieutenant-Governor Collins had arrived in the evening of the 15th February, and next morning had landed at the Risdon settlement under a salute of 11 guns from the *Ocean*. On landing, he had been received by the officer in charge, Lieut. Moore, of the New South Wales' Corps, and the rest of the establishment—consisting of the doctor, store-keeper, and military force of 16 privates, one sergeant, and one drum and fife. After examining the camp, gardens, water, &c., the new Lieutenant-Governor had at once come to the conclusion—which indeed was pretty evident—that Risdon was not, in the Chaplain's words, "calculated for a town." Accordingly, on the following day the Governor, with the Chaplain and Wm. Collins, had gone exploring, and had returned much delighted, having found at a place on the opposite side of the river, six miles below Risdon, "a plain well calculated in every degree for a settlement." Forthwith the tents of the new establishment had been struck and taken on board the ships, which had dropped down the river to the selected spot, and anchored in Sullivan's Cove. So that on the 20th February—five days after Collins' arrival—his tents had been pitched at the mouth of the creek on the present site of Hobart, and the glory of Risdon had departed.

Knopwood.

Bowen's settlement had had its own internal troubles, which, no doubt, Lieut. Moore duly reported to the Governor of Risdon Creek. On the 21st February, the day after the founding of the new Hobart at Sullivan's Cove, a further batch of five convicts had escaped from Risdon, having found means to steal half a barrel of gunpowder from under the very feet of the sentry, and also two "musquets," with which they had got off into the woods. The runaways, however, did not find the woods inviting enough for a permanent residence, and one of them having voluntarily come in, the others followed his example next day, bringing the arms and ammunition with them. It was too troublesome and expensive to send them to Sydney for trial; they were therefore heavily ironed, and kept to work as a gaol gang.

Collins to
King, 29th
February

The only consolation that the Risdon Governor could have found in his adversity—besides the greater opportunities of good fellowship which were now afforded him, with no doubt better fare than the salt pork and bread, which had hitherto been the regulation diet—was the consideration that the religious wants of his people, about which Governor King had been so emphatic,

were now under proper regulation, and that on Sundays, when the weather was not unfavourable, the Chaplain, after divine service at Sullivan's Cove, had occasionally gone over to Risdon in the afternoon, and, as he phrases it, "done his duty to all the convicts, &c., &c.," dining afterwards with Dr. Mountgarret.

Captain Delano, meanwhile, was making a good thing out of Bowen's misfortunes. The *Integrity* was still lying at Cape Barren Island, disabled, and she had to be brought on. So after enjoying and returning the hospitalities of the place for a fortnight, the American captain sailed again for the Straits, with new rudder fastenings for the disabled vessel, and in less than a month the *Pilgrim* once more appeared in the Derwent with the *Integrity* in company. The *Pilgrim* sailed away a few days later to continue her sealing voyage, and her captain carried with him not only the reward of an approving conscience, but also Bowen's bill on Governor King for £400. When the bill was presented in the following August, King's surprise was considerable, and he made some vigorous protests. But the bill was in due form, for services performed, and the Governor had to pay. He could only relieve his feelings by writing to Lord Hobart in strong terms as to the American's conduct; but he says, "I did not consider I could, with that respect due to the British character, either curtail or refuse payment of the bill, notwithstanding the extortionate advantage that had been taken of Mr. Bowen's necessities, and his not entering into a written agreement."

We hear again of Captain Delano and his party a month or two later, and they seem to have been very undesirable visitors. Not only had they been smuggling spirits against the stringent regulations and decoying prisoners, but they had made themselves still more obnoxious by their brutal treatment of a sealing party at Kent's Bay belonging to the *Surprise* sloop, of Sydney. According to the statement of the master of the *Surprise*, he had been flogged and nearly killed by Delano's men for venturing to come into the Straits and interfere with them by killing seals in their neighbourhood. Governor King was inclined to take vigorous measures to put a stop to the lawless conduct which was then only too common amongst the American sealers in Bass' Straits, and proposed to the Home Government that he should be authorised to go the length of seizing their ships as the only means of teaching them better behaviour.

But to return to the fortunes of the Risdon Settlement.

26th March.

17th April.

King to
Palmer, 29th
August, 1804.

King to
Hobart, 20th
December,
1804.

American
sealers—
Murrell's
statement.

King to
Hobart, 20th
December,
1804.

Lieutenant-Governor Collins was altogether disappointed with the condition of Bowen's colony, and made a very unfavourable report on it to Governor King. The site was quite unsuitable; the landing-place on the creek was choked with mud, and only accessible at high tide; the stores were placed on a low position, and likely to be flooded by any heavy rain; the land was by no means first class; and the rivulet, on which they depended for their fresh water, and which in September had been a running stream, was in February dwindled to a few pools of dirty water. The indifferent capabilities of the place had not been made the most of. No grain had been sown, and no Government land had been even prepared for sowing. Dr. Mountgarret, and Clark and Birt, the free settlers, had each about five acres ready, but they had no seed, so Collins had to supply them with sufficient to crop their land. The five months' occupation had been wasted; there was nothing to show but a few wretched huts, cottages somewhat better for the officers, and a few acres of land roughly cleared of trees and scrub. The people were in a miserable condition, having been for some time on two-thirds of the standard rations, so that Collins had to supply them with food, and even to remove their starving pigs to his own camp to save their lives. A more dismal failure for a new colony could scarcely be imagined. It is difficult to decide how far Bowen was to blame for this wretched state of things. The human material that had been given him to mould into shape was desperately bad. Collins says that the officer in charge on his arrival (probably Lieut. Moore) described them "as a worthless and desperate set of wretches;" and this language does not appear to have been too strong. The Sydney authorities seem to have taken the opportunity of Bowen's settlement to rid themselves of their worst criminals, including the most turbulent of the United Irishmen, who had lately given so much trouble by their rising in the older colony. Even the soldiers of the New South Wales Corps, sent to curb these undesirable colonists, were lazy and mutinously inclined. It is a satisfaction to know that Collins eventually shipped the whole lot back to Sydney—both soldiers and convicts, with but few exceptions—so that they never had any part in the new Hobart.

Collins to King, 29th February, 1804.

Collins to Hobart, 31st July, 1804.

Collins to King, 29th February, 1804.

Collins to Hobart, 31st July, 1804.

Collins to Hobart, 3rd August, 1804.

Collins to King, 29th February, 1804.

Collins did not interfere with Bowen or with Lieut. *Ibid.* Moore in their command, but left them in uncontrolled charge. Indeed, he seems to have been only too anxious to wash his hands of Risdon and all its works. Governor Bowen and the Risdon officers, however, made the best of their circumstances, and, if we can trust the chaplain's

Knopwood,
26th March.

1 April.

Collins to
King, 24th
April, 1804.

diary, took life easily—shooting, hunting, excursionising, and exchanging frequent visits with the officers of the new camp. Towards the end of March Mr. Knopwood goes to Risdon for a few days, and “they caught six young emews the size of a turkey, and shot the old mother.” On Easter Sunday, after Divine Service, they all go to the chaplain’s marquee at the camp, and “partook of some Norfolk ham, the best we ever eat.” At 4 P.M. he adjourns to Lieut. Lord’s to dinner, “and was very merry.” Mr. Knopwood records many visits to Risdon, and excursions with Bowen up the river, to Mount Direction, to Ralph’s Bay, and other places. “The Governor of Risdon Creek,” as Knopwood called him, had, however, enough trouble with his refractory people. His soldiers had long grumbled at the sentry duty as too hard for their small numbers; and the discontent at last broke out into direct mutiny. On Sunday, 22nd April, the men flatly refused to mount guard, and became so insolent and insubordinate that Lieut. Moore promptly put four of the ringleaders into irons, and took them down to Sullivan’s Cove. Lieut.-Governor Collins sent the mutineers under a guard on board the Colonial cutter *Integrity*, then on the point of sailing for Port Jackson. At the same time a plot was on foot amongst some of the Irish convicts at Risdon. Their object was to seize the storehouse, supply themselves with provisions, and make good their escape from the settlement. On the discovery of the plot three of the ringleaders were forthwith flogged, and to prevent further mischief Captain Bowen and Mr. Wilson, the storekeeper, a few days later took the mutinous prisoners to Norfolk Bay in the Risdon whaleboat. “Eight of them, and all Irishmen,” remarks the chaplain. They were left on Smooth Island (now known as Garden Island), with a month’s provisions, and Bowen went on to explore the River Huon.

With that fatality which always kept Bowen out of the way when he was wanted, an important and disastrous event occurred at Risdon in his absence. This was the first affray of the English with the natives. It was on the 3rd May, 1804, that this first of the long series of fatal encounters between the two races took place. Up to this time it does not appear that any natives had been seen in the neighbourhood of Risdon. Knopwood relates that there had been some friendly intercourse with the tribe on the other side of the river, and that some of them had come to Collins’ camp. We also learn from him that he and Bowen had seen many natives in the neighbourhood of Frederick Henry Bay. The blacks

had always shown themselves shy and suspicious, but relations had hitherto been quite friendly. The unhappy event of the 3rd May sowed the seeds of a hostility on the part of the blacks, which, exasperated from time to time by mutual injuries, filled the colony with deeds of outrage and horror, with savage murders of innocent settlers, and almost equally savage retaliation, until the native race was nearly exterminated, and the miserable remnant removed to Flinders' Island, to perish of slow decay. Of the origin of the affray the accounts are very contradictory. Two of these are contemporary; one recorded by Mr. Knopwood in his diary, the other in a letter by Lieut. Moore, the officer in charge of Risdon. The Chaplain says, under date Thursday, 3rd May:—
 "At 2 P.M. we heard the report of cannon once from Risdon. The Lieut.-Governor sent a message to know the cause. At half-past 7, Lieut. Moore arrived at the camp to Lieut.-Governor Collins, and I received the following note from Risdon:—

DEAR SIR,

I beg to refer you to Mr. Moore for the particulars of an attack the natives made on the camp to-day, and I have every reason to think it was premeditated, as their number far exceeded any that we ever heard of. As you express a wish to be acquainted with some of the natives, if you will dine with me to-morrow, you will oblige me by christening a fine native boy who I have. Unfortunately, poor boy, his father and mother were both killed; he is about 2 years old. I have, likewise, the body of a man that was killed. If Mr. Bowden wishes to see him dissected, I will be happy to see him with you to-morrow. I would have wrote to him, but Mr. Moore waits.

Your friend,

J. MOUNTGARRET.

Hobart, six o'clock.

The number of natives, I think, was not less than 5 or 6 hundred.

J. M."

Knopwood continues:

"At 8, Lieut. Moore came to my marquee and stayed some time; he informed me of the natives being very numerous, and that they had wounded one of the settlers, Burke, and was going to burn his house down, and ill-treated his wife, &c., &c."

Lieut. Moore's letter—a copy of which is preserved in the Record Office—is dated Risdon Cove, 7th May, 1804, and is addressed to Governor Collins. He says—

SIR,

Agreeable to your desire, I have the honor of acquainting you with the circumstances that led to the attack on the natives, which you will perceive was the consequence of their own hostile appearance.

It would appear from the numbers of them, and the spears, &c., with which they were armed, that their design was to attack us. However, it was not until they had thoroughly convinced us of their intentions, by using violence to a settler's wife, and my own servant—who was returning into camp with some kangaroos, one of which they took from him—that they were fired upon. On their coming into camp and surrounding it, I went towards them with five soldiers. Their appearance and numbers I thought very far from friendly. During this time I was informed that a party of them was beating Birt, the settler, at his farm. I then despatched two soldiers to his assistance, with orders not to fire if they could avoid it. However, they found it necessary; and one was killed on the spot, and another found dead in the valley.

But at this time a great party was in the camp; and, on a proposal from Mr. Mountgarret to fire one of the carronades to intimidate them, they departed.

Mr. Mountgarret, with some soldiers and prisoners, followed them some distance up the valley, and have reason to suppose more was wounded, as one was seen to be taken away bleeding. During the time they were in camp, a number of old men were perceived at the foot of the hill, near the valley, employed in preparing spears.

I have now, Sir, as near as I can recollect, given you the leading particulars, and hope there has nothing been done but what you approve of.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM MOORE,
Lieut. N.S.W. Corps.

It will be noticed that in this letter Lieut. Moore, who had every reason to represent the conduct of the natives in the worst light, can show no direct act of hostility. He assumed that they were hostile, from their numbers; and, for the beating of Birt, and the proposed burning of his hut, he has no evidence to offer but a report brought to him in the midst of the panic which the appearance of the blacks had caused among his people. That the doctor's proposal to fire the carronade should have induced savages, who did not understand the language and had never seen fire-arms, to withdraw, is too great a stretch on one's credulity. We know, from Knopwood, that the gun was fired; but, whether it was loaded with blank cartridge or with grape we have no means of deciding.

The only other eye-witness of the affair whose account we have directly contradicts Lieut. Moore; and his story looks probable, like the story of a man who had kept his head amidst the general panic. This witness is one Edward White, who was examined before Governor Arthur's Aborigines' Committee in 1830. In considering his evidence it should be remembered that at the time he gave it the exasperation of the whole colony against the

Military operations against the aborigines of V.D.L., House of Commons Paper, 23rd September, 1831, p. 53.

blacks, on account of their brutal outrages, was at fever heat, and the witness had every inducement to represent their conduct in this affair in an unfavourable light. White came to the colony with Bowen, and was an assigned servant to the settler Clark. He was the first man who saw the approach of the natives. He was hoeing new ground on the creek near Clark's house, which was about half a mile up the valley behind the camp. As he was hoeing, he saw 300 natives, men, women, and children, coming down the valley in a circular, or rather a semi-circular, form, with a flock of kangaroo between them. They had no spears, but were armed with waddies only, and were driving the kangaroo into the bottom. On catching sight of him they paused astonished, and, to use his expression, "looked at him with all their eyes." White had very probably been accustomed to the Port Jackson natives; at any rate, he says that he felt no alarm at the approach of the blacks, but he thought it advisable to go down the creek and inform some soldiers. He then went back to his work. On his return the natives were near Clark's house. They did not molest him or threaten him in any way. Birt's house was on the other side of the creek some hundreds of yards off, and White was very positive that so far from attacking Birt or his house, they never even crossed over to that side of the creek, and "were not within half a quarter of a mile" of the hut. He knew nothing of their going into the camp itself; but they did not attack the soldiers, and, he believed, would not have molested them. When the firing commenced there were a great many of the natives slaughtered and wounded, how many he did not know.

The Rev. Mr. Knopwood gave evidence before the same committee. He stated that he had heard different opinions as to the origin of the attack; that it was said the natives wanted to encamp on the site of Birt's hut, half a mile from the camp, and had ill-used his wife, but that the hut was not burnt or plundered. They did not attack the camp, but our people went from the camp to attack the natives, who remained at Birt's hut. He thought only five or six natives were killed. The general opinion was that the blacks had gone to Risdon to hold a corrobberry.

H. of Com.
Paper, 23rd
Sept., 1831,
p. 52.

These accounts throw great doubt on the accuracy of Lieut. Moore's version of the affair. It is significant that Knopwood, who had every opportunity of learning the truth at the time, should state so positively that the natives never left the neighbourhood of Birt's hut, but that the soldiers went out to attack them.

It seems clear that the natives had no hostile intention in their visit, and this was the conclusion of Governor Arthur's committee. Everything goes to show that they were a party coming from the east, probably the Oyster Bay tribe, engaged on a hunting expedition, and that they were more astonished than the English on coming into contact with them. The fact of their having their women and children with them is a perfectly conclusive proof that no attack was contemplated. We can easily understand how terrifying to the Risdon people must have been this sudden inroad of a horde of excited savages, yelling and gesticulating. Utterly ignorant of their customs, unable to understand them, or to make themselves understood, the panic of the English, convinced that the natives had collected in force to destroy them, was natural enough. Doubtless the soldiers shared in the general scare, and, moreover, were probably quite inclined to take pot shots at the black savages. But Lieut. Moore ought not to have lost his head. He at least should have grasped the situation, and restrained his men. A little more presence of mind on his part, the exercise of a little tact and forbearance, and a collision would have been avoided, the natives would have been conciliated, and the history of the black race in Tasmania might have been different. That the aborigines of Tasmania would in any case have melted away before the white man, as the aborigines of the other colonies are melting away, is certain; but if it had not been for Lieut. Moore's error at Risdon, a war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, might have been averted.

There is little to add respecting this occurrence, except that, according to White, some of the bones of the slaughtered natives were sent in two casks to Port Jackson by Dr. Mountgarret, and that the chaplain, ever anxious to extend the bounds of his church, records that he went to Risdon a week later and "xtiand a young native boy whose name was Robert Hobert May"—the good chaplain having thus the honor of bestowing his name on this first innocent aboriginal Christian. Collins tells Governor King that the baptism had taken place without his knowledge or consent, and when he found that Dr. Mountgarret intended to take this two-year old native to Sydney, he had the boy brought to the camp and directed that he should be returned to his own people, for fear they should think he had been killed and eaten by the English. "For," he remarks, "we have every reason to believe them to be cannibals, and they may entertain the same opinion of us."* The

H. of Com.
Paper, 23rd
Sept., 1881,
p. 53.

Knopwood,
11th May.

Collins to
King, 15th
May, 1804.

* There is no foundation for this opinion.

incident made Collins very apprehensive of further attacks; and, indeed, a few days after this affray the crew of the cutter, while collecting oyster shells on the river bank opposite Hobart, was attacked by a numerous party of natives, and beaten off with stones and clubs.

As I have already observed, Lieut.-Governor Collins was very reluctant to have anything to do with the Risdon people, and would willingly have shipped them all off to Port Jackson; but he now received express and positive instructions from Governor King to take over the command; and, accordingly, on the 8th May, (immediately after Bowen's return from the Huon), a General Order was issued, notifying that he had taken upon himself the command of Risdon; that Lieut. Bowen was to continue in the direction of the settlement under him until further orders, and that the officers and prisoners were to return to Port Jackson in the *Ocean*. The stores were immediately removed to Sullivan's Cove, the few remaining prisoners being victualled from the Hobart camp. The stock was also removed—17 head of cattle, and 45 sheep and lambs; and, a few days later, the whole of the prisoners were removed to the camp, where they could be kept at work in one gang, under a strict guard and a vigilant overseer.

Collins to
King, 15th
May, 1804.

Collins to
Hobart, 31st
July, 1804.

Although Collins badly wanted more military, he did not care to keep the small detachment of the New South Wales Corps, as he had at first thought of doing; for, out of the 23 soldiers, one had been taken to Sydney by Bowen for robbery, and he himself had sent four others thither on a charge of mutiny. He therefore determined to despatch them all to Sydney, where a Court Martial could be assembled to correct and punish their evil propensities. Of the convicts, 50 in number, there were only 11 men and 2 women whom the Governor deemed it expedient to keep.

Ibid.

It was not until the 9th August that the *Ocean* got under way for Sydney, and carried with her the whole civil and military establishment,—Capt. John Bowen, Dr. Mountgarret, Wilson the storekeeper, the turbulent soldiers and the mutinous convicts, 40 or so, who had formed the first Settlement in Van Diemen's Land. Thus ended the first and abortive Hobart.

Knopwood.

The only free settler who remained was Richard Clark, who had been made superintendent of stonemasons. Both King and Collins speak highly of his character and capacity. Collins gave him a similar position in the new Hobart at Sullivan's Cove; and in this office he acquitted himself well. A few sheep were given him, and a location of 200 acres on the other side of the river, nearly opposite Hobart.

Collins to
King, 3rd
August, 1804.
Ibid, 31st
July, 1804.
Ibid, 15th
May.

King to
Collins, 30th
September,
1804.

The other settler, Birt, had applied for and obtained leave to remain; but at the last moment he changed his mind, and sailed with the rest in the *Ocean*, which brought him under the displeasure of Governor King, who refused to allow him a grant of land. Dr. Mountgarret also at first desired to stay, as he had been combining commerce with medicine, and had a large stock on hand which he wished to dispose of; but he, eventually, changed his mind, and he also sailed in the *Ocean*.

Collins to
King, 29th
February,
1804.

The net balance of the Risdon Settlement, therefore, remaining with Collins was Richard Clark and the 11 male and 2 female convicts above mentioned. Collins afterwards ordered all the houses at Risdon to be pulled down; but it does not appear whether this was carried into effect. The *Ocean* did not arrive in Port Jackson until the 23rd August, King having almost given her up for lost. Dr. Mountgarret got a fresh appointment as Surgeon to the new Settlement at Port Dalrymple, under Lieut.-Colonel Paterson.

King to
Collins, 30th
September.

Knopwood,
3rd Sept.

King to
Palmer, 29th
September.
King's Com-
mission, 31st
August, 1804.

Lieut. Bowen had left a mare at the Derwent for which he had paid £120, and he offered her to King at that price. The Governor agreed to purchase her on Government account, and paid Bowen with four cows, which he stopped out of his next shipment to Collins. This was the first horse taken to Van Diemen's Land.

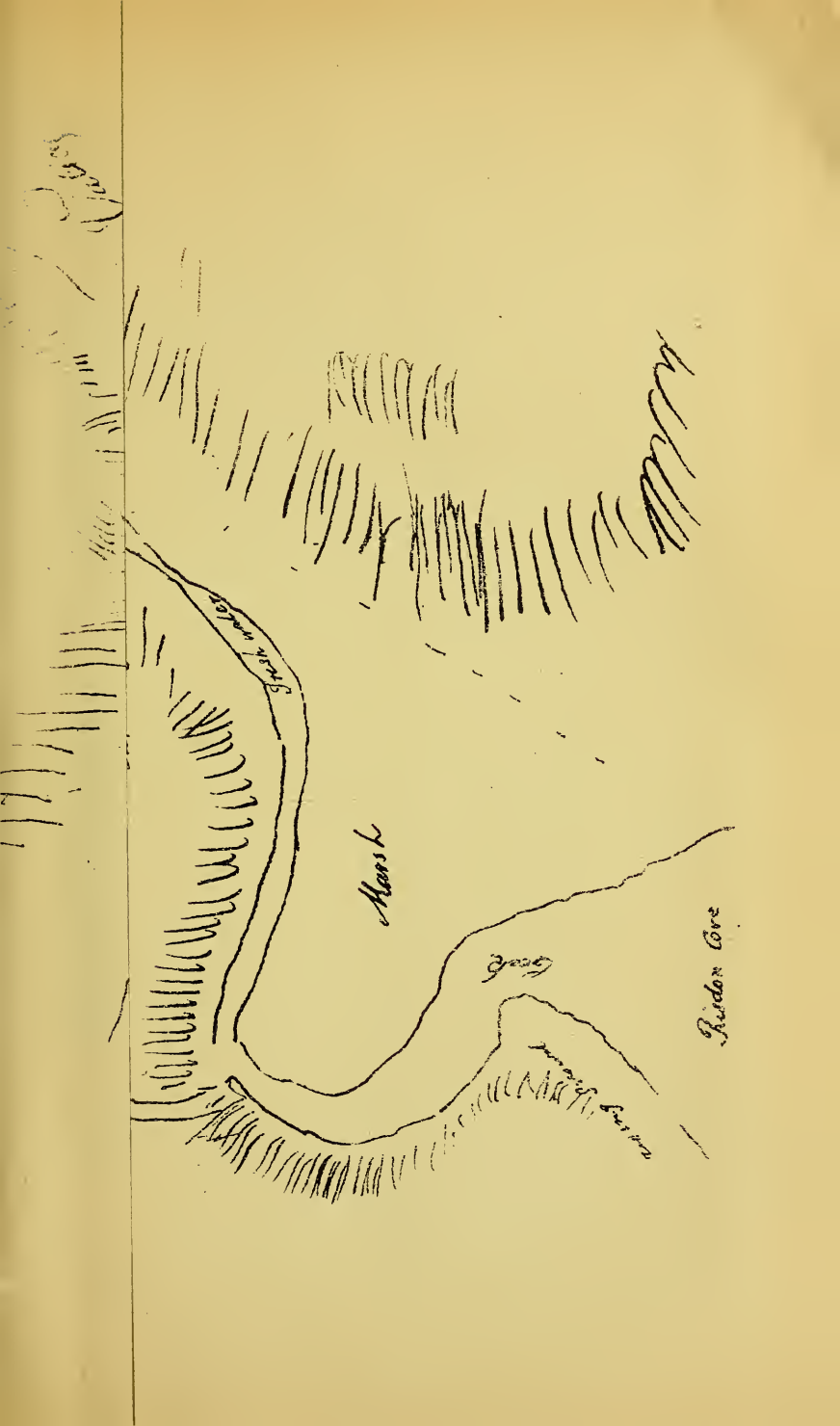
King to
Collins, 30th
September,
1804.

It only remains to state what more we know of the Governor of Risdon Creek. On his arrival at Sydney he was desirous of returning to England, in order that he might again enter on active service in the navy. Governor King had offered him the munificent pay of 5s. per day from the 30th June, 1803, when he first sailed from Sydney in the *Porpoise*, to the 24th August, 1804, when he returned thither in the *Ocean*, viz., 420 days, at 5s. per day, or £105—exactly one hundred guineas for 14 months' governorship—certainly not an extravagant salary for a Governor—not enough to pay his passage to England. He refused the colonial pay offered, and addressed a letter to King, in which he reminds the Governor that pecuniary considerations had not been in his view in accepting the appointment, but simply the advancement of his interest in His Majesty's naval service; but that, as he had been at great expense consequent on that appointment, he trusted the Governor would recommend him to the Home authorities for a sufficient remuneration. King enclosed the letter to Lord Hobart, strongly recommending the application, as he believed Bowen had done his utmost to forward the service he undertook, and expressing a hope that, in

King's memo.
to Palmer,
29th Septem-
ber, 1804.

Bowen to
King, 17th
November,
1804.

King to
Hobart, 20th
December,
1804.



Marsh

Grass

Rider's Cove

Small Hill

Stream water

addition to this, his character, and that of his father and other relatives in the navy, might open a way for the promotion he was so anxious to obtain. King also paid his passage home in the *Lady Barlow*, amounting to £100.

It would seem that Lieut. Bowen obtained the promotion he sought. Jorgensen—who, however, was not the most accurate of men—states in his autobiography that the Commandant of Risdon was a son of Commissioner Bowen. Mr. Leslie Stephen's "Dictionary of National Biography," in a notice of Captain James (afterwards Admiral) Bowen, who performed brilliant services at sea during the French wars, mentions the fact that he was one of the Commissioners of the Navy from 1816 to 1825, and that his son John, also a captain, after serving in that rank through the later years of the war, died in the year 1828.

*Ross' Hobart
Town
Almanac,
1835.*

With this brief notice of its founder, I close the story of the first Settlement at Risdon Cove.

APPENDIX A.

CAPTAIN HAYES' CHARTS.

A manuscript map, evidently the result of Lieut. Hayes' surveys of the Derwent, was recently discovered by Mr. James R. M'Clymont in the National Library. Mr. Alfred Mault has obtained through his friends in Paris a *fac simile* of this map, which he has courteously placed at the disposal of the Royal Society, and a photo-lithograph of it will appear in this year's volume of the Society's Proceedings. The map bears the imprint of A. Arrowsmith, London, but apparently was never published. Mr. Mault thinks it is Lieut. Hayes' own draft of his chart prepared for publication. This is probable; but the map in question is not identical with the sketch Flinders refers to, since that sketch showed Risdon Cove, which does not appear in Mr. Mault's *fac simile*. His Excellency the Governor has kindly interested himself in the matter, and it is probable that through his influence some further information respecting Hayes' expedition may at last be brought to light.

APPENDIX B.

Population of the Australian Colonies at the time of the Risdon Settlement (1803):—

New South Wales	7134
Norfolk Island	1200
Van Diemen's Land	49
TOTAL	<u>8383</u>

See Collins' "Account of New South Wales," ii., 333.