

JEAN BAPTISTE CHARLES LAMONNERIE DIT FATTORINI,

Late of Port Macquarie, N.S.W.

[By J. C. H. GILL, B.A., LL.B., F.R.Hist.S.Q.]

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In the mid 1930's it was still something of an adventure to travel interstate by road. However, I have an aunt who was, and is, keen on travelling by car and who ventured on a number of long motor trips through most parts of the Eastern States of the Commonwealth.

In 1936 she visited Port Macquarie¹, then still somewhat off the beaten track, when returning from a trip further to the south.

GRAVE OF SON OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

She was still very much excited, when she returned to Brisbane, about visiting the old cemetery at Port Macquarie. The place was, she said, a wilderness, but there were some very old graves there. Whilst her friends and she were pushing their way through the undergrowth and examining the old memorials an old man suddenly appeared; they thought for a startled moment he was one of the permanent inhabitants suddenly resurrected. However, it turned out he was merely one of the townspeople of the day, whose interest in local history had impelled him to try to list the memorials whilst they were in the main still legible. He was a fund of local folklore and showed them a grave which he said contained the remains of an illegitimate son of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had lived at Port Macquarie and died there 70 or 80 years before.

Unfortunately my aunt, in her excitement, forgot to take a note of the name of the deceased person concerned and could not remember who he was. There, for two years, the matter rested.

Then in June 1938 my aunt decided it was about time she had another motor trip. As I had some holidays falling due, she suggested that I come with her. We decided to make for Melbourne by the inland highways and return to Brisbane by the coastal highways. The roads in the main were good, but many, many miles at that time remained unsealed.

In course of time we began our return trip up the coast. After spending the night at Taree, Ballina was to be our next stop. However, on leaving Taree, my aunt said that seeing we would be so near to it we must run in to Port Macquarie and, among other things, see the old cemetery. Thus, I visited Port Macquarie for the first time and judged the detour well worthwhile.

VISIT TO THE OLD CEMETERY

The old cemetery was indeed a wilderness. One almost had to cut one's way into the various thickets of tobacco plants and lantana that infested it. I asked my aunt if this was the place where the alleged son of Napoleon was buried. She said it was, but still could not remember his name. After breaking bush for about half an hour, I found a memorial near the southern end of the cemetery, where a number of notables appeared to be buried, bearing a combination of French and Italian names. It was shaped like a small catafalque with the inscription on top, and ornamented on two sides with a coronet surrounded by a laurel wreath, whilst the ends were decorated with a cross, also set in a laurel wreath open at the top. I showed this memorial to my aunt and she

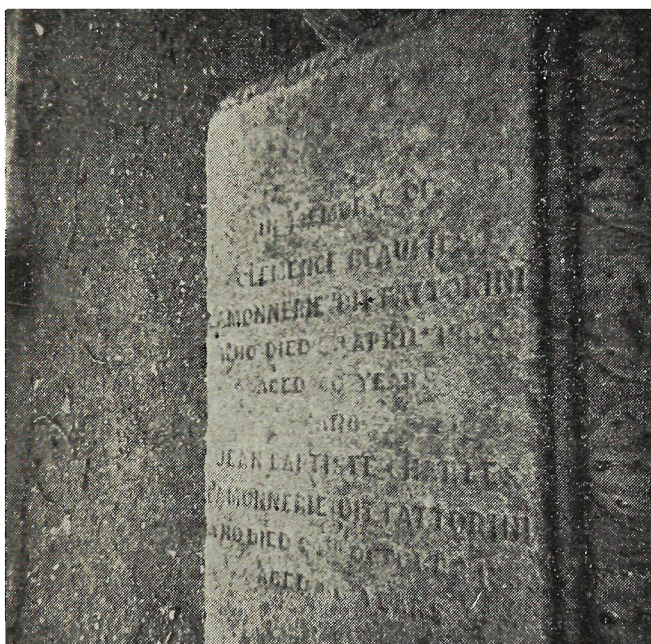


Photo of the grave of Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini in the old cemetery at Port Macquarie, N.S.W.



Photo of the grave of Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini in the old cemetery at Port Macquarie, N.S.W.

recognised it immediately as the one that had been pointed out to her two years before as the tomb of Napoleon's illegitimate son. Thus, I made the acquaintance for the first time of Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini. The inscription was in the main legible; in fact perfectly so in respect of Clemence Beaufuls Lamonnerie dit Fattorini, who had died on 5 April 1840, aged 40 years. In the case of Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini, however, some figures had weathered, and he could have died on 24 October 1853 or 1863 and he could have been aged 55 years or 66 years. However, with the combination of French and Italian surnames, his death in 1853 at the age of 55 years would have fitted him in neatly with Napoleon's Italian Campaign, so it looked as though there might be some substance in the claim about his illustrious antecedents.

RE-VISIT AFTER 25 YEARS

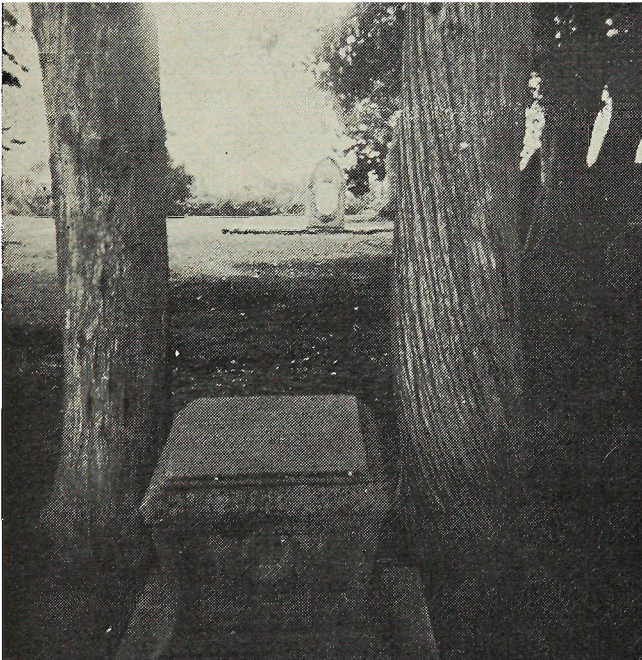
I confess to a stirring of curiosity, but events of such magnitude as gaining professional qualifications, a World War, raising a family and partnership in a busy professional prac-

tice kept it at the latent level until 1963, when, after a lapse of 25 years, I revisited Port Macquarie. The old cemetery was no longer a wilderness, but beautifully tidied and a careful plan of landscaping was in progress. An active Historical Society² was doing its best to guard and record the historical treasures and records of the Hastings District. The Fattorini grave was still intact although the inscription was a little more weathered.

Curiosity about Fattorini was again aroused, but a number of other current projects of mine caused a deferment of any attempt to satisfy that curiosity until mid-1969. Then came the time when I felt I had to do something about proving or disproving the Napoleonic legend that surrounded the man Fattorini.

CONTEMPORARY REFERENCES

The first step seemed to be to search the printed works in case anyone else had already told the story. This proved a dead-end, but a number of references to him appeared in contemporary journals and other works, some of which had been published for the first time or republished only in the last decade. The next steps that had to be taken involved approaches to:



Another view of the grave.

- (i) The Mitchell Library;
- (ii) The Archives Authority of New South Wales;
- (iii) The Hastings District Historical Society;
- (iv) The Archives of France;
- (v) The Public Records Office, London;
- (vi) The Tasmanian State Archives;
- (vii) The University of Edinburgh;
- (viii) The University of Gottingen;
- (ix) The Queensland State Archives;
- (x) The Registrar-General of New South Wales.

As you can see, the case of Dr. Fattorini involved a pretty wide casting of the net in the hopes of obtaining relevant information.

I propose to deal with the subject from the time of his first appearance on the Australian scene through to his death at Port Macquarie in 1853. Then I will discuss the Napoleonic Legend which surrounded him and my conclusions in regard thereto.

FIRST AUSTRALIAN REFERENCE

The first Australian reference to Dr. Fattorini is made by George Augustus Robinson in his journal on 8 July 1829 whilst he was conducting the aborigine reservation on Bruny Island³. Robinson says "The aborigine Jack apparently much worse. Apprehensive that he would not survive his complaint, it seeming to bear a similarity to that of which others had died, and being anxious to be confirmed in my opinion, I manned my boat and went on board the ship *Prince Regent*, which was aground, in D'Entrecasteaux Channel, off the establishment to solicit the opinion of a medical gentleman, named Fattorini, belonging to the vessel, who was formerly page to Napoleon le Grand. On our return ashore this gentleman, after viewing the dying man, averred his complaint arose in an affection of the lungs and fully concurred with me as to the improbability of his recovery. He further stated that his complaint might have been checked in its early stage by bleeding, and that his throat was filled with purulent matter which caused a difficulty of respiration. At 7 p.m. Jack breathed his last. 9 July 1829. Monsieur Fattorini paid me another visit accompanied by Mr. Allan, who was formerly Commissary-General at Sydney, and two of his sons."⁴

ON CREW LIST OF PRINCE REGENT

The Tasmanian State Archives inform me that the *Hobart Town Courier* for 4 July 1829 states that the ship *Prince Regent* (Captain Mallard) sailed from Plymouth on 12 February 1829, had arrived in D'Entrecasteaux Channel but had

run aground. She sailed for Sydney on 8 August 1829. The only reference to Dr. Fattorini that could be found was in the crew lists of the *Prince Regent*, where the ship's surgeon is listed as M (or possibly W) Fatterein.⁵ Despite the corruption of the name, this would appear to tie in with the reference in Robinson's Journal.

The Mitchell Library, as such, had very little to add to the printed sources I already had, but the Archives Authority of New South Wales, the Hastings District Historical Society, the Mitchell Library, and the printed sources between them provide a reasonably full record of Dr. Fattorini's career in New South Wales from 1829 to his death in 1853. There are gaps, obscurities and anomalies, but the narrative is in the main clear.

The *Prince Regent* arrived at Sydney on 19 August 1829 from London and Hobart, leaving the latter port on 11 August. It did not carry convicts on this voyage. It was a ship-rigged vessel of 392 tons, built at Rochester (England) in 1811. The owners are given as "Buckle & C (company?)."⁶ The vessel arrived at Sydney with a lading of "Sunderies" and the following passengers:

Mr. David Allan and family (to settle); Mr. and Master Montifiore (to settle); Mr. Barker (to settle); Mrs. Mawatt (to join her husband); Mrs. Busby (to join her husband); James Ross (carpenter); Mrs. Kellett and Child (to join her husband); Ann Worthington (servant to Mr. Allan).

As a crew member, Fattorini does not feature in the above list, whilst the crew list only names the Master (Captain Mallard) and states the crew comprised 24 men.⁷

APPLIED FOR LAND GRANT

Thus there is no formal record of Fattorini's arrival at Sydney. The first reference found to him in Sydney was an application for a grant of land sent from 109 Pitt Street on 17 March 1830.⁸ He stated he had arrived in the Colony from London by the *Prince Regent* in August 1829 and had capital of £2,060 immediately available. He signs "C. L. D. Fattorini, M.D."⁹ A Schedule of Capital belonging to Dr. Fattorini, now available within the Colony for Agricultural purposes, 22 March 1830, was taken by the Land Board to support his claim for a land grant. In this, he discloses he is a native of Italy, but was brought up in France. He was partly educated in Hanover and partly in Scotland.

TOOK DEGREE AT GOTTINGEN

He took the degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Gottingen, Hanover, and a Diploma as Surgeon in

Edinburgh. He also says he came with a niece to see New South Wales. He does not name the niece. In the Schedule of Capital he refers to agents in Edinburgh (Mr. Anderson, Solicitor of Supreme Courts, India Street, Edinburgh), Paris (Messieurs Mallee Freres, Bankers) and Havre de Grace (M. Pierre Feray). In Sydney, he was dealing with Mr. Mowatt, late of the Customs and Messrs. Dawes and Gore, merchants. He states he is not a naturalised subject of any part of the British Dominions, but has resided in different parts of them for five years. He also stated he would not personally reside on any grant made, but would employ a free overseer to put in charge of it.¹⁰

LAND GRANT REFUSED

On 17 June 1830, the Land Board reported to the Governor (Darling) on the application. Fattorini had stated that he had no intention of remaining in the colony when he arrived in August 1829, but that he had since made up his mind to settle as a Physician in Sydney, and had written to his family to join him. The application was unsuccessful—"I believe Dr. Fattorini is not eligible to receive a grant, being a foreigner. R.D. 22nd." is the Governor's endorsement on the Board's report.¹¹

One query that arises out of the application for a grant of land is the identity of the niece with whom Fattorini came to see New South Wales. The passenger list of the *Prince Regent* does not indicate a likely candidate for this relationship. However, there is a Mrs. Mawatt who came to join her husband and a Mr. Mowatt, late of the Customs accepted Fattorini's Bill on Mr. Anderson of Edinburgh for £1,000 and gave Fattorini a letter of credit for a like sum on Dawes and Gore, of Sydney. I consider Mrs. Mawatt's antecedents might be worth checking as I suspect she is really Mrs. Mowatt. If she was Fattorini's niece, this would probably be a contributing factor towards Mr. Mowatt's being so obliging over the £1,000 letter of credit.

Whilst awaiting the arrival of his family the doctor seems to have kept himself occupied. Official correspondence indicates he was practising his profession. On 30 July 1830 we find the Colonial Secretary writing to him relative to a bond for care of a sick convict.¹²

LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY McLEAY

Then on 4 July 1831 Fattorini addressed a letter (again from 109 Pitt Street) to the Colonial Secretary (Alexander McLeay)¹³, informing him that at the present time he was without any servant except a boy and a groom who is con-

stantly getting drunk. He had applied for three servants to Mr. Hely¹⁴ and "I will feel much obliged by your assisting me in this matter."

There appears to be a certain note of unhappy resignation in Mr. Hely's minute of 12 August 1831 on this letter—"How can I assist him now. From the Indian Transgressors perhaps." Then in a more formal style "Dr. Fattorini's applications are on the file to be acted on in their turn. If an exception is to be made, the Land Board will require a special order to appertain"; then "Inform Dr. F. that his application is referred to the Land Board." On 15 August 1831 he was so informed.¹⁵

ARRIVAL OF FAMILY

On 19 February 1833 Madame Fattorini and Miss Fattorini arrived at Sydney as cabin passengers in the *Prince Regent*.¹⁶ They were quarantined on arrival (apparently for some reason the *Prince Regent* was not granted pratique; there may have been an outbreak of infectious disease during the voyage). After four years of separation the doctor was anxious to see his family. As a concession, the Colonial Secretary allowed him to see his family whilst still in quarantine, on shore, provided they kept a distance of ten yards between them.¹⁷ In passing, I should mention that the Christian names of Madame and Miss Fattorini did not appear on the passenger list of the *Prince Regent*.

During 1833 Fattorini continued to communicate with the Colonial Secretary in relation to the acquisition of land. On 17 June 1833, he wrote in regard to sections of land at Brisbane Water¹⁸ whilst on 31 July 1833 he was seeking a grant of purchased land.¹⁹ However, no grants to him appear to have been recorded. His being a "foreigner" apparently still militated against his being a landowner.

FOUND SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

On the other hand he appears to have found social acceptance for at the 1834 meeting of The Benevolent Society²⁰ it was resolved "the following gentlemen should be nominated for one year ensuing: R. Jones, Esq.,²¹ Treasurer; Rev. R. Hill,²² Secretary; Doctors Bland²³ and Fattorini, visiting surgeon . . ." ²⁴

On 16 September 1834 the newspaper, *Australian*, published his name as a subscriber to the Edward Lombe²⁵ Fund.

Then on 6 February 1835 he announced in the press that he had removed to 75 Pitt Street, opposite Harts Buildings²⁶ As far as I can ascertain, he had up to then been at 109 Pitt Street for upwards of the preceding five years.

APPLIED FOR LICENCE TO CUT CEDAR

In this year, the latent entrepreneur in him began to show. He evidently felt the practice of medicine was not remunerative enough, for on 21 April 1835 he applied to the Colonial Secretary for a Licence to cut cedar on the banks of the McLeay River, giving what were evidently the usual undertakings to make no waste and to maintain order amongst the persons employed by him.²⁷ This he followed up with a further letter on 8 May 1835,²⁸ which is by way of a complaint that on making application to the Collector of Internal Revenue, according to the Government Notice of 24 April last, to have a licence granted to him to cut cedar on vacant crown lands, he was verbally answered that having received no instructions to that effect, the Collector could not do it. Fattorini refers to his personal discussion with the Colonial Secretary when he had explained how he was distressed by reason of being deprived of the licence sought. He says: "I am not only put to the greatest inconvenience, but also to a very severe pecuniary loss, having great many men already there and prevented to land, by the interference of Mr. Rudder,²⁹ to whom a licence has been granted long time ago." It will be noted that when labouring under excitement or stress his English deteriorates a little.

The letter is minuted "inform that instructions are now given to Mr. Macpherson to whom he is to apply specifying the land on which he wishes to cut cedar"; followed by "Mr. Fattorini has since called and been personally informed." However, there does not appear to be any record of his having proceeded further with this project.

PURCHASE OF SCHOONER

Next, the *Australian* on 6 October 1835 records that *The Harlequin* schooner has been purchased by Dr. Fattorini, for £900; she is to be employed in the trade between this and New Zealand.³⁰

I have no information to offer on the success or otherwise of this venture.

On 4 December 1835, Fattorini was again inquiring about land, this time in regard to the sale of town lots by the Crown at Clarence.³¹ Again nothing appears to have eventuated.

Then in the year 1836, he appears to have made the big decision to leave Sydney. It began with a letter to the Colonial Secretary of 26 December 1835,³² wherein he offered to undertake public buildings at Port Macquarie. The letter cannot be found; it is believed to have been sent to the Colonial Architect and not survived. There is a record of a further letter of 8 October 1836³³ to the Colonial Secretary

tendering to undertake brickwork, etc., and applying for loan of men, etc. This letter appears to have suffered a similar fate to the earlier letter.

MOVED TO PORT MACQUARIE

The first of these two letters was addressed from Sydney, the second from Port Macquarie, so Fattorini must have moved to Port Macquarie in the first ten months of 1836. The Archives Office of New South Wales, unfortunately, does not hold lists of departing passengers at this time.

Records held by the Hastings District Historical Society, consisting of diaries and historical accounts by old residents of Port Macquarie (some in the form of manuscripts and the others being historical pamphlets and cuttings from newspapers) tend to give the impression that Fattorini was one of the Government Medical Officers attached to the penal establishment.

For instance, Mrs. Henry Harding Parker (née Louisa Isabel McIntyre, daughter of Dr. James McIntyre and his wife, Louisa, daughter of the Rev. John Cross³⁴) says her father was Acting Government Medical Officer all through the convict era. The staff of medical men included Drs. Carlyle, Stacy, Moncrieff, Mollison, Taylor, Fattorini (sic) and Gamack.³⁵

Then Ernest A. Mowle's *"Old Port Macquarie. Notes from Documentary Records"*, lists surgeons in the convict era as McIntyre, Fattorini, Taylor, Bell, Carlyle, Moncrieff, Mackellar (2), Garrack (sic? Gamack), Stacey, Mollison, Parsons, Haylock, Richardson, Adams and Armstrong.³⁶

The Rev. A. J. Eipper's *"History of the Port Macquarie Charge of the Presbyterian Church"* states of Fattorini that he arrived in Port Macquarie prior to 1839 "having been appointed Government Medical Officer here."³⁷

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The Returns of the Colony 1830-1854 have been searched to establish Fattorini's government service. At no time does his name appear attached to any medical establishment. There are references, however, to his relieving medical officers when necessary and attending convict patients.

Examples of these are:

- (i) Re charges made as a private practitioner at Port Macquarie for attending Convict Hospital from 28 October-28 November 1836 at 15/- per day.³⁸
- (ii) Re claim for medical duties at Colonial Hospital 24 May-30 July 1839 at 10/- per day.³⁹

- (iii) Served at Hospital again after death of Dr. Mollison on 10 April 1842. Fattorini "anxious to get rid of his charge."⁴⁰
- (iv) Allowance of 10/- a day (less Income duty) from 6 to 17 January 1845 for attendance at the Hospital during the absence of Dr. Gamack attending the Supreme Court.⁴¹
- (v) Abstract of fees claimed by Dr. Fattorini for attendance at inquests, 1847.⁴²
- (vi) Re account for medical attendance on three prisoners of the Crown, 1847.⁴³

In the light of the foregoing it is possible that to the uninitiated he did seem to be a Government Medical Officer, though in fact he was not.

AREA OF OPPORTUNITY

As he did not go to Port Macquarie to fill a government appointment one may speculate as to the reason he went there at all. I consider I have already tendered some evidence that he was accepted by the colonial "establishment" of his day and that he apparently was in a position to communicate direct with the Colonial Secretary McLeay if he felt the situation warranted it. McLeay's son-in-law, Major Innes,⁴⁴ was building up a vast empire and fortune at Port Macquarie and in New England, and it well may be that Fattorini was advised that the North Coast of New South Wales and its hinterland represented an area of unbounded opportunity that a medical practice in Sydney could never give. In the mid-1830's, although the apostles of anti-transportation were at work, no one could see that transportation would cease in 1840. In the meantime, there were fat government contracts to be obtained, and a man could make money without being a landed proprietor.

THE CONVICT POPULATION

As I remarked some years ago, a Scot could only be transported for a great crime; an Englishman could be transported for any sort of crime, whilst an Irishman could be transported for, morally speaking, no crime at all. Hence, for our first 50 years, our population consisted in the main of English and Irish felons, with impecunious Scots "on the make" guarding and feeding them. So on the strength of the "auld alliance", why should not a Frenchman of sorts have joined with the Scots in making a good thing out of it also? That during the boom he was a constant visitor at Lake Innes Cottage (the Port Macquarie seat of Major Innes) is

evidenced by Annabella Boswell's⁴⁵ Journal where against the date Friday, 5 March 1847, she says "— Dr. Fattorini — dined here. Strange to say, I had never seen Dr. Fattorini before, though at one time he was a constant guest here, but I seemed to recognise him at once and danced the first quadrille with him."⁴⁶

In any event, Fattorini soon established himself as a builder at Port Macquarie. By the first half of 1837, he had a lime kiln and brick making works.⁴⁷

ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY LIFE

Fattorini continued to take an active part in community life. In late 1838 or early 1839, he signed a memorial of the free inhabitants of Port Macquarie asking for the establishment of a Debt Court of civil jurisdiction,⁴⁸ whilst in March 1840 an item of "Country News" relates: "Port Macquarie. —The establishment of a Literary Association in this district is an event which we really have unfeigned gratification in recording, and the thanks of the community are especially due to Mr. Nairn Gray, P.M., and Dr. Fattorini, to whose exertions and unexclusive liberality the club owes its existence and excellent organisation; the Club has engaged a suite of apartments in the Putney Hotel which will be soon ready for the reception of the members."⁴⁹ Palmy days, indeed!

FIRST OF A SERIES OF BLOWS

Then the first of what was to be a series of blows struck Fattorini on 5 April 1840. His wife, Clemence Beauflis, died aged 40 years. She was buried by the Rev. John Cross, in the cemetery I have earlier referred to, on 6 April 1840.⁵⁰ Unfortunately the Burial Certificate of the time, unlike the present day Death Certificate, gives no particulars of her origins other than that she was a "Free" person, nor does it give the cause of death.

Despite this setback, the Doctor continued to press on with his activities. During 1840 he tried an experiment in the manufacture of stearin (a substance derived from beef fat and used in soap and candle-making). He had a large number of cases made of cedar boards. He then purchased 20 head of fat bullocks, which were very cheap at the time, had them slaughtered and the carcasses placed in the cedar boxes which were then submerged in the Wilson River at Rollands Plains. By this means the doctor hoped to alter the fat into stearin. However, severe floods put an end to the experiment and the beautiful cedar cases with their odorous contents were to be found from Rollands Plains to Port Macquarie

when the waters subsided. The doctor did not try any more experiments of this type.⁵¹

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

On 28 January 1841 he attended a meeting called by the Rev. William Purves⁵² of "Subscribers to a Fund for erecting a Presbyterian Church and Minister's Dwelling and for the purpose of appointing Trustees and of transacting other business with the said Church." Under the Church Act of 29 July 1836 if private subscriptions raised at least £300 the Governor-in-Council could make a grant not exceeding the private subscriptions, with an upper limit of £1,000, in aid of the church building undertaking. The Government would also provide a stipend of up to £200 for the incumbent provided one-fourth of the sittings were kept free for the use of poor persons. The energetic Mr. Purves was keen to take advantage of this and after the meeting of 28 January had approved all the necessary steps to be taken, the fund opened on 29 January. Major Innes (though he apparently adhered to the Episcopal Church) contributed £50 and Dr. Fattorini £20; by the end of the day £108/2/- had been collected.⁵³

STEAM NAVIGATION PROJECT

Almost contemporaneously with the bid to establish a Presbyterian Church, Fattorini was involved in another public meeting; this time "of the 'Port Macquarie Steam Navigation Company', which has at length been established, by the unwearied exertions of Dr. Fattorini and Mr. A. Cohen.⁵⁴ The proposed capital is £10,000 in 1,000 shares, of £10 each, it being understood the capital will be extended to £12,000 if required. The primary object of the Company is the purchase of a steamer of about 50 horse power, of a sufficiently light draught of water for the capabilities of this harbour; provided with excellent accommodations for passengers, and with the means of carrying about 60 tons of goods. Mr. A. Cohen will for the present act as manager and secretary."⁵⁵

The year 1841 at its opening seemed propitious for activities such as those recorded.

However, the trustees of the Presbyterian Church were having their troubles in getting their buildings erected, but Fattorini came to the rescue with a proposal that greatly modified the cost. The full account of what took place is too long to insert here, but I have included it as Appendix A to this paper as it is of interest and illustrates one of the ventures that occupied Fattorini in 1841-42.

Then on 1 July 1841 Mrs. Georgina Kinnear, a female

entrepreneur, who was perhaps ahead of her time in realising the value of "hard sell" advertising, opened the Hotel Royal, Port Macquarie "under the auspices of the most influential persons of the district" and under her own direction.⁵⁶

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

By the end of 1841, the inhabitants of Port Macquarie were talking about the economic depression the cessation of transportation had brought in its wake. Public works had come to a halt, and contracts to supply the penal establishments with food and other necessities were being terminated. With Government money no longer flowing into their pockets, the entrepreneurs of Port Macquarie, from Major Innes down, began to feel the pinch.

A good indication that money was getting scarce appears from the efforts the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church had to make to get in their promised subscriptions. On 14 December 1841, they wrote to subscribers for the moneys due; on 8 April 1842 a Mr. R. Meyers was sent round as a personal messenger with an authorisation in writing to collect outstanding subscriptions, and finally on 14 May 1842, Dr. C. L. D. Fattorini was authorised to collect outstanding subscriptions amounting to £58/14/- as per list handed to him.⁵⁷

Despite the unfavourable economic climate Fattorini remarried on 7 June 1842. His bride was Lavinia Eliza Tozer, third daughter of Horatio Tozer.⁵⁸ She was aged 23 years and the marriage was celebrated in the Church of Scotland, Port Macquarie.⁵⁹

FINANCIAL DISASTER

Then came disaster! After barely fourteen months of operating the Hotel Royal, Mrs. Kinnear filed her schedule in the Insolvency Court on 22 September 1842 and among the creditors who proved in her insolvency was Dr. Charles Baptiste Lamomerie dit Fattorini for the sum of £1,021/12/6.⁶⁰

The loss of this sum, in the cheerless economic climate of late 1842, was more than the doctor's finances could stand. In the *Australian* we find under the heading:

"New Insolvents

Schedules Registered on 9th November

—Charles Lamomerie Dictus Fattorini
of Port Macquarie, Builder;"⁶¹

Then—

"Insolvent Court—Friday, Nov. 25

Claims Proved.

In the estate of Charles Lamomerie Dictus Fattorini,

a first meeting; J. Wade Ninety-three Pounds and seven pence; G. W. Evans, Seven Hundred and Forty-seven Pounds Four Shillings and Two Pence; G. Fulise Fifty-nine Pounds Two Shillings and Six pence; Abercrombie and Co., Three Hundred and Forty Pounds Three Shillings and Three Pence; Kemp and Fairfax, Six Pounds Four Shillings and Six Pence; A. B. Sparke, Two Hundred and Sixty-Two Pounds and Two Pence; J. Ryan, Six Hundred and Seventy-three Pounds Twelve Shillings and Six Pence; T. and M. Woolley, One Thousand and Fifty-seven Pounds Sixteen Shillings and One Penny”⁶²

SOME OF THE CREDITORS

Some of these creditors were prominent in the mercantile life of Sydney, and further particulars of them may be found in the first two volumes of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: George William Evans, the former surveyor, at the relevant time a bookseller and stationer in Sydney, while his wife conducted a finishing school for young ladies (Annabella Innes was one of her pupils);⁶³ Kemp and Fairfax, at the relevant time, the publishers of the *Sydney Herald*;⁶⁴ Alexander Brodie Spark, merchant and shipowner⁶⁵ and Thomas and Michael Woolley, ironmongers (no doubt what we would now call “builders’ suppliers”).⁶⁶ Mowle assumes, because Mrs. Kinnear owed Fattorini £1,021/12/6 and Fattorini owed “J. M. (sic) Woolley (merchants supplying country stores) of George Street, Sydney” a similar amount, that evidently Fattorini had been the Good Samaritan of Georgina Kinnear.⁶⁷ There appears no basis for this, as one would expect an insolvent builder to number builders’ suppliers among his principal creditors. The debt to G. W. Evans is, however, interesting; unless a straight out loan, it would take a lot of books and stationery to make up £747/4/2. One cannot help but wonder whether school fees for the elder Miss Fattorini might not have made up a large part of the sum owing.

INSOLVENCY HUMILIATING

It appears that 33 creditors proved their debts in the insolvency for a total amount of £15,975/12/4. The doctor found many aspects of his insolvency humiliating, and on 10 July 1843, he took the unusual step of writing a letter to Mr. Justice Burton, who had adjudicated him insolvent in November 1842, complaining about the conduct of his Trustee in Insolvency, a Mr. Templeton. The letter is too long to read now, but we glean from it such facts as that

Fattorini had a wife and five children, and that his wife was within a few days of confinement for the birth of what would have been the first child of his second marriage.⁶⁸ There does not appear to be any record of the birth of this child, and it may be reasonable to infer that the rumpus caused by Mr. Templeton, accompanied by two Sheriff's Officers, bursting into the house at such a time caused the child to be still-born.

The Insolvency was a protracted one, and it was 13 December 1848 before Fattorini secured his Certificate of Discharge. The papers in Case No. 528 Box 13 number 355 sheets; this would be a large file, even by present day standards.

GLIMPSES OF FATTORINI AND FAMILY

In the meantime, we get glimpses of his family and himself from the papers in the New South Wales Archives and from Annabella Boswell's Journal. We have already seen how he had casual employment from the Government in a medical capacity in the years between 1842 and 1847 at Port Macquarie.

On Tuesday, 13 February 1844, Annabella Boswell says "We were invited to tea by Mrs. Richardson . . . After tea we looked at some prints. Then Miss Faterini (sic) was pressed to sing but drew back with apparent unwillingness until they ceased to ask here. Then she supposed she must sing, and finally began 'She Wore a Wreath of Roses'."⁶⁹

Then on Tuesday, 20 August 1844. "Miss Faterini's dress was high necked and long sleeved, her hair as usual raised on a wall of plaits above her forehead, in imitation of a laurel wreath."⁷⁰ Miss Fattorini's little affectations seem to have been treated by Annabella with gentle irony.

Lavinia bore another child to Fattorini on 3 February 1845, a daughter, who was named Lavinia for her mother. Unfortunately the baby died on 17 February 1845, aged 14 days.⁷¹

REFERENCES IN ANNABELLA'S JOURNAL

I have already recounted Annabella's first meeting with Dr. Fattorini on 5 March 1847.⁴⁶ He seems to have made an impression. On 29 November 1847 she reports: "The weather has been stormy, but we have had two short rides, as Dr. Fattorini, who has been here several times lately, recommends it."⁷² Then on 10 December 1847. "Poor Gordy,⁷³ who we thought quite recovered, has had a relapse. Dr. Fattorini stayed all night, and says he finds the lake air agrees so well with him he will come out to stop every other

night. Poor man, he has suffered so much pain that any relief from it is eagerly seized. I must say he is very agreeable. He brought out his two youngest children one afternoon—Clemence and Eugene. They are very nice looking. The latter is my aunt's god-son."⁷⁴

"Friday 17 December 1847. Dr. Fattorini called, looking wretchedly ill. He told us that a report had reached Port Macquarie (from the Manning) that the Governor's carriage had been upset, and Lady Mary (Fitzroy) thrown out and killed on the spot" . . .⁷⁵

DEPARTURE FROM PORT MACQUARIE

The doctor must have decided that there was no future for him at Port Macquarie for on 23 March 1848 Annabella reports: "On Wednesday, 15th, the *Maitland* passed here, but could not get into the Port until the following Monday owing to the bar—she left again yesterday (22 March 1848), taking with her all Dr. Fattorini's family."⁷⁶

Neither Annabella nor any other source indicates the nature of the complaint from which Fattorini was suffering; it could have been anything from rheumatism to angina pectoris.

Joseph Fowles published in twenty parts between 1848 and 1850 his monumental work "*Sydney in 1848*," a wonderful record of early Sydney.⁷⁷ Plate 76A shows the elevations of the buildings in Elizabeth Street between King and Hunter Streets. A terrace house on the eastern side is marked "Dr. Fattorini", so we have first class accurate evidence of where the doctor went to live on his return to Sydney.

FATE STRIKES FATTORINI AGAIN

As already stated, Fattorini obtained his certificate of discharge from insolvency on 13 December 1848, but fate was ready to strike him again. His wife, Lavinia, died and was buried on 27 December 1848 at the age of 29 years.⁷⁸

Early in 1849 the poor man was in trouble again. The New South Wales Medical Board constituted under the Act of Council 2 Vic. No. 22 and under the Presidency of Dr. Patrick refused him a certificate of registration as a legally qualified medical practitioner, on the ground that he did not have British qualifications. Fattorini sought and was granted on 12 April 1849 a rule nisi for a writ of mandamus to the Medical Board to grant him registration. His principal ground was that he was a Doctor of Medicine, Surgery and the Obstetric Art of the University of Georgia Augusta Göttingen, Hanover, and a legally qualified medical practitioner within the meaning and spirit of the Act.⁷⁹ The affidavits

which supported the application have not survived. It seems the Board had rejected a prior application in 1847 and on Fattorini reapplying in 1849 the Board had again rejected the claim on 2 April 1849.⁸⁰

FAILED TO GAIN REGISTRATION AS DOCTOR

In a communication from J. H. Plunkett⁸¹ the Attorney-General to the Colonial Secretary dated 4 July 1849⁸² we find that the Rule Nisi had been brought before their Honours the Judges of the Supreme Court for hearing. The Chief Justice (Sir Alfred Stephen) and Mr. Justice Manning, with Mr. Justice Dickinson dissenting, had ruled that the Order Nisi be discharged; thus, by the verdict of a majority of the Court Fattorini failed to gain registration as a medical practitioner.

Fattorini battled on, and on 23 July 1849 wrote to the Colonial Secretary forwarding a copy of a petition praying for a savings clause in the Medical Bill before the Legislative Council.⁸³ Unfortunately letter and petition are no longer extant nor can I find out whether they brought the desired result. I suspect they did not, for reasons I will deal with later. However, on 19 June 1851, when he lodged his application for a certificate of naturalization,⁸⁴ and stated that he was a native of the Kingdom of France, of the age of 50 years (or thereabouts), he, also stated he was a Surgeon and Doctor of Medicine in which professions he was engaged at the time of his application. The application was made under the Act to amend the laws relating to aliens within the Colony of New South Wales. 11 Vic. No. 39. Mr. William Dawes supported the application by declaration and Messrs. E. Weston, J.P., and Geo. R. Nichols, M.S.C., gave a joint character reference.

He was naturalized on 21 June 1851 (his name is given as Charles Lamounerie Dictus Fattorini).⁸⁵

One of his reasons for seeking naturalization was the desire to acquire landed property in New South Wales. However, desire appears to have outrun execution, as will be seen in a moment.

BACK IN PORT MACQUARIE

He was back in Port Macquarie by September 1852,⁸⁶ but by December 1852, he was again insolvent and his first meeting of creditors was held on 24 December 1852. This insolvency was not on such a grand scale as his first. The thirty creditors who lodged claims were owed £1,191/15/7. Moneys due to him totalled £512/18/6. He had his Certificate by 9 February 1853.⁸⁷

He continued to live at Port Macquarie. Mrs. Parker says that her father, Dr. James McIntyre, expired on 14 July 1853, aged 57 years. He was attended by Dr. Fattorine (sic) and other medical men who diagnosed his case as heart disease.⁸⁸

The last official correspondence he participated in was an application addressed to the Private Secretary of the Governor-General on 19 September 1853 for the position of Coroner at Port Macquarie, then vacant on account of the death of Dr. McIntyre.⁸⁹ In this, he admitted he did not hold a certificate as a legally qualified medical practitioner which had been refused him "on legal objections only." He had been practising in the Colony for ten years before the Medical Board was established, but as the law stood he could not obtain a certificate from the Board.

LOST HIS LAST BATTLE

Before any action could eventuate on this application, Fattorini had lost his last battle. On 24 October 1853, Jean Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini died at Port Macquarie and was buried in the cemetery there on 26 October 1853, the Rev. Thomas O'Reilly officiating at the funeral. Fattorini is described as a Medical Practitioner aged "about 55 years."⁹⁰

The last thirteen years of his life had seen much sadness and hardship, but I think we must concede he had put up a battle against adversity during that time.

So far, the only reference to any connection between Napoleon Bonaparte and Fattorini has been G. A. Robinson's statement that Fattorini "was formerly page to Napoleon le Grand."

However, when we come to examine what the old residents of Port Macquarie have to say we find that references to this connection abound. So do factual discrepancies.

BLOOD RELATION OF NAPOLEON

The Rev. A. J. Eipper says this in regard to the foundation of the Presbyterian Church in Port Macquarie—"Who did the collecting (of subscriptions) we do not know, but it seems highly probable it may have been Dr. Fattorini, for possibly more credit is due to him than any other man for the Church's existence. A word or two about him, therefore, will not be amiss here. Jean Charles Lamounerie (Dit Fattorini) claimed to be a blood relation of Napoleon Bonaparte, and his claim was always accepted. He was educated in England, but came to Australia some time prior to 1832. His arrival in Port Macquarie was prior to 1839, he having

been appointed Government Medical Officer here. He died on 24 October 1853, aged 66 years."⁹¹

Then Ernest A. Mowle, referring to the tombstone in the cemetery, recites the inscription "Clemence Beaufls Lamonerie (dit Fattorini) Died 5th April 1840 aged 40 years. Jean Baptiste Charles Lammonerie dit Fattorini died 24th October 1853 aged 66 years. (Alleged son of Napoleon.)"⁹²

R. S. H. Usher says of "Charles Lamorrinni (sic) Dictus Fattorini. Born 1800 alleged son of Napoleon. His father died when he was twenty-one years of age. Began practice at 75 Pitt Street, Sydney, in 1835. About 1838 he moved to Port Macquarie, bought and ran a boat called the *Harlequin*. Madam Fattorini died and was buried in 1840 at Port Macquarie. Two years later, he was remarried by the Rev. William Purves to Miss Lavina (sic) Tozer at Port Macquarie Church of England. By his first wife the doctor has a daughter. Mrs. Boswell (niece of Major Innes) mentions in her diary of the daughter Julia Clemence de Beaufls Fattorini and her marriage to Edward Charles Lamb. The marriage took place at the residence of Captain Waugh."⁹³

"IDENTITY WAS A MYSTERY"

In *The Sydney Mail* Christmas Number of Wednesday, December 8, 1926, appeared an article entitled "Ninety Years Ago." The story of a Pioneer Family at Port Macquarie by Mrs. J. H. Young.⁹⁴ She says, inter alia: "There was also another family in town, Dr. and Madam Fattorini—French people about whose identity there was a mystery. Some years later, dying, Dr. Fattorini admitted to the then officiating minister that he had no knowledge of his own parentage. An unknown person had put him to school where atheism was taught, and later into a doctor's profession, and then disappeared. Madam had died years before, and he had married a sister of Horatio Tayer (sic) who took over the store in Horton Street from the Cohens."⁹⁵ This article was later reprinted in *The Manning River Times*, Taree, on Wednesday, 9 January 1929.

REFERENCE IN PORT MACQUARIE HISTORY

One of the first printed Histories of Port Macquarie (undated but estimated to have been printed about 1940) has a photograph of the Fattorini tombstone which had been whitewashed for the occasion with the lettering picked out in black and showing the doctor's age at death as 66 years. It mentions the Napoleonic origins of the deceased, but points out this was probably unlikely, for in 1787 Napoleon was then 17 years of age and reputed to be quiet and bookish.

This history was shown to me by Mr. R. Howell, the Secretary of the Hastings District Historical Society, who has a copy of it in his private collection.

I have already shown that he was never a Government Medical Officer, and on his own statements in the official records, and having regard to the Burial Certificate, his age at death could not have exceeded 55 years. When I saw the tombstone in 1938, the inscription was already badly weathered in so far as the figures were concerned. For some reason figures seem to weather far quicker than letters, particularly 3's, 5's, 6's and 8's. Possibly the cutting of such small curves bruises the stone and causes a quicker deterioration by the elements.

I have copies of "*The History of Port Macquarie*" produced by the Hastings District Historical Society in the shape of the revised editions of 1961 and 1969. In the 1961 edition when referring to Mrs. Kinnear's Hotel Royal, it quotes from her advertisement in the *Australian* (newspaper) of 1 July 1841 that "Port Macquarie as to climate has been pronounced by very eminent medical men, the MONTPELIER of N.S.W. The comfort and luxuries if you visit the Hotel Royal will render it MONTPELIER itself." The editor points out that "Montpellier (correct spelling) is a celebrated French watering place on the Mediterranean. It is the place where Napoleon Bonaparte's father died on 28th Feb. 1785."⁹⁶

This information is omitted from the 1969 edition.

CLAIM OF NAPOLEONIC PARENTAGE EXAMINED

Both editions (1961 p. 43 and 1969 p. 50), in speaking of the Fattorini grave in the section entitled Historic Burying Grounds say he "came to Port Macquarie as a Government medical officer in 1839. This remarkable man claimed to be a blood relation of Napoleon Bonaparte and his claim was always accepted. So much so, that he has, whenever old times are talked about, been handed down as such. However, this claim has not, so far, been proved."

The last sentence, I felt, offered a challenge. I delved into the works of such 20th Century historians of the Napoleonic era as Emil Ludwig, Octave Aubry, Nils Forsell, Annette Joelson, Duff Cooper and Guy Breton in an endeavour to ascertain whether a La Monnerie dit Fattorini received a mention in that inconceivable Napoleonic past when, to quote Conan Doyle, France, like an angel of wrath, rose up, splendid and terrible before a cowering continent. No one

of that name, or anything conceivably like it, is referred to in any capacity.

NAPOLEON'S FAMILY

Although Napoleon, as Guy Breton⁹⁷ with true Gallic sauciness says, did not always have his hand in the opening of his waist-coat, the list of his offspring in and out of wedlock seem fairly definitive. Emil Ludwig, in talking of the failure of Josephine to produce children by Napoleon, refers to his subsequent relationships with other women, which brought him three sons: one from the legitimate union with Marie Louise, and two from mistresses, Marie Walewska and Eléonore Denuelle de la Plaigne.⁹⁸ Octave Aubry mentions a daughter, Emilie, by a Madame Pellapra, in addition to the three sons.⁹⁹ In any event, in the period from April 1796 to May 1798, Napoleon was at the summit of his infatuation for Josephine; in this period, at the height of his successes in the Italian campaign, for love of Josephine he repelled all advances by the lovely Italians, even la Grassini, the celebrated singer.¹⁰⁰

Therefore the likelihood of Fattorini, born about 1798, being a son of Napoleon appears remote.

NO REFERENCE IN FRENCH ARCHIVES

I then communicated with the National Archives of France in Paris and found that no person bearing the name of Lammonerie or Fattorini had served as a page in the Imperial Court.¹⁰¹ Nor could any reference be found of Jean Baptiste Charles Lammonerie dit Fattorini, or any person bearing a like name in the registers of the Central Registry of Notarial Acts, and in the body of privately deposited Archives in the National Archives.¹⁰²

There is, however, in the register of the Police Administrative Section, 1814-1817, a mention of J. Lamonnerie coming from Martinique. Unhappily, the carton related to the register entry does not appear to have survived.¹⁰³

Reference to the Overseas Section of the National Archives of France elicited the information that the relevant archival material relates to the old Ministry of Marine and Colonies and is all held in metropolitan France. There was a family of Lamonnerie at Precheur (Martinique) at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, but no child with the Christian names Jean-Baptiste Charles was born to this family around 1800. The surname La Monnerie is very common in France.¹⁰⁴

The Senior Archivist of the Overseas Section suggested that information as to the birthplace of Fattorini would help,

such as from the dossier on his application for naturalization; but here a conflict arises. In 1830, Fattorini in his application for a land grant, says he was born in Italy and reared in France. In 1851 he says, when applying for naturalization, that he is a native of the kingdom of France aged 50 years or thereabouts. So I feel we get back to square one.

INQUIRIES IN BRITAIN

I considered that his serving as Surgeon in a British merchant ship might lead to some further information. Mr. R. B. Joyce, Reader in the History Department of the University of Queensland, presently overseas on sabbatical leave, kindly undertook enquiries for me in the Public Records Office and British Museum. His exhaustive research into the matter is set out in Appendix B. The amount of work he put into this inquiry deserved a better result than the completely negative one that ensued.

An inquiry to the Georg-August-Universitat Zu Gottingen as to whether Jean-Baptiste Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini or a person bearing a similar name, was enrolled as a student in the medical faculty between the years 1815 and 1828 (I allowed plenty of ambit), and as to whether such a person is recorded as obtaining the degree of Doctor of Medicine at any time during those years drew a completely negative result also.¹⁰⁵

RECORD AT EDINBURGH

The Edinburgh University Library, however, informs me that a Charles Lammonerie appears in the University matriculation records as having matriculated at the University in 1826-7 and in 1827-8. In the first year, he studied clinical surgery, institutes of medicine and midwifery; in the second, chemistry and materia medica. He came from France. The records give no further information about him.¹⁰⁶

A letter from the Keeper of Manuscripts, Edinburgh University Library, explaining the use of the word matriculation in a Scottish University, and dealing with Fattorini's claim to hold an Edinburgh diploma in surgery is set out in Appendix C. The Keeper of Manuscripts was good enough to check also the list of Licentiates of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, which was an independent examining body, but with negative results. He says the diploma in surgery of Edinburgh University claimed by Fattorini was probably the certificate issued by the professor to each student of his class who had attended regularly and performed the work conscientiously.

I feel I may say that I have made a conscientious effort to trace Fattorini's origins and the pre-Australian period of his life; but the only positive fact that has emerged is that he did do two years' medical studies at Edinburgh University, using the name Charles Lamonnerie, and that he came from France.

QUESTIONS UNANSWERED

On the negative side, he was not a page at the Imperial Court of Napoleon I; he was not a graduate of Gottingen University; he cannot be traced in the National Archives of France, nor through the Public Records Office, London, or the British Museum. The folk lore at Port Macquarie is vague, conflicting at times and loaded with factual discrepancies. Who was he? What was he? These are questions to which no answer appears readily forthcoming. We can say he was a fraud, but only because we lack positive evidence that he was what he claimed to be. On the other hand, we have no positive evidence against him, only negative.

In a recent conversation with Mr. G. D. Richardson, Principal Librarian, Library of New South Wales and head of that State's Archives Authority, I wondered at the ready social acceptance of Fattorini by the Colonial gentry of the day. I did say that I supposed, because of lack of ready communication with the other side of the world, a man could get away with deception about himself, as there was small risk of his being found out. Mr. Richardson added this thought: the Colonial gentry of the day were particularly susceptible to such deception, in fact, almost ready to be deceived. There was little that was glamorous in their lives, and a personable foreigner with an accent, who appeared to be a gentleman, must at least, in their eyes, be a count incognito, and if the foreigner in question was a little mysterious about his antecedents, he was quite easily turned into a scion of a royal family, who could not be acknowledged as such, and had been sent abroad with some capital to avoid having his embarrassing presence in his homeland.

"NOT PROVEN"

If Fattorini came into this category and found he was being credited with such antecedents he had no claim to, it was probably easier all round to drift along with the tide and take any benefits resulting from the colonists' own self-deception.

In all the circumstances what verdict can be brought in; the only one that appears to fit is the old Scots verdict of "not proven."



Tozer's Building, Horton Street, Port Macquarie.

At Port Macquarie no one seems to know where he lived. It is thought, however, that he may have occupied part of Tozer's Building in the 1840's. This old building in Horton Street, now owned by the Commonwealth Banking Corporation, has been extensively rebuilt but the basic outlines have been retained.

FATTORINI'S POSTERITY

What of Fattorini's posterity? There was the daughter, the "Miss Fatherini" of Annabella Boswell, who came to Australia, with her mother, in 1833. Despite Usher's statement to the contrary, Annabella never mentions this girl's Christian names, let alone her marriage to Mr. Lamb. Annabella left Port Macquarie in the latter half of 1848, and says she revisited it only once five years afterwards. The Hastings District Historical Society have obtained from one of her descendants the second part of her Journal which is held in roneoed form. I have perused this document, and she never again mentioned the Fattorini family. A Julia Clemence Lamomerie dit Fattorini did marry a Mr. Edward William Lamb at Wauchope on 9 February 1854 with the consent of her father, previous to his death. The Rev. Thomas

O'Reilly officiated. One of the witnesses was Clemence Lamomerie dit Fatorini¹⁰⁷ The bride was, I assume, "Miss Fatherini."

Then there appears to have been Charles Lamonnerie dit Fattorini, born Sydney 15 March 1836. The birth registration reveals that Madame Fattorini's maiden name was "Cardine."

He was in Ipswich, Queensland, in the 1860's, where his brother, Eugene, and he carried on business as Fattorini and Company, Stock and Station Agents. Nehemiah Bartley refers to him as one of the stalwarts of the North Australian Club at Ipswich.¹⁰⁸

Clemence La Monnerie dit Fattorini was born on 15 September 1837 at Port Macquarie. She was a witness at Julia's wedding. At the age of 20 she married Alfred Delves Broughton on 16 March 1858. at St. James Church, Sydney.¹⁰⁹

Eugene La Monnerie dit Fattorini was born on 12 November 1839 at Port Macquarie. He was with Charles in Ipswich at first, but then went to Sydney where he carried on business as a Stockbroker. On 16 April 1873 he married Pauline Henrietta Cooper at Christ Church, Church of England, Sydney.¹¹⁰

The fifth child referred to by the doctor at the time of his first insolvency has not been traced.

One day I may seek to trace this interesting family further.

REFERENCES

In view of the number of archival repositories consulted I have identified apposite references as follows:—

(N.S.W.)—Archives Authority of New South Wales.

(Tas.)—Tasmanian State Archives.

(H.D.H.S.)—Hastings District Historical Society Archives.

(N.A.F.)—National Archives of France.

1. Port Macquarie, a town on the North Coast of New South Wales, situated at the mouth of the Hastings River about 280 miles by road north of Sydney. Site discovered by John Oxley in 1818 who named it in honour of the governor. Macquarie decided it was a suitable site for a penal settlement. The settlement was established 1821 with Captain Francis Allman of the 48th Regiment as the first commandant. Free settlement began in 1830 and by 1847 the last convict establishment, a hospital, was closed down.

2. Hastings District Historical Society, Clarence Street, Port Macquarie.

3. George Augustus Robinson (1788-1866), a bricklayer by trade migrated from his birthplace, London, to Tasmania in January 1824. In 1829 Lieutenant Governor Arthur appointed him to take charge of the aboriginal mission at Bruny Island.

4. Friendly Mission (The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834) Ed. N. J. B. Plomley for T.H.R.A. 1966, pp. 64 and 65.

5. CSO/1/259/1/6156 (Tas.)

6. Lloyd's Register of Shipping, 1829, No. P522 (G.R.L. ref. DS656.506/2—Library of New South Wales).

7. Vessels Arrived 1829 4/5200 (N.S.W.).

8. Colonial Secretary: Letters Received re land 2/7855 (N.S.W.).

9. C.S.I.L. 30/2170 17 March 1830 (N.S.W.).

10. Attached to C.S.I.L. 30/2170 in 2/7855 (N.S.W.).

11. C.S.I.L. 30/4687 in 2/7855 (N.S.W.).

12. 4/3786 p. 471 (N.S.W.)

13. Alexander McLeay (1767-1848) inter alia Colonial Secretary New South Wales 14 June 1825 to 2 January 1837 (See ADB Vol. 2 pp. 177 et seq.).
14. Frederick Augustus Hely (1794-1836) inter alia member of the Assignment Board in 1831 (See ADB Vol. 1 pp 529 and 530).
15. C.S.I.L. 31/6231 in 4/2113 and 4/3787 p. 124 (N.S.W.).
16. Vessels arrived 1833 4/5204 (N.S.W.).
17. 4/3787 p. 490 (N.S.W.).
18. C.S.I.L. 33/4619 in 2/7855 (N.S.W.).
19. C.S.I.L. 33/5041 (letter not found). (N.S.W.).
20. Established 4 June 1818 under the auspices of Governor Macquarie.
21. Richard Jones (1786-1852) merchant and pastoralist. A Magistrate and leading public figure in Sydney in the 1820's and 1830's (see ADB Vol. 2 p. 24).
22. Rev. Richard Hill (1782-1836). Incumbent of St. James Church 1824-1836, Secretary of The Benevolent Society 1820-1836 (See ADB Vol. 1 p. 537).
23. William Bland (1789-1868) medical practitioner and politician. Began a long association with The Benevolent Society in 1821. (See ADB Vol. 1 p. 112).
24. *Australian* (newspaper) 17 June 1834 p. 2e.
25. The ship "*Edward Lombe*" was wrecked on Middle Head on 20.8.1834 when entering Sydney Harbour. Twelve persons were lost and seventeen saved. The fund was opened for the benefit of the survivors.
26. *Australian* (newspaper) 6 February 1835 p. 3 c.
27. C.S.I.L. 35/2980 in 4/2283.1. (N.S.W.).
28. C.S.I.L. 35/3362 in 4/2283.1. (N.S.W.).
29. Enoch W. Rudder first went to the Macleay in March 1835. He is regarded as the founder of Kempsey (Kempsey and the Macleay—Macleay River Historical Society 1962).
30. *Australian* (newspaper) 6 October 1835 p. 2f.
31. C.S.I.L. 35/10167 in 2/7855 (N.S.W.).
32. C.S.I.L. 36/111 (N.S.W.).
33. C.S.I.L. 36/8092 (N.S.W.).
34. John Cross (1781-1858) Rector of St. Thomas's Church of England, Port Macquarie 1828-1858 (See A.D.B. Vol. 1 pp. 261-2).
35. Parker Papers. 236 A614-618 (H.D.H.S.).
36. 239F. A376 (H.D.H.S.).
37. 49A p. 6 (H.D.H.S.).
38. C.S.I.L. 37/906, 37/1698, 37/2157, 37/4735, 37/6183 in 4/2367.3; C.S.O.L. 4/3789 p. 47 (N.S.W.).
39. C.S.I.L. 39/9157 in 4/2453; C.S.O.L. 4/3789 p. 354 (N.S.W.).
40. C.S.I.L. 42/3345 in 4/2586.6; C.S.O.L. 4/3790 p. 40 (N.S.W.).
41. M.L. Governors Despatches 1845. A1236 pp. 1166-7.
42. C.S.I.L. 47/8252—not found (N.S.W.).
43. C.S.I.L. 47/8350, 47/8719, 47/9742, 47/10039 in 4/2758.2; C.S.O.L. 4/3790 pp. 388, 400 (N.S.W.).
44. Archibald Clunes Innes (1800-1857) in his heyday the magnate of Port Macquarie. Married Margaret, daughter of Alexander McLeay, on 15 October 1829. The post-transportation depression of the 1840's ruined him and by 1852 he was bankrupt. (See A.D.B. Vol. 2, pp. 3 and 4.)
45. Annabella Boswell (1826-1916) elder daughter of George Innes (died Lake Innes Cottage 17 August 1839 aged 36 years) younger brother of Major Innes, lived with her widowed mother and sister Margaret at Lake Innes Cottage from 1843 to 1848. Married Patrick Charles Douglas Boswell at Newcastle on 17 June 1856.
46. Annabella Boswell's Journal Ed. Morton Herman, A. & R. 1965 p. 126.
47. C.S.I.L. 37/4298, 37/5329 in 4/2372.2; 39/7438 in 4/2467.4. (N.S.W.).
48. *Australian* (newspaper) 12 January 1839, p. 3.
49. *Australian* (newspaper) 28 March 1840 p. 29.
50. Registrar General N.S.W. Certificate No. 1196 Vol. 24A; Mutch Index; *Australian* (newspaper) 17 April 1840 p. 2, 28 April 1840 p. 2 and 30 April 1840 p. 2.
51. Dick Papers. No. 48 Port Macquarie News 10.12.1921 (H.D.H.S.).
52. William Purves, M.A. (born 1811) the first Presbyterian Minister at Port Macquarie who arrived there about December 1840. 49A p. 3 et seq. (H.D.H.S.).
53. 49A pp. 3 and 4 (H.D.H.S.).
54. A(braham?) Cohen. Early hotel keeper (Speed the Plough Inn, corner William and Horton Streets) and store keeper (Horton Street in what was later called Tozer's Building). *The History of Port Macquarie* pp. 19 and 52 (H.D.H.S. 1969). Some of the early graves in the cemetery are those of members of the Cohen family (J.C.H.G.).
55. *Australian* (newspaper) 13 February 1841 p. 2 g.
56. *Australian* (newspaper) 1 July 1841.
57. 49A p. 5. (H.D.H.S.).
58. Horatio Tozer came to Port Macquarie in the 1830's. He had a general store and chemist's shop and later acquired what has since been called "Tozer's Building" from the Cohen family. A son Horace became a prominent Queensland politician.
59. Mutch Index. *Australian* (newspaper) 18 June 1842 p. 3.
60. 239F. A376. p. 11 (H.D.H.S.).

61. *Australian* (newspaper) 11 November 1842 p. 3a.
62. *Australian* (newspaper) 28 November 1842 p. 2d. Also Insolvency Papers Box 13 Case No. 528 (N.S.W.).
63. A.D.B. Vol. 1 pp. 359-360. Annabella Boswell's Journal p. 3 et seq.
64. A.D.B. Vol. 2 pp. 40-42.
65. A.D.B. Vol. 2 pp. 463-465.
66. A.D.B. Vol. 2 p. 623.
67. 239F. A376. p. 11 (H.D.H.S.).
68. Insolvency Papers Box 13 Case No. 528 (N.S.W.).
69. Annabella Boswell's Journal p. 87.
70. Op. cit. p. 96.
71. Mutch Index.
72. Annabella Boswell's Journal, p. 150.
73. Gordina Clunes Innes (1834-1859) a daughter of Major and Mrs. A. C. Innes and cousin of Annabella. She married the Rev. T. O'Reilly who succeeded the Rev. Cross as Rector of St. Thomas's Church, Port Macquarie.
74. Annabella Boswell's Journal, pp. 150-151. The Aunt is Margaret Innes (nee McLeay) wife of Major A. C. Innes.
75. Op. cit. p. 151.
76. Op. cit. p. 161.
77. "Sydney in 1848" by Joseph Fowles. Facsimile Reproduction Ed. Morton Herman. Ure Smith 1962.
78. Mutch Index—Independent Burials, Sydney.
79. C.S.I.L. 49/3542, 49/6344 in 4/2832. (N.S.W.).
80. C.S.I.L. 49/3542, in 4/2832 (N.S.W.).
81. John Hubert Plunkett (1802-1869) Lawyer and Politician. See A.D.B. Vol. 2 pp. 337-340.
82. C.S.I.L. 49/6344 in 4/2832 (N.S.W.).
83. C.S.I.L. 49/7026 (N.S.W.).
84. C.S.I.L. 51/6071 in 4/2937. (N.S.W.).
85. Certificates of Naturalization 4/1200 p. 325 (N.S.W.).
86. C.S.I.L. 52/8766 in 4/3122 (N.S.W.).
87. Insolvency Papers Box 51 Case No. 3140 (N.S.W.).
88. Parker Papers. 236. A614 pp. 57, 91 and 116 (H.D.H.S.)
89. C.S.I.L. 53/8765, 53/10180 in 4/3215 (N.S.W.).
90. Registrar General N.S.W. Certificate No. 1107 Vol. 39B; Mutch Index to Births, Deaths and Marriages.
91. *History of the Port Macquarie Charge of the Presbyterian Church* by Rev. A. J. Eipper. *Port Macquarie News*. No date p. 5. 49A (H.D.H.S.).
92. 239F. A 376 p. 44 (H.D.H.S.).
93. *Early History of Port Macquarie*.—By R. S. H. Usher (taken from Mr. Mowle's Records and Mitchell Library) and Mrs. Blair's Diary. 23.5.47 p. 2. 239F. A376 (H.D.H.S.).
94. 323 (H.D.H.S.) Mrs. J. H. Young (nee Ellen Kemp) 1834-1928, daughter of Major Kemp, who was commandant at Port Macquarie for a time from 1838. She married James Henry Young (1834-1908) in 1859. He kept a store in what is now the Hastings District Historical Society Museum in Clarence Street, Port Macquarie from 1868 to 1881. He then became M.L.A. for Hastings and Manning and was prominent in New South Wales politics until 1899. (History of Port Macquarie (H.D.H.S.) 1969 and tablet in St. Thomas's Church).
95. 323 (H.D.H.S.).
96. *The History of Port Macquarie* (H.D.H.S.) 1961 pp. 44-45.
97. Napoleon and His Ladies. Guy Breton (Trans. Frederick Holt) Robert Hale. 1965. p. 14.
98. *Napoleon* by Emil Ludwig (Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul) George Allen & Unwin 1935. pp. 200-201, 260 and 664. Guy Breton, op. cit., pp. 155-156, p. 218.
99. *St. Helena* by Octave Aubry (Trans. Arthur Livingston). Victor Gollancz 1937. pp. 38-40, 257 and 514.
100. Guy Breton. op. cit. p. 41.
101. *Almanachs Imperiaux*. (N.A.F.).
102. Series AB XIX and AP. (N.A.F.).
103. Series F7 and carton F7 9067. (N.A.F.).
104. Letter OM/A642 of 14/8/70 from Section Outre-Mer. (N.A.F.).
105. Letter of 3/8/70 from Universitäts-Archiv Gottingen.
106. Shelf mark Da, Edinburgh University Library.
107. Registrar General of New South Wales No. 369 Vol. 41B.
108. *Onals and Agates* by Nehemiah Bartley (Gordon & Gotch, Brisbane, 1892) p. 229. Registrar-General N.S.W. 1836/364/20.
109. Mutch Index. Registrar General N.S.W. 1837/144/44.
110. Mutch Index. Registrar General N.S.W. 1839/177/24.

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APPENDIX A

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE AT PORT MACQUARIE, 1841-1843.

In the meantime, the Trustees had been endeavouring to get the Church and Manse built. Plans had been prepared by Alexander Thomson and tenders had been called for. All the land that had been granted to the Trustees was not yet available for the building known as "The Factory" was still standing across the north-east corner of what is now the Church yard. The Trustees were satisfied that sufficient ground was available for the purpose and decided to go ahead. Next year a letter from Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General, dated 15th July, comes to hand and says "Sufficient land must be reserved round the Factory for all purposes of the Government and that if after this is done there does not remain sufficient for the Church and school another site must be chosen." So he gives the Trustees an opportunity to choose another site should they so desire. Their reply is to the effect that, as the Church and Manse are nearly finished it would be inexpedient to make another selection and that they are content to put up with the decreased area for the present provided that when these buildings are removed, as by the present plan of the town they eventually must be, they may enter into possession of the full complement.

The first tender is dated 1st May, 1841, and is from Messrs. Ross and Brown, who will undertake to build the Church and Minister's dwelling as per plans and specifications for One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds. On 20th May, a second tender, signed by William Hill, builder, of Kempsey, wants One Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-one Pounds for the same work. Dr. Fattorini tenders on 21st May, "to build the church, according to the plans and specifications received from Mr. A. Thomson, with the exception of the galleries, for One Thousand Two Hundred and Seventy-seven Pounds Six Shillings and Ten Pence, and the Minister's residence for Eight Hundred and Sixty-two Pounds Three Shillings and Ten Pence". This makes Two Thousand One Hundred and Thirty-nine Pounds Ten Shillings and Eight Pence for the two buildings. None of these tenders are approved by the Trustees, so they decide to carry out the building themselves. They try to buy

some bricks and lime, in the possession of the Royal Engineers' Department. Their application to purchase was refused and they were uncertain what to do when on 30th July, they received this letter:

Gentlemen.

I have the honour to enclose you, according to our verbal agreement, my undertaking for the brickwork and some carpenter's work for the proposed Scotch Church. This undertaking is in duplicate. Please return to me one of the copies accepted by you.

I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

C. L. D. FATTORINI.

This agreement deserves to be given in full.

"PORT MACQUARIE,

30th June, 1841.

Gentlemen,

I agree to build the proposed Presbyterian Church, the brickwork at the rate of Twelve Pounds per rod, according to the plans and specifications, now in my possession, signed by Mr. A. Thomson. To supply the timber for the bottom joists at the rate of Twelve Shillings and Sixpence for every hundred running feet. To lay those joists at the rate of 4/- per square. To make and fix the door frames required at the rate of 25/- each. To complete the whole of the above work within five months from the day the ground will be marked out by Mr. A. Thomson. The work to be measured and approved by Mr. A. Thomson and in case of any dispute or difference to be left to arbitration. Payment to be made every Saturday, if required by me, at the rate of 75 per cent. upon the work done, and the balance to be payed when the walls are completed. To forfeit such balance as may be due to me, and deliver the building to the Trustees in its unfinished state should the same not be completed within the time above specified. The expense of digging the foundations is included in the Twelve Pounds per rod for the brickwork. The wall plates, 9 x 2 inches, to be superficial measurement.

Signed. C. L. D. FATTORINI."

To this, on 2nd August, the Trustees replied:—

"We, the undersigned Trustees, hereby agree to the foregoing proposal, signed by Dr. Fattorini".

J. R. Middleton. Alexander Thomson. Peter Sime.

On 4th August, this note was handed to Dr. Fattorini:—

"I have this day marked out the site for the Presbyterian Church, so as to enable you to commence operations at that building.

Yours very truly, Alex Thomson."

In the meantime, Thomas Melvey had been employed making bricks, and Dr. Fattorini was able to start right away. The first payment was made to him on the 21st August. It was not till February, 1843, that the last accounts were paid and the Church was fully finished and furnished. The total cost of the Church and Manse, including fencing was One Thousand Two Hundred and Four Pounds One Shilling and Four Pence ha'penny, of which Six Hundred and Two Pounds and Seven Pence was paid by the government.

Some items of expenditure: for supply of 1213 feet of cedar, Mr. J. R. Middleton received Eight Pounds Seven Shillings; for making pulpit hangings, D. McInnes received Two Pounds Two

Shillings. Mr. Alex Thomson, for superintending, freight, etc., received Twenty Pounds Six Shillings.

Services were held from the beginning in a temporary Church, where situated we do not know, but we have information that in March, 1841, Mr. Andrew Ross was employed to make a pulpit for use therein, at the cost of Seven Pounds, the pulpit proper costing Two Pounds Six Shillings and the stairs Four Pounds Fourteen Shillings. While the Manse was being completed, Mr. and Mrs. Purves lived in a house rented from Mr. Horatio Tozer, for which Twenty-five Pounds was paid.

APPENDIX B

Result of Mr. Roger Joyce's researches in the Public Records Office and British Museum.

FATTORINI

I am searching for some trace of your man. In fact, it has been a fascinating chase, albeit unrewarding. I'm now waiting for lists of graduates of Edinburgh University, to see if he told some of the truth some of the time.

As you may be able to devote a few minutes of your paper to the story of my futile searches, I'll detail them.

I first searched Original Despatches from Governor of New South Wales to the Secretary of State (i.e. C.L. 201 Series) for 1828 and 1829.

I searched C.O. 201 Vols. 195, 196, 197, 199, 204, 205, 206 and 208. (1828) 195 and 196 are Offices (e.g. Home Department; Navy Office) to Colonial Office. No mention of Fattorini, though clear that the Home Dept. assigns convicts (lists of those sent out are included in despatches); Navy Office (Transport Commissioners) engage ships to take out convicts; appoints conveyance for private settlers on these ships (e.g. J. Broughton came out on a convict ship); and the charter parties of convict ships were sent to the Colonial Office.

197 is individuals writing to Colonial Office. No letter from Fattorini (arranged alphabetically so I searched the "D" and "F" in every case).

199 is a volume under Settlers. Letters, again arranged alphabetically, from intending emigrants to Australia. Nothing from Fattorini (included one Henry Fawcett, 9 January 1828, who had a diploma in surgery and asked if he could have a free passage as a surgeon on a ship. The Colonial Office minuted to send usual printed circular reply, a free passage was not possible). You can gather the rest. (1829) 204 and 205 are Offices, 1829.

Negative evidence "*Prince Regent*" was not a convict transport on this voyage, i.e., no charter party from Navy Office. I did find mention of individuals going by "private merchant ships", but no details of these in these volumes. The Broughton letters are in 205.

The Victualling Office (The Commissioners of Victualling) discussed surgeons in convict ships, a dispatch said they had not received the surgeon's journals and Papers from such a ship (of which more anon.)

206 individuals 1829. No Fattorini, though lots more on Broughton and many, many others. 208 Settlers 1829. Fascinat-

ing letters from those planning or contemplating coming to Australia, BUT NO FATTORINI.

Next move from West Room (Portugal Street, not Chancery Lane) to Public Records Office proper: Chancery Lane to try Admiralty Records.

The result, in a sentence, NOTHING on FATTORINI. I am almost prepared to swear on oath that he was never in the Navy.

ADM. 101.—Register of Medical Journals—including Surgeons' Reports on convoys of convict ships. Vol. 61/Bundle 4 is on Prince Regent, but, alas, is a voyage with John Drummond as surgeon.

(CHECK BATESON "CONVICT SHIPS")

Oddly dates are July 1829—January 1830 (? Another *Prince Regent.*) ts previous trip as a transport was May-October 1827 with William Rae as surgeon; next in the 1840's.

ADM. 35. Index to Ships' Pay Books, Series III, 1777-1832. Accountant-General's Department. *Prince Regent*: listed (4451 and 4452 cover 1828-30) but NOT the right *Prince Regent*. This is a warship 120 guns/360 men, as is shown by ADM 8/109 LIST BOOKS, showing the disposition of ships, etc. This shows this *Prince Regent* at Chatham throughout 1829 (the lists are monthly and ideal if you want to pinpoint any of the British fleet or their officers—but NO FATTORINI). There is a third (? or fourth) *Prince Regent*, a yacht of 18 men which was at Deptford in 1829.

An even more definitive approach is ADM 24 4025, 77 and 78. Registers of Full Pay Surgeons 1818-30. Obviously no DIT FATTORINI. Likewise ADM 104 Registers, Medical Department, of Surgeons' Services VOL. 15 covers surgeons 1815-1831; and VOL. 22 covers assistant surgeons 1827-39. These are informative; give date of appointment, by whom, to what ship, from whence, etc., etc. . . . but NO FATTORINI.

More negative evidence ADM 6 VOL. 186. Papers relating to candidates for employment as surgeons in convict ships 1830-33. No application by FATTORINI—first letter is, incidentally, 6 March 1829. Is late for your man, but the alphabetical list at back (including earlier applicants) is a check. FATTORINI does not appear.

And so it goes on—you can see I was determined! ADM 11 9250 (62) is Commission Book 1826-36, gives alphabetical list of names, rank, seniority and of all naval officers. Perfect to trace any officer, but, NO FATTORINI.

I tried other vain leads. VICTUALLING DEPT., In-letters from Admiralty, ADM 109 VOL. 39 (7/1828 to 12/1828) and Vol. 40 (1/1829 to 6/1829), and ADM 109 VOL. 86. In-letters to Victualling Dept., from Plymouth (1822-1829). Despite lots of fascinating naval stories, no mention of an errant Frenchman.

Typical is 109/39, letter 8 December 1828, *H.M.S. Southampton* to be fitted out for foreign service and the Admiralty commanded the Victualling Board "to cause her to be victualled". On reverse the Board have minuted their instructions including "Let Mr. Wilson be appointed surgeon and Mr. Geo. Laurier and Mr. Jas. Booth Assistant Surgeons".

ADM 109/40 has discussion of number of assistant surgeons. A letter of 24 March 1829 decided to increase their number by 25.

DEDUCTIONS: 1. FATTORINI WAS NEVER in the Navy.

2. *Prince Regent* (the first—not the naval giant or the yacht) was on this voyage probably travelling as a Private Merchant Ship. If so, it seems records did not reach the Government. Even if

I could find charter party or outgoing passenger list, it would only prove what you already know—viz., that he sailed at this time. Could the Mitchell find out what the *Prince Regent* carried, who owned her, from Sydney records—might be able to trace back then to papers of this owner.

3. As earliest British census was 1841 I cannot help this way (I've traced S. W. GRIFFITH'S father in 1841 census and S.W.G. in 1851). But a search at Somerset House *MIGHT* locate marriage if English—a date would help! It's a thin chance but could give birthplace and details of contracting parties.

4. Medical. So far before writing this letter, I've searched—

(a) University of Edinburgh—List of Graduates in Medicine 1705-1866 (B.M. AA D in Edinburgh 1867) with the *USUAL* result. But this is Medicine not Surgery. Nothing of Fattorini, or Dit or De Fattorini, etc.

(b) *Medical Directory for Scotland*, 1860 (London, 1860). This is not much help as Fattorini died in 1853. But it was one of earliest available. Ditto *Medical Directory for Scotland 1858-59* (bound together) (London 1858 and 1859). They include list of Registered Non-Residents, gives addresses and degrees. They have lists of obituaries for the year previous which include deaths in Australia.

The Preface to the 1860 *Medical Directory for Scotland* says it is a protection against “quacks and empirics” and “It was the Directory which revealed the enormous extent of unqualified practice, thereby proving the necessity of legal enactment for its restriction”. Perhaps Fattorini was a “quack”!!

(c) *British Medical Directory 1853* (London 1853) (and ditto 1854). Their lists are those “. . . throughout Great Britain, holding qualifications recognised by law and legitimately practising Medicine and Surgery.” FATTORINI appears nowhere, *NOT* in obituaries for 1853. But not surprising, as he was in Australia, and those doctors are not listed by this Director, only those who were “in Great Britain” This began in 1853.

I suggest you write directly to Research Librarian, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Ask—

(a) for a search of their records 1817-29 for Fattorini graduating (and possibly any record of his university career).

(b) to see if he appears in any Medical Directory for Scotland (the 1860 issue says that it is the 9th Annual Volume) in the List of the Registered Non-Residents.

I think the records are still in Edinburgh; I know that Glasgow and Aberdeen have their own university records, from previous search for Dr. William McGregor.

Author's Note:

I had already checked Bateson's “*Convict Ships*” with negative results.

The Archives Authority of New South Wales furnished particulars of what the *Prince Regent* carried and who owned her. This already appears in the paper, and I informed Mr. Joyce as soon as I had the information. However, he advised me on 26 September 1970 that the P.R.O., the British Museum and himself after a joint conference were at loss to suggest any new leads. It seems that on a normal trading voyage such as that made by the *Prince Regent* in 1829, with Fattorini as surgeon, would not require any correspondence with Government Departments. As for Messrs. Buckle & Co., the owners of the ship, Providence alone knows where their records would be or who (if any) were their successors.

APPENDIX C

Matriculation at a Scottish University and requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine in the 1820's.

Matriculation at a Scottish University then and now is simply the formality of enrolment as a student. It involves signing the matriculation album in which the signer is subscribing to the sponso or promise to be of good behaviour and loyal to the University. It also means payment of the matriculation fee which in Lammonerie's time was one of the University Library's main sources of income and which made the student a member of the Library. The printed matriculation card which the student received in return indicated that he was *Civis Bibliothecae Edinburgenae*. Nowadays it indicates that he is a member of the University. No examination is involved in the process of matriculation, but of course by the time the student gets to that stage his entrance qualifications will have been vetted by various bodies including the university itself.

The only medical degree awarded at Edinburgh University at that time was the M.D. and for this a thesis had to be submitted which was printed. Normally the course lasted four years but where a student had already taken some of the subjects at another university the course could be shortened. The subjects required for the M.D. were anatomy, chemistry, *materia medica*, natural history, practical anatomy, institutes of medicine, surgery, botany, clinical surgery, practice of physic, midwifery, clinical medicine, military surgery, pathology and medical jurisprudence, but these need not all have been taken at Edinburgh. The Diploma in surgery mentioned by Lammonerie was probably the certificate issued by the professor to each student of his class who had attended regularly and performed the work conscientiously.

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