The Royal apothecaries / by Leslie G. Matthews.

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THE ROYAL APOTHECARIES

Frontispiece. The Screen in the Hall of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London.
The bust is that of Gideon de Laune, one of the founders of the Society of Apothecaries, whose Charter was granted by James I in 1617. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Master of the Society.)

THE ROYAL APOTHECARIES

by

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Contents

Abbreviations

CChR	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CClR	Calendar of Close Rolls
CLibR	Calendar of Liberate Rolls
Cal. Inquis. Misc.	Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CSP Dom.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.
Cal. Treas. Bks.	Calendar of Treasury Books
Cal. Treas. Prs.	Calendar of Treasury Papers
Cal. P. & M. Rolls	Calendar of Plea & Memoranda Rolls of the City of London
Letter Bk. A, B, etc.	Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London
LP Hen. VIII	Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII
Ct. Min. Bk.	Court Minute Books of the Society of Apothecaries
Admissions Bk.	Register of Freedoms of the Society of Apothecaries. The Minute Books and Register are deposited in the Guildhall Library of the City of London
PRO	Public Record Office, London
PCC Wills	Probate Court of Canterbury Wills, Somerset House, London
Fac. Grocers' Company	Facsimile of MS. Archives of the Company of Grocers of the City of London, Guildhall Library, London
Rot. Parl.	*Rotuli Parliamentorum.* London: 1767–77.

Preface

I have long been interested in the men who served as royal apothecaries and I was led to add to my studies by the encouragement given me by Dr. F. N. L. Poynter (Director of The Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library and Honorary Secretary of the Faculty of the History of Medicine and Pharmacy of the Society of Apothecaries) and which I am happy to acknowledge. As Editor of *Medical History* he published my paper on the "Royal Apothecaries of the Tudor Period" in 1964, on which I have drawn largely for the Tudor chapter in this work. A summary of my paper to the International Congress of the History of Pharmacy (London, 1965) on "Some Royal Apothecaries of James I and Charles I" has been published in *Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie*, (volume 28, 1966).

There are shortcomings in the following account of as many royal apothecaries as I have been able to trace from 1200 onwards, in particular my list of the appointments made in Scotland is incomplete. I have missed some names and probably information about others whom I have mentioned; for these lapses I must apologize. For the period from 1837 to 1966, and to keep the work within a reasonable length, I have listed the appointments with the dates of their holders where these are available and I have added notes on some of them. For convenience lengthy quotations are given in present-day wording. For detailed information relating to pharmaceutical practice during the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II, the reader is invited to consult the study of the period published by Professor G. E. Trease who also includes a glossary of the drugs named.

I should like to add my indebtedness for friendly advice to Dr. Charles H. Talbot, Research Scholar of the Wellcome

Historical Medical Museum. Others who have helped me by references or sources are: Mr. D. V. G. Buchanan, M.V.O., of the Lord Chamberlain's Office; Professor David L. Cowen; Mr. R. C. Mackworth-Young, M.V.O., Royal Librarian, who placed at my disposal his valuable Index of Royal Servants from 1660; Dr. R. S. Roberts; Mr. E. K. Timings of the Public Record Office; and Dr. T. D. Whittet.

As will be seen, much of the information about the royal apothecaries comes from the Public Record Office whether published or in manuscript and I should place on record that the copyright in this material is that of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Manuscript material from the British Museum is the copyright of the Trustees of the Museum.

L.G.M.

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Introduction

Once the practice of pharmacy was recognized as demanding skills distinct from those needed in medicine and surgery, the rulers of England were not slow to insist on the services of the most trustworthy and responsible apothecaries for making up their medicines. First known as spicers, later as spicer-apothecaries, sometimes as grocers, their duties varied through the ages, from the preparation of medicaments and spiced wines for the royal houses and their guests —drunk in no mean quantities in the thirteenth century when English control of the Bordeaux area was in the ascendant—to the embalming of their royal masters or to the provision of a rendezvous for royalist adherents.

Reliable the apothecaries must be, for as St. Vincent Ferrier reminded Jean V de Bretagne, early in the fifteenth century, in a sermon: "C'est une grande charge que d'être médicin ou apothicaire d'un pape ou d'un roi. On a leur vie entre ses mains."

These royal apothecaries, known to have been appointed, as spicers, in England since the time of King John (1199–1216), are but shadowy figures for some years after. The names of many are barely known, their dates are inexact and the Patent Rolls may fail to record their appointment though it is these Rolls that give the earliest leads. Since the apothecaries were not "persons of quality" in the sense that they were never granted great estates or titles, the information about them is often scanty. We know that from the fifteenth century onwards some attained positions of importance in public life—mayor, sheriff of the City of London, Member of Parliament—and many became Masters of their London Companies, the Grocers or the Apothecaries.

The position of royal apothecary was greatly prized and there was much "lobbying" to secure the coveted

appointment. Many grew wealthy in the service, had the ear of the monarch and gained similar posts for their sons or favours for their relatives and friends. As for royal gifts, the apothecary had his share if it was only a manor, a house, a few acres of land or the opportunity of acquiring property on advantageous terms. Even the forfeited goods of outlaws were not despised: they had a monetary value. Besides the gain from supplying drugs, medicines and perfumes to the King, the Queen and the Court, many royal apothecaries in the late medieval and post-medieval periods kept their apothecary shops, usually in the City of London or in Westminster, or they had an interest in other businesses such as the spice trade. The respect shown them by their fellows of the Society of Apothecaries from Stuart times onwards was such that a seat was made available on the Court of Assistants of that body and the King's Apothecary sat on the right hand of the Master. In addition to the profit of the office of apothecary, in Tudor times particularly, there were perquisites that went with his additional post of Serjeant of the Confectionary, entitling the holder to bouche of court, diet and livery.

It says much for the character of some of these royal servants that they developed a strong sense of loyalty to the reigning monarch; indeed many suffered greatly for their adherence to the royal cause in adverse times. Many were not just apothecaries: they were men of strong views, supporting the Crown when in danger, hiding royalist messengers during the Commonwealth, taking medicines through opposing army lines or even lending money to an impoverished Sovereign. If there were compensations, many of these apothecaries richly deserved them. So far as I can ascertain none was dismissed for incompetence or inattention to duties. On the contrary there are numerous instances of their being singled out for special reward for meritorious service.

The appointment of royal or court apothecaries was not confined to Britain—it was general throughout Europe. A brief reference to France, Germany and Austria may be of

interest. In France, from medieval times down to Louis XV the principal duty of the court apothecaries was attendance upon the King and his family. Louis XIV had no fewer than four apothecaries, two aides and two apothecary-distillers. For more than a century, from 1597, members of one family served as apothecaries or distillers. Like Charles II of England, Louis XIV had little ready cash and he was obliged to give "brevets" to his apothecaries for the large sums due to them, sometimes as much as 2000 livres at one time for accumulated salaries, etc. Private apothecaries, specially designated, were allowed to make up medicines for Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette whilst they were imprisoned.[1]

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries it was customary in the German State capitals for the Princes of the various States to have a court apothecary to provide medicines for the Princes themselves and their entourages. The duties of the court apothecary (Hof-Apotheker) included accompanying the Prince on his journeys (Reise-Apotheker) and in the field in time of war, taking with him his drugs and medicines and when necessary setting up a field pharmacy. Both Frederick the Great and Augustus the Strong of Saxony insisted on this. These court apothecaries were provided with living quarters, their diet and a salary. Often they had to provide a laboratory for their work. In Saxony (1579) and in Berlin (1585) the scope of the court pharmacies was enlarged until with medical assistance, they developed into miniature hospitals for the wives of State workers, their children and strangers. In 1585 a widow, Helena Ruckher, was appointed court apothecary in Würtemburg and she was succeeded by another woman apothecary, Anna Blos. In many instances the court apothecaries acquired their own private pharmacies to which special privileges were attached.[2]

The arrangements for the preparation of medicines for the royal family in Austria differed from those in England. In the last year of his reign the Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564) issued the first Charter to the Hof-Apotheke (Court Pharmacy) in Vienna. Rudolf II renewed this in 1602 and

appointed Michael de la Pole as court apothecary. His successors up to 1654 had the title "Apothecary to the Person and to the Court". During the next hundred years or so first one pharmacy and then another was chosen as the court pharmacy. Specified stocks must be carried and a laboratory must be provided. For some years after the end of the eighteenth century the court pharmacy was privately owned by the Emperor of Austria and a subsidiary pharmacy was established at Theresianum. In 1836 the court pharmacy was declared to be part of the "Hofstaates" and a Director was appointed. In 1945 the Old Hof-Apotheke in Vienna and the subsidiary court pharmacies at Schönbrunn and Mariahilf were declared to belong to the Austrian Republic.[3]

Though the designation "Surgeon-Apothecary" continues in use in Great Britain, the distinguished physicians or surgeons holding appointments by Royal Warrant to the Monarch, the Royal Family or to the Royal Household have long ceased to concern themselves with the preparation of medicaments or the supply of sweet waters, though many have been or are connected with the Society of Apothecaries of London. For more than a century royal prescriptions have been dispensed and medicaments have been supplied by pharmacists.

1. Bouvet, Maurice, *Rev. d'Hist. Pharm.*, 1930, No. 31, pp. 31–8; No. 38, pp. 76–83. Earlier papers appeared in the *Bull. d'Hist. Pharm.*, 1928, Nos. 58–74; also 111–12 and the *Revue*, 1958, No. 158.
2. Adlung, A. and Urdang, G., *Grundriss der Geschichte der Deutschen Pharmazie*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 45–7, 419, 496–7.
3. See *Die Hof-Apotheke zu Wien*, Vienna, 1945, by Professor Dr. Otto Zekert, Director of the Hof-Apotheke from 1939 to 1945.

CHAPTER I

William the Conqueror to Henry III

During the Anglo-Saxon period the "leech", the name by which the medical practitioner and preparer of herbs was known, made use chiefly of indigenous plants. From the mid-seventh century onwards copies of classical treatises were added to the libraries of Anglo-Saxon monastic houses as a result of the interest of churchmen who travelled in Europe. Though the wise men and women of the lay public might be versed in the curative properties of native herbs it was the churchmen who cultivated medical practice based upon the accepted codes of the classic authors. To judge by the formularies of the tenth century onwards, pharmaceutical operations were well diversified—mortars were used for bruising and powdering, plasters were spread, bandages cut, decoctions prepared and clysters made. The administration of medicines had often to be accompanied by the right charm.

Though human life was less well regarded—war and natural causes taking a steady toll and the death penalty a frequent one for theft and minor felonies—the health of the sovereign and his speedy recovery from disease or wounds was of first importance if the affairs of his realm were to be maintained in good order. There were always other claimants to the throne only too ready to intervene and to supersede an ineffective or ailing leader. Rule by force was the prerogative of the strong; hence the need for the ruler to have about him men capable of restoring his health if he were ill or of treating his wounds if his injuries were severe. The physicians and surgeons chosen by the ruler for these duties in the first centuries from the Norman conquest could hardly be other than churchmen: many had studied medicine, they

could gain knowledge from the Latin authors, they could translate into practical use the formularies circulating in manuscript and if they did not actually prepare the medicines and applications themselves, could give directions for their preparation and oversee the work. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries at least there was no clear distinction between the prescriber and the preparer of medicines.

As yet the spicer, who became the later apothecary, had not developed his singular function of gathering, storing and preparing drugs and medicines; later he began to import those needed to supplement indigenous materials. Our early rulers, from William the Conqueror onwards, had to rely upon their "medicus" or physician for treatment. They naturally chose men who were well reputed for their knowledge and for their proved success in their profession.

We shall not expect therefore to observe in these early centuries any demarcation of the duties of the royal or court physician and the compounder of medical preparations. Once this became clear, the prescriber of medicines, the physician, was content to make out his "bill" or prescription, leaving it to the apothecary to provide the ingredients needed to make up the remedies. Not always was this the case with the surgeon—he often kept himself supplied with the raw drugs, the few chemicals, and the necessary utensils for preparing embrocations, ointments, plasters and medicines which his patients expected him to provide. His all-round practice almost forced him to become a general practitioner. Many examples might be cited, e.g. in 1320 John of Cornhill, surgeon of London, "applied divers medicaments" against an infirmity of the feet of a patient; Richard of Dalton, a barber-surgeon of York, in 1393, left in his will various utensils, comprising basins, pots, pitchers and a mortar and pestle; and Matthew Rellesford, another London surgeon, used corrosive sublimate and other drugs in attempting to cure a tailor in 1443.[1]

Among the physicians and surgeons known to have been employed by William the Conqueror were: Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury; Gilbert Maminot, Bishop

of Lisieux, personal physician to both Queen Matilda and to William and who attended him after the accident that proved fatal in 1086; John of Villula, Bishop of Bath; and Nigel, "medicus", well rewarded for his long service.[1a]

No personal physicians to William II, Henry I or Stephen can be specifically cited though Grimaldi, of Italian origin, was in Henry I's retinue for many years. Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon, attended the birth of the first child of Matilda, Henry I's Queen, in 1101. Hugh, physician of Rouen, was one of the company of Queen Matilda, wife of Stephen. Of Henry II's physicians, Ralph de Beaumont, "physicus regis", was drowned when part of the royal fleet encountered a heavy storm in the Channel in March 1171, and when Henry journeyed to Jerusalem he was accompanied by Richard, Bishop of Winchester and Haymo of Dover as his personal physicians. Ralph Besace of London looked after Richard I both in London and whilst he was on the Third Crusade, in which John of St. Albans also attended to the King.[2] The *Pipe Rolls* relate that Joseph, "medicus", supplied for Henry II's use whilst in Ireland in 1171–72, spices and electuaries for which he was paid £10 7*s*.[3] Though styled "medicus", Joseph may well have been the forerunner of the long line of spicer-apothecaries who became the official providers of spices, drugs and medicines for successive royal houses.

In the reign of John, 1199–1216, we have the beginnings of specialization by spicers. Several are noted in the *Curia Regis Rolls*, *c.* 1200, e.g. Hugo of Lancaster, William of Essex, Walter of Bedford, William of Ipswich, etc., listed as "le Spec., le Specer, Speciarius or Espessus".

The first reference to a king's spicer is to be found in the *Pipe Rolls* of King John, 1207*; William speciarius is twice

*C. J. S. Thompson in *The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary* (London, 1929, pp. 85–6) stated: "The earliest record at present known in which an apothecary is specially mentioned in England, is a Pipe Roll of Henry II in 1180, where an apothecary is stated to have accompanied the King on a journey to Ireland." I have been unable to find this in the *Pipe Rolls* for 1179–1181. There is reference however to "Willelmus speciarius" as one of the three presenters of the accounts for Rochester in the *Pipe Roll* of 1183–84. He may be the same William who is mentioned under King John.

named in the Treasury accounts for Hampshire and Portsmouth as owing small sums.[4] He was one of scores of citizens who provided money pledges to Roger, son of Alan, Count of Southampton, in 1207 so that Roger might secure the King's goodwill.[5] Described as "speciarius regis" in 1232, William witnessed a charter confirming lands to the convent of Barking.[6] His connection with the royal house continued for many years, to 1265, well into the reign of Henry III. During that long period his name occurs chiefly as a supplier of wine for the King's use, sometimes paid for—the usual price was 40*s.* a tun—at other times supplied on the understanding that an equivalent quantity would be returned by the King. William cleared stocks of wine both at the ports of Southampton and Portsmouth. In 1249 he was mayor of Winchester.[7] In addition to wine, occasional purchases of ale for the King's use are recorded, e.g. that bought from Ralph le Spicer of London and Amphalissa his wife at a cost of almost £12 in 1256.[8]

If Henry II, though preferring plain clothes and plain food, loved regal splendour and bought huge quantities of wine,[9] his son, Henry III, was no less fond of it. Besides purchases of wine, many tuns from Boston, Southampton and Portsmouth in October 1250, he bought no less than 264 tuns in London. Everywhere he went the royal victuallers had to see there were ample stocks and his spicer-apothecary, Robert de Montpellier (see below), had to be on hand to prepare it. Many of the purchases of wine were from spicers.[10]

Another spicer who must have been regularly supplying the King though only two purchases from him are recorded, spices and electuaries in 1236–37, was Josceus (or Joseph) of London. That he was in the King's service is indicated by the gift from the King of a house in Bread Street, convenient for supplies when the King lived in the Tower of London, and another gift of £10, with robes for himself and his wife. He was to have a robe of green, tunic and supertunic, to be trimmed with squirrel fur and his wife also a green robe, i.e. a tunic and cloak, richly trimmed.[11] Josceus's wife,

Christina, had trouble with the imprisonment of a minor in 1242.[12]

As Trease has demonstrated, the general designation of "spicer" in the thirteenth century was an all-embracing term for one who bought and sold, and often directly imported, all kinds of "spicery" which included spices, sugar and much else that would now be called "grocery".[13] Some of these spicers continued their specialized interest in drugs and a number of them in London who had been brought together, with Pepperers, and Grocers, had training in the making up of medicines or had otherwise acquired practical knowledge and were becoming known as apothecaries ("apothecarii"). Mandeville refers to "merchants and apothecaries" as being distinct trades. The Grocers and Pepperers, all in London centred in a small area within half a mile of Cheapside, with the Apothecaries mainly in and around Bucklersbury, were to come together as a Fraternity or Gild of St. Anthony about the year 1345. Many of the spicer-apothecaries were Lombards, while some preferred to distinguish themselves as "of Lucca". They became well known in London for their imported apothecary wares and for their knowledge of current pharmaceutical practice. The Grocers' Company of London, which received its first charter in 1428 from Henry VI, included many foreign brethren. When disputes arose between them and merchants who were denizens, the jury summoned to try the action before the mayor was partly composed of their countrymen ; if it was a dispute between non-denizens the jury was wholly of foreigners.

In the provinces the description "spicer" for the man who dealt in drugs and who dispensed medicines seems to have continued in use much longer than in London. The term "grocer" also applied to the dealer in drugs and spices. There are occasional references to provincial apothecaries in the fourteenth century, a few even earlier, but in Canterbury for example, it is not until 1427 that the first apothecary is listed as a freeman—"grocers", many of whom were spicers or apothecaries, do not figure as such until after 1453. Grocers appear in Leicester, Norwich and York in the

mid-fifteenth century. Apothecaries begin to be regularly recorded, if sparingly, amongst York freemen in 1423, in Norwich in 1455, and in Leicester not until 1526.[14]

We should therefore expect to find royal apothecaries in the period from Henry III to Richard II, i.e. up to the end of the fourteenth century, more likely to be recorded as spicers than as apothecaries. The spicer-apothecary who was in charge of the King's Spicery usually ranked as one of the King's serjeants and on occasion, no doubt because he was more literate than some of the royal household staff, he might be appointed one of the King's clerks. Spicers were appointed to responsible posts in Henry III's reign, e.g. in 1267 Radulphus, with John Gisors and Stephen Buckerell, was one of the twelve discreet citizens to assay money at Westminster; Gaudfridus Espicer of Norwich was one of the keepers of the mint there.[14a]

Of Bartholomew the spicer of London we have many records. Although he very often sent supplies to Henry III it is doubtful if he was regarded as the King's spicer. He lived in Bread Street in the City of London, in the house which the King had given to his father, Josceus, and which was said to be worth 2 marks a year.[15] He stocked a wide variety of goods under the general description "spiceria". Usually the purchases for the King were made by the chamberlain or other servant. In 1249 Bartholomew was paid the large sum of £93 17*s.* for silken cloth, almonds, rabbits, raisins and other wares; in 1258 there was another purchase amounting to £8 7*s.* 7*d.* for almonds, figs, raisins and cummin; and on at least three occasions between 1256 and 1266 he supplied wine at prices ranging from 20*s.* to £5 a tun.[16] He did not always get paid promptly: one purchase for the Queen was so long delayed that finally the amount, £21 13*s.* 2*d.* was ordered to be paid "without delay".[17] Bartholomew, besides dealing in spicery, was a trader and an importer on a large scale. His ship having been impounded at Ipswich in 1250–51, he secured a mandate from the King in January 1251 addressed to the bailiff of Gippeswic (Ipswich) that the ship, laden with corn, should

be cleared as he, Bartholomew, wished and that nothing be put in his way.[18] Having made his name amongst the city merchants, in 1266 he was chosen, with Robert de Montpellier (see below) and other well-established citizens, to be charged with the protection of the Jews, then coming under the special care of the King, for two years.[19] Bartholomew continued as a supplier to the royal household for some twenty years, the latest purchase from him being recorded in 1273.[20]

Not much can be related of Henry III's spicer, RICHARD DERKYN (or Derekyn), of whom there is mention in the *Close Rolls* of 1238 as the King's own spicer (speciarius suus), the King then ordering that no distraint was to be made upon Derkyn for a debt and that it be held over until the King came to London.[21] It can be deduced that Derkyn was of some standing and acquainted with Sir John Gatesden, from their both having witnessed a quit-claim to property in St. Pancras by Cicely, widow of Thomas Bukere, in favour of Adam de Basing, a notable citizen of London, in 1244.[22] If Richard Derkyn prospered, his son John, also an apothecary, did better. He bought valuable properties in many London suburbs and a shop in Westcheap in the City. In his grant of 26 January 1259 mention is made of the houses belonging to Robert de Montepessulano (or Montpellier—the name has various spellings) in the parish of St. Peter of Wood Street.[23] Of this Robert we can write with some certainty.

Just where Robert de Montpellier had lived and practised as a spicer-apothecary immediately before joining Henry III in Gascony in 1243 is not known. Whether he was in the employ or in the entourage of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, when the Count was received by Henry, is not clear. Henry had married Eleanor of Provence, daughter of Count Raymond-Berenger IV of Provence in 1236. Evidently Robert was highly recommended otherwise Henry would not have engaged him as his "speciarius" (spicer or apothecary) and given him or his wife 10 marks for his expenses in coming to the King.[24] The City of

Montpellier was not only one of the entrepôts for the spice trade but its spicers were at that period just on the point of beginning to practise as apothecaries.[25]

On coming to England Robert quickly made his home —his capital messuage, as described in his will[26]—in the City of London, in Milk Street, close to the Spiceria, the centre of the Cheapside spice market. By April 1246 he had become a citizen.[27] He acquired a seld—how large it is difficult to determine: Riley talks of selds as extensive warehouses, sometimes with shops and rooms for storage; Kirkpatrick describes them as roofed upper chambers built over stalls, probably on stone foundations.[28] Besides this he rented shops worth 60*s.* a year which he had to pay to Robert the chaplain who kept the house of the converts for the Jews, the money being used for their benefit. There is a reference to the "stalls" of Robert in 1265.[29] The citizens of London came to recognize that Robert, King's apothecary and man of affairs, was well suited to serve the city as one of its two sheriffs (with Osbert de Suthfolck (Suffolk)), though he was never an alderman. His year of office ran from Michaelmas 1262–63.[30] It was a difficult period—the city was wholly in support of Simon de Montfort. Stow says that in 1263 the citizens fortified the city, iron chains were drawn athwart their streets: two years later the chains were plucked up, the mayor and the principal citizens committed to ward and Otho the Constable of the Tower made custos of the City.[31] Certainly Henry III was incensed at the attitude of the citizens: this is shown by the penalties he imposed upon them, not least on his own chosen apothecary, Robert de Montpellier. As a mark of his disfavour he granted on 16 October 1265 to Peter de Chauvent (formerly one of the two keepers of the King's arms) the houses "late of Robert de Montpelers sometime citizen of London the king's enemy"—even his citizenship was countermanded. It is possible that Robert had to give up his use of the stalls in Westcheap which he had formerly rented for 5 marks yearly from Thomas de Exeporte, cited as another of the King's enemies, who was obliged to cede

the 5 marks rental to Peter de Chauvent.[32] Fortunately for Robert, his lapse was regarded only as temporary: less than three months later, on 5 December of the same year, his properties were reinstated by Peter de Chauvent. He had submitted himself "with all others of the said city" to the will and ordinance of the King "touching all the trespasses and forfeitures which they are alleged to have committed against him" and he was back in favour.[33] As we have seen, within a year, in 1266, he was one of many important citizens charged for two years by the King with the protection of the Jews who had earlier suffered pillage at the hands of the London citizens.[19]

Robert de Montpellier's knowledge of what best suited the King's palate was put to good use on the many occasions when he was in attendance or was specially sent for, e.g. to Canterbury in 1262,[34] to make the spiced wines, frequently a clary or wine spiced with cloves, of which the King was inordinately fond; to this task Robert brought his expertness and his trustworthiness—a mishap when the King was unwell, as he was so often, could have had serious consequences for the nation. The large quantities of wine purchased for the King's use, mentioned above, give an indication of the feasting and tippling that went on in Court circles. Whenever the King was in residence for some time wine in plenty had to be there. At least twice—perhaps when Robert was unable to be present—the King's physician, Ralph de Neketon, had to prepare the wines and claret for the royal table.[35]

Henry III, pleased with Robert's service and finding him a servant worth encouragement, granted him the wardship of an estate at Pinxton in Derbyshire in 1247.[36] In 1252 he was granted freedom from all tallages imposed on the City of London at more than ½ mark.[37] Robert does not seem to have accompanied the King on his visits to Gascony. In 1254 for example, when a party of 250 persons went with him no apothecary or spicer is mentioned though there were physicians in the group.[38] Bonacus Lumbard, one of the King's clerks, was the person employed at Bordeaux to

purchase "divers spices" for the King's use in October 1254 and there is mention of a bond for £10 to merchants for spices taken by Roger the tailor and Lumbard, who seem to have acted as purveyors for the Wardrobe.[39]

One unexplained incident in Robert's life is the pardon that was granted to him in 1256, and to Philip de Gloucestre and Peter de Stanes, all citizens of London, for the death of a Robert de Langele. The pardon was granted at the request of Henry III's daughter, Margaret, then Queen of Scotland.[40] Whether this was a common affray or not, it is out of keeping with what is known of Robert's general behaviour. Robert lived until 1278, assuming that his will which came before the Court of Husting on 6 March 1279 was proved shortly after his decease[26] and we may suppose that his age would have been well over sixty for he must have been nearing thirty when appointed by Henry III in 1243. He left four sons of whom two, Richard and Henry—see below—followed their father as royal apothecaries.

As to Robert's competence both as spicer and as apothecary, documents at the Public Record Office—printed, with a glossary by Trease[41]—give a picture of a man who had large stocks of drugs, kept a variety of spices not only for flavouring the wine so prized by Henry III but for the use of the royal household, and also the range of medicines prescribed over an intermittent period of years between 1251 and 1265. The royal physicians, Master Peter (of Gloucester), Master Ralph de Neketon, Master Raymond (de Bariamundo, the Queen's physician) and Master Thomas (de Essex) all acted on the principle that agreeably-flavoured and compounded medicines were the kind most likely to be taken by their royal patients, so that for the young Princes, Edward and Edmund, there are syrups and barley sugar; for the Queen syrups and electuaries. Fruit, 300 apples at a time, was supplied by John the Fruiterer. There is no doubt that Henry and his Queen, coming from Provence, a great fruit-growing region, liked a fruit diet. In 1262 the King gave instructions for the planting of pear trees in the small herb garden in the close at Westminster against

the lead-workers' shop "between our chamber and the church".[42] It may be assumed that this small herb garden provided only herbs for the King's kitchen.

One other apothecary called on to provide medicaments for Henry III when at Gloucester in May 1265, was Philip of Gloucester. On 3 May (the account is dated the very day on which the armed forces of the shires of Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford were ordered to attend the King), he supplied 7½ lb. of Diapenidion (a confection of sugar penides, made of barley water, sugar and whites of eggs, finally drawn into threads—Salmon, *Ph. Lond.*, *1691* pp. 629a, 636b), and 5 lb. grana (probably aromatic seeds to aid digestion), the whole costing 7*s.* 6*d.* Whilst Prince Edward was in the charge of Henry de Montfort at Hereford and before he eluded him, Reginald de Hereford, on 23 May 1265, for 7*s.* 9*d.* furnished 4 lb. Stomaticon comfortativum (its use is implied in its name) and 15 lb. grane.[43]

The use of spices and of electuaries, thick pastes made with spices, as concomitants to diet, and perhaps as a kind of tonic, varying the diet and stimulating appetite and aiding digestion, is a recurring theme in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Very large quantities of electuaries were bought for King Edward I and the royal household during the year 1300–01. The accounts for that year show that no less than 1092 lbs. had been bought, 165 lbs. of which were for the Lord Edward, later Edward II. In addition there were purchases of various spices such as figs, ginger, galangal, cloves, mace, cubebs, nutmegs, saffron and fennel, besides over 5600 lbs. of sugar and of rice and over 18,000 lbs. of almonds, of which 400 lbs. remained in stock at the end of the year.[44] This widespread use of electuaries is indicated by the making of electuaries for the whole of the royal family in 1246—for the King, Queen and their four children by Robert de Montpellier[45]; in 1252–53 Master Ralph de Neketon ordered an electuary for Queen Eleanor and syrups for the young Prince Edward[46]; in the spring of 1257 Master Eustace, one of Henry III's physicians, furnished spices and electuaries and other things needed for

three of the King's yeomen recovering from sickness at Windsor[47]; and in 1357 John Adam, apothecary of London, was paid for various items, medicine and an "electuario condayl" which he had prepared for David de Bruys (Bruce), King of Scotland, then in prison in the Tower of London. The formulæ of these electuaries varied with the purpose for which they were ordered.[48]

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Talbot, C. H. and Hammond, E. A., *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England*, London, 1965, pp. 137, 213, 277.

1a. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 63–4, 192–3, 231–2.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–8, 70, 125–6, 179, 263.

3. *Pipe Roll*, 18 Hen. II, 1171–72, p. 86.

4. *Ibid.*, 9 John, 1207, p. 147; 10 John, 1208, p. 123.

5. *Rotula de Oblatis*, 1207, p. 458, m. 10. This Roll records many such "offerings", either for general goodwill or to secure a specific benefit, e.g. William Lespic' (spicer) of Stafford offered the King 40 marks and one good hawk, to obtain his wife's sister and her inheritance (1 John, 1200, p. 70, m. 1).

6. *CChR*, *1226–57*, p. 149. This was confirmation of an earlier grant.

7. *CClR*, *1247–51*, p. 170; *1264–68*, p. 278; *CLibR*, *1245–51*, pp. 72, 238, 307; *1251–60*, p. 388; *1260–67*, p. 156. William, with others, had to pay a fine of 1 mark for selling wine contrary to the assize (*CClR*, *1254–56*, p. 91.) William's wife, Christiana, was evidently a woman of property. In 1218 she sought a writ relating to a dispute over 30 acres of land in Fenglesham: earlier she had been mentioned in actions concerning land in Norfolk and in Kent (*Excerpta e Rotulis Finium* (Hen. III), Vol. I, 1216–46, p. 13).

8. *Extracts from the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer, Hen. III–Hen. VI*, Ed. F. Devon, London, 1837, p. 32.

9. Poole, Austin L., *From Doomsday Book to Magna Carta*, Oxford Univ. Press, 2nd edn., 1955, p. 318.

10. *CLibR*, *1245–51*, p. 307.

11. *Ibid.*, *1226–40*, pp. 246, 254. Both purchases were made by Master Ralph de Neketon, the King's physician, the first for £6 10*s.* 2*d.*; no amount is stated for the second.

12. *Liber Albus* I. *Chron. & Mem. of Gt. Britain*, London, 1859, p. 107.

13. Trease, G. E., "The Spicers and Apothecaries of the Royal Household in the Reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. III, 1959, pp. 19–22.

14. Matthews, Leslie G., "The Spicers and Apothecaries of Norwich", *Pharm. J.*, 1967, **198**, 5–9. For *Leicester*, see "Byways of Pharmaceutical History", *Pharm. J.*, 1963, **191**, 629–31. For *Canterbury* see "Spicers and Apothecaries in the City of Canterbury", *Med. Hist.*, 1965, **IX** (3), 289–91. For the York information I have used *The Register of the Freemen York, 1272–1588*, Ed. F. Collins, Vol. I, Surtees Society, 1897 and *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, Ed. R. F. Skaife, Surtees Society, 1872.

14a. *Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, 1072, 1076.

15. *Cal. Inquis. Misc.* (*Chancery*), Vol. I, No. 63, p. 19.

16. *CLibR, 1245–51*, p. 236; *1251–60*, pp. 301, 432; *1260–67*, pp. 220, 250; *1267–72*, pp. 54, 68.

17. *Ibid., 1251–60*, p. 437. Much of the spice bought was for the sauces used in the royal household. In October 1264, William, the King's sauser, bought 20 lb. pepper, half a quarter of cummin, 15 lb. of cinnamon and other spices to make sauce against the coming feast of St. Edward (*CLibR, 1260–67*, p. 143).

18. *CClR, 1247–51*, p. 396.

19. *CPR, 1258–66*, p. 577.

20. *CClR, 1272–79*, p. 54.

21. *Ibid., 1237–42*, p. 98.

22. Williams, E., *Early Holborn*, London, 1927, Vol. II, No. 1746.

23. Besides the shop in Westcheap, John Derkyn bought other properties in Holborn, St. Giles, St. Pancras and elsewhere in 1259 (Williams, *op. cit.*, nos. 1795, 1799). His will was proved in the Court of Husting in 1273 but contested, without success by his son, Richard (*Cal. Wills, Court of Husting, London*, Ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1889, Pt. I, p. 13).

24. *Rôles Gascons*, Ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1885, I, p. 223, No. 1670. Two Montpelliers, apparently no relation to Robert, come into the Patent Rolls—(1) A William de Muntpedlar was one of two brethren (monks) who were granted the King's permission in 1242 for the prior and convent of Coventry to elect a bishop (*CPR, 1232–47*, p. 27); (2) Robert Walerand, the King's steward, was appointed to enquire who killed Master John de Munpellers in 1258 (*CPR, 1247–58*, p. 663). Robert de Montpellier's introduction to Henry III could well have been made by Count Raymond since Henry made appointments from the Count's adherents (Trease, *op. cit.*, p. 25n). None of Henry's physicians, with the possible exception of Master John of St. Giles, had studied at Montpellier (Talbot and Hammond, *op cit.*, p. 27).

25. Dulieu, L., "Une famille d'Epiciers-Apothecaires Montpellierains au XIIIe siècle", *Rev. d'Hist. Pharm.*, 1958, No. 158, pp. 402–5.

26. Robert de Montpellier's will was before the Court of Husting on 6 March 1279. It contained a bequest of quit-claim for maintenance of wax, to wit, "Torkes" in the church of St. Mary le Bow, charged on a shop in

the Spicery. To Richard, his son, he left a capital messuage in Milk-street, saving to Floria his wife her freebench,* also a shop in Westcheap to Richard for his mother's maintenance; to Henry, his son, quitrent of a solar occupied by the Skinners; to Nicolas, his son, quitrent of a shop and solar occupied by the Tailors; and to Reginald, his son, rents charged on the said shop and solar, as also on a shop bequeathed to his son Richard. There were thus four sons mentioned—Richard, Henry, Nicolas and Reginald (*Cal. Wills, Court of Husting., op cit.*, Pt. I, p. 38).

27. *CChR, 1226–57*, p. 292. In this grant Robert is described as "citizen of London".
28. *Memorials of London and London Life, 1276–1419*, Ed. H. T. Riley, London, 1868, p. 22n; Kirkpatrick, John, *Streets and Lanes of Norwich*, Ed. W. Hudson, Norwich, 1889, p. 34n.
29. *CPR, 1258–66*, p. 465.
30. *Chronicles of the Mayor and Sheriffs of London*, Ed. H. T. Riley, London, 1863, p. 54.
31. *Stow's Survey of London*, Ed. J. Strype, London, 1720, Vol. II, p. 105.
32. *CPR, 1258–66*, pp. 464–5.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
34. *CClR, 1261–64*, p. 168. The mandate appears to have been issued from Gournay, now in the Dept. of Seine-Inférieure, France.
35. *CClR, 1242–47*, pp. 133, 464.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 531.
37. *CPR, 1247–58*, p. 162. This exemption was broken "by occasion of the disturbance of the realm" during de Montfort's control of London but was renewed by Henry III in 1267 (*CPR, 1266–72*, p. 86).
38. *CPR, 1247–58*, pp. 231–3.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 347, 349.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 498.
41. Trease, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–52.
42. *CClR, 1261–64*, p. 29. The pear trees were to be of good size, of the Cailhou variety, similar to those to be planted against the wall in the Tower gardens.
43. PRO, E.101/350/1; Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 24959, fos. 20–24. In April 1269 Philip le Especer of Gloucester acted as attorney for Hugo de Tubervill' the King's profecturus, then overseas. He is mentioned also as "merchant of Gloucester" when granted a licence to export 20 bales of wool in July 1273 (*CPR, 1268–72*, p. 111; *1272–81*, p. 38). Evidently he was appointed a coroner for the county of Gloucester some time after this: alas he was ageing and the King, having learned in 1306 that

* The wife's estate for her dower or an estate in copyhold lands, according to memorial custom (Jacob, G., *A New Law Dictionary*, London, 1782, 10th edn.).

he was insufficiently qualified, ordered another coroner should be elected in his place (*CCIR, 1302–07*, p. 405).

44. Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 7966 B, *Liberaciones cera et specerie.*
45. *CLibR, 1245–51*, p. 56. The cost was £20 15*s.* 10*d.*
46. PRO, E.101/349/10.
47. *CLibR, 1251–60*, p. 387.
48. Issue Roll of the Exchequer, *op cit.*, p. 166. The first (official) *London Pharmacopœia*, December 1618, contained formulæ for 58 electuaries, many derived from Nicolaus, Mesuë and Myrepsus. The May 1618 version of the *Pharmacopœia* (suppressed) warned that "Apart from those electuaries chosen, nobody must neglect those others of great virtues and of great complexity ascribed to kings, emperors and even popes." Most of the ingredients for electuaries were stocked as spices and powders to be made up with syrups and honey when needed. As late as 1691 William Salmon could write formulæ for 90 electuaries, many still attributed to the ancient authors; some had no active medicinal ingredients but like Electuarium Regale (Royal Electuary or that for Kings), contained only pine nuts, red roses, sweet almonds, yellow sanders, ambergris, musk and sugar dissolved in water: it was said to strengthen nature and fortify the whole body (Salmon, William, *Pharmacopœia Londinensis or the New London Dispensatory*, London, 1691, 4th edn., pp. 653–81).

CHAPTER 2

Edward I, Edward II, Edward III

Edward I, soon after his accession in 1272, took vigorous action to punish those who during the latter part of his father's reign had in any way opposed the royal cause or oppressed loyalists. Page after page of the *Hundred Rolls* reveal that in all wards of the City of London and in the counties he instituted enquiries where complaints were made of wrongful acts or of impeding justice—the charges made were often flimsy—with a view to the fining or incarceration of proved wrong-doers and the provision of compensation for those who had suffered by supporting the throne.[1] As Robert de Montpellier had been a sheriff of London during part of the time that de Montfort held the city, in the early 1260s, he, though a trusted servant of Henry III for many years, had several charges brought against him, e.g. that he and his associates had deprived a citizen of 124 salmon and one beast.[2] He was thrust into Newgate Prison and was there for a short period, despite strong protests from Edward's mother, Queen Eleanor (who had known him well as a reliable apothecary). He was probably released shortly after the end of February 1276.[3] His son, Richard, fared no better: he too had a term in Newgate but his release was ordered soon after 25 June 1277 provided he could find sureties for any necessary appearance before the King.[4]

Notwithstanding the action against two of the Montpelliers, father and son, Edward seems to have harboured no long-term animosity towards them:[5] his subsequent employment of three of the sons is proof of this. There is little record of Robert, the father, having been asked to act as apothecary to Edward. When Prince Henry, then about

six years old, was seriously ill at Guildford in September 1274, however, it was Robert who had to send sugar, syrup and spices for him and it was no doubt Robert who also made the rose- and violet-flavoured sugars and the barley sugar which tempered the decoctions made locally from herbs gathered by the servants of Henry's personal household. Despite almost overwhelming attention the little boy died at the end of October, having been ill for almost two months.[5]

Richard de Montpellier, the eldest son, seems to have carried on his father's business as a spice merchant and at the same time acted as an apothecary supplying medicaments to the royal house, the charges for which were met by the Wardrobe, the department responsible for purchases made for the royal household. Though he might be employed on important King's business he never neglected his own affairs. Many times from 1282 to 1310 we find him, in common with other merchants in the City of London, acknowledging debts, Richard's being for spices, for his family's requirements, wood and mercery, and on one occasion, for £40 worth of wine. In March 1283 he contracted to pay for a horse, costing 8½ marks (£5 16*s*. 8*d*.).[6] In October 1282 he had been authorized to take victuals to Edward's army then active against the Welsh, receiving letters of protection and a safe conduct for the journey but being admonished not to deliver the supplies to the wrong army, i.e. to the opposing forces. Whilst at Rhuddlan, the King's headquarters, he made up medicines for the King.[7] He was thought to be so useful that in April 1286 he, with his brother Henry, already also acting as an apothecary to the King, was called on to accompany the King's party to Gascony. Upwards of 200 persons, all tried retainers, received the customary letters of protection, some for periods up to two years—in the case of the two Montpelliers for one year.[8]

The most serious task that fell to Richard came in the last years of the King's reign. Edward I, whilst at Winchester during Lent, 1306, became disabled with painful legs for which the treatment prescribed was inunction of the legs and

feet with aloes, balsam and drying agents. These proving ineffective, Edward, instead of riding to London after Easter, had to be conveyed by carriage.[9] It could have happened at no more unfortunate time. He had determined to bend the Scots to his will and he sent his son, the young Prince Edward (afterwards Edward II) forward by rapid marches, he himself having to follow slowly by horse litter. On leaving York to go north he had an onset of dysentery which further reduced his powers and he became gradually worse. By 8 September 1306, by which time the King had reached Henshaw, things were serious indeed. John de Drokenford (or Droxford), Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, and who was in the King's train at Newburgh, a village near Hexham, had to write to Ralph de Stok', a clerk of the Great Wardrobe in London, in the following terms: (freely translated)

> As Richard de Montpellier, the King's Spicer (Especer le Roy), has been designated to come to London for various things needed for the King's malady, as is plainly set forth by the King's physicians, you are asked to ensure that anything he (Richard) requires for the King be forthcoming promptly and you will see that the cost is entered in the Garderobe account which I want to see. The request is made in all urgency because of the state of the King's health.[10]

Richard may have accompanied the King on his journey from London. The magnitude of his task in preparing what had been ordered by Master Nicholas de Tyngewyke (Tingewick), the physician in charge of Edward I's malady, must have exercised him to the utmost. The twenty-seven items in his detailed account cover almost the entire range of preparations in current use—nothing was left to chance by the physician. There were 282 lb. of electuaries at 1*s.* a lb.; 106 lb. of white powder at 2*s.* a lb.; ointments; gums; aromatics for the bath; oils; turpentine; a special electuary containing ambergris, musk, pearls, gems, gold and silver; medicated wines; a plaster for the King's neck; oriental

ambergris to be added to the diet and to spiced wine; etc., etc. The King was still to have drying ointment for his legs and more for anointing his body. The cost of the medicaments is summarized as £129 16*s.* 4*d.* and in addition there were Richard's own expenses in going up to Carlisle, the cost of five horses to convey him and the load of medicines there and the return journey. The total is shown as £159 11*s.* 10*d.* Included in the detailed account were medicines charged at £11 5*s.* for Robert de la Worde who was paralysed (paralictus).[10] Edward's Queen, Margaret, went up hastily with her suite to Lanercost where Edward joined her on 29 September. The King made a partial recovery, staying at Lanercost until March 1307. By 3 July he ventured to depart from Carlisle northwards but a renewed attack of dysentery slowed his journey and having reached Burgh-on-the-Sands on 6 July, despite the devoted attention of Master Nicholas, he died on the following day.[9]

Trease has drawn attention to the high prices Richard charged for the medicaments and suggests this may have been because he knew he would have to wait for payment. There is strong support for this view in the petition he quotes from Richard's wife, executrix of his will, addressed to Edward II and his Council. This is undated but is assigned to the early years of Edward II's reign. Richard's death may have occurred about 1310. His widow asks for part payment of the debt due to her husband in order to fulfil obligations she and her children have to meet.[11] At that time she may still have been living in the house which Richard decided to build when he bought a piece of vacant ground in the parish of St. Clement Danes "without the bar of the New Temple" in July 1302. The plot was 40 ft. × 40 ft. and for this he paid a fine—going-in money—and a rent of 18*d.*[12] It is possible he already lived in St. Clement Danes parish as he and five other parishioners stood as sureties in 1291 for a Walter de Farham and his wife then imprisoned in Westminster.[13] There is further evidence of this in February 1293 when Richard was the subject

of an inquisition before the coroner of Westminster that though he was not personally present he caused the house of Juliana de Hereford, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, to be maliciously burnt by strangers and unknown persons. Presumably Richard lived close to Juliana's house and was the only resident against whom a charge could be framed.[13a]

One of Richard's sons, Robert, was destined for the church. Like many a royal apothecary later, Richard would have used his influence to benefit his son and to secure for him a suitable living. That of Oxnead, near Aylsham, Norfolk, was then in the King's hands and Robert was presented to this living in 1292. Oxnead, thirty years afterwards, became the first home of Judge William Paston and of the Paston family.[13b]

We must not overlook PETER THE SPICER (of Paris, sometimes Perroto or Petro), apothecary to Queen Margaret, sister of King Philip of France, whom Edward I married as his second wife on 4 September 1299. The Wardrobe account of 28 Edward I (1299–1300) records Peter's account for spices, pears and other fruits supplied for the Queen, with his wages and expenses going to and from London to Windsor in February and March 1300 and which was authorized for payment by the Keeper of the King's Wardrobe on 15 April 1300.[14] A further account for April of £4 17*s*. is for electuaries, pomegranates and medicaments. The Queen's great liking for fruit is emphasized by John the Fruiterer's bill in the same month, £1 4*s*. 10½*d*., for apples and pears,[15] and by a subsequent account of Peter's in February–March 1301 which included separate lots of 300, 200, 200 apples, pears, fruit, figs and raisins, besides syrups, herbs and spicery. Much of what was included in this bill was for the senior officers of the household and the ladies in the Queen's party. Peter was in attendance for part of the time the royal party travelled from Lincoln to Hailes. The King and the Court were constantly on the move throughout the year. Peter's bill in French refers to "une acquenee [hackney] de Londres a

Ailes".[16] He comes into the records again in July 1301 when as "spicer of our Lady the Queen" a debt to him is acknowledged by William Bullock, a taverner of London, and again in November 1303, when he was owed 60 marks by the Commonalty of Yarmouth,[17] a box as security having been deposited by John de Sellinge with a third party. It is possible he returned to France and spent his last days at St. Denis.[18]

Henry de Montpellier, brother of Richard and second son of Robert, has already come under notice as one of the retainers going to Gascony in the King's party in 1286. Whilst still a youth a place in the royal household must have been found for him by his father, Robert de Montpellier, in the hope that he would come under the King's eye. In 1303, by which time Henry had attained the rank and style of a King's serjeant, Edward I, seeking means to reward him, wrote to the Abbot and convent of Westminster of Henry's long service "from his earliest years". The Abbot, asked to admit Henry, with one horse and a groom into their house and to give him necessaries in food and raiment during his lifetime, was also asked to give Henry letters patent bearing the seal of the chapter.[19] The reply demanded seems to have been unfavourable, as an entry in the *Close Rolls* of 1312 suggests that Henry went to Canterbury instead of to Westminster. Edward II's letter to the Abbot and convent of Canterbury in that year is to the effect that he wished one of his yeomen, Nicholas de Rency, to have "such maintenance as Henry de Montpellier deceased had for life at the late King's request".[20] Henry's death in 1311 or 1312 may be presumed from that letter.

Since Richard, Henry's brother, had been the official apothecary, Henry was probably called in as apothecary only in emergency as was the case when on 18 October 1290 he was paid 1 mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) for syrups and other medicines purchased for Queen Eleanor at Lincoln. This was the month in which Edward I had summoned a Parliament at King's Clipstone, a royal residence in Sherwood Forest.[21] In preparation for it he and the Queen travelled north. It was

her custom to accompany him everywhere but not then being in good health she travelled slowly to the village of Harby, about six miles west of Lincoln. There she remained, her health gradually worsened by low fever. She died on 28 November, only a few days after the King arrived at Harby from Clipstone. Arrangements were made for her body to be embalmed at St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln,[22] the spices, waxes and gums for which may have been obtained through Henry de Montpellier. Eleanor, not only "the friend of all English subjects" was so greatly beloved by Edward that he wrote to the Abbot of Cluny: "... whom living we cherished greatly, and being dead we shall not cease to love." His perpetuation of her memory, first by a massive cortege from Lincoln to London, then the erection of three tombs, and subsequently of "Eleanor" crosses where the body had rested on the journey from Lincoln is well known. It has been suggested that the crosses erected to the memory of Louis IX of France may have been in Edward's mind.

Whether any relationship existed between PETER OF MONTPELLIER and Robert and his family is as yet undetermined. In his first appearance in the City of London records he is described as "ypotecarius" and "broker" when acknowledging debts at the Guildhall in 1289–90. The apothecaries of London had appointed their own "brokers" to regulate transactions between them as early as 1293.[23] Peter was associated with the royal house by 1303 while Edward, later Edward II, was still Prince of Wales. (Edward seems to have needed attention from physicians and apothecaries early in life. A bill for 50 marks (£33 6*s*. 8*d*.) for various drugs supplied to him by John de Sellinge, a London apothecary, had to be paid by Edward I's executors in March 1308.)[24] Peter was sent with John de Bohun, a Wardrobe clerk, to Sandwich in the spring of 1303 to buy fruit and supplies to meet the needs of Edward I and Queen Margaret when they were to visit Edward's Buckinghamshire manor at Langley. Evidently it was known that ships had arrived in the port with cargoes from France or the Mediterranean as the heavy purchases included two bales of

almonds and twenty parcels of figs and raisins; these were transported by barge from Sandwich to London.[25] At the end of April in the same year Peter was sent to Scotland to join Prince Edward there, taking with him electuaries, spices, etc. Heavy expenses, £99 2*s.* 7*d.*, for spicery, fruit and other things to make electuaries had already been incurred for the Prince's establishment in 1302–03. In April 1303 Master Robert de Cisterne, the Prince's physician, was ordered by his Council to buy ointments, medicines and fruit for the cure of the Prince's household in the war against Scotland.[26]

Having arrived in Scotland Peter and his servants are in constant attendance upon the Prince for almost six months, until 20 November 1303. He is then heard of in Newcastle and elsewhere, by which time he has been provided with his own clerk, Elie de Whetele.[27] In 1310 he is back in Scotland with the King, now Edward II, who had married his twelve-year old bride, Isabella, daughter of Philip IV of France in January 1308 and whom he soon brought to London. Though Peter made an electuary for the Queen at Bolton in January 1310[28] this is an isolated instance for though only fourteen years old then, she had her own apothecary, Odinet, of whom some account is given below (pp. 24–25).

Peter, in London in 1311 as the King's apothecary, is recorded in the Queen's Wardrobe expenses for that year as having supplied, amongst other things, 7½ lb. of dragees in tablet form—a variant of the normal sugar-coated sweetmeat—the preparation of which must have demanded much pharmaceutical skill.[29] From 1318 to 1324 Peter was buying spicery and "other things pertaining to his office", having been authorized by writs styling him "King's apothecary" issued in 1318, 1321 and 1324. Although these were only for one year at a time no doubt he continued to make purchases during the intermediate years. The last authorization included a note that he should also carry his purchases "to divers places": this would enable him to charge expenses for himself and for carriage.[30] Early in

1329 we find him at Hoxne Manor, Suffolk, the home of Gilbert Talbot, the King's chamberlain, to which Master Pancius de Controne, Edward III's principal physician, had been taken whilst ill. Peter was called in to give what help he could to one on whom the King greatly relied.[31]

Detailed accounts of ODINET (or Odin), apothecary or spicer to Queen Isabella, for part of the years 1313–14 reveal the range of medicaments which her physicians prescribed. Odinet, sometimes called "apothecary", sometimes "spicer", held an official position at the court of Edward II and received 7½*d.* a day as his wages. He was most likely appointed when the King and Queen were in France. The care he took in compiling detailed accounts, each day's items neatly recorded and priced prove him to have been no slipshod worker. For Queen Isabella, when she was very ill at Westminster in November 1313, he prepared ointments and perfumes and supplied herbs and spices and in addition human milk (let de femmes) on several occasions. Most likely the milk was for the Queen herself as suitable foster mothers would have been found for the infant Prince Edward who was born on 13 November. Odinet adds that all the things charged were handled by himself or by Philip de Beauvais. In a second account, in addition to the preparations, he details the pharmaceutical tools for making some of them, e.g. a large sheet of lead and an oak base for ointments ; boxes for holding ointments and plasters ; a stone mortar and a pestle for mixing up the plaster mass. Not all the preparations were made by him ; some were prepared by the surgeons then attending the Queen.[32] A third account relates chiefly to fruit and nuts which Odinet, in his capacity as spicer, purchased almost every day from 15 April to 7 May 1314—apples, pears, hazel and other nuts—wherever he could find enough for the Queen, and presumably also for her immediate attendants. Thus some quantities were bought in France, at Dover, at Eltham, and some for use when the Queen was resident in the Tower of London.[33]

Odinet seems to have made it a practice to buy even compound preparations such as electuaries instead of making

them himself. The Wardrobe accounts of Queen Isabella for 1311 show him purchasing from two London apothecaries, John of Essex and Thomas Buckenham, various medicinal preparations and spices including grains of paradise and cinnamon for the Queen's own use.[34]

Odinet could not have been long in England before he followed the custom of most royal servants who petitioned for special favours. We find him therefore, a year after the accounts mentioned above, asking for the grant of 20 marks rent out of tenements in Lincolnshire, then held by Henry de Bayons, and which had come into the King's hands because of their forfeiture by a rebel Scot. At first the King said that he would do as he pleased but on the intervention of the Queen, the treasurer was ordered to certify a writ in Odinet's favour on 20 May 1316.[35] Apparently things did not go as well as Odinet had hoped for he had to ask for restitution of his grant in March 1328. By this time Edward III was on the throne. Restitution was ordered although the new King had by this time granted the rent to Jakynet de Mareigny, one of his yeomen.[36] Whether and for how long Odinet shared the varying fortunes of Queen Isabella and her support of Mortimer can only be surmised. She would have found local apothecaries in King's Lynn near her favourite home at Castle Rising, where she stayed for many years. In 1358 after making a pilgrimage to Canterbury she stopped at Leeds Castle, Kent, for three weeks, returning thence to Hertford Castle where she died on 22 August. She is said to have been then "under the effect of a too powerful medicine, administered at her own desire". Medicines had been fetched for her from London in February. In her last illness she was attended by Master Lawrence, the physician, when messengers again went to London and to St. Albans for further medicines. On 1 August there were several more journeys to London for yet more medicaments, some being supplied by Nicholas Thomasyn, an apothecary of London.[37]

The early part of the fourteenth century saw changes in the organization of the pepperers, grocers and apothecaries.

By 1293 the apothecaries already carried on a separate trade and appointed their own brokers for it.[38] By the turn of the century they begin to figure in the City's records either as apothecaries or as spicers. At Michaelmas 1312 they, with the pepperers, corders and others "who busy themselves with heavy merchandise" appointed one Andrew Godard, a good and trusty man, to the office of weigher at the Great Beam.[39] Seven apothecaries were elected to govern the rest in November 1328. Their names suggest they were mostly Lombards, Genoese or merchants of Lucca, prominent among them were John Adam (see below) and Nicolas Guillen, both of Lucca. The gradual change in the spicery trade has been mentioned on page 5. The fraternity of St. Anthony, by which the pepperers, grocers and apothecaries of London were known from about 1345, were by the middle of the fourteenth century concentrated in a small area of the City. Surveyors of their (joint) Mistry were chosen in 1365. Four groups were represented—Soperlane (absorbed into Queen Street) provided 5, of which Nicholas Chaucer was one; the Ropery (formerly part of Thames Street, near All Hallows Church) 2; Chepe (Cheapside) 2; and Bucklersbury (running from Cheapside to St. Stephen's Church and cut into two by Queen Victoria Street) 2.[41] When the Grocers' Company was formed—its first charter was granted by Henry VI in 1428[42]—the apothecaries while becoming members of it remained a separate section and so continued down to their separation under the Apothecaries' Charter granted by James I in 1617.

The Ordinances of the Royal Household of Edward III, issued in 1345–47, regulated the wages, etc. of such diverse officers as the Clerk of the Spicery and the Physician both of whom were to receive 2*s.* a day in 1345. The establishment included one surgeon at 12*d.* a day. Among the "officers and mynysteres of the House" were two "potycaryes". The wage for the potycary, who ranked with the King's serjeants and the surgeon, in time of war, was 12*d.* by the day. In peacetime, in 1347, the physician had 8 marks

for the year, the surgeon 46*s.* 8*d.* and the apothecary the same.[43]

JOHN ADAM, born in Lucca, was brought up in London to be an apothecary. His father must have come to London, probably as a spice merchant, to make his home there and to provide for a family. John makes his appearance in the *City Rolls* in 1350 because his servant had sold wine by his orders at a price contrary to the proclamation and for doing this he had been fined.[44] That he was well respected is shown by his having been elected to serve as one of the seven governors of the apothecaries in 1328.[40] His service to the King, Edward III, went on for many years. Not only did he supply such medicines as were required but he could be trusted in other ways, as on an occasion in 1355 when the King paid him £50 for a ring bought as a present for the Bishop of Mendium then acting as ambassador of the King of the Romans.[45] This trust was further exhibited by his being asked to supply for David de Bruys (Bruce), King of Scotland, then in prison in the Tower of London, spices, etc., in addition to 2 lb. of a "condayl" electuary for which he charged 18*s.*[46] This was in 1357 when Bruce had been in prison for two years. John lived in a house near St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, in the City[47]: he rented his shop from Robert de Landelee, a butcher.[48] As a well-found citizen he was asked to act as one of two attorneys in Ireland for William, Prior of Llanthony, but whether he ever had to go there is not mentioned.[49] He acquired lands, or more likely they were granted him by the King, for the property had formerly been held by knight service by Roger Bavant but had fallen into the King's hands. Two commissioners, Adam de Bury and the parson of St. Stephen's Church, were to have the wardship of the lands.[50]

In 1352 the King, anxious to reward John Adam for good service to himself and his household, confirmed that he was to enjoy and use all liberties of citizens (of London), he was to be quit of 3*d.* in the pound and of other prests and customs paid by aliens on goods and merchandise, imported or

exported, beyond that normally paid by citizens, and he was to pay no more customs duties than denizens or citizens. His brother Guelph had already been knighted. It was he who had a legacy of £100 in John Adam's will dated 30 May 1358 and which was in the Court of Hustings on 11 June of that year. He left to his wife whatever was due by the customs of the country; he released his apprentices from further service; and he appointed certain citizens and merchants of Lucca to recover his debts. There were two sons, William and John, and one daughter, Katherine.[47] A shop formerly held by him was leased by Nicolas Guillen, his fellow apothecary, also from Lucca, to another Lucchese merchant.

William de Stanes, if he did not immediately succeed John Adam as apothecary to Edward III when Adam died in 1358, must have been appointed about that time. Not only did he act as apothecary but he was able to make himself useful to the royal household as a general merchant in finding supplies.[52] He lived for a time in Manione Lane (now Mincing Lane) in the parish of St. Dunstan's by the Tower where he owned houses, curtilages and gardens, extending from the High Street in the Lane on the west to the churchyard of All Hallows Staining towards the east. Much of this he had received under the will of Thomas de Walden in 1362.[53] This property he transferred to Sir Reynold de Gray and others in 1376, 8 marks 9*s.* (£5 2*s.* 4*d.*) being paid to the King.[54] In 1338 the bailiffs of Sandwich and Fordwich in Kent had to restore some property of his which they had wrongfully seized. They may have been influenced in this by a goldsmith of Sandwich who reported a good action done by William Stanes at Dordrecht, Holland.[55] Stanes was obviously at loggerheads with his brother-in-law, John Brinklesworth, a wealthy London merchant, who despite his large estate, left only the value of 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) to his sister Johanne Stanes (or Joan) but "so that William Stanes have them not".[56] Edward III rewarded Stanes for long service in 1376: he was to receive 100*s.* a year for life or until a further order was given.[57] A Thomas de Stanes,

possibly a son or brother of William was appointed one of the under-purveyors for poultry for the royal household in 1359.[58]

Bartholomew the Spicer (Bartholomew Myne or Mine) if not a direct servant of Edward III was nevertheless a regular supplier to the King. He was from Lombardy and one of the merchants of Lombardy and Provence to lay down the conditions relating to the weighing of goods by "aver-de-pris" (avoirdupois) in 1309. He was admitted to the Grocers' Company of London in 1349, a fine of 12*d.* being paid on his behalf by Vivian Roger.[59] He died probably in 1373 as the entry for him in the Grocers' records for Christmas of that year is marked "mortuus est".[60] There are many references in the *Close Rolls* to purchases made from him of saffron bags, spices and wine for the King.[61] He and John Donat, another Lombard and a liveryman of the Grocers, also supplied considerable quantities of spices to King John of France when a prisoner in England in 1359.[62] He had been the owner of a house in Bread Street in the city of London and this was still recalled years after: as late as 1468 there were claimants to a messuage called the George (known from 1392 as "le ledyn porche") situated between a tenement of Thomas Carleton, sometime belonging to Bartholomew the spicer, and a tenement of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.[63]

The name of Coursus de Gangeland, an apothecary of Edward III, is known from a single entry in Rymer's *Feodera*. De Gangeland, an apothecary of London, attended Edward III when he was gravely ill in Scotland in 1345. As a mark of the King's gratitude de Gangeland was granted an annuity of 6*d.* a day for life from 24 December 1345, the authorization being dated 10 October of that year.[63a]

The Spicery

It is not easy to say to what extent yeomen of the Spicery, responsible to the King's Serjeant of the Spicery (in the fourteenth century a post often held by the King's apothecary)

were junior apothecaries. Some of these yeomen bearing such names as Simon Lespicer and Guy Lespicer are known to have been in the service of Queen Phillipa for many years: similarly Thomas de la Spicerie served Queen Isabella over a long period. Some were rewarded for their lengthy service about the middle of the century. Thomas de la Spicerie, in Queen Isabella's service, had charge, with two others, of taking mason and carpenters to repair walls of Leeds Castle, Kent, at the Queen's expense in 1358. Guy Lespicer had a debt certified as due to him by a jury of Lombard and other merchants in the city. In October 1347 when the King granted much property in Calais to his followers and servants, in addition to a large grant to Queen Phillipa, Guy Lespicer was awarded a house in the town. Others, spicery servants mentioned in the fourteenth century, were William de la Spicerie, William of Porchester, yeoman, who was given the custody of the gate of Porchester castle, Hampshire, with wages of 2*d.* a day and a robe worth 13*s.* 4*d.* a year; and John de la Ryvere, first a groom of the spicery, was promoted to be King's serjeant at 60*s.* a year.[64]

Although beyond the scope of this work, the apothecaries' care of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, who died 9 June 1329, may be noted. The medicaments prescribed were much the same as those used in England during the same period. Javin, the King's apothecary was paid 78*s.* for remedies supplied over a period of almost seven months; John, another apothecary, submitted bills in all amounting to £37 6*s.* 8*d.*, including a robe costing 26*s.* 8*d.* His bills may be partly connected with the embalming of the body of the King and the removal after death of the heart and its preservation for transfer to the Holy Land. These accounts give little detail.[65]

Edward, The Black Prince

The Black Prince, Edward of Woodstock, eldest son of Edward III, became Prince of Wales in 1343. In 1363 he was created Prince of Aquitaine when districts of south-

western France were added to English rule by the Treaty of Calais—the first and last bearer of the title.[66] He had his own household with his own administrators. Prominent among them was Sir Peter de Lacy, keeper of the Great Wardrobe, one of whose duties in 1357 was to buy "with all speed" 4 lb. each of royal sweetmeat, great sweatmeat and white sweetmeat, aniseed comfits, white and red sugar, etc. and to deliver them to a bearer with a horse for transport, to carry them to the Prince.[67] William Blackwater was the Prince's principal physician from 1347 to 1362. In 1359 Henry Blackburn, then keeper or treasurer of the Prince's Wardrobe had orders concerning MICHAEL NICHOLAS who was retained by the Prince to be his spicer and apothecary and to have charge of the spicery in his household. Michael was to be entered on the staff roll and to have such liveries and wages as other serjeants of offices received. So that he might be ready to prepare himself for the coming expedition of the Prince to Gascony, Michael received 20 marks as a gift from the Prince.[68]

Walter del Hay, yeoman of the Prince's spicery, for past and future good service, was in 1364 granted for life the keeping of the Prince's castle and park of Meere, Somerset, with the bailiwick of the hundred there. His first recorded duty, a year later, was to deliver to Sir John Weye, clerk of the exchequer, six oaks suitable for timber in Le North-wode.[69]

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley, London, 1812–18, 2 vols.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 416, 419.
3. *CClR, 1272–79*, p. 272.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 397.
5. Johnstone, Hilda, "The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, son of Edward I", *Bull. John Rylands Library*, 1922–23, **VII**, 384–420.
6. *Cal. Letter Books of the City of London*, Ed. R. H. Sharpe, London, 1899–1905, *Bks. A & B*. In 1297 Richard recovered 36*s*. from Roger of York in the King's Court (*Coram Regis Roll*, 1297, p. 229).

7. *CChR Various* (*Welsh Rolls*, 10 Ed. I), p. 243; Lysons, Samuel, "Roll of Expenses of Edward I at Rhuddlan Castle", *Archaeologia*, 1812, **XVI**, pp. 48, 70.
8. *CPR, 1281–92*, pp. 239–40.
9. Hartshorne, C. H., "Bill of Medicines furnished for the use of Edward I, 1306–7", *Arch. J.*, 1857, **XIV**, p. 267.
10. PRO, E.101/368/30.
11. Trease, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 42. The amount claimed by Margaret was £158 15*s.* 5*d.* Richard was paying 20*s.* a year for a shop in the Spicery of Chepe (Cheapside) in 1305–06. In 1310 one of his former apprentices was admitted to the freedom of the City (*Letter Bk. D*, p. 107). In the same year a Richard de Montpellier, with eleven other citizens, stood surety for a man accused of murder: there is no certainty this was Richard the apothecary.
12. *CPR, 1301–07*, p. 47.
13. *CCIR, 1288–96*, p. 162.
13a. *Cal. Inquis. Misc, 1219–1307*, No. 1636, p. 459.
13b. *CPR, 1281–92*, p. 467.
14. *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Gardarobæ, 28 Ed. I*, Ed. J. Nichols, London, 1787, p. 58.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
16. PRO, E.101/359/23.
17. *Cal. Early Mayor's Rolls of the City of London*, Ed. A. H. Thomas, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1924, p. 115; *Letter Bk. C*, p. 136.
18. *CCIR, 1313–18*, p. 204. The Abbot and convent of St. Denis were requested to grant maintenance to one of the yeomen of Isabella, Edward II's Queen, in place of Peter le Spicer, deceased.
19. *CPR, 1301–07*, p. 188.
20. *CCIR, 1307–13*, p. 451.
21. *CCIR, 1288–96*, p. 108.
22. Galloway, James, *Historical Sketches of Old Charing*, London, 1914, pp. 58–82; Hunter, Joseph, "On the Death of Eleanor of Castile", *Arch.*, 1842, **XXIX**, 167–91.
23. *Letter Bk. B*, pp. 84, 102. Both he and his wife were sued in the Mayor's Court in 1300 for not having paid for barley and oats which had been delivered to their house "on Cornhull" *Cal. Early Mayor's Roll, op. cit.*, p. 98). This is the only mention of their abode.
24. Devon, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Sellinge has already been mentioned regarding a debt to Peter of Paris in 1303—ref. 17. He held lands in Pluckly, Kent in 1308 when, styled "Especer of London", he granted a right of way: in a later deed of 1317 he is described as "citizen and apothecary" (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 89).
25. PRO, E.101/366/18.
26. *Cal. Docs. relating to Scotland*, Vol. 2, 1272–1307, pp. 265, 273.

27. Brit. Mus. MS. Addl. 25459, fo. 87. Peter also supplied fennel seed, cloves and red and white wax for the Queen's seal. Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton, Nero, C viii, fo. 136.
28. PRO, E. 101/374/5, fo. 43.
29. Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton, Nero, C viii, fo. 136.
30. *CPR, 1317–21*, p. 157; *1321–34*, p. 22; *1324–27*, p. 20.
31. *CCIR, 1327–30*, p. 432. *Note:* Trease, when he published in 1959 (*op. cit.*, p. 37) had not then had the opportunity of studying the apothecaries of Edward III in detail and he questioned whether the Peter referred to from 1318 to 1324 was the same Peter of the earlier records. He suggested another Peter de Montpellier might have been meant, on the view that a Master Peter de Montpellier was serving as Edward III's apothecary in 1360. (This was based upon a statement by J. Friend in *The History of Physic from the time of Galen to the Beginning of the sixteenth Century*, London, 1775, taken from the Wardrobe accounts of that year.) I see no difficulty in assuming that the Peter of Montpellier who is mentioned in 1299, if he were then not more than thirty years of age, should not have continued to hold a royal appointment at least down to 1329 for by then he would not have been more than sixty years old.
32. PRO, E.101/373/11 and 12.
33. PRO, E.101/160/11.
34. Brit. Mus. MS. Cotton, Nero, C viii, fo. 136.
35. *Cal. Inquis. Misc., 1307–49*, No. 246, p.60.
36. *CPR, 1327–30*, p. 251.
37. Bond, E. A., "The Last Days of Queen Isabella . . .", *Arch.*, 1853, **XXXV**, pp. 462–63. Nicholas was the son of Bartholomew Thomasyn probably of Lucca, well known as a city merchant. Though not recorded as a royal apothecary, Nicholas went at the King's request with Sir Norman de Swyneford and others in April 1360 in the retinue of Edward, Prince of Wales to serve overseas with him (Rymer's *Foedera*, Record Edn., Pt. III (I), p. 482.)
38. *Letter Bk. C*, p. 17. New regulations relating to brokerage for spices were approved in 1363–64, e.g. ¼*d.* lb. on saffron (*Letter Bk. G*, p. 20).
39. The weigher took a penny for every 1000 lb. weighed, for the sheriffs on behalf of the City, and one farthing a thousand for himself (*Letter Bk. D*, pp. 296–7). Silvester de Farnham, an apothecary and broker, was the first recorded keeper of the King's Beam, in 1294 (*Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, Ed. Eileen Power & M. M. Postan, London, 1933, p. 257).
40. *Letter Bk. E*, p. 272. About that period the spicers of London played a large part in the affairs of the City. It was probably in 1324 that the mayor formally thanked John Lestormy, admiral of the North, for appointing John Lespicier, citizen, as captain of the London foot soldiers, of whom

London supplied 140 for the defence of Gascony against the French (*Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1323–64*, p. 7).

41. *Letter Bk. G*, p. 204.
42. Grocers' Company. In 1438 the Grocers bought two guidons worked with the Grocers' Arms. Bromley thinks it probable these arms may have been similar to those granted by Benolt, Clarenceux, in 1532, viz. Argent a chevron gules between nine cloves sable; crest and mantling were added in 1562. Bromley further suggests that as the charter of 16 February 1429 permitted the right of a common seal the Company may then have adopted an heraldic insignia (Bromley, John, *The Armorial Bearings of the Guilds of London*, London, 1961, pp. 130–2 and Plate 28). A panel of stained glass in the central window of the Guildhall, Norwich, of fifteenth-century date, shows the arms, as later granted by Benolt, impaled with an unidentified merchant's mark (Kent, E. A., "The Stained and Painted Glass in the Guildhall, Norwich", *Norfolk Arch.*, 1926–28, **XXIII**, 1–10).
43. *Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household from Edward III to Wm. and Mary*, London; Soc. Antiq. 1790, pp. 2–10.
44. *Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1323–64*, p. 237.
45. Devon, *op cit.*, p. 162.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 166. In addition to the electuary, 18*s.*, the items were: 2 lb. of fyn madyan 4*s.*; 3½ lb. spermaceti 8*s.* 3*d.*; 2½ lb. fine white powder 5*s.*; 6½ lb. of basket sugar 13*s.*; the whole bill amounted to £2 12*s.* 9*d.*
47. *Cal. Wills Ct. Hustings*, Vol. II, p. 4.
48. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 508.
49. *CPR, 1358–61*, p. 5.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
51. *Ibid., 1350–54*, p. 196.
52. Power & Postan, *op. cit.*, p. 249, citing PRO Wardrobe & Household Acts. 395/8 and 389/12.
53. *Cal. Wills Ct. Hustings*, Vol. 2, p. 72.
54. *CPR, 1370–74*, p. 442.
55. *Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1324–64*, pp. 166–7.
56. *Cal. Wills Ct. Hustings*, Vol. 2, p. 100.
57. *CPR, 1374–77*, p. 338.
58. *Letter Bk. G*, p. 107. In 1362 Edward III, incensed at the bad reputation of the purveyors, issued a Statute concerning them—"To overcome grievous complaints made of Purveyors of Victuals of the Houses of the King and Queen . . . no man of the realm but the King and Queen only shall have the taking" (i.e. purchases made ostensibly for the King and Queen shall go to them). Ready payment was to be made at market prices; the heinous name of Purveyor was to be changed to Buyer (nome Achatour); buyers were to be men of estate, appointed every half year

under the Great Seal, and no gifts were to be taken by the buyers (*Statutes of the Realm*, 36 Ed. III, A.D. 1362).

59. *Grocers' Company, Pt. I, facsimile*, London, 1886, p. 35.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
61. For example, *CCIR, 1374–77*, p. 413.
62. Matthews, Leslie G., "King John of France and the English Spicers", *Med. Hist.*, 1961, **V**, 65–76.
63. *Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1458–62*, p. 52.
63a. Rymer, *Feodera*, 1727 edn., V, p. 486. The original writ in the PRO is C.62/122 m.3.
64. Guy had an annuity of 20 marks a year; Thomas only 4 marks; William received 2*d.* a day later exchanged for 100*s.* a year. *CPR, 1334–38*, p. 535; *1345–38*, p. 547; *1348–50*, p. 556; *1350–54*, p. 245; *1358–61*, pp. 144, 300, 574; *1374–77*, pp. 346–7; *Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1323–64*, p. 173.
65. *Exch. Rolls of Scotland, 1264–1359*, pp. 176, 213, 238 and Pref. p. cxxi; Comrie, J. D., *History of Scottish Medicine*, London, 1932, 2nd edn., Vol. I, p. 63.
66. Sharp, Margaret, "The Central Adminstrations System of Edward, the Black Prince", in Tout, T. F., *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, Manch. Univ. Press, 1930, Vol. V, p. 291.
67. *The Black Prince's Register, 1351–64*. Pt. IV, p. 204.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 528, 552.

CHAPTER 3

Richard II to Richard III

The dual function of the spicer-apothecary continued during Richard II's reign (1377–1399) when the apothecary was also Serjeant of the Spicery. This dual role has also been noted on the Continent by Power and Postan who in commenting upon the dispensing of prescriptions by apothecaries in England and their sale of cosmetics and perfumes remark: "In Geneva the apothecaries are said to have combined the functions of spice-merchants and doctors." A file of Bills presented by the Queen's apothecary in 1393–1394 discloses the names of forty preparations supplied—syrups, electuaries, ointments, simples and perfumes.[1]

One of the first duties of the household servants after Richard's accession was to check the silver left by Edward III. It had been stored in the Palace of Westminster for safe keeping. Some of it was sent to the Spicery— eight plates, four of them silver-gilt, and forty-four silver dishes.[2] Robert Clay, Serjeant of the Spicery in 1385, went to Ireland in attendance on the King in 1394. For this term of service he was granted protection (cum clausa volumus): this meant that he would be free of any action for debt that a creditor might want to take against him. This protection was usually given for a period of six months or a year depending upon the time it was expected the royal servant or officer would be out of the country. Sometimes it was extended to the servants accompanying the King's retainers, as it did in the case of John Leche, one of the King's surgeons, in 1390.[4] John Dygge, a London spicer, also had this protection when he went to Ireland on the King's business in 1392.[5]

It was Clay who in 1385 was to receive from J. de Ferriby, the King's escheator in Lincolnshire, three gold bees (byas), appraised at 10 marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), if they existed, i.e. were still on hand; if not their value would be given by the King. The gold bees, presumably ornaments, had been found by inquisition to have been hidden in the ground at Welesby, Lincolnshire, and as such were declared to be the property of the King—cf. the present treasure trove legislation—hence they passed to the King who in turn gave them or their value to Clay.[6] In recompense for Clay's services, over and above any wage, he, curiously recorded as a "yeoman" of the Spicery in 1392, was granted for life a croft of land, called "le Spittelland" in Kingston-upon-Thames, without payment of rent, the land having been formerly held by one of the King's sumptermen.[7] In 1397 Clay was to be paid, as Serjeant of the Spicery, £10 a year.[8] Clay's chief assistant seems to have been Nicholas Lary: with him were John Dam (or Daune) and Thomas Sheldebourne. Lary, styled "yeoman of the Spicery", received 100 marks a year, in addition to the profits for life of the office of porter at Windsor Castle.[9] In 1392 he was to hold the office of seller of goods, etc., of felons in the counties of Chester and Flint.[10] He also obtained a grant, with Dam and two others, of chattels worth 50 marks a year when an outlaw's goods were confiscated.[11] Lary was of sufficient service and experience to be asked to accompany William Bredwardyne, one of the King's surgeons, when he went to Ireland with the King in 1399.[12] There were many ways of rewarding royal servants: Dam had £10 from the King when the goods of two felons who escaped from Nottingham Castle were seized[13]; Sheldebourne received 16*s.* a year from forfeited lands, probably from another outlaw, but he had to account for any surplus.[14] The King's physicians and surgeons fared better: they had much larger grants. Master John Middleton, one of the royal physicians, besides his 100 marks a year, had a profitable messuage in Juggin Lane, London.[15] Both Middleton and Master Geoffrey Melton bought divers medicines from

William Waddesworth for Madame the Queen (Anne) in 1393–94; in one six-month period the bill came to 45*s.* 4*d.* It was also Middleton who in 1395 purchased for £10 8*s.* spices, electuaries, pottles and phials for the King's use and other things necessary for his profession from John Waddesworth, apothecary of London, and who made a similar purchase from John Salmon, another London apothecary, for £4 13*s.* 4*d.*[16] Neither of these can be traced as royal apothecaries. Geoffrey Melton, also a royal physician, and one of the King's clerks, in 1399 had 40 marks a year for life or until promoted to a benefice; if without a cure he was to have £40 a year but if with a cure the money grant was reduced to 100 marks yearly.[17] The grant of benefices cost the King nothing in money and this was also the means of recognizing the service of Thomas Horton, Clerk of the Spicery and a King's clerk, who was nominated to the second vacant canonry in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1374.[18] Horton was confirmed in the Prebendary of the Moor in St. Paul's in 1382 and in 1389 his grant of the Prebendary of Wenlocksbarn in St. Paul's was ratified.[19] William Thenford, spicer of London, was appointed a buyer for the royal household in 1388.[20] It will be recalled that Edward III had by Statute laid down conditions applicable to royal purveyors.

In Richard II's reign the sale of spices was regulated by Statute. Aliens were not permitted to sell spices by retail but only in whole vessels or in bales: no spicery could be exported by aliens or by denizens on pain of forfeiture.[21] It was about this time that there was a petition by the Grocers of London to the mayor and aldermen of the City that no merchandise be weighed or sold before it was cleaned and garbled by a garbeller appointed by the Grocers, Thomas Halfmark being their nominee for the post. Various Genoese and Florentine merchants submitted a plea that if spicery were to be garbled, so should all merchandise.[22]

Henry IV (1399–1413) continued the practice of employing aliens as physicians, men such as Peter de Alkabasse

(Dalcobace), David de Nigarellis (of Lucca) and Louis Recouches, all of whom were awarded high favours and many of them church livings. He so staffed his household with French, Bretons, Lombards and Milanese, thereby creating much suspicion in the minds of the Commons, that they decided these aliens must quit the royal service. Some of Henry's annuitants were forced to surrender their current year's incomes.[23]

Of the apothecaries who served the King we have little information apart from that relating to WILLIAM BURTON (or Bourton), citizen and grocer of London. He succeeded Robert Clay who had been appointed by Richard II. Burton who had become a liveryman of the Grocers' Company in 1401 appears in that year as Serjeant Confectioner of the King's Spicery and was granted a salary of £20 a year for life.[24] For many years he was regularly listed as one of the buyers of victuals and other things needed for the royal household.[25] He was a man of importance in the City of London, an auditor of the chamberlain's and the London Bridge accounts and was elected to represent the City in the Parliament, which met in Leicester in 1414, and again at Westminster in 1421.[26] In 1403 the royal finances were in a bad state—wages of the household staff were badly in arrears, some had received nothing over a long period, and there were many petitions from amongst those who had served Richard II and whose wages had remained unpaid for years after his death.[27] Nevertheless in May of that year Burton was allowed the profit arising from two shops in Cambridge and from certain lands in Ely. He was to pay 3*s*. rent for the shops and 23*s*. 4*d*. for the land.[28] His arrears of salary were paid in October 1405 and his good service noted.[29] For some unexplained reason it was recorded in 1403 that a William Burton, Serjeant Confectioner of the King's Spicery was sent to the Abbess and convent of Ambresbury (Amesbury, Wiltshire) to take maintenance there in place of a pensioner of Richard II. It is possible that this was the father of the William Burton the subject of this note but the situation is far from clear for we

know that William Burton continued as a buyer for the royal household and that he carried on his other business affairs.[30] A year later, 1404, John Whitlock, a yeoman of the Spicery who had been granted temporarily the rents of certain tenements in London, was sent to the Abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, to be maintained there.[31]

In March 1405 William Burton and another merchant of London, having captured in the ship *le Cristofre* of Bristol, with the shipmaster and others, merchandise belonging to King's enemies in Scotland, bought a share of it for £40. This they had to surrender to the King's council but failed to recover their money. Sir Thos. Erpingham, constable of Dover castle, was ordered to hold an enquiry.[32]

Burton was retained in the service of Henry V in 1413. He was appointed one of four commissioners in the City to levy the July subsidy for the defence of the realm.[38] In a distribution of jewels and vestments by order of the King, one of the recipients was a William de Burton but this is more likely to have been a chaplain of that name though some of the Wardrobe staff had a share.[34] Burton, despite his standing in the Grocers' Company—he was one of the Wardens, sometimes referred to as "Masters"—was committed to prison on a charge of having exacted £7 10*s*. by false chevisance (bargain) "damnably and usuriously" from a debtor.[35] A year before, in 1419, he was to the fore in buying the rental of a property in the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, called "le Crown" as an investment for the Grocers. He and a fellow grocer, named Loxle, gave a dinner to their council, twelve in all, for 30*s*. Burton continued to keep a shop in the City of London and is known to have taken apprentices, one of whom in 1429 was John Man, a native of Suffolk.[36] Burton seems to have been heavy-handed and inclined to browbeat his opponents, perhaps presuming upon his Court connexions, for there are many plaints against him relating to lands in the City. From his will, proved 20 May 1438, we learn that he lived in the parish of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and that he made provi-

sion for a chantry in that church. He had accumulated a considerable fortune, left much property and £400 to his second wife, bequeathed chattels including a mortar to his son John, and made many pious bequests.[37]

Under Burton in the Spicery were John Whitlock, mentioned above, and a Philip Clerk, whose name appears in the *Patent Rolls* only because of a petition relating to his part ownership of a brewhouse and lands in London.[38]

Henry IV's health throughout most of his reign must have been a source of worry to his medical attendants. It is E. F. Jacob's view however that his illnesses have been exaggerated; while his many bouts of illness seriously incapacitated him and in his later years he became a neurotic, "Henry delegated his duties only when very ill". At Easter 1405 he was recovering well but had a setback after Archbishop Scrope was executed for treason in that year. Jacob says that the so-called leprosy from which he suffered may have been a dermatitis brought on by excessive nervousness. He was constantly on the move to avoid infection.[39] A sidelight on his movement from place to place is the granting of a commission in 1404 to John Breche, Clerk of the Spicery with two others, to take carts and boats for the carriage of wax and other things belonging to the office of the Spicery from Kingston-upon-Hull to the royal household wherever it might be.[40] Breche had some difficulty in getting his supplies earlier that year. The King had to order the Mayor of London to deliver up to Breche quantities of spices bought for the King—four cases of sugar from William de Staunden, two bales of pepper, two of canella, one of cloves and a case of mace from Babilon Vivaldi. The Genoese and Lombard merchants who presumably had held up delivery, were arrested by command of the King.[41]

Though Henry IV was so ill in 1409 at Greenwich that he made his will, he recovered but was unfit again in 1411 when he should have led an expedition across the channel. It was then that his fatal illness developed. In February he

collapsed whilst Parliament was sitting and he died in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey on 20 March, being then only forty-seven years old. He was buried at Canterbury "behind the high altar on the north side of St. Thomas's shrine".[42] Holinshed records that Henry's death was ". . . a verie apoplexie of which he languished till his appointed hour and had none other greefe nor maladie".[43]

A Thomas Burton, citizen and grocer, and possibly a brother of William Burton or a relative—families then tended to keep to the same occupation—acted as an intermediary in paying £2000 for the masters and mariners of Henry V's ships when preparations were being made for the transport of the King's army to France in 1414–15.[44] There was much concern for the King's health and that of his men during the first part of the Normandy campaign. In October 1415 Master Robert Benham, physician, was sent to Calais with divers medicines, and on allowance of £10.[45] Among other supplies for the army, presumably for treating wounds, were 40 lb. of vertgres (verdigris) and 40 lb. of sal armoniac.[46] Henry V had thought for the care of those who were confined as his prisoners in the French wars. For the cure of Lord de Toutville, long sick in the castle of Moresende, a payment of 40*s*. was allowed by the King's Council for medicines supplied by Master Peter Dalcobace, one of the physicians formerly in the employ of Henry IV.[47] Two surgeons, Thomas Morestead and William Bradwardyne, also in his employ were retained by Henry V and they had to attend him and to take other surgeons and artificers for making instruments "necessary for the mistery" for his voyage in June 1416.[48] Henry's health caused acute anxiety again in Normandy in 1419 and an additional physician, Master Peter Henever, had to be sent out at a cost of £10 to attend the King.[49]

A facet of the practice of medicine and pharmacy during Henry V's reign is the evidence for the growing use of Theriac (treacle), a polypharmaceutic preparation originally derived from a formula of Andromachus (First century B.C.).

By the twelfth century it had come to be used in Italy to counter the effects of poisons, where there was much need of it for this purpose. "It became an article of commerce and the prosperity of cities which made it, Venice, Milan, Genoa [and others] depended in part on finding markets.... Henry V had a treacle box."[50] Venice treacle obtained the greatest reputation in England. Certain men who had acquired some knowledge of the use of drugs specialized in its sale and in Henry V's reign described themselves as "treaclemongers". Two of these are mentioned in the *Close Rolls*—one in London, William Norwich, and one in Westminster, Henry Kirten. This specialization must have been fairly widespread throughout the country as the freeman's records of Canterbury in the same period mention one and five are listed in York.

Appointments to ruling families of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, similar to those made by Henry IV and Henry V are to be found in many countries in Europe during the fifteenth century. Duke Jean V of Brittany who reigned from 1399 to 1442, for example, was served by eight physicians during this period, three of whom were "physiciens-chanoines", and one consulting surgeon. Two of the physicians accompanied the Duke's son, then only eight years of age when he came to London in 1432 as "ambassador extraordinary". One apothecary, Bonnabés Daniélo, was in attendance upon the Duke for some twenty years. The physicians had from 60 to 80 livres yearly and "bouche à cour", and were allowed two or more riding horses; the apothecary received 60 livres a year, also with bouche à cour, and extra payments when he was actually functioning as apothecary. The posts of physician and apothecary to royal personages were recognized as of exceptional responsibility. As St. Vincent Ferrier put it, in a sermon preached possibly before the Duke himself: "C'est une grande charge que d'être médicin ou apothicaire d'un pape ou d'un roi. On a leur vie entre ses mains."[51]

During the minority of Henry VI which lasted from 1422 to 1437 the great nobles of his Council contended both

publicly and privately for control. Though he became known as the saintly Henry the weaknesses in his character were to involve the country in a state of lawlessness. Succeeding his father, Henry V, when an infant, care had to be taken for his health in his early days. Within four months of his coming to the throne Thomas Morestead, formerly surgeon to Henry IV and Henry V, was confirmed in the appointment of King's surgeon; five years later Master John Somerset, physician, was granted £40 a year for his service from Easter 1427, and Gilbert Keymer, physician, had received the deanery of the King's free chapel of Wimborne Minster, Dorset.[52] To vary the diet for the young King, when winter meat though heavily spiced could prove monotonous, William Grey was appointed in 1432 to provide all kinds of fruits[53]; ordinarily they would have been purchased by the Spicery. Fruit as an adjunct to the royal dietary comes into many of the royal household accounts.

During the first year of Henry's reign when an inventory of the estate of his father, Henry V, was taken, it was noted that various remainders of spices—the spice plates having already been listed—were in the hands of William Pek (or Pecke), Clerk of the Spicery.[54] Pek remained a valued servant for many years. It was apparently the custom from time to time to examine the books of the clerks of the household departments and if there were shortages of any kind, to grant a formal pardon, supposing the clerk could give a good account of them; in that case he was absolved from any reprimand. This happened to Pek on two occasions, in 1441 and again in the year when he was pensioned.[55] In 1437 when Henry assumed control after his minority, Pek, John Woodcock, underclerk, and John Wilson were authorized to provide spices, etc., for one year, the authorization being renewed from time to time, giving these servants presumably some little advantage in placing their orders.[56] Pek, in 1439, was rewarded for his services by being granted for life the office of constable of Nottingham castle, an appointment he could hold by deputy, with the

usual wage, later set at 12*d.* a day, fees and profits.[57] He also had a pension which when the King resumed many grants in 1450 was allowed to continue.[58] Another member of the Spicery staff was granted the office of Bailiff of Berkhamstead, one of many valuable grants to the Spicery staff. Pek's father or brother, a Thomas Pek, also of the Spicery had been sent to the Abbot and convent of Wenlock, Salop, in 1437 to take a corrody there in place of a former King's servant.[59] It had long been the practice for royal servants of all degree to be taken care of in their old age by being sent to a convent or monastery, and without charge on the royal account, under the corrody system whereby the King, where he had sufficient authority, could command the Abbot and brethren to look after his servants. Sometimes they were moved from one abbey to another depending on the vacancies caused by death. This practice went back at least to the reign of Richard II.

Richard Hakedy was already an apothecary and a member of the Grocers' Company of the City of London when he was appointed apothecary to Henry VI in 1441. His salary, set at 40 marks a year for life, was to be paid out of the fee farm and increment of the town of Southampton.[60] It was confirmed in October of that year when the ministers of Southampton were ordered to pay the arrears from 5 May.[61] A year later, October 1442, Hakedy, by this time one of the King's esquires, was further rewarded by being granted, with William Aunsell, also a grocer and one of the King's serjeants, the lucrative office of garbeller in the City of London and the ports of Southampton and Sandwich. They could hold this office jointly, by themselves or by deputy. All spices and merchandise that ought to be garbled were to come under their jurisdiction.[62] This appointment raised a storm of protest in the City of London. The City held that it was contrary to its custom and a writ had to be issued demanding that Thomas Burbage, described as "late occupier of the office of garbler in the City of London", give up the post. Burbage was reluctant to do so, having held the office from 1428, pleading in his defence that the

City had always had the right of garbelling spices and other merchandise "from a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary" and he said his own appointment by the mayor was strictly in order. He had no grievance about Southampton or Sandwich ; as far as he was concerned the King could do what he liked about them.[63] Nevertheless his protest was ineffective. Hakedy and Aunsell were to hold the London appointment but it was conceded in the City's charter of 26 October 1444 that after their term of office or the longest liver of them, the City should revert to its ancient custom.

If Hakedy ever went to Southampton, it would be interesting to know whether he obtained and used any of the "painted pots" (decorated drug jars or galley pots) from Italy for the storage of his drugs. These pots were then being imported into Southampton in Genoese and Venetian ships known as "galleys". Records show that some baskets of pots (or coffins as they were described) were forwarded to London. In the seventeenth century at least and as late as 1704 Robert Pitt, complaining that apothecaries had usurped the role of physicians, wrote that the shops of medicines had increased to fill the town and that no alley or passage was without its painted pot.[64]

Hakedy and Aunsell held this appointment for only a few years. By March 1446 Hakedy, then a Warden of the Grocers' Company, had surrendered the post of garbeller so far as it related to London but he had, with William Wetnale and Thomas Gibbs, also Wardens of the Grocers, been granted instead the post of garbeller of spices throughout the realm *except* in London.[65] (Wetnale, grocer and serjeant of the King's Cellar, had been elected Alderman and Sheriff of the City of London in 1440.) The three appointees could carry out their duties themselves or by deputy with the common consent of the Grocers' Company ; if the merchandise was not garbled it was to be forfeited and the three Wardens were to account to the Treasury for it and receive a moiety.

Hakedy, in 1445, shared with others the gift of lands,

rents, etc., that had formerly belonged to John Goslyn who had died without heirs.[66] His bill for medicines supplied to the King in that year came to £81 7*s.* 10*d.* He was becoming a man of property and growing in stature in the City. Records show that he was concerned with the warranty of the manor of North Mymms, County Hertford, and also with the manor and advowson of Cheyne (Chenies) and other manors in Buckinghamshire.[67] Moving in Court circles brought him closely in touch with John Somerset, Chancellor of the Exchequer. When Somerset built a chapel 320 ft. long by 40 ft. wide on land at the west end of the bridge of New Braynford (Brentford) in Middlesex in 1446, King Henry VI laid the foundation stone with his own hands. The chapel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All the Holy Angels. Somerset had intended to build almshouses on a piece of ground held of the King adjoining the chapel site. This proposal fell through but the King granted to two Bishops and to Hakedy, among others, the ground for almshouses, with a licence to found a gild comprising a Master, brethren and sisteren, to be called the Gild of the New Order of Holy Angels by Syon.[68]

Hakedy's "pension" was continued after 1450, as shown by the following entry: "The King, taking into his hands all possessions, reversions, etc., saving [amongst others] the said Petition and Act of Resumption extend not ne [nor] be prejudicial unto Richard Hakedy Squyer, oure Appoticarye, and Serjeant of oure Chaundelerye, of xl marcs yerely by us granted for terms of his lif; and that oure Letters Patent to him thereof be made goode and effectuell . . ."[69] As a King's esquire Hakedy was entitled to a yearly livery of raiment, a custom of long standing for senior royal servants, and which augmented the annual salary.

Whilst Hakedy was still royal apothecary Henry VI almost succumbed to a serious illness. On 6 April 1454 so concerned was the Privy Council that they granted a commission to John Arundell, John Faceby and William Hatcliffe, physicians, Master Robert Warren and John Marchall, surgeons, to advise and modify the King's régime

in his acute illness. They were to administer at their discretion

> Electuaries, Potions, Syrups, Confections, Laxative Medicines, in whatever form they thought best, Clysters, Suppositories, Cataplasms, Gargles, Baths, complete or partial, Removal of the skin (epithemata), Fomentations, Embrocations, Shaving of the Head, Ointments, Plasters, Waxes, Scarification, with or without rubifacients, and to do whatever was necessary to relieve and bring back the King's health.[70]

The list reflects the varying forms of treatment of the period and must have been compiled with the advice of the learned body of physicians and surgeons named. Hakedy as royal apothecary would have been kept busy had he to have prepared anything like the complete range of medicaments which could be employed.

Whether it was from this close association with the physicians on this occasion or not Henry seems to have developed an interest in the science of the day. Either that or he may have wished to secure advantages from alchemy and so was led to grant a licence on 31 May 1456 to John Faceby, then a favourite physician, to John Kirkeby and to John Ragny, all most erudite in natural science, to endeavour to discover the philosopher's stone or elixir of life and to transmute metals.[71] (This interest was continued by Edward IV. On 7 December 1468, Richard Carter had licence to exercise the art or occupation of alchemy (excercendi & occupandi Artem sive occupationem Alkemiae) for two years. Perhaps the King thought it well to know what went on, for Carter was to undertake the work "in our Manor of Wodestok".)[72]

Sometime before Hakedy's death there were disputes between him and Thomas Gibbs, a fellow Warden of the Grocers' Company. Hakedy then owed 100 marks promised to the Company, in addition to sums for dinners and suppers: these debts had been owing for eight years. A compromise was arranged. Hakedy made his will on 1

December 1456 and he died shortly afterwards.[73] In keeping with his evident charitable character, as shown by his earlier participation in the Gild at Brentford, he set out a score of legacies to various charities and churches in London, including his own parish church, St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London, and he left a sum to the Leper Hospital of St. Giles, Holborn. He describes himself as a grocer of St. Stephen's parish. To his wife Joan, he left all his estate, houses and gardens. Small gifts were to go to Margaret, wife of Thomas Babham of the royal household,* and to Elizabeth, wife of William Godfrey, who succeeded him as King's apothecary. To each of three apprentices he left gowns (togis) and 6*s.* 8*d.* There was also £20 to the Grocers' Company (acknowledged in their records)[74] and 12*s.* to the beadle. The close friendship, if not actual kinship direct or by marriage, of the Hakedys, Babhams and Godfreys indicated in Hakedy's will was further shown by the appointment of Babham, Godfrey, and a William Braybrook (the two latter were apothecaries and grocers), as executors of the will of Joan Hakedy who died in 1458.[75]

William Godfrey (or Godefray) who succeeded Hakedy as King's apothecary and was King's Serjeant and yeoman of the Chamber, received his first additional grant on 11 April 1457 of the office of porter of Exeter castle in Devon. This was for life and could be held by deputy, Godfrey taking the usual wages and profits.[76] In March 1457 he had been appointed to the post of garbler of spices in London, Southampton and Sandwich formerly held by Hakedy and Aunsell.[77] Only eighteen months after this Godfrey had to share the appointment in survivorship with Thomas Babham, then a yeoman of the robes of Queen Margaret.[78] Godfrey continued as royal apothecary until Edward IV succeeded Henry VI, or perhaps a little later, when John Clerk was appointed by the new King.

It is of interest, bearing in mind the medical care of Henry

* Babham may have been the grandfather of Richard Babham, sometime apothecary to Henry VIII—see Chapter 4. William Babham, a grocer who died in 1542, was probably also a descendant.

VI in his infant days, that almost at the beginning of his reign two of his surgeons, Thomas Morestead and William Bradwardyn (described as "Masters of the Craft of Surgery"), with three physicians, presented a petition early in 1423 to the mayor and aldermen of the City of London to found a joint college for the better education and control of physicians and surgeons in the City and Liberties. The petition was approved and articles were sanctioned on 15 March 1423, but the college was not long lived.*[79]

The principal apothecary to Edward IV (1461–1483)† was JOHN CLERK (or Clerc), appointed 17 February 1462, less than a year after Edward succeeded Henry VI. Clerk was to hold the post for life, his fee to be 8*d.* a day, with a robe of the King's vesture yearly at Christmas from the Great Wardrobe.[80] The 8*d.* a day was to be paid by the Sheriff of Devon from the profits of Devon County.[81] This relieved the royal purse and it was also the means adopted for the payment of Geoffrey More, Serjeant of the Spicery. By the end of his second year in the King's service Clerk was paid the substantial sum of £87 18*s.* 7½*d.* "for certain physic supplied for the King's own use and administered to him under the advice of the said King's physicians". The six physicians and the two surgeons who attended the King are named.[82] It seems the apothecary, having made up the medicines, had the duty of ensuring that they were taken by the royal patient. Many other payments to Clerk are recorded. Myers comments that from the early years of Edward IV's reign the state of his health called for much attention by his physicians.

* There had been an earlier attempt to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery in May 1421 when Parliament had approved a joint petition from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and had given authority to the Privy Council to make and enforce regulations restricting practice to trained persons and to punish those practising without proper training. This came to nought. (See Poynter, F. N. L. "The Influence of Government Legislation on Medical Practice in England" in *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain.* Ed. F. N. L. Poynter. London, 1961, pp. 5–6).

† Henry VI was temporarily reinstated from September–October 1470 to 11 April 1471.

Clerk was a man of parts, had a flourishing business of his own as an apothecary in the City of London, and was prudent enough to sue for monies due to him—his trading seems to have reached as far as Coggeshall in Essex.[83] He was often engaged on other affairs than that of an apothecary, e.g. appointed a member of a commission to enquire into a complaint by the Darell family concerning the manor of Capel in Kent.[84] On 5 July 1477, and again on 18 June 1484, Clerk was confirmed in the office of Chafe-Wax in Chancery, with wages of 2½*d.* a day. His first appointment to this office on 14 April 1475 was held invalid but he later received payment from that date.[85] As a busy apothecary he probably held this post by deputy. He was linked with many transactions in land: in Wakefield in November 1476, in St. Olave's, Southwark a month later, and he was an executor of the will of John Garstang, citizen and grocer of London.[86] It was a custom in the City for merchants to accept temporary assignments of the goods and chattels of other traders and Clerk was often involved in these transactions.[87]

We find that Clerk was already well established as an apothecary and a member of the Grocers' Company by 1427 although only a young man. In the City records he is described as John Clerk the younger, and he gave £14 to the fund for the new Grocers' Hall in Conyhope Lane, London, the first stone being laid on 8 May 1427. He appears in the Grocers' records as a broker ("brocor in the Ryall").[88] With his father, John Clerk the elder, of Erdeley, and others, he was confirmed in the possession of the manor and advowson of Bradfield, Hertfordshire, and other lands in which he had an interest were also in that county and in Cambridgeshire.[89] Some time during 1439 because of temporary residence outside the City of London he was sued outside the City courts on the ground that "being late citizen and grocer" he had nothing in the City to give satisfaction to any successful litigant.[90] In a bad plague year, 1471, Clerk was paid £10 for medicines he had provided in the City.[91]

As a leading apothecary he, with William Godfrey (page

49) and fifteen other apothecaries and two doctors of medicine, was appointed in April 1472 to look into a complaint made to the mayor of the City of London that barrels and pots of treacle brought to London by Galleymen (presumably of Venice or Genoa) were unwholesome. They found the case proven and the whole quantity was ordered to be burnt at the Standard in Chepe (Cheapside), on the hill in Cornhill, and in Tower Street as a warning to others.[92] In 1482 Clerk as King's apothecary received an order to supply "ciripp, alexandrines, botellis, electuary" and other necessaries—all costing £13 16*s*. 9½*d*.—which the King commanded to be sent to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who was then fighting the Scots.[93] Earlier, at Easter in the same year, the King had ordered William Hobbs, one of his physicians and surgeons, to go north to attend the Duke. Hobbs was to be accompanied by eight surgeons, suggesting that heavy casualties were feared.[94]

Surprisingly Clerk, although royal apothecary, was not asked to supply what was needed for the embalming of Henry VI at his death on 11 April 1471. The wax, linen, spices and other things required were furnished by Hugh Brice who also provided the torch-bearers; all at a cost of £15 3*s*. 6½*d*. Payment was unusually prompt, within two months of the funeral.[95]

Clerk, who had his house and presumably his shop in the parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in the City of London, made his will in 1479. He died early in 1483, probate of the will being granted on 15 March. He married twice. One-third of his goods went to his second wife, Katherine. There were many legacies to churches and to monasteries for masses. He left plate to the children of Roger Marshall, "late physician", who may have attended Henry VI (see above) and 40*s*. to Thomas Babham whom he had known as a servant of Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI. The Grocers' Company benefited by two standing cups of silver-gilt.[96]

Edward IV, once more firmly established after the second battle of Barnet, 1471, pursued an individualist policy giving

power and authority to his wife's relatives, the Woodvilles and the Greys, "parvenu nobles" as Trevelyan describes them.[97] It was in 1474 that the royal household was reorganized and regulations (Ordinances) were made, applicable to almost every department and servant.[98] Of these the details relating to the "Doctor of Physique" (physician), the "Mastyr Surgeoun" and the "Potycarye" are important for our study. The physician's duties included giving advice on the King's diet and the "devysing" of the King's medicines. To safeguard the King and the household the physician . . . "ought to espie if any of the courte be infected with leperiz or pestylence and to warne the sovereignes of him [and] till he be purged clenely to keep him out of courte. . . . The costes of all medycines belonge to [are to be paid by] the chamberlayne his audyte in the jewellhouse."

For the infant Prince Edward, the King's son, it was ordered that he was to have continually in his household a physician and surgeon "sufficiente and cunninge and that they inforce themselves to make him joyoux and merry towards his bedde". Evidently reliance was placed upon the physician and the surgeon to see to it that there was no tearful youngster at bedtime.

The "Mastyr Surgeon", whether in the Chamber or in Hall, was to be allowed 40*s*. for medicines given to the sick and hurt officers of the household. He had one yeoman surgeon to assist him. He was allowed a small coffer "with playsters and medycins' for the King and his household.

As for the "Pothecarye", he was allowed his meals in the Hall or Chamber, eating with the yeomen if he were amongst the number of yeomen, and this whenever the usher of the Chamber should think fit. His wages and his clothing were to be chargeable to the counting house in common with other yeomen. He was allowed reasonable charges for the transport of his coffer of drugs and medicines to be approved by the controller. He had half a bed for himself and the same for a groom. All his general medicines and ingredients were to be paid by the Jewell House when approved by the King's physician, and audited by the

chamberlain. If the apothecary were sick or was bled he was to take livery similar to that of the yeoman surgeon. If any general gifts were distributed to the household staff he took his share of them, unless he was of the status of the King's Chamber when he shared with those of the Chamber but not with both. The apothecary was not allowed groom or page unless there were any suitable groom in the ewery.

It will be seen that the details relating to the principal servants, among whom we may number the apothecary, were well worked out. His status provided that he receive clothing, payment for medicines, subject to verification by the physician, and arrangements were made for the transport of his apothecary stuff in a coffer for that purpose. What should be done if the apothecary were ill or were let blood was also set down.

The Ordinance relating to the Wardrobe imposed certain duties upon the yeoman apothecary, the royal apothecary's chief assistant. The officers of the Wardrobe responsible for washing, cleaning and mending the royal apparel must see ". . . thes ii wardrobes have all theyre fumigacions, that the Kinges robe, dublittes, shetes and shertes be fumyd by all the yere of the yoman potycary, and that be truly recorded by the Chambyrlayn". In those days of unwholesome smells and insanitary conditions this was still not enough: the grooms and pages were charged with the duty of gathering sweet flowers, herbs and roots to make the King's gowns and sheets "brethe most holesomly and delectable".[99] All this was in keeping with Edward's personal habits. He may have been something of a dandy for, as Trevelyan says, he ". . . liked the company of intellectual men and sprightly women [and] both from policy and choice lived much with the great citizens of London and their wives".[100] (Similar care for the sweetening of the linen or robes of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV and later the wife of Henry VII, may be noted from an entry in her Wardrobe accounts for 1480—the purchase of "lyttlel bagges of fustian with ireos [probably powdered iris rhizomes] and anneys [anise].)[101] In the same Ordinances are particulars

of the offices of the Great Spicery and the Confectionary, to the headship of one or other the royal apothecary was usually appointed.[102] Edward may have been led to the issue of his regulations by what his brother, the Duke of Clarence had done a few years earlier, in 1468. The Duke, then living at the monastery of Waltham, Essex, set down the conditions applicable to his household staff. The apothecary in his employ was to have no fee but he could have the "empty pottes of grene ginger, bags, books of chirurgery, and boxes of comfettes" as his perquisites. The Duke's Ordinances include lengthy lists of spices and their values.[103]

Edward IV died in 1483 at the early age of forty-one after reigning twenty-two years. Holinshed notes: "While busie planning war with France he suffered either 'melancholic anger or superflous surfet' to which he was much given. The King suddenly fell sick and was so grieviously taken that he perceived his natural strength to decay and there was little hope of recovery in the cunning of his physicians who could only prolong his life for a small time."[104]

Edward V, son of Edward IV, reigned only from 9 April to 25 June 1483. No named apothecaries appear in the *Patent Rolls* for this period and it is likely that no new appointments were made. Similarly there are no new appointments recorded during Richard III's reign, 1483–1485. Geoffrey More, Serjeant of the Spicery, may have acted as apothecary during both these short reigns. There is mention of a Nicolas Spicer, termed "esquire", as a servant of Richard III but the offices to which he was appointed do not indicate any connection with the duties of an apothecary.[105]

It was in the fifteenth century that the practice of apothecaries came under scrutiny and gave rise to choice items in the satirical writings of the period. Caxton, *c.* 1483, wrote: "For that I am not spycier ne apotecarie I can not name all maneres of spyces; but I shall name a partie: gynger, galingale, cubibes, saffran, pepre, comyne, sugre

white and broun flour of cannelle, anyse, graynes of paradyse; of thise thinges be made confectiouns and good poudres, wherof is made sausses and electuaries for medicines."[106] Chaucer also had many things to say of apothecaries in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Scottish poets too had apothecaries in mind. One, in a series of collective nouns, mentions "a poysone of triaclers", the sellers of treacle, a composite preparation deriving from Venice and Genoa.[107] Another, in discussing the medical practice of the fifteenth century, talks of "Boxes he bair with fine electuaries, and sugerit syropis for digestioun, spycis belangand to the pothecarie, with mony hailsum sweit confectioun".[108] Yet a third writes: "This potecarys crafte is most fullest of deseyte of all craftys in the worlde, for thies potecarys lake [lack] no deseyte in weynge their spice, for either balance be not like or ellys the beam is not equall or elles they wyll holde the tonge of the balance styll in the holow with their fynger when they be in weynge. They care nothynge for the welth of the soule so they may be ryche."[109]

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1. Power, Eileen and Postan, M. M., *Studies in the English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1933, pp. 249–50; PRO, Wardrobe & Household Accounts 402/18–19.
2. *CCIR, 1377–81*, p. 23.
3. *CPR, 1391–96*, p. 482.
4. *Ibid., 1388–92*, p. 72; *Statutes of the Realm*, London, 1816, 13 Ric. II, *c.* 13, 1389–90.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 536.
6. *Ibid., 1385–89*, p. 31. Note: The escheator was the officer responsible for taking over in the King's name property which passed to the King in the absence of heirs of a deceased owner. It was *c.* 1176 that Henry II first ordered coroners to investigate treasure trove, the coroners to comprise three knights and one clerk (Poole, A. L., *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, Oxford, 1955, 2nd edn., p. 390).
7. *CPR, 1388–92*, p. 58.
8. *Ibid., 1396–99*, p. 115.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 478.

10. *Ibid.*, *1388–92*, p. 289.
11. *Ibid.*, *1396–99*, p. 118
12. *Ibid.*, p. 525.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 492.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 527.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
16. *PRO*, E.101/402/18–19. "Les parcels queux sont pris lar lez maynes de Meist' Geffrey Melton a lops Madame le Reyne." The 43 items taken by Geoffrey Melton from William Waddesworth are listed and include diacubib, plaintain water, syrup of mint, oil of nard, spikenard, cassia fistula, oil of mastic, diapendion, ointments (unspecified), a box of treacle, camphor, and botels of tyn which must have been to contain the aromatic ingredients. The parcels taken by John Middleton were ointment, coriander, sugar of roses, sugar candy, syrups and an emollient plaster. The will of William Waddesworth, citizen and grocer, mentions John Middleton (Archdeaconry Wills, MS. Guildhall Library, London, Reg. II, 71 (2)). See also Devon, F., *Issues of the Exchequer*, London, 1837, pp. 257–8.
17. *CPR*, *1396–99*, p. 577.
18. *Ibid.*, *1377–81*, p. 328.
19. *Ibid.*, *1381–85*, p. 109; *1388–92*, p. 314.
20. *Ibid.*, *1388–92*, p. 407.
21. *Statutes of The Realm*, *op. cit.*, 16 Ric. II, c. 1–3, 1392–3.
22. *Letter Bk. H*, pp. 400, 406–7.
23. *Chronicles & Memorials of Gt. Britain*, 28 V, (*Annales Henrici Quarti*) pp. 379, 419; *Rot Parl.*, III, pp. 495, 571.
24. *CPR*, *1401–05*, p. 28.
25. *CPR*, *1399–1401*, p. 499; *1401–05*, pp. 62, 461; *1408–13*, p. 346, etc.
26. *Letter Bk. I*, pp. 94, 107, 121, 189, 251.
27. *CClR*, *1402–05*, pp. 49, 56.
28. *Cal. Fine Rolls*, *1399–1405*, pp. 208–9; *CPR*, *1401–05*, p. 421. These properties had been in the King's hands since the days of Edward III for an unpaid debt of £66. The terms were changed in the following year—Burton was to pay no rent for the shops and houses provided he maintained them and met all charges.
29. *CClR*, *1405–09*, p. 2.
30. *Ibid.*, *1402–05*, p. 188.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 361. Another yeoman of the Spicery, Hugh Smyth, was sent in 1423 to take maintenance at Cirencester (*CClR*, *1422–29*, p. 71).
32. *CPR*, *1405–08*, p. 58.
33. *Letter Bk. I*, p. 119.
34. *CPR*, *1413–16*, p. 227.
35. *Cal. P. & M. Rolls*, *1413–37*, p. 104.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

37. *Cal. Wills Ct. Hustings*, Vol. II, pp. 555–6. The will—PCC, 1438, "Luffenham", fo. 24—makes specific reference to his tenements and shops of stone. Much of the City of London was still timber-built.
38. *CPR, 1401–05*, p. 102. Clerk is also mentioned in a writ relating to the wardship of lands and tenements in London (*Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1414*, p. 26).
39. Jacob, E. F., *The Fifteenth Century*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1961, p. 99.
40. *CPR, 1401–05*, p. 436.
41. *CClR, 1402–05*, p. 338.
42. Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.
43. Holinshed, R., *Volumes of Chronicles*, London, 1586, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 451.
44. Devon, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 369. The use of compound preparations of verdigris and sal armoniac with balsams and plasters for wounds and sores was still being recommended at the end of the seventeenth century (Salmon, *op. cit.* pp. 282–5).
47. Devon, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
48. *CPR, 1416–22*, p. 31.
49. Devon, *op. cit.*, p. 361.
50. Watson, G., *Theriac and Mithridatium*, London, 1966, pp. 98–102, 112.
51. Guegen, Prof. E. and Nicolls, L., "Les Physiciens et l'Apothecaire de la Cour du Jean V de Bretagne", *Le Pharmacien de l'Ouest*, Nantes, April, 1955.
52. *CPR, 1422–29*, pp. 55, 140, 460.
53. *Ibid., 1429–36*, p. 205.
54. *Rot. Parl.*, IV, p. 237.
55. *CPR, 1441–46*, p. 22; *1446–52*, p. 450.
56. *Ibid., 1436–41*, p. 34.
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58. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
59. *CClR, 1435–41*, p. 133.
60. *CPR, 1436–41*, p. 525.
61. *CClR, 1441–47*, p. 1.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 86. For details of garbelling and the office of garbeller, see Matthews, Leslie G., *History of Pharmacy in Britain*, London, 1962, pp. 358–9.
63. *Cal. P. & M. Rolls, 1437–57*, pp. 60–1.
64. Matthews, Leslie G., "Galley Pots", *Thames Basin Newsletter*, 1966, No. 28, 9–11.
65. *CPR, 1446–52*, p. 107.
66. *CClR, 1441–47*, p. 299.

67. *Ibid.*, *1435–41*, p. 357; *1441–47*, pp. 379–80.
68. *CPR*, *1446–52*, p. 29. The grant of land for the almshouses was in frank almoign from the King and was a tenure by spiritual service. The history of this chapel and gild is related in *Victoria County History*, *Middlesex*, 1962, Vol. III, pp. 90 *et seq.*
69. *Rot. Parl.*, V, p. 191b, xxviii.
70. Rymer, *Foedera*, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 347.
71. *Ibid.*, **XI**, p. 379. "Et præfertim quandam Pretiosissimam Medicinam, quam aliqui Philosophorum Matrem & Imperatricim Medicinarum dixerunt, alii Gloriam inæstimabilem eandem nominarunt, alii vero Quintam Essentiam, alii Lapidem Philosophorum Elixir Vitæ nuncupaverunt eandem."
72. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
73. PCC Wills, 1456, "Stokton", fo. 15.
74. *Fac. Grocers' Company*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 374.
75. PCC Wills, 1458, "Wattys", fo. 30.
76. *CPR*, *1452–61*, p. 227.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 324.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 462.
79. *Letter Bk. K*, p. 11.
80. *CPR*, *1461–67*, p. 122.
81. *CCIR*, *1461–68*, pp. 118, 223.
82. Myers, A. R., *The Household of Edward IV*, Manch. Univ. Press, 1959, p. 245.
83. *CPR*, *1467–77*, p. 500.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 71.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 514; *1476–85*, p. 39. Chafe Wax: "An officer in Chancery that fitteth the wax for sealing the writs and such other instruments as there are to be issued out" (Jacob, Giles, *A New Law Dictionary*, London, 1782, 10th edn.).
86. *CCIR*, *1476–78*, pp. 72, 98, 449.
87. *Ibid.*, *1441–47*, p. 458; *1447–54*, p. 19; *1468–76*, pp. 114, 416. Over twenty years there were some 2000 of these "gifts"—a kind of mortgage. They were probably enrolled only when the donors were unable to meet the debt for the security of which the goods were pledged. The pledges were made without parting with possession and were a better security that a recognisance of debt (Jones, P. E., *Cal. P. & M. Rolls*, *1437–57*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953, Intro. pp. xxii–xxviii).
88. *Fac. Grocers' Company*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.
89. *CCIR*, *1422–29*, pp. 341–2, 387–8.
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91. Devon, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
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95. *Ibid.*, p. 495.
96. PCC Wills, 1483, "Logge", fo. 8.
97. Trevelyan, G. M., *History of England*, London, 1952 (reissue), p. 265.
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99. Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–20.
100. Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
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102. *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 81.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 103 *et seq.*
104. Holinshed, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 708.
105. *CPR, 1476–85*, pp. 422, 437, 491. There is mention of a John Clerk as Chafe Wax in 1474. (*Ibid.*, p. 440.)
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108. Wood, H. H., *The Poems and Fables of Robert Henryson, Schoolmaster of Dunfermline*, Edin. & London, 1958, pp. 113–14.
109. *A Fifteenth Century School Book, from a Manuscript in the British Museum*, Ed. William Nelson, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, p. 54, No. 230 (MS. Arundel 249). *Note:* The kinds of medicine being prescribed at the end of Edward IV's reign are to be found in the Stonor Letters (Ed. C. L. Kingsford, Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., **XXX**, 1919, Vol. II, pp. 107–8). For the general conditions relating to the practice of pharmacy in the second half of the fifteenth century see Matthews, Leslie G., in *Anne Mowbray* (Ed. Francis Celoria), in the Press.

CHAPTER 4

The Tudor Period

Little information is available about the royal apothecaries employed during the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509). On 25 October 1488, John Grice (or Gryce) was awarded an annuity for life of £10 as King's apothecary, dating from Michaelmas 1488,[1] and three days later John Pykenham, styled the King's servant, was granted a similar annuity for life as apothecary to Henry's Queen, Elizabeth of York,[2] from which it seems likely that Grice superseded Pykenham in the royal favour. Elizabeth's *Privy Purse Expenses* record payments to Grice "for certain stuffe of his occupacion", almost £20 in 1502. It says something for the Queen's regard for Grice that when his servant, Lyonard Twycross, was to be married, she gave him 16*s.* towards the cost of his wedding gown; perhaps he usually delivered the apothecary's medicines. Grice, a careful man, did not fail to charge up small items—3*d.* is recorded as boat hire when he was fetched to Westminster hurriedly on 2 July 1502.[3]

Grice was well rewarded for his services to his King. No less than seven grants of houses and lands were made to him between the years 1497 and 1500; all of them in the City of London.[4] Grice must have been a wealthy man. The lands and houses were all well situated in streets known to have been the abode of drapers, grocers and apothecaries: two of them were inns, the Dolphin and the Lamb, and they would have brought him a considerable income from rents. Like later apothecaries in the service of the Tudor monarchs, Grice was also serjeant of the King's Confectionary. Part of his duties may have been to supervise the preparation of the many "dragees" and sweetmeats which were

customarily provided for the royal household. Though we are without definite record, it seems likely that Thomas Pierson was appointed apothecary to Henry VII to succeed Grice for Pierson is the first apothecary mentioned in the King's Book of Payments of 1 July 1509. Henry had died on 21 April of that year. Pierson is noted as having received £13 6*s.* 8*d.* (20 marks), probably half a year's salary.[5]

The sixteenth century saw the beginnings of ordered regulation of the practice of medicine in England: this in turn had a considerable influence upon pharmacy. Prompted by Thomas Linacre (1460–1524), Henry VIII, early in his reign (1509–47) assented to the Medical Act of 1512 and granted a Charter to the College of Physicians of London, later the Royal College. In 1540 he approved an Act by which two Companies of the City of London, the Barbers and the Surgeons, were incorporated into one body. The well-known painting, designed if not executed by Hans Holbein the younger himself in 1541, depicting Henry VIII in the act of handing a Charter to Thomas Vicary—possibly the Barber's Charter of 1462 was taken from the strong box for the occasion—includes portraits of the leading physicians and surgeons of the day. The group includes Thomas Alsop, the King's apothecary. He appears as the last figure on the right of the King. Tall, good looking, with oval face and hazel-eyed, Alsop would have attracted attention in any company. He wears a fur-edged robe and a gold chain, perhaps a gift from his royal master.

Henry VIII's personal interest in pharmacy is exemplified by the many recipes for plasters, ointments, etc., attributed to him and recorded in a Sloane MS. in the British Museum—No. 1047. These recipes were described by Blaxland Stubbs (1931) in his paper, "Royal Recipes for Plasters, Ointments and other Medicaments".[6] Whether they were actually devised by Henry or were given his blessing after personal trial is still uncertain. The *Letters and Papers* of his reign give the names and some particulars of the appointment of his many apothecaries, their remuneration and the Royal benefactions to those who gave faithful

service. In 1931 Howard Bayles illustrated and commented upon the medicines supplied by Thomas Alsop in 1546–47, the details being taken from the lengthy original bills to be found in the Public Record Office. Bayles also mentioned two royal apothecaries, John de Soto and John Emmyngwey.[7] Thomas Alsop's accounts, referred to below, show the great variety of medicaments, perfumes and spices, including those for Henry VIII's funeral and those to be put into the lead coffin, which an apothecary of his standing was expected to prepare and supply.

Thomas Pierson, mentioned above, had acted as apothecary to the "Princess of Castile" in 1509 and had received 40*s.* 2½*d.* as payment of sixty-three days' wages for his services, the physician who attended the Princess having the generous sum of £100 paid in gold.[8] In 1516 Pierson was exempted from serving on juries. From comparable records of the City of London this was not unusual when a man was getting on in years. Notwithstanding his age, he was elected a Warden of the Grocers' Company in 1530.[9] In that year too Richard Babham was appointed apothecary for life to Henry VIII with a yearly salary of £10, presumably replacing Pierson.[10] Babham had been a member of the Grocers' Company for some years. He had already been in the service of Henry VII though only for a short time. There is evidence of this by his having a mourning gown with hood for Henry VII's funeral—his three yeomen of the Confectionary, and other royal servants, had received a grant of black cloth[11]—and by the payment to him in 1515, six years after Henry VII's death, of £18 10*s.* 0*d.* for "certain things laid out by him for King Henry VII".[12]

Babham must have continued without a break, though his formal appointment is not recorded until 1516, for he is listed as of Henry VIII's household and is described as "Serjeant of the Confectionary" at the Coronation of Henry VIII and Queen Catherine in 1509 when he and two others of the Confectionary received a number of yards of scarlet and red cloth for suitable robes for the occasion.[13] Pierson does not fade out completely: he continued to supply some

members of the Court with medicines and at Wolsey's death in 1530 he was owed £8 4*s*. 5*d*. for medicines and confections supplied to the late Cardinal.[14] He was a warden of the Grocers' Company in 1530–1. His heirs were tenants of a property near "Le Rose", perhaps the inn of that name in Fleet Street, London, in 1588.[15]

It was most likely Babham who in 1518 submitted an account to the "Gardaroba", where the King's personal household accounts were kept, for materials supplied to the royal household—sugar, rosewater and various spices, the list including "socate" (? socotrine aloes) 4 lb. 2*s*. 8*d*., and "lozenges, gilt" 3 lb. for 10*s*.[16] Babham was one of the staff of the household who attended Henry VIII at his meeting with the French king, known as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold", in 1520.[17] His payment of £10 a year for life is again recorded in that year and he was allowed livery regularly.[18] Master John de Soto, apothecary, attended upon the Queen.

At the end of 1519 a new name comes in—Cuthbert Blackeden (or Blagdon) as yeoman apothecary. This was the rank of assistant apothecary. He, too, was a member of the Grocers' Company of London. His wages in 1519 and in 1520 were 22*s*. 10*d*. each quarter.[19] Blackeden was evidently regarded as likely to succeed Babham and in fact he did take Babham's place and received an annuity of £10 a year when Babham died in 1527.[20] A brass to Richard Babham and his wife—now badly defaced—was erected in Cookham Church, Berks. (see plate 1). Many of the Babham family resided in the neighbourhood.

In 1526 Henry VIII issued Ordinances for the royal household. A book was to be kept, to be signed by the King, in which all the Household Ordinances were to be recorded. The officers of the Confectionary and the Wafery were to give daily attendance in serving the King and others, as appertained to their offices and according to the ancient custom of the King's house. The Bouche of Court was set down in detail. For Serjeants, i.e. Heads of the various household departments, and Gentlemen Officers,

the Apothecary and the Grooms of the Privy Chamber—each of them who was lodged within the Court was to receive for the Bouche after supper one chet loaf (made from coarsely sieved flour), one gallon of ale, and from the last day of October until the first day of April, one sise by the day, three white lights, one taishide, one faggot: these amounted in the year to the sum of £4 12*s.* 1½*d.* The Queen's physician, and Clerks of the Spicery, had a better allowance, including wood and coals, valued at £8 5*s.* 0¾*d.* a year.

In addition to the Bouche of Court there was a Bouche of the Ordinary of the King's Chamber. Those who had "their Dietts within the Court" included the two physicians (Dr. Chambers and Dr. Butts), the apothecary (Cuthbert Blackeden) and the three surgeons. The physicians each had two messes, the amount for which was calculated at £66 7*s.* 5½*d.* by the year; the apothecary and the serjeant of the Confectionary each had one mess, worth £46 a year. Again, on the Queen's side, amongst those "which doe eat and drinke within the Queen's Chambers and have Bouche of Court" (but who had no wages within the King's household, i.e. were on the Queen's list) were the Queen's physician and her apothecary. Each had one mess and Bouche of Court, the allowance for which was £66 7*s.* 5½*d.* yearly. (The estimated cost of spices for the royal household for a year was £656 13*s.* 4*d.*[21])

The Confectionary, for tax purposes, was as important as the Royal Cellar and both were assessed for the subsidy at £100.[22] The Serjeant of the Confectionary, i.e. the apothecary, in common with others of his standing, received the Bouche of Court. When as apothecary he was in attendance on his Majesty he was to have his lodging in the King's house "when he repaired to it".[23] Writing on the history of Hampton Court, E. M. Keate stated that possibly in the Outer or Base Court "the best example remaining of Tudor brickwork" was to be seen; that the royal apothecaries from Henry VIII's time were likely to have had their lodgings there as mention is made of three single chambers where "the groome porter, the pitcher house [yeoman]

and the poticarie lye". He goes on to suggest that the knott garden of herbs, at present laid out in patterns published in the time of Elizabeth I and James I, may originally have been used for growing herbs for the royal apothecaries.[24]

Blackeden's bills to Henry VIII alone, chiefly for medical supplies, amounted to £60 or more annually in the 1530's. He would also have expected considerable sums for medicines for other members of the royal family. Henry VIII's *Privy Purse Expenses* record such such odd sums as 5*s*. paid in 1531 to Master John, the apothecary's servant for bringing the King's "bytch". Princess Mary paid £28 17*s*. 2*d*. to the apothecary, Blackeden, in October 1530, and in 1531, 4*s*. 10*d*. for gloves fetched by the serjeant apothecary, probably gloves perfumed by him.[26] Blackeden had instructions to "attend upon the Queen's Grace", Anne Boleyn, at her Coronation on 29 May 1533[27]: he must have looked a fine figure of a man when, in 1538, he had his share of "stuffe delivered out of the Tower", namely, cloth of silver, tissue, velvet and satin for a doublet.[28] A year earlier he, with other servants, had been given some of the gold brooches that had belonged to the late Queen, Jane Seymour. Blackeden died in 1540; a small brass commemorating him was placed in Thames Ditton Church, Surrey, by his wife Julia in 1580 (see plate 2).

It is not surprising that the apothecary needed a staff to assist him in preparing the scores of medicaments that comprised the physician's armamentarium of the time of Henry VIII. The distillation each year of the numerous waters from a variety of herbs and flowers must have taken up much time. A manuscript of the thirty-first year of Henry VIII (1539) gives the names of the waters which were distilled in that year from the beginning of May to the 25 July.[29] Fifty are named, including roses, ground ivy, henbane, oak leaves, walnut leaves, strawberries and snails. Besides this quantity, no less than twenty-four kinds of waters remained from the previous year. While some of the waters could have been used for flavouring jellies and sweetmeats, most of

them were doubtless kept in stock for prescriptions. The list is very close to that in the first (suppressed) *Pharmacopœia Londinensis*, May 1618, which contained eighty-four waters; even this number was not enough for the materia medica of the time, for in the December 1618 issue of that pharmacopœia, the official one, there were no less than 178 waters, most of which were still in use or at least in favour if not all prescribed, when Salmon printed his comments on the 1677 edition of the *Pharmacopœia* in 1691.[30]

By 1540 Thomas Alsop had become chief apothecary to Henry VIII with the title of "Gentleman Apothecary". Alsop was paid £6 13*s.* 4*d.* (10 marks) each quarter.[31] His accounts, already mentioned, are a valuable commentary on the practice of pharmacy in the middle of the sixteenth century. They cover the six months August 1546 to January 1547, the month in which Henry VIII died.[32] The bills for the last five months were unusually large as the King was then needing all the attention his physicians and surgeons could give him. From about £5 in August the bill went up to £25 in December, though not all the medicines and perfumes were for Henry himself. Fomentations, plasters, sponges and applications for the stomach and "ventrum" are furnished for use by the surgeons, in addition to decoction of guaiacum, gargles, and on many occasions, dragees and cumfyttes of aniseed and of sweet fennell and, almost at the last, a syrup of "bizanciis". Alsop had also to supply liquorice and sugar for the King's hounds, and for the hawks, horehound water, rhubarb and mummy, pills for hawk casting, the "first water" for washing their meat, gum tragacanth and sugar candy. Details are given of the medicines, etc. for "My Lady Mary's Grace" and for "Lady Margret Duglas": amongst other things she had "2 glases with aqua lactis virginis", a dilute benzoin tincture, for the morphew, a term generally used to denote a scurvy eruption. The whole account totalled £127 3*s.* 2*d.* for the six months and Edward VI paid the first £100 at the end of May in the same year it was submitted (1547) and the balance at the end

of June. Henry VIII did not forget Alsop's services: under his will Alsop received 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*).[33]

Alsop, described in the records of the City of London as "Grocer", became a Warden of the Grocers' Company in 1552–53 and remained a member of their Court of Assistants until 1557.[34] Most apothecaries in London were at that time members of the Grocers' Company, though a distinct section of it: not until 1617 were they able to separate from the Grocers and form their own Company or "Society of Apothecaries of London", as they are more correctly styled. He profited, as did many of the servants of Henry VIII, when lands and houses belonging to monasteries and other Church establishments were sequestrated under the Act of 1537. In 1539 we find him and his wife Anne paying £285 for a grant of eight tenements in the parish of St. Stephens, Walbrook, London, all of which had belonged "to the late house" (or College) of St. Thomas of Acon.[35] One of these tenements was "le Barge", a large house of stone and wood, which, according to Stow, was sited where barges in which goods were rowed up the Walbrook from the Thames were unloaded. Aslop died on 16 January 1557 and at the Inquisition Post Mortem on his estate two months later, these properties were enumerated and reference was made to his service to his King. The properties carried the obligation of the twentieth part of a knight's service (then commuted for cash) and yearly rent of 55*s.* Alsop held other important properties in the City of London, in Deptford and in Greenwich. Their annual value was assessed at the Inquisition at £55, a considerable estate at that time. By his will he left his wife a life interest, with reversion to his nephews and to his wife's son by a former marriage.[36]

The number of the apothecary staff was increased in 1540 and again in 1546. John Hemingway (sometimes Emmyngwey) who had been apprenticed to Blackeden in 1531[37] was appointed yeoman apothecary some time before 1542 and a Patrick Reynolds was engaged from Michaelmas 1546 as an additional apothecary to Henry VIII, at a salary of 40 marks a year.[38] Reynolds was a subscribing witness to

Henry VIII's will and, like Alsop, had a legacy from the King of 100 marks.[39] Both Reynolds and Alsop continued as apothecaries to Edward VI (reigned 1547–53) but Reynolds died early in 1551. In October of that year there is noted a grant for life "to the King's servant John Hemingway for services to the King's father, Henry VIII, of the office of King's apothecary *vice* Patrick Reynolds, deceased, with wages of 40 marks yearly payable at the Receipt of the Exchequer from Midsummer last, quarterly".[40] During Edward's reign Alsop retained the title of Serjeant of the Confectionary. The fact that Edward VI was an ailing child at the time he came to the throne probably accounted for the appointment of a third apothecary, George Carlton, at Christmas, 1546, at the usual salary of 40 marks a year,[41] so that there would always be at least one apothecary available to provide the medicines required. At Edward's death in 1553 a complete list of the household staff was made, the purpose being to determine the number of yards of "Blackcloth" for Court mourning that Queen Mary would have to provide. Each page of the list is signed by two officials and the allowance of cloth appropriate to the status of each servant is shown. The seniors, those of Alsop's rank, were allowed "vii yerdes, ii peces, and vi yerdes". Less important people such as the yeoman or assistants in the various departments, termed "valettus", "garcio" or "pagetus" had only four yards.[42] The total yardage was enormous; the entire household dressed in black must have presented a sombre appearance, in great contrast to the bright colours normally worn.

The names of two relatives of Alsop and of Hemingway appear in the list of the Confectionary for the first time. The staff remained throughout Queen Mary's reign and all are noted as receiving their livery. There was one outstanding addition to the number of Mary's apothecaries—John de Soto. This John must have been the elder son of John de Soto who called himself, and became known as, "John Soda". The father, John I, was a member of the retinue of Katherine of Aragon when she came to England

in 1501 to marry Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII, and who died in 1502. John remained in her service after Arthur's death and during the period that she was styled "Princess of Wales". As her servant, with the rank of yeoman, John "Pottecaryo" received his share of black cloth for the funeral of Henry VII in 1509,[43] and also, as a servant of the Queen's Chamber, his allowance of scarlet and red cloth for the Coronation of Henry VIII and Queen Katherine.[44] On 26 January 1537 he had been formerly recognized by Henry VIII as "attendant upon the Lady Mary", with an annuity of 40 marks.[45] Some years earlier he had been granted a licence to export 1000 quarters of wheat and malt, the value not to exceed 6*s*. a quarter, a valuable concession that allowed him to make extra money.[46] He made his will on 5 September 1545 and as the will was proved on 25 November 1551, he died probably only a month or two before this.[47] The will relates that he was born in Bastia del Valsper in the mountains of Canygo. (The area is now Vallespir and is in France.) In 1545 he was living in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the East, London, and was still in the service of Princess Mary to whom he left "my little coffer with cordial powder and confections", presumably the kind of medicines with which he regularly supplied her, "beseeching her Grace to take it in good worth and to pray for my soul". A life interest in his estate was left to his wife, Eleyn, and after to his sons John and Robert and to a married daughter. As executor he appointed Richard Fermer, his "gossip and nearest friend".

Since John I died in 1551, it must have been his son, John II, citizen and grocer, who was formally appointed an apothecary to Queen Mary on 4 January 1554, having already been so engaged for the previous six months.[48] Thompson mentions a present by John de Soda to the Queen of "six boxes of marmalade and cordials as a New Year's gift" when Mary came to the throne.[49]

So far it has not been possible to trace John Hemingway as having a royal appointment during Mary's reign. He attended on Queen Elizabeth I when she succeeded Mary in

1558 and he remained in her service for many years. Fortunately his detailed accounts kept for "one half yere endyed at mydsomer last in ye sixth yere of her most graycous raigne" (1564) have survived.[50] This was the year in which the Queen began to lose her hair rapidly and started to dress it in a new style, with a wig.[51] They list the many and varied medicines and perfumes supplied to the Queen and to some of her household during the six months, January to June, of that year. The largest number of entries are for perfume, notably rosewater with cloves, for the Closet where the robes were kept, perfume for the Banquetting House, the Counsel Chamber, the Great Chamber, the Chapel, and for other special occasions. Rosewater, benjamin and storax were frequently sent for sweetening the robes: portraits of the Queen show her robes to have been too heavily embroidered and jewelled to allow of washing, and dry cleaning in the modern sense was unknown in Elizabeth's reign.

It was part of the apothecary's duty to supply urinals for the use of those who met in the Council Chamber: whether they were of glass or pottery is not stated but they were not expensive at 3*d.* each. Alsop had earlier charged 1*s.* for them. By the frequency with which supplies were called for, they were treated as disposable. To Mistress Marbery, one of the women of the Queen's Bedchamber, Hemingway sent orris powder in quantities of 2 lb. at a time, at 1*s.* 4*d.* a lb., and now and then 6 lb. of damask powder, presumably a rose scented powder, priced at 7*d.* a lb. A "glas" of rosewater "for the parfume panne in the private chamber" suggests that not only were the public rooms kept free of disagreeable odours but that the Queen saw to it that her private rooms were well perfumed. (The "glas" was a measure of 10 oz. to judge by the price charged when a pint was supplied. It is mentioned many times as the quantity of medicine furnished.)

Each month there are several entries of "parfumes for the Closett", sometimes a scruple of musk or fine perfume is sent to the Clerk in charge of it. When the Queen moved

from Richmond to Windsor two ounces of perfume were needed to "ayer the grete chamber" and "the presence chamber after the makynge clene". If she chose to go out in state an ounce of perfume was sent "for the Lytter". The expected arrival of the French Ambassador, M. de Gonnor, in May 1564 called for more than ordinary cleansing of the rooms to be provided for him. Perfume was needed for his lodging at Sheen, for the Lord Chamberlain's chamber and for the Council Chamber where he was to be received. Whether the Queen was at Hampton Court, Richmond, Sheen or Windsor she was particularly careful to avoid unwholesome smells and they had to be masked by ample quantities of perfume: this was the case when she was in her "standing at the triomph" or on one of her many progresses through the kingdom.

The account book of eight folios contains, in addition to the details of the supplies for the Queen, items required by some of her household. They are the more usual needs of families; for example, Mystres Asheley has camomile flowers, rose leaves, oil of roses and vinegar and she seems to have been a real "home doctor" for there is a running account for pills, lotions, oxicrocin plaster, pectoral powders, bitter electuary, Venice turpentine, almond milk, in addition to her "accustomed pills". It seems there were children in the house since she gets "anisede cumfytts, whyte sugar candy and whyte lozenges". Her bill for six months is 30*s.* 2*d.* Mistress Marbery has plasters "for the raignes", and is also charged 12*d.* for removing the plaster, syrup of hyssop, liquorice and diacodion. The variety of medicaments which Hemingway dispensed for her suggests that her family needed a good deal of medical attention. She is given to ordering preserved cherries (4*d.* oz.), sugar candy, liquorice, and confection of prunes. A glyster is charged at 3*s.* 4*d.* and a dram of Mithridatium at 8*d.* Four male members of the royal household are listed, the most important medicaments charged in their accounts being Jeans treacle, cold julep, ung. album, glysters, suppositories, at 2*d.* each, a "certayne dyssolvatyve Locyon" and a "restryngent

glyster" which appears to have been used as a tæniafuge. All the accounts were examined by both Dr. Richard Masters and Dr. Robert Huycke[52] who sign their names at the foot of each page and verify the grand total amounting to £21 16*s.* 0*d.* at the end of June. It was paid in the following November when, in a shaky hand, Hemingway gave his acquittance: "Receyved the sayde some of XX li XVIs of Sr John Masome Knyght treasurer of the Chamber the xii day of novembre 1564 by John Hemyngwey."

The homely occasions of the time are evidenced by such items in the accounts as perfume provided for the christening of a child of Dr. Masters, one of the Queen's physicians and, perhaps for the guests, a box of "dredge cumfytts", the sugar-coated sweets so often appearing in apothecaries bills of the period. These "cumfytts" were repeated a few times at a cost of 2*s.* or 4*s.* a box. Hemingway made up spiced wine ("ipocras with genes"? broom), electuaries with confection of barberry, "and divers other spices", plasters of ung (uentum) rosarum et infrigidans gallen (the cold cream devised by Galen) which were spread upon parchment and covered with "sarstnett and quylted". These were used as a cosmetic face mask. All the other plasters he made were spread on parchment, then covered with silk and an outer covering, either to protect the clothing or to keep in the warmth if applied hot.

As apothecary to the Queen, Hemingway, like his predecessor Alsop, had to undertake the preparation of what he notes as "the bane", namely the bath. Alsop's bill, referred to above, included "for the bayn, bagges with herbis, sponges, muske, cyvet, *ut patet* (as detailed), 5*s.* 8*d.*", and the materials for the bath were supplied only on one occasion during the six months for which we have Alsop's accounts. His bags with herbs, musk, civet, etc. would have provided a highly aromatic bath and might have been prescribed to give relief to Henry VIII's swollen legs caused by the dropsy from which he suffered in the last year of his life. Hemingway in his accounts does not list the ingredients he used in preparing the bath so that we are

without information whether the "preparacioun of the Bane" for which he charged 10*s.* on each occasion was for an enclosed bath in which the fumes of aromatic constituents might be expected to reduce pain or relieve tiredness or whether it was medicated or so prepared to permit subsequent applications of ointments to be more effective. By his notes the bath seems to have been stored under his direct supervision. The mention of repairs, new hoops and a new board, clearly point to a wooden bath, round or an elongated oval, made in the form of a low cask and bound with chestnut hoops, such as is depicted in drawings and miniatures of interiors of large houses of the period. It may have been an enclosed bath in which the bather sat upon a padded board to take advantage of the fumes arising from the herbs and spices provided or an ordinary medicated sitz bath. Hemingway charged 10*s.* for its preparation in January, again in March and in April he had it removed, set it together again and supplied a new hoop. At the end of April the bath was carried from Windsor, with "certayne glasses of waters", to Richmond and when he set it up again, perhaps because it was damaged in transport, it required two new hoops and one new board: these cost 3*s.* 4*d.* and the usual 10*s.* was added to the bill for its preparation.

As we have seen, Hemingway was in the service of Queen Elizabeth I for some years. She continued the practice of rewarding servants of the royal household by grants of lands and in 1562 Hemingway, for his service as her apothecary (he is described as *pharmacopolus*), was granted a thirty-year lease, subject to his paying a fine of £30, of Santyngley Grange and all the lands thereof in Santyngley, Yorkshire.[52a]

It is uncertain whether Hemingway continued as Queen's apothecary until the appointment of Hugh Morgan in July 1583[53] or whether there was an intermediate appointment not yet traced. We know that William Weston—whose later service to Prince Henry, eldest son of James I, is noted on pages 86–87—joined the staff of Queen Elizabeth I on 27 October 1587, but from the salary shown, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*

yearly for life with 22*s.* 6*d.* a year for a livery coat, he must have been a yeoman or assistant apothecary. On 17 January 1594 he was granted an annuity or pension of £20 a year for life and from this it may be inferred that he remained in the Queen's service until her death in 1603.[54] Morgan was perhaps the most outstanding of all the Tudor royal apothecaries. His appointment was made a few months before the time when he was due to become Master of the Grocers' Company and he asked to be excused from taking office then because of the duties which his service to the Queen would entail. Morgan took the office of Master later. He had long been one of the useful members of the Grocers—it was he who took a party of soldiers impressed by the Grocers' Company to Greenwich, and which formed one of the City trained bands, when the Queen reviewed 2000 of them in 1559. Earlier he had been chosen as Warden of the "Bachelors", a group of the yeomen of the Grocers, and as such was given a gown of fine puke and hood of crimson damask with the right to have the gown trimmed with the fur of marten. Morgan was trusted to be one of those to inspect drugs sold by other apothecary-members of the Grocers' Company. This was in 1564, inspections during the previous year having been neglected because the City had been visited with the plague. Many drugs were found adulterated or not fit for use and the Court of the Company decided that the only thing to do with them was to burn them: this they did in the parlour fire of their Hall and a lively stench there must have been, the drugs so disposed of being rhubarb, pepper dust, wormseed, scammony cakes, "noughty turbitt" and manna.

Apprentices were rather a problem to Morgan; one was enticed away and had to be ordered back by the Court of the Grocers: another who "unreverently behaved himself" was sent to Bridewell, the place of correction for misdoers, and was only released and finally returned to Morgan when he kneeled before Morgan and his wife in the presence of the other apprentices and begged forgiveness.

Morgan was often asked to audit the accounts of the

Company; he became a liveryman in 1563 and a Warden in 1574, serving upon the Court of Assistants for some years. There was a little trouble between him and the Company after he had entered the Queen's service: the Company objected to receiving by his hand a "Copy" (formula) for the composition of treacle, whether a theriaca containing medicaments is not stated, that had been agreed upon by the College of Physicians of London and handed to Morgan for him to get it accepted by the apothecary section of the Grocers. The apothecaries said they would neither accept this formula "or any other" without their Court agreed and they referred the question to the Lord Mayor for his opinion. The Court Minutes of the Company show that the quality of treacle was a constant source of trouble for many years and several members of the Company were fined for selling unsatisfactory material.[55] Morgan, in a pamphlet of 1585 quoted by Wootton (1910) claimed that he could make "theriacle" that compared with that from Constantinople or Venice. He lamented that "straungers doe dayly send into England a false and naughty kind of Mithridatium and Threacle in great barrelles . . . and vtter ye same . . . for 3*d*. or 4*d*. a pound, to ye great hurt of Her Maiesties subjects. . . ." Morgan certainly made full use of the current materia medica for in a bill, also quoted by Wootton, he charges 11*s*. for a confection made with bezoar stone and unicorn's horn.[56] Morgan, son of John Morgan of Bardsfield, Essex, had been apprenticed to William Chikke, citizen and grocer of London, and served him for more than nine years. He was made a freeman of the City of London on 4 February 1543.[57] When married to Lucy Sybil of Farningham and Eynsford, Kent, he took a house and had his apothecary shop near Coleman Street in the City of London.[58] Like other prosperous apothecaries he acquired properties whenever he could and in later life he took a substantial house and garden in Battersea, then a favourite country village on the Thames outside London. He was defendant in an action by a John Goodman relating to lands and tenements in Battersea at the end of the

sixteenth century.[59] A few years before his death he was "specially" admitted a member of the Middle Temple—10 August 1608—"with the assent of the Reader and other Masters of the Bench."[60]

Morgan's interest in herbs developed into the growing of rare specimens. He obtained many new drugs from those who voyaged to Virginia. John Gerard in his *Herball*, 1597, referred to Morgan as "a curious conseruer of rare simples" and called attention to the Lote or Nettle tree, *Celtis* or *Lotus arbor*, from Italy and Eastern Europe, or from N. America, growing in Morgan's garden in the City of London,[61] while John Parkinson in *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 1629, commented upon a Judas tree, *Cercis siliquastrum*, which he had seen "sometime agoe" in Morgan's garden at Battersea.[62]

It was at his Battersea home that Morgan died. He was buried in St. Mary's Church there on 13 September 1613. His epitaph, on a brass now lost, and probably chosen by his cousin, Captain Robert Morgan, runs:

> Hugh Morgan, late of Battersey, Esq. sleepeth here in peace.
> Whom men did admire for worthful parts. To Queen Elizabeth he was Chief Pothecary till her death.

This was followed by a set of verses beginning:

> And in his Science as he did Excell,
> In her high Favour he did always dwell. . . .[63]

There has always been a difference of opinion about Morgan's real age. Though given as 103 and not impossible, though rare, for the period in which he lived, it is thought to have been overstated by about twenty years. Morgan's wife predeceased him and there were no children of the marriage. In his will, made 25 April 1608, of which probate was granted 25 September 1613, he refers to himself as "Cittizen and Grocer of London" and as "his Maiesties [James I] apothecary extraordinary". He left sums of

money to the poor of several parishes with which he or his wife had been connected, he insisted upon a series of sermons being preached within a year of his death, and he provided legacies for the purchase of rings for relatives and friends. Among the latter was named Serjeant Shyere, no doubt the George Shiers mentioned below, who was to have, amongst other things, 10*s*. to make him a gimbowe (a twisted ring) for his little finger. Most of the legacies were to cousins.[64]

Though Morgan remained as apothecary to Elizabeth during the remainder of her reign, to 1603, Edward Hemingway was engaged as yeoman apothecary but he gave place to George Shiers who was granted the reversion of the office by the Queen herself.[65] Morgan's personal service to James I was not of long duration for James, early in his reign, granted to George Shiers on 8 September 1603, the office for life of making "all perfumes and sweet waters" for the King and Queen, at a salary of £20 a year:[66] two months later he was appointed apothecary with a fee of £40 a year. An account of Shiers's service to James I and his Queen appears in the next chapter.

John Ryche (or Riche)

Ryche, with Hugh Morgan, see above, was recorded by Charles de l'Ecluse (Clusius) as one of the two royal apothecaries. Ryche had a reputation as a botanist, kept a well-stocked botanical garden highly recommended by William Turner, the "Father of English Botany", l'Ecluse, l'Obel and John Gerard. Turner knew Ryche well and mentioned him in his *Herball*. Gerard wrote of Ryche: "I saw many other good and strange herbs [in his garden] which I never saw anywhere elles in all England."[67] Ryche acquired much wealth and held property in Deptford and Lewisham. In his will,[68] made after a serious illness in January 1592, he disposed of messuages, lands, tenements mills and meadows, most of his estate going to his son-in-law and his daughter Judith. Provision was made for a younger son's welfare. A member of the Grocers' Company

of London, he wished his corpse to rest in their Hall before burial in St. Mary Woolchurch, London. He left £30 to the Grocers for their Hall and £20 for a dinner for the liverymen of the Company to be held on the day of his funeral. He died in 1593, his will being proved on 17 September of that year. Ryche's name had appeared in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1576.[69]

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *CPR, 1485–94*, p. 251
2. *Ibid.*, p. 252. A Thomas Pykenham, perhaps brother of John, was clothed with the livery of the Grocers in 1488.
3. *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, Ed. N. H. Nicolas, London, 1830, pp. 8, 27, 48, 49.
4. *CPR, 1485–94*, pp. 366, 469; *ibid., 1494–1509*, pp. 115, 136, 164, 203, 419. The properties were three messuages, one called "the Rose upon the Hope" in Fenchurch Street, 1491; a house or messuage called "le Belle" in Byrchyn Lane, 1494; a house and vacant piece of land in the parish of St. Benedict Sherehog, off Bucklersbury, 1497; a tenement called "le Signe de la Dolphyn" without Bishopsgate, 1498; a tenement in Berbynderlane abutting on the churchyard of St. Stephens, Walbrook, 1499; and a house called "the Lambe" in Maiden Lane, formerly a brewhouse, 1500. The seventh grant was a tenement in the parish of St. Margaret Pattens which was given to two yeomen of the King's "Picherhouse", the well house, after Grice's death in 1505.
5. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 1442.
6. *Chem. & Drugg.*, 1931, **114**, 792–4.
7. Notes on accounts paid to the Royal Apothecaries in 1546 and 1547, *ibid.*, 1931, **114**, 794–6.
8. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 1444.
9. Grantham, W. W., *List of Wardens of the Grocers' Company, from 1345–1907*, London, 1907.
10. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 875.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol, I. Pt. 1, 1509, 13.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 1467.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 39.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 3, p. 3048.
15. *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem for the City of London*, London, 1908, Pt. III, p. 107.
16. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 1515.
17. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 224.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 408.
20. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, p. 1571.
21. Ordinances of the Household of Henry VIII. *Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household . . . op. cit.*, pp. 163, 166, 167, 178–80.
22. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, p. 54.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 865.
24. Keate, E. M., "Hampton Court Palace and the King's Apothecaries", *Pharm. J.*, 1933, **131**, 64–7, illus.
25. *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII, 1529–1532*, Ed. N. H. Nicolas, London, 1827, pp. 41, 79, 124, 165, 203, 251.
26. *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary, 1536–1564*, Ed. F. Madden, London, 1831, pp. 74–8. There are various references to Alsop and to John de Soda in these accounts.
27. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. VI, p. 247.
28. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, Pt. 2, p. 499.
29. British Museum MS. Royal 7c, fos. 98–9.
30. Salmon, William, *op. cit.*, Salmon's Magisterial Water of Snails contained nineteen ingredients and was used against consumptions and ulcers of the lungs.
31. *LP Hen. VIII.*, Vol. XVI, p. 192.
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, Pt. 2, pp. 394–9.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
34. Le Hardy, W., *Calendar to the Court minute Books of the Grocers' Company* (Typescript), London, Guildhall Library, p. 1557. The Grocers' Company has kindly allowed this and other extracts to be taken from their books.
35. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. XIV, Pt. 2, p. 224.
36. *Abstracts Inquis. Post. Mortem, op. cit.*, Pt. 1, pp. 149–51; PCC Wills, 1557, "Noodes", fo. 3. Alsop's funeral was to be very honourable, with two great white branches and twelve torches; twelve poor men had . . . gowns of "mantell frys" (frieze) and four great tapers, with many mourners in black. After the "morow masse" there was to be a great dinner and two dozen "skochyens". British Museum MS. Cott. Vit. FV, fo. 86 (now partly illegible).
37. Le Hardy, W., *op. cit.*, p. 1564.
38. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. XXI, Pt. 2, p. 331.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
40. *CPR, 1550–53*, p. 168.
41. *Ibid., 1547–48*, p. 99.
42. "The Ordinary of all such names . . . in the Standing Rolle of the Kinges most honourable household", 1 Mary. MS. PRO, E.101, Bundle 437, No. 7.
43. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. I, Pt. 1 (20), p. 15.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

45. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Pt. 1, I g 311 (32). Thompson, C. J. S., *op. cit.*, referring to the frequent illnesses of Princess Mary, mentions two items relating to Soda: "Barge hire for Dr. Mychaell and John, potycary, coming to my lady's Grace, being sick—7*s.* 6*d.*" and "given to Mr. John, potycary, 15*s.*" (p. 74). Mary was a user of sweet waters (aqua composita) which Nicolas suggests may have been Dr. Steeven's *Imperial or Sovereign Water*. An Aqua Imperialis, a distilled aromatic compound water, included in the first *London Pharmacopœia*, 1618, contained 20 barks and leaves, to which lavender and rosemary were added. Madden (see ref. 26) mentions that *A Closet for Ladies* contains a formula for sweet waters, of King Henry VIII's perfumer, and in which rosewater, sugar, musk, ambergris and civet were boiled, and adds: "All the house will smell of cloves" (Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 208, 269). W. Salmon, *op. cit.*, 1691, gives a formula for Dr. Stephen's Water, the ingredients of which were distilled in Gascony wine, for use as a cordial (p. 446a).
46. *LP Hen. VIII*, Vol. II, Pt. 2, p. 907.
47. PCC Wills, 1551, "Burke", fo. 34.
48. *CPR, 1553–54*, p. 94.
49. Thompson, C. J. S., *op. cit.*, p. 94.
50. MS. Sloane 5017*, Brit. Museum.
51. The Queen began to lose her hair steadily after the age of twenty-five; at the age of thirty she changed her hair style and wore curls to cover baldness of the crown of the head—a semi calorite temperade (Brinch, Dr. Ove., "L'anomalie hormonale d'Elizabeth 1re d'Angleterre", *Hist. de la Médecine*, 1962, No. 5, pp. 3–18).
52. Dr. Robert Huycke attended Princess Elizabeth for many years, from the time she was living at Hatfield. Thomas Alsop, Henry VIII's apothecary, supplied her with spices during 1551–52 for which he was paid £6 6*s.* 4*d.* (*Household Accounts of the Princess Elizabeth, 1551–2*, Ed. Strangford, Camden Soc., 1853, **55**, 33).

52a. *CPR, 1560–63*, pp. 245–6. The lands had previously belonged to the monastery of St. Oswald of Nostall, Yorkshire, and had been leased by the Prior of the monastery in January 1538 for a period of years: Hemingway had therefore to wait until the lease fell in before he could take possession. It was a valuable grant, the lands having been let by the Prior for £16 16*s.* 0*d.* a year. There were many families of Hemingways in Yorkshire at this period and John Hemingway may have wished for land in his native county. Mrs. Elizabeth Marbery, mentioned in Hemingway's accounts, wife of Thomas Marbery, Serjeant of the Queen's Pantry, was similarly rewarded with a grant of lands in Bedfordshire. (*Ibid.*, pp. 289–90).

53. *Pat. Rolls*, RR Eliz. XXV°, sexta pars, fo. 11b, MS. PRO.
54. MS. Signet Office Docquet Bk. Ind. 6800, Oct. 1587 and Jan. 1594; *Pat. Rolls*, Eliz. X, fo. 25, PRO.

55. Le Hardy, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 1559, 1563, 1574, 1584.
56. Wootton, A. C., *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, London, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 44–5; Vol. I, p. 296.
57. *Register of Freemen of the City of London*, Ed. Charles Welch, London, 1908, p. 40.
58. Bradford, C. A., *Hugh Morgan, Queen Elizabeth's Apothecary*, London, 1939. Whether Morgan ever lived at the Three Crowns in West Cheap, London, is doubtful but it was in his tenure in 1574.
59. *Proceedings in Chancery, Elizabeth I*, Vol. I, p. 292, ref. G g 15, Surrey.
60. *Middle Temple Records*, Ed. C. H. Hopwood, London, 1904, Vol. II, p. 495.
61. Gerard, John, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes*, Thomas Johnson's edition, London, 1633, p. 1493.
62. London, 1629, p. 437.
63. Bradford, C. A., *op. cit.*
64. PCC Wills, 1613, "Capell", fo. 84.
65. *CSP Dom., 1589–1601*, p. 219.
66. *Pat Rolls*, 1 Jac. I, tercia pars, fo. 4, MS. PRO.
67. Raven, Charles E., *English Naturalists from Neckham to Ray*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1947, p. 115.
68. PCC Wills, 1592, "Neville", fo. 65. Ryche made special provision in his will to ensure that a water conduit that ran through his house in Deptford should continue after his death for the benefit of the community.
69. Ryche is listed as of the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, London, in the Roll of 18 Eliz., fo. 87d.

Professor Trease has mentioned two other royal apothecaries who served the Tudors. Philip Greenacre (*Pharmacy in History*, London, 1964, p. 77) of whom I have found no other information and Thomas Ashe (*Notes of a Pharmaceutical Exhibition*, Nottingham, September 1963). I have not found Ashe in the formal appointments. He is mentioned as being owed money by the Earl of Northumberland and by the Countess of Salisbury at their deaths (*LP Hen. VIII*, 1537, 172, pp. 56–7; 1539, Vol. XIV, Pt. 1, p. 64). The Arundell MSS. record under payments in February anno XXIX° [*Hen. VIII*, 1528] "Item paid to Thomas Ashe poticary by like commaundement [i.e. of the King] and like breve for certain medicines by doctour Cromer and other physicions and by the pothecarye employed for the releif and conseruation of the helth of the lady Marget Douglas during her tyme of her being in the Tower of London and also since the same"—£14 4*s*. It is questionable whether Ashe was ever a royal apothecary although he may have been a Court apothecary supplying medicines at the behest of physicians attending persons about the Court (Arundell MSS. No. 97, fo. 6b, Brit. Museum).

Plate 1. Brass in Cookham Church, Berks., to Richard Babham and his wife, 1527. Babham, apothecary to Henry VIII, died 19 June 1527.

(From *Chapters in the History of Cookham* by Stephen Darly, 1909.)

See page 64.

Plate 2. Brass in Thames Ditton Church, Surrey, commemorating Cuthbert Blackeden, apothecary.

'. . . while he lived Sariant of the confectionary to King Henry theight who departed this lief in Anno dn̄i 1540.' He is figured on left with the arms of Blackenden. Erected by Julian Booth in 1580 to her two husbands: (I) Blackeden, (II) John Booth.

(*Surrey Arch. Collns.* 1914, **27**, 75. By courtesy of the Surrey Archaeological Society.)

See page 66.

Plate 3. Thomas Alsop, apothecary to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary. Died 1557. Alsop is on the left of Sir William Butts and John Chambers, two of Henry VIII's personal physicians.

(From the painting of Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons, 1540. Reproduced by courtesy of the Master and Court of the Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons of London.)

See page 62.

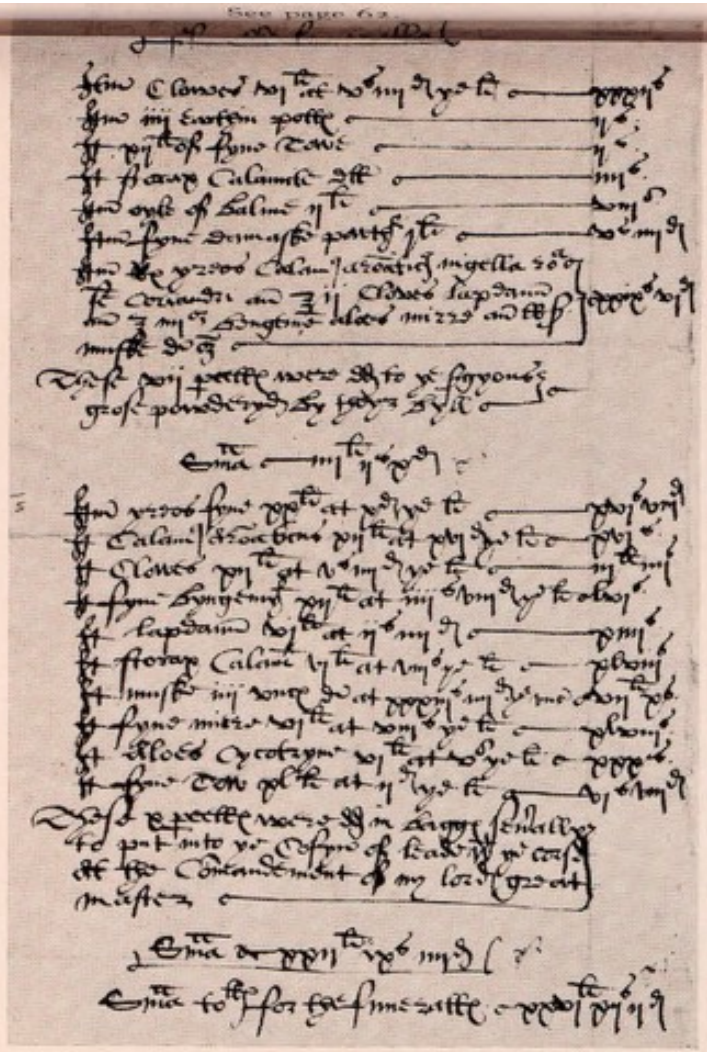


Plate 4. A page of Thomas Alsop's Apothecary account of 1546. The items supplied for the funeral of Henry VIII in 1546. The first part lists cloves, earthen pots, tow, storax, etc., and were supplied to the surgeons. The second part lists the aromatic substances that were to be placed in the coffin.

(Crown Copyright, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Public Record Office S.P.228 f.158)

See page 63.

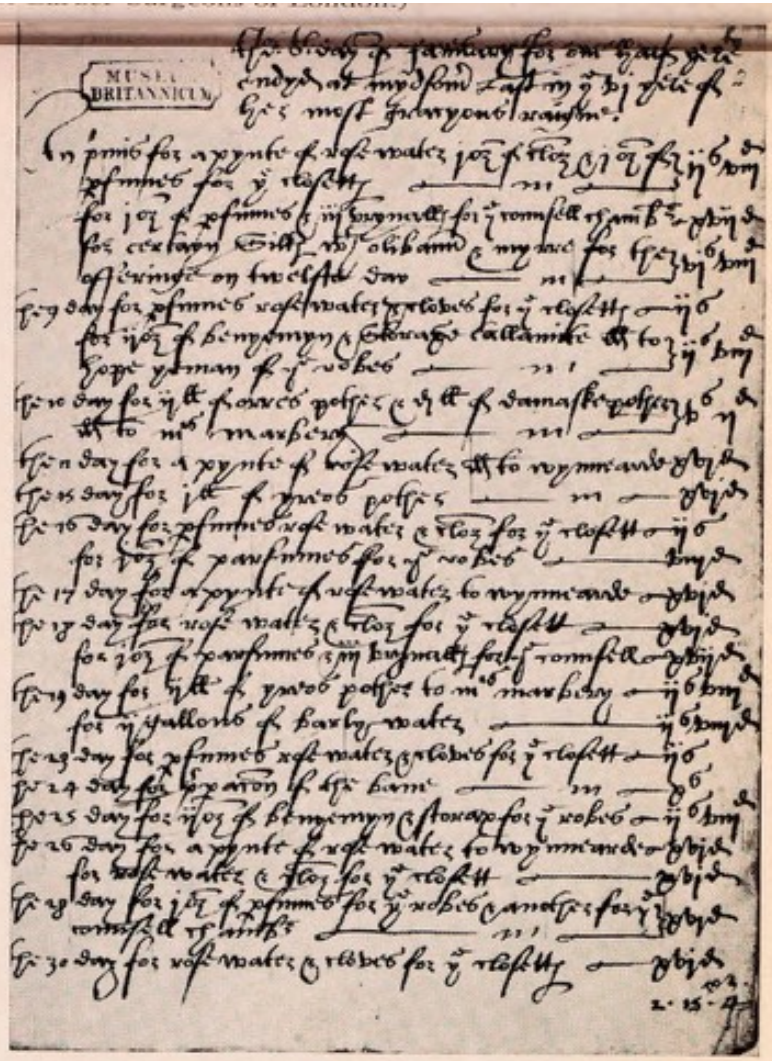


Plate 5. Account of John Hemingway, apothecary to Queen Elizabeth I.

The first page of the half year's account from 6 January to midsummer 1564. The items include rosewater, cloves for the closetts, barley water, and storax for the robes.

(Copyright: The Trustees of the British Museum.)

See pages 71 to 74.

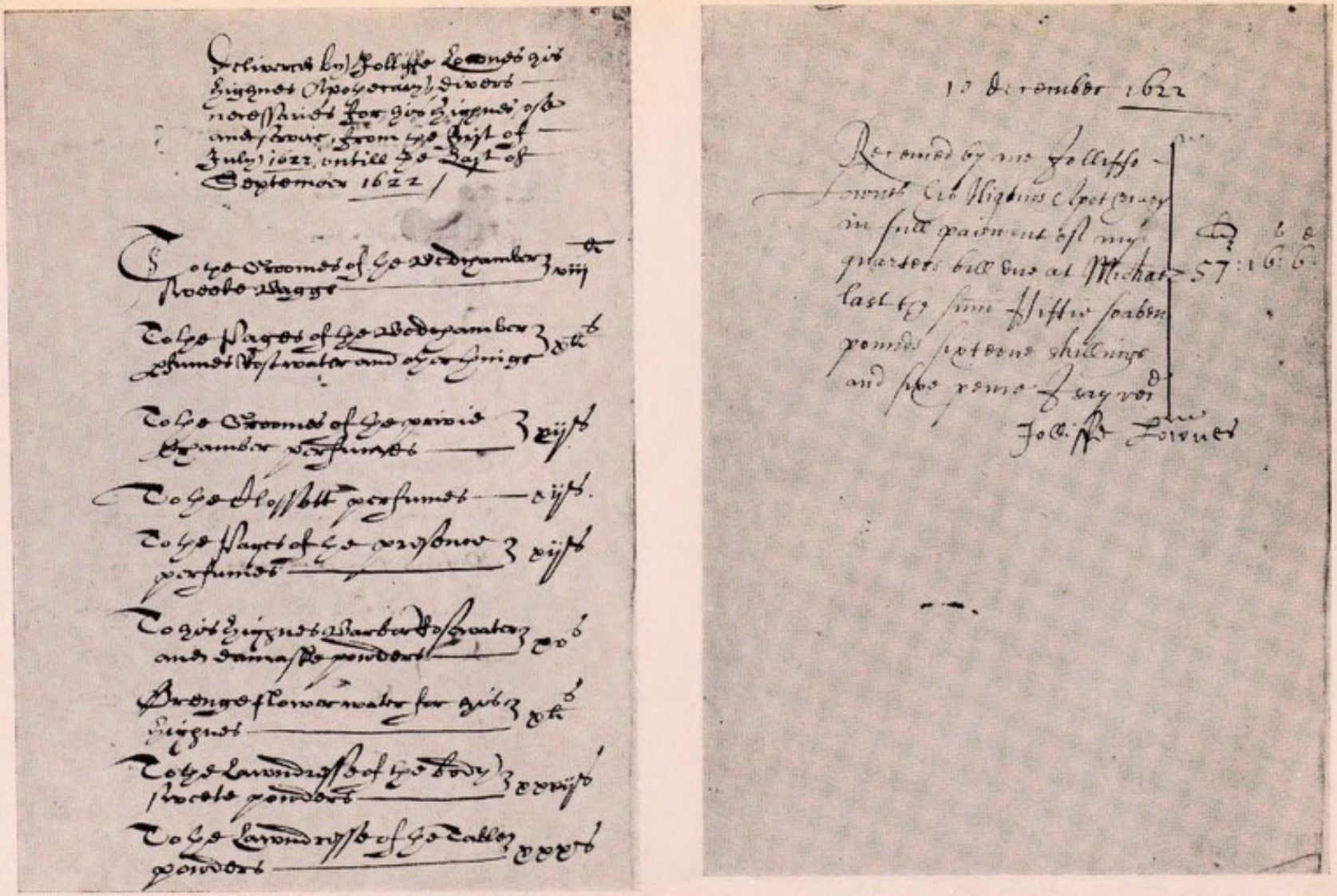


Plate 6. Account of Jolliffe Lownes, Apothecary to Prince Charles, from 1 July to 30 September 1622.

This account of six pages relates principally to the supply of sweet waters and perfume at a cost of £57 16*s*. 6*d*. for the three months. Lownes acknowledged receipt of this sum on 10 December 1622.

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Master of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London.)

See page 89.

Plate 7. A Dorset apothecary's signboard, 1623.

Copies of the carved and painted signboard, the original of which was in the Royal College of Surgeons, London, were made before its destruction during World War II. The signboard depicts the various services given by an apothecary in the time of James I.

See page 89.

Plate 8. Whitehall from St. James's Park in the time of Charles II.
A painting by Danckert. In one of the smaller courts were the office and laboratory of the royal apothecary. The original painting is in Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire.

(Copyright: The Greater London Council. Reproduced by kind permission of Captain E. G. Berkeley, Berkeley Castle.)

See page 124.

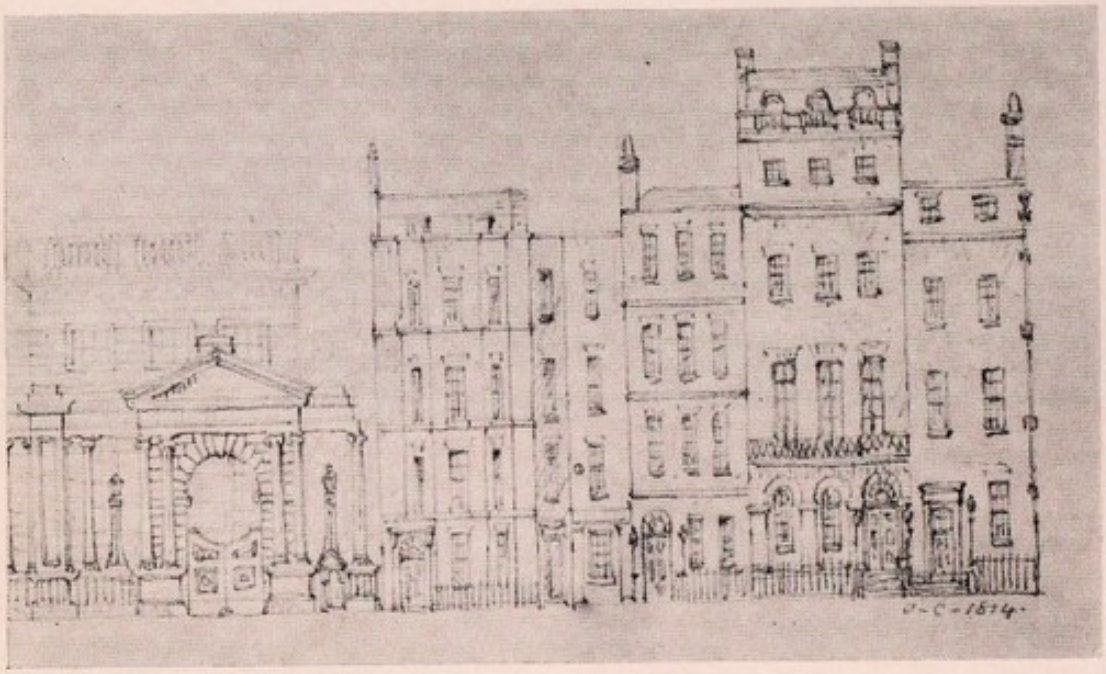


Plate 9. Daniel Graham's three houses, north side of Pall Mall, London.
A Palladian group of three houses on the extreme right, built after 1740. The houses were occupied by Daniel and Thomas Graham, both apothecaries to George II and III and their families until 1799. The houses were demolished to make way for Waterloo Place. (Drawing by J. Coney in his Pall Mall street elevations, 1814, Grace Collection, British Museum.)

(Copyright: The Trustees of the British Museum.)

See pages 146 and 147.

Plate 10. Warrant of Appointment of John Chase as Apothecary to Charles II, 1666.

This Warrant, illuminated, approximately 24 in. × 12 in. also records the reversion of the appointment to John Chase's son, James. It hangs on the staircase of the Society of Apothecaries.

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Master of the Society of Apothecaries.)

See pages 104 and 106.

Plate 11. Pharmacy Pots found in the Duke of Monmouth's Lodgings, Whitehall, London.

These delft pots and glass phials were part of the numerous finds in rubbish pits during excavations at the Palace of Whitehall undertaken in 1960 by Mr. P. E. Curnow and Mr. H. J. M. Green on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. The drug pots are of the second half of the seventeenth century. One of them still contained ointment probably supplied by the royal apothecary of the period.

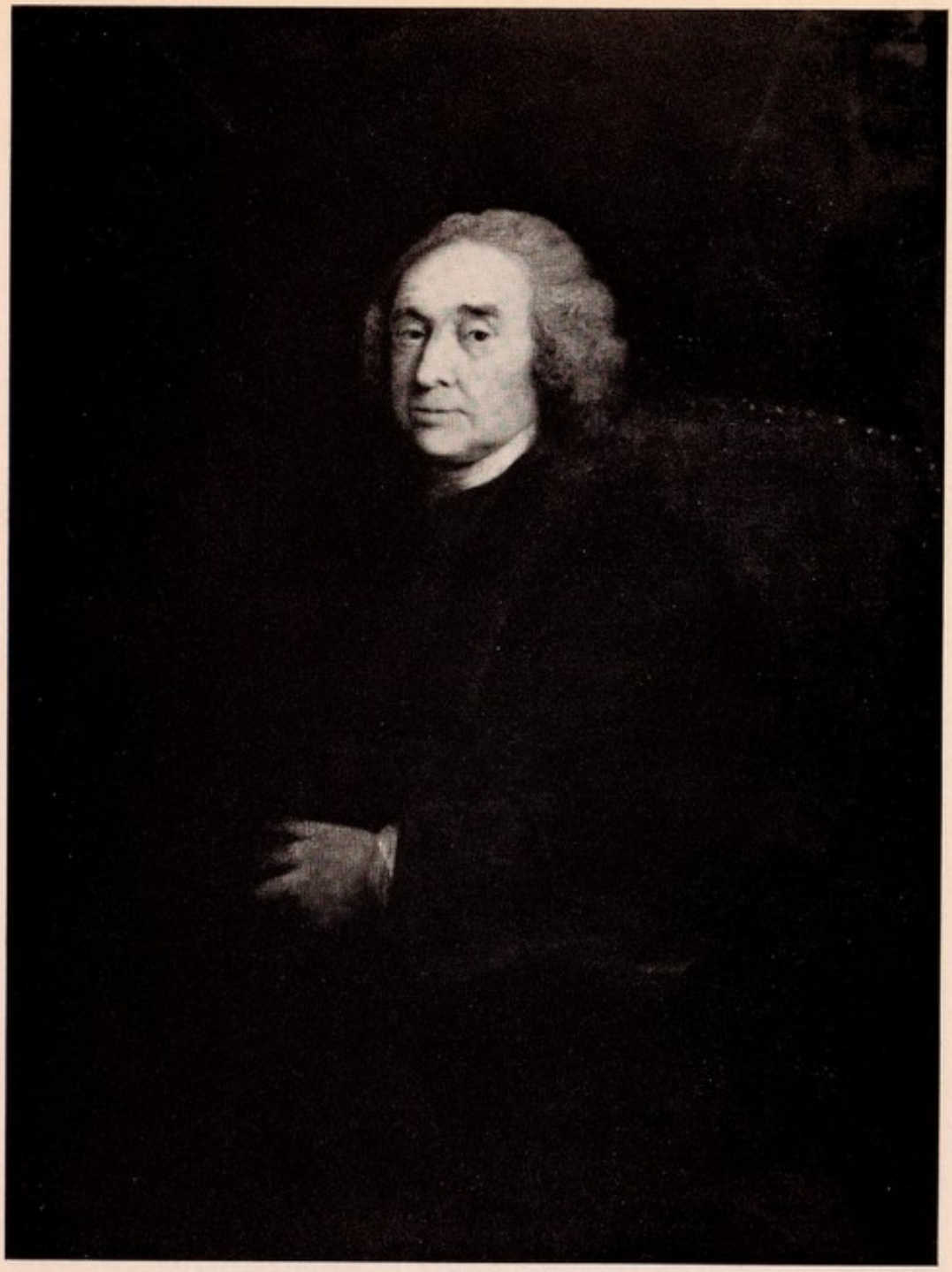


Plate 12. Portrait of John Allen (1684–1774), apothecary to George I, II and III.

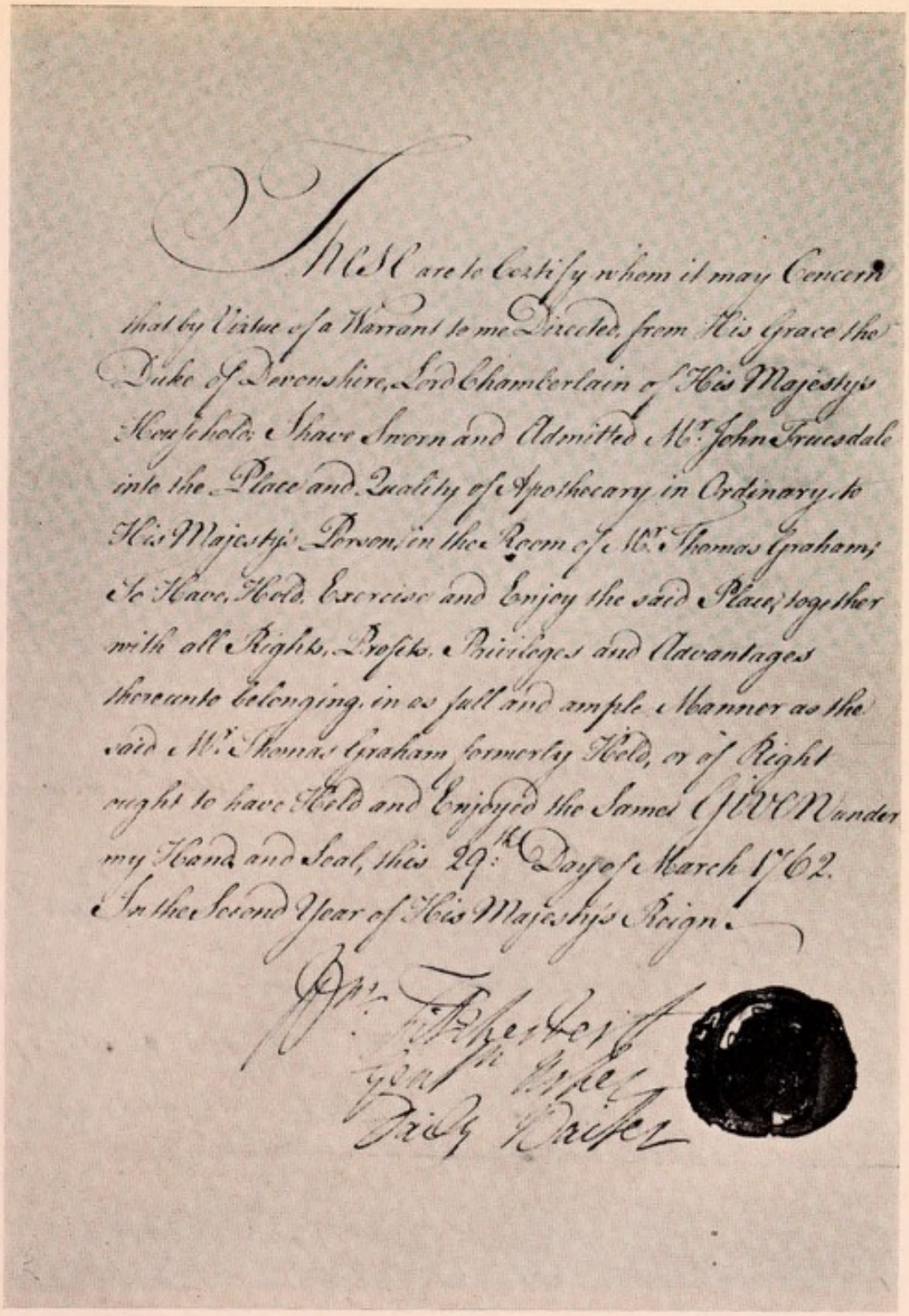
Allen was formally appointed apothecary to the Royal Household, 8 February 1728 and retained his post until his death in 1774 at the age of 91. His portrait was a gift from his fellow members of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries.

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Master of the Society of Apothecaries of London.)

See pages 155 to 156.

Plate 13. A Citizen of London in his Livery Gown—Henry Prude, apothecary.

The full length portrait of Henry Prude by Thomas Hudson, 1744, was re-engraved by J. Faber in 1750 as a three-quarter portrait—see the British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, vol. III, L to R. The original portrait of Prude, given by George Pile, M.D., is in the Hall of the Society of Apothecaries.



These are to Certify whom it may Concern
that by Virtue of a Warrant to me Directed from His Grace the
Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain of His Majestys
Most Honble House I have Sworn and Admitted Mr. John Truesdale
into the Place and Quality of Apothecary in Ordinary to
His Majestys Person in the Room of Mr. Thomas Graham
To Have Hold Exercise and Enjoy the said Place together
with all Rights Profits Privileges and Advantages
thereunto belonging in as full and ample Manner as the
said Mr. Thomas Graham formerly Held or of Right
ought to have Held and Enjoyed the Same Given Under
my Hand and Seal this 29th Day of March 1762.
In the Second Year of His Majestys Reign.

Plate 14. Enrolment of John Truesdale as apothecary to George III, 29 March 1762.

The appointment had to be registered in the various Public Offices such as that of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chamberlain, etc., at a total cost of £94 5*s*. 1*d*.

(By courtesy of the General London Council [Middlesex Record Office] which possesses the original and an exemplification of Truesdale's Patent of Appointment.)

See page 160.

Plate 15. Summons to a Meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries, 20 November 1817.

The "special affairs" recorded in the Minutes for 25 November 1817 was the celebration of the 200th Anniversary of the Apothecaries' Charter of 1617.

(The original was formerly in the possession of F. C. Kent, Secretary to the Pharmaceutical Society of Victoria, Australia.)

CHAPTER 5

The Stuarts

I. JAMES I AND CHARLES I

The death of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 put an end to the Court life enjoyed by many of her devoted followers and broke up much of the routine established during her long reign. James I was not long in making changes. He appointed Lord Thomas Howard, created Earl of Suffolk, as his Lord Chamberlain and principal officer of the Court, who was responsible for the employment of all those brought into the presence of the King within doors. He was assisted by a vice-Chamberlain, Sir John Stanhope, who had served under Elizabeth. The total staff of the Lord Chamberlain was between 700 and 800, many of whom were employed only part time. A committee, known as the Board of Green Cloth, met daily under the Lord Steward to scrutinize the expenditure of the royal house and to see to the purchasing of supplies.[1] The Confectionary, which in Tudor times had been supervised by a royal apothecary having the title of "Serjeant", and the Spicery, were among the departments for which the Board was responsible. The Board had to settle the wages and salaries of many of the officers employed about the Court. Several of those who had gained posts about the King had almost impoverished themselves in securing their appointments: they were expected to give large presents to the superior officers who had influence and who recommended them to the Lord Chamberlain or his deputy. Naturally they had to clamour for increased wages to try and recompense themselves for their considerable outlay.[2]

James I was not long in issuing his Ordinances for the Royal Household. These, dated 17 July 1604, regulated the fees paid to the royal physicians, e.g. Dr. Craig, his personal physician, was to receive £160 a year for diet and Dr. Marbecke, physician to the household, £134 6*s*. 8*d*. with "bouche of Court" and to have five dishes at a meal. Both were to give daily attendance. George Shiers, see below, who was accustomed to have his diet with Dr. Marbecke, was to be paid £60 a year and to have "bouche of Court". The "bouche" was one cheate (or chet) loaf and one manchet loaf with one gallon of ale in the morning and one loaf and one gallon of ale in the afternoon. Torches, pricketts, white lights, talshides (wood for cutting into billets), and faggots were supplied according to the season. The surgeon and the apothecary to Prince Henry's Court (Ralph Clayton) were less well treated in 1610.[3] Sir Joseph Banks in writing of the fees paid to the King's household, states that the physicians received £100 apiece, the surgeons £30 and the apothecaries 133*s*. 4*d*.; the Spicery Clerks £32, the yeomen 100*s*.; and the grooms 53*s*. 4*d*. a year.[4]

The custom of giving presents to the monarch at Christmas or the New Year continued and is well exemplified by the long list at New Year 1605–06. The Nobility, Archbishops and Bishops gave large sums, up to £40 in gold, to the King. In return he offered gifts of gold plate of comparable or less value. The Gentlemen, among whom were the King's physicians, surgeons and household servants, did not rise to such heights; their gifts were mostly of consumables, the weight of each being recorded, e.g. marchpane (Dr. Craig), a pot of green ginger (Dr. Hammond), a pot of orange flowers (Dr. Henry Atkins), marchpane (John Clavie, apothecary, misspelt as Olave) and a box of confections (George Shiers, apothecary).[5]

Among the royal servants retained by James was Hugh Morgan, the apothecary who had been in the employ of Elizabeth for twenty years—see Chapter 4. His service to James I was largely formal, though he held the title of "Apothecary Extraordinary", and it was GEORGE SHIERS

(or Sheeres) who replaced him. Shiers, apothecary and former apprentice of Morgan, had been granted by Queen Elizabeth the reversion of the office of yeoman apothecary,[6] an office which carried a fee of £10 a year and 22*s.* 6*d.* for a livery coat. As noted in the previous chapter he received his first appointment to James I on 8 September 1603: this was the office of making "all perfumes and sweet waters" for the King and Queen, his salary to be £20 a year. These he also supplied to the royal children.[7] Two months later he was appointed apothecary at a fee of £40 a year with the usual "bouche of Court", which included diet.[8] Early in 1604 Shiers was also chosen apothecary for the royal household and was authorized to provide medicines for the King's poorest servants; the maximum sum for these supplies was set at £60 yearly.[9] This warrant was confirmed in 1608.[10] Shiers retained these appointments through a large part of James's reign for we find him, late in 1625, and after Charles I had come to the throne, still having sums of money certified as due "for physicall provisions" for the poor servants of the royal household.[11]

The Confectionary, one of the departments of the royal household, like the Spicery and the Cellar, much in evidence during the time of the Tudors, was retained by James I, at least for a few years. Shiers figured as one of the "gentlemen of the Confectionary" in the first two years of James I's reign, in addition to his other offices, and when the post of Serjeant of the Confectionary became vacant in January 1605 he applied for it and was strongly recommended by the Treasurer and the Comptroller of the household. They added to their recommendation, and it may have pleased James, "No further charge will grow thereby, as the wages are the same" (as Shiers was then receiving).[12]

Though Shiers, as a royal apothecary, was named in the 1617 Charter list of members of the Apothecaries[13] he seems not to have taken any great part in the affairs of the Society. He was one of the eleven "Willfull Contentious Persons" against whom the Society brought suit in the Star Chamber in 1622 that they had planned to disgrace the

Apothecaries and overthrow their Charter, though they (the contentious persons) had earlier said they would separate from the Grocers and become Apothecaries. Shiers's answers to the charges were that he had been apprenticed to Hugh Morgan, Queen Elizabeth's chief apothecary, that he had been an apothecary member of the Grocers' Company for twenty-six years, that he would have had difficulty in keeping the oath of the Apothecaries unless he were freed from the Grocers, and that when he had wanted time to consider this the Apothecaries threatened him with Star Chamber proceedings. His affirmed that he had no shop and that he supplied medicines according to the *London Pharmacopœia* (of 1618) and to the prescriptions of the royal physicians but never outside the King's house.[14] Shiers was probably dismissed from the suit. Underwood rightly sums up the action against him as "ridiculous".

Like many royal apothecaries Shiers acquired sufficient wealth to buy properties in the country. It was through this that he was involved in an action to recover the manor of Kirby Misperton in Yorkshire which he held on a mortgage. He was also joined with J. Wells in the purchase of the manors of E. and W. Worldham, Hampshire, and of other properties in Dover and in Yorkshire.[15] What subsequently happened to the Hampshire manors is uncertain[16]: they are not mentioned as being in Shiers's possession when probate of his will was granted on 22 June 1642, Shiers having died some little time before this. In the formal probate he is described as a citizen of Westminster, the will being proved by his second son, Robert, who succeeded to the estate of Slyfield Place, Great Bookham, Surrey, which had been bought by his father.[17] Unfortunately, the inventory accompanying the will is no longer available, many of the Westminster inventories having been casualties in World War II.

Prince Henry, eldest son of James I and Queen Anne of Denmark whom James married in Oslo on 23 November 1589, had his own household staff. William Weston already noted (page 74) as in Queen Elizabeth I's service

from October 1587, acted as his apothecary from 21 February 1604[18] until some time in 1607. The Prince was known to be a weakling. George Nicholson, in a letter to Robert Bowles written in December 1595, said the Queen had been at Stirling to see the young Prince, who is noted "to be but a weak child".[19] Weston had been a yeoman apothecary in 1603 probably at the same time as Edward Hemingway, in all likelihood the son of John Hemingway, an apothecary to Queen Elizabeth—see page 70. Amongst the payments to Apothecaries, Physicians, etc. made by James I (and assigned to 1608, though undated, in the Public Record Office) is one to Weston of £40, presumably two years' salary being paid at one time. He may perhaps be identified with the William Weston, grocer of the parish of St. Peter on Cornhill, London, who died in 1609.[20] (Ralph Clayton who succeeded Weston, though an apothecary, also described himself as "citizen and grocer" as late as 1625.[21]) William Weston is also the name of the first apothecary mentioned in the House Journal of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, in 1572. He was then paid £4 10*s.* 6*d.* for "stuff . . . delivered to . . . one of the poore". Out of his meagre wage he had to provide some of the medicines: after protest his salary was increased to £16 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum.[22] It is not improbable that he was the William Weston who received the royal appointment.

The appointment of Ralph Clayton as apothecary to Prince Henry (and to his household) was made in November 1607 on the same terms as Weston's.[23] Clayton's bill for supplies to the Prince for a year, 1608–09, was £120 4*s.* 0*d.* The Prince died in November 1612. Clayton seems to have held no further royal post since there is no mention of him as an apothecary in the household of James I. Nevertheless, as his will dated 23 June 1625 shows, he continued to receive £20 a year from the Exchequer "for his service to the late Prince Henry".[21] Early in 1625 when he made his will, he was living, and presumably had his shop, in the parish of St. Bride, Fleet Street, London. Much of his money, and he disposed of almost £1000, went to nephews.

A bachelor, and a native of Blackburn, Lancashire, Clayton was greatly concerned for the welfare and education of the poor of the parish of St. Bride's and for poor prisoners in the Compters of Wood Street, Poultry and Southwark, and he left money for their relief. John Parkinson, a fellow apothecary, was one of two "neare neighbours" who witnessed the will and who was authorized to distribute certain funds to charities. Probate of the will was granted on 14 July 1625.

Among the first appointments made to the staff of the royal household after James I came to the throne on 24 March 1603 was that of JOHN CLAVIE (or Clavee), chosen apothecary-in-ordinary on 7 July of that year,[24] three months after James came to London. His appointment was for life, at a salary of £40 a year. On 14 July his duties were to include acting as apothecary to James I's Queen (Anne) and to Henry, Prince of Wales.[25] Clavie appears not to have been a member of the Grocers' Company. If not himself a Scot, Clavie certainly supplied many of the Scots in London, some of whom may have been in the royal entourage or have seen there might be a good future for Scotsmen as soon as James had established himself. Clavie's death is referred to in a warrant for payment to John Wolfgang Rumler who succeeded him.[26] In his will dated 22 September 1607 Clavie is described as of Hartshorn Lane (near Aldgate) in the City of London.[27] Among those who were to see his debts paid was Mr. le Mire, an apothecary from Flanders, also in the royal service. The amounts recorded in Clavie's will as due for collection included one of £11 from Lord Dunbar, formerly Sir George Home who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Wardrobe[28]; one from James Serserfe of 11,000 Scottish marks; and 40*s*., described as an old account, from Lord Kinross, formerly Edward Bruce. Clavie's will shows that he kept ready money about him—£40 in gold in his desk, £30 in his "studdye", and he notes that there was £22 "in my truncke at Courte", where like other royal apothecaries, he had a room for his stock of drugs and for making up medicines.

After disposing of one-third of his moveables and the lease of his house to his wife and one-third to his son and two daughters, according to the custom of the City of London, he remembers that there may be something due to him "for the furnishing of sweete waters and powders with divers other things as will appear in his account with the Lord Vice-Chamberlain". Probate of his will was granted to his wife, Mary, on 10 November 1607.

Jolliffe Lownes had his first royal post as apothecary to Prince Charles, later Charles I. The Court Minutes of the Grocers' Company of London in the early part of the seventeenth century show that Lownes was a member of that Company until he left them for the Apothecaries. He was mentioned in the Apothecaries' Charter and as one of the "body corporatt" in their Grant of Arms of 12 December 1617. As apothecary to the Prince he was badly served by a fellow apothecary, Michael Eason, by whom he was supplied with various medicines. Tests made of some of Eason's preparations by the Wardens of the Grocers' Company in 1617 showed that Eason, who confessed to supplying Lownes, was unfit, insufficient and unskilful to make "compositions" and that his confections might cause damage to the whole community. Eason was committed to prison in the Compter until he gave a bond of £100 not to make further confections.[29] When Charles I came to the throne in 1625 Lownes was retained in the royal service, his appointment being renewed on 4 June 1625 with a fee of £40 a year.[30] Lownes died two years after, in 1627, and was succeeded by J. W. Rumler.[31]

Lewis le Mire (le Myre or Lamere) came to this country from Flanders and was granted a patent of denization on 17 August 1599.[32] His name appears in the Apothecaries' Charter of 1617 and he was named as one of the Court of Assistants.[33] He held an appointment for several years as apothecary to James I and his Queen and claimed that he was sworn apothecary to Charles I at his coming to the throne. He amplified this by stating that he provided "all the accomplishments for the embalming of both their

Majesties bodies" (James I and Anne of Denmark), being the greater part of his estate.[34] (This is at variance with John Wolfgang Rumler's statement that he, Rumler, was paid for the embalming of James I.) In 1630 le Mire was appointed apothecary to Prince Charles, later Charles II, in place of Rumler.[35] When le Mire petitioned in 1632 for payment of fees overdue for his service to the late King, James I, he described himself as apothecary-in-ordinary to Charles I and to the Prince and Princess. He was then, as he says, greatly impoverished and heavily in debt. Charles I, on receiving the petition, recognized le Mire's service and gave special direction for him to be paid. It is evident the Treasurer of the Chamber was short of ready money for there are two further petitions, June 1632 and March 1633[36]: both proved ineffective.

Almost despairing, he petitioned again in November 1633 praying that he be paid "for God's cause and the love of justice"[37]: this produced another order for payment but le Mire died without ever receiving what was due to him. That this was so is clear from two petitions on record from his wife, Mary, to Charles I.[38] In the first of these she recounts that when her husband entered the royal service he had more than £5000, all of which had gone "in discharge of his calling without any recompense at all". Le Mire had died suddenly and left debts of more than £1600: she herself was starving and there was insufficient money to pay for his burial. She suggested that some of the royal physicians and some members of the Board of Green Cloth might meet and agree what was due to her. In the second petition she asked the King to appoint her nephew, Mathew Bushie, brother of the Princess's nurse, as a royal apothecary, stating that he was in every way qualified as he had served with her late husband for twelve years. During his lifetime le Mire retained his interest in the Society of Apothecaries, serving as Renter Warden in 1625–26[39] but he was never advanced to the Mastership. He made his will on 20 August 1630: he was then living in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, Middlesex.[40] In it he was des-

cribed as "Esquire" and not as "Apothecary", possibly because he held royal appointments. He left his goods, chattels and plate to his wife who was executor of the will of which probate was granted on 6 June 1635.

An interesting sidelight on the way in which some royal appointments were secured appears in the case of Lewes Lamyre (*sic*) against J. W. Romler (*sic*) noted in the Exchequer Bills of 1625. Le Mire deposed that he and Rumler agreed to pay equally £5 a year to John Clavie for his patent as apothecary to James I. Le Mire was to supply all the drugs, etc., and to have half the profits and the fee of £40 a year to which Clavie was entitled. When Clavie died, in 1607, Rumler was chosen as apothecary to James I and le Mire had to be content with the place of apothecary to the Queen. He held this for about seventeen years until the Queen's death. Rumler was to account to le Mire for his fee of £40 a year as apothecary to James I since he held the post only by agreement with le Mire. Le Mire stated that he supplied all the drugs needed for the royal house and also disbursed to "druggers and grocers tenne thousand pounds at the least". Although Rumler had promised to share according to the agreement, he, le Mire, could get no satisfaction from Rumler who was his brother-in-law. Le Mire said he was paying out interest on £8200. A subpœna was issued for Rumler to appear before the Court of Chancery. Rumler's reply was to the effect that the partnership had been dissolved in July 1619 and that an agreed sum had then been accepted by le Mire. Le Mire contested this. As in so many cases, the final outcome is not reported. It seems that le Mire never received from Rumler what was claimed to be due, otherwise le Mire's widow, Mary, would not have needed to petition in the way she did.[41]

The royal apothecaries of James I's time did not stint their charges for "apothecary stuff and other parcels" supplied for their Majesties' use. Shiers's bill for a year, September to September 1603–04, was £210 9*s*., certified by Dr. Marbecke and Dr. Craig, and £36 3*s*. for the Duke of York (afterwards Charles I) certified by Dr. Atkins.

Rumler's bill for the King totalled £711 10*s.* 8*d.* for 3¼ years, October 1607 to December 1610, and for the Queen £1011 7*s.* 6*d.* for 3¾ years, December 1609 to September 1613, certified by Dr. Mayerne, physician to the King, and Dr. Scovenus, the Queen's physician. All these bills were signed by the Lord Chamberlain before an order for payment could be passed.[42]

John Parkinson (1567–1650) was appointed apothecary to James I. He was a practical gardener as well as an apothecary and a herbalist of considerable ability and distinction. Named in the Apothecaries' Charter, he attended the first meeting of their Court of Assistants on 16 December 1617.[43] In 1620 he was elected a Warden of the Society but resigned the office.[44] His house and garden were in Long Acre, near what is now Covent Garden, London. He is best known for his two major works—*Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, 1629, and *Theatrum Botanicum: The Theater of Plants*, 1640. The former is more concerned with horticulture than the latter which gives a good account of the materia medica then in use, especially the plants and herbs, and includes descriptions of such well known remedies as unicorn's horn and powdered mummy. Parkinson was one of the apothecaries whose advice was sought by the Committee of Physicians who prepared the first *London Pharmacopœia*. He told the Committee that if they had followed the advice of the apothecaries whom they consulted it would not have been necessary for them to have called in copies of the issue of May, 1618, and to have reissued it, in an enlarged and corrected form, in December of that year.[45] Parkinson was appointed Herbarist to Charles I some time before 1640 for he so describes himself upon the title page of his *Theatrum Botanicum* published in that year. It is possible he was the "John Parkinson" (or Parkynson) of St. Sepulchre, London, who as "yeoman" was granted a marriage licence to marry Mary Hutchens, widow, of the City of London, on 8 July 1588.[46]

We first hear of John Wolfgang Rumler's appointment

as apothecary-in-ordinary for life to James I, with a fee of £40 a year, in 1608.[47] On 26 November 1604 the Queen had approved him as apothecary to provide sweet powders, waters and perfumes.[48] A Bill of Denization passed by the House of Lords in July 1610 stated that he was born in Auspage (? Augsburg) in High Germany and that his wife, Anne Rumler, alias Anne de Lobell (sister of Paul Lobell, apothecary), was born in Middlebrough in Zetland.[49] Although obviously well recommended as an apothecary, for without good backing Rumler as a "foreigner" would hardly have secured a royal appointment unless, as is possible, he came to England as an attendant upon Anne of Denmark. He seems not to have been a "foreign brother" of the Grocers' Company of London. His post as an apothecary to the King was doubtless the reason why he heads the list of the Court of Assistants in the Apothecaries' Charter.[50]

Rumler, like Paul de Lobell, another "foreign" apothecary, of Lime Street, London, was caught up in the stringent enquiries made into the death of Sir Thomas Overbury (1581–1613) in the Tower.[51] It was suspected, and with good reason, that Overbury had been poisoned at the instigation of Viscount Rochester who with the Countess of Essex, his intended bride, was at that time intriguing against Overbury. On examination Rumler said he was never appointed to administer medicines to Overbury though he wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower to say that it was the King's pleasure he should do so. While a prisoner Overbury was reported to have the spleen persistently: it was said he was cheerful but sometimes took medicine and used plasters. Paul de Lobell, brother of Anne Rumler, stated that he gave no medicine to Overbury except by the advice of Dr. Mayerne (then chief physician to James I) but he saw that Overbury had received waters, plasters, etc. not bought from him. It was Lobell's opinion that Overbury was not poisoned but died of consumption; he said that the glyster prepared by his son, William, was made on the order of Dr. Mayerne "who was the only physician in England worth

anything".[52] Although there was talk of the administration of a glyster of corrosive sublimate prepared by one of Lobell's men (? Lobell's son, William, who was sent to France during the enquiry), it was generally believed that Richard Weston, a gaoler in the pay of the Countess of Essex, and James Franklin, an apothecary, were concerned in the poisoning, Franklin having supplied aqua fortis, mercury, cantharides, etc. Weston and Franklin were both found guilty and were executed.

In *Sir Thos. Overbury's Vision*, the author, R.N., gives the story of Overbury's life and his death by poison in the Tower. "Those cruel men tormented me . . . month after month . . . inducing me to think that what I took as Physick, Meat or Drink, was to restore me to my health." He describes Weston, "a man of meagre looks", Dr. Turner's house as a house of ill fame, his daughter a whore, and Franklin, the apothecary, as a man who studied his art abroad and who was induced to commit his crime against Overbury "by Art of Poison". Franklin's ghost says: "I was the Man that did prepare those Poisons, which began and ended all thy (Overbury's) pain." The Lieutenant of the Tower is made to say: "Sir Thomas Overbury trusted me and I was unfaithful and treacherous to him." [53]

In a warrant of 1610 by James I to the Treasurer to pay Rumler £879 13*s.* 6*d.* "for physicall and odiferous things", Rumler is referred to as "Our well beloved servant" and as apothecary to "Ourself, Our dearest wife" and to the royal children.[54] Two years before this, in 1608, Rumler was granted a safe conduct to go abroad to purchase Rhenish wines.[55] Licences to buy wines abroad in the King's name for private use were much sought after and were usually granted only to persons of established position. Rhenish wines had commanded higher prices than French wines, from the days of Henry VIII, and their price by retail and wholesale in this country continued to be regulated by order or proclamation.[56] In 1620 Rumler used his position as King's apothecary to secure a grant for the sole making of "Mercurie Sublimate" but when he petitioned the Court of

Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries for their consent to his implementing it, the Court considered this might imperil or invalidate their Charter and withheld consent.[57] His style of living about that time can be gauged by the fact that when his wife, Anne, was granted a pass to travel to France in 1624, she was allowed to take with her four servants and her apparel: other necessities not being prohibited.[58]

On the death of James I in 1625 Rumler was appointed apothecary to the household of Charles I for life with a fee of £40 a year and "bouche of Court" and he had also the office for life of compounding and serving all sweet waters and other odoriferous things for the service of the King and Queen, the fee for which was 20 marks a year. His bills for the latter were examined by one of the King's physicians.[59] Additionally he was to supply medicines for the King's poor servants, the cost of these not to exceed £60 in any one year. In 1626 Rumler held the office of perfumer to the Queen.[60] A year later he was to attend the Queen as apothecary-in-ordinary and to have his diet as formerly or receive 6*s*. 8*d*., a day in lieu. The same year, 1627, he succeeded to the post of apothecary to Charles I in place of Jolliffe Lownes, deceased, who had occupied various posts as apothecary in the royal service.[61]

Rumler, as royal apothecary, stated that he was responsible for the embalming of James I though it is not clear whether he actually supervised the task. As mentioned above, this statement is at variance with the claim made by le Mire. The high cost of the gums and spices, etc. used for James I's embalming is reflected in the 1627 warrant of Charles I to the Treasurer of the Chamber to pay Rumler £282 9*s*. for "oduriferus parcells as well as for embalming of his late Majesties royal body as afterwards during all the tyme until the day of his Majesties funerall".[62]

It was a usual custom for apothecaries to be called upon for the spices, gums, etc. needed for embalming, and apparently to supervise the operation. There are many instances of this, for example, Joshua Drayner, apothecary, petitioned

Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, for payment of £50 expended in embalming Lord Wentworth (d. 1667) on an assurance that "his Lordship would see him paid".[63] The practice of employing apothecaries to undertake embalming existed in many countries. From the seventeenth century onwards the Langeli pharmacy, in the heart of Rome, had the privilege of being the pontifical pharmacy, and its family proprietors, the Langelis, had the task of embalming each Pope at his decease. Leo XIII who died in 1903, was the last Pope to be embalmed by Louis Langeli who himself died in 1951.[64] Some Formularies in use up to the nineteenth century, e.g. the French *Codex*, 1837, contained a formula for the powder, etc., required.

Like most royal servants under the Stuarts, Rumler did not get his salary regularly or have his bills paid promptly: a lengthy and detailed account of what was owing to him is to be found in the State Papers. This account covered the years 1628–38 and although there had been payments from time to time, the large sum of £943 6*s*. 8*d*. was still owing, £130 of which went back to the reign of James I.[65] Things went from bad to worse as far as payments were concerned. Rumler continued to supply medicines to Charles I whenever possible during the Civil War. In 1642 a warrant was granted on Rumler's petition for him to take several parcels of medicine for the use of the King who was then at Oxford. Stringent search was to be made however before Rumler was provided with a Pass and could set out with men and horses.[66]

Rumler's necessitous condition forced him to submit a petition on 26 January 1647 "To the right honble the Lords and Commons nowe assembled in both Houses of Parliament". In this he stated that £1000 was then due to him from the Exchequer under patents and privy seals, besides assessments "to a great value" for arrears of sundry bills in the Treasury Chamber and for debentures, for which he had warrants, and other debts due to him. Most of the amounts were four years overdue and the interest on the sums he had loaned the Treasury came to about £100 a year. Rumler

says he was being molested with threats by creditors. He had suffered a heavy loss of two cart loads of his goods when the Court removed from Shrewsbury during the Civil War: these included plate, trunks of medicines, provisions, and money to the value of £800, besides other losses since. He was now destitute and was forced to leave his attendance upon his Majesty, his only livelihood, and to return to his habitation at Isleworth, Middlesex. He had conformed to all Ordinances and if he had committed a fault it was only through ignorance. He was in fear of utter ruin of himself and his family. He desired an order from both Houses on the Revenues so that he might not lose all he had gathered together during forty years and upwards, and some defence from creditors in his old age until by the assistance of their Houses he might satisfy them. The petition ends with the shaky signature: "J. Rumler".[67]

Rumler's long connection with the Apothecaries lasted from 1617 almost until his death. His position as royal apothecary had been recognized by the Court of Assistants as justifying precedence being granted him, "shall take his place nexte or with the Master of this Company for the tyme being in all private or public meetings whatsoever".[68] Although Rumler had an office at Whitehall he seems to have had an apothecary shop elsewhere for it is noted in the Court Minute Book that he took apprentices. He was twice elected Master of the Apothecaries, the first time for the year 1622–23 and the second for 1636–37 but in both years he had to ask that a deputy be appointed on the ground that his work at Court might prevent him from regular attendance at meetings.[69] He was chosen Master for a third time in August 1638 but declined to take office because of the unpleasantness of Thos. Hicks, a former Master.[70] At a meeting of the Court in 1641 at which Rumler was present, the Apothecaries decided to take perhaps the first step towards the protection of the public against accidental poisoning. The minute reads: "Forasmuch as many dangerous accydents daily happen by the sale and abuse of divers things, by ignorant people, It is

ordered that no Antimonium, Stibium, opium, colocynthis, hellebore albus, Scammony, elaterium, mercury sublimate, Arsenick, or any other poisonous or dangerous simple shalbe sold by any free brother of this Company without speciall caution and that every person offending therein shall undergoe such penalty as shalbe thought fit and imposed by the Master and Wardens for the tyme beinge."[71]

Though Rumler was a prominent member of the Apothecaries for so many years his death is not noted in their Court Minutes. According to Underwood he lived until 1650.[72] Assuming him to have been about thirty years of age when he was first appointed by James I in 1607 he would have been over seventy when he died.

Gideon de Laune was of Protestant descent. Dr. F. N. L. Poynter, in his Gideon de Laune Lecture entitled "Gideon de Laune and his Family Circle", reviewed the circumstances in which William de Laune, a Protestant pastor and a physician, settled in London with his family, of whom Gideon, one of his sons and who became an apothecary, was probably the most successful financially.[73] It is therefore not necessary to do more than outline the main events of his life. It is not known exactly when Gideon was appointed an apothecary to Anne, Queen of James I, but it may have been about 1606.[74] De Laune had great influence with the King and used this to encourage the separation of the Apothecaries' section from the Grocers' Company and the granting of a Charter incorporating the Apothecaries in 1617, in which he was named as an original member of their governing body, the Court of Assistants. He played an important part in the affairs of the Society of Apothecaries, helping them to secure their Hall in Blackfriars, London. This was where his father had purchased property to which Gideon added, so much so that at his death he was possessed of a mansion, two shops and ten tenements there. His service as a royal apothecary seems to have ended with the death of James I in 1625. He grew immensely rich, perhaps partly from the sale of de Laune's Pill, a nostrum that continued to be advertised after his

decease.[75] Gideon was often to the fore in maintaining the rights of the Apothecaries or when they had grievances, to see that they were aired in places where they could be noted and remedies provided.

Gideon married Judith Chamberlaine, of a Normandy family—the de Launes were said to be from Normandy. He, with his brothers, had obtained a grant of arms from Segar, Garter King of Arms in 1612, the arms of the family of Launey of Belmesnil, Normandy, "from which they are descended",[76] but it was not until 1635 that he took out letters of denization, becoming a national of his adopted country.[77] Without the freedom of the City of London it would not have been possible for him to have become Master of the Society of Apothecaries and it was on the direct instruction of James I to the Lord Mayor that the freedom was granted him. He was Master in 1627–28 and again in 1637–38. Questions of precedence having arisen at meetings of the Court of Assistants, he was awarded the place of honour next to the Master because of his royal appointment.

An entry in the Minutes of the Grocers' Company of 17 May 1630 suggests that Gideon de Laune was at one time a member of that Company. His name appears with nineteen others, all described as "divers apothecaries, heretofore free brothers of this Company now separated" who jointly requested restitution of several sums of money they had lent to the Grocers for the provision of corn, supplies of which were husbanded by the City. It was ordered that the sums be repaid upon the apothecaries giving an acquitance. The Minutes record that almost a fourth part of the Grocers' Company separated from them when the Apothecaries received their Charter in 1617.[78]

Quite early in Charles I's reign Gideon and eighteen other residents in London bearing French or Flemish names were pressed, even forced, to lend money to the Crown; this they did, Gideon at first lending 1000 marks (approximately £667) though he later managed to have the sum reduced to £100.[79] In 1650 there was so much money

still owing to Gideon by the late King (Charles I) that he elected to take some forfeited estates in lieu of the sum of £2048 8*s*. 6*d*.[80] Gideon was generous to the Apothecaries, making them many gifts. He gave his portrait, after Cornelius Johnson, to be hung in their Hall in 1642.[81] As a mark of their affection for him they set up his bust there in 1676 with an inscription commemorating him as a great benefactor. Both portrait and bust are to be seen in their Hall.

When Gideon died on 7 February 1659 at the great age of ninety-four, it was found that much of his property, including the Sharsted estate in Doddington, Kent,[82] was left to his grandson, William, the eldest son of Abraham, Gideon's deceased son. An elaborate funeral was staged by the College of Heralds and it was "worshipfully solempnised from Grocers' Hall to the Parish Church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, on Tuesday, 3rd. March" (1659).[83] It was in accord with Gideon's wish that he be buried in a style befitting an Alderman of the City. He had in fact been chosen Alderman for Dowgate Ward some years earlier but his foreign birth had caused him to refuse the honour.[84]

In passing it may be noted that although James I was violently opposed to the use of tobacco, he set up a commission comprising Matthew Gwynne, two grocers, two merchants and two apothecaries (Richard Bacon and Edmond Phillips), any five of which must include one grocer and one apothecary, to garble the drug called "tobacco", which was to be imported. The growing of tobacco in the realm was to cease from 10 July 1620. The proclamation "Super abusu Herbæ Nicotianæ" described it as "a weed of no necessarie use!" There was a further proclamation on 29 September 1624 confirming that no tobacco was to be grown in the realm and that it was to be imported from Virginia and the Summer Islands. This was affirmed in the first year of the reign of Charles I.[85]

The Metcalfe family were staunch royalists throughout the Civil War. Adrian Metcalfe, a son of Sir Francis Metcalfe, Knight, of Louth Park, Lincolnshire, was appren-

ticed for eight years to John Lawrence, apothecary of London, in 1627.[86] His father's influence at Court gained for him the reversion of the office of apothecary-in-ordinary to Charles I, after J. W. Rumler,[87] and in 1639 further reversions were obtained: that of providing and serving all perfumes and sweet waters for the use of the King and Queen, and successively for the lives of himself, Adrian, and Francis Metcalfe (an elder brother), the office of apothecary to the royal household.[88] These reversions could take effect only when the then holders of the offices, amongst them J. W. Rumler, should see fit to vacate them. As Rumler lived until 1650 Adrian Metcalfe would have had to wait many years for his appointments. He acted as apothecary to Charles I, however, when he was in Scotland in 1641. It was whilst the King was in Aberdeen in 1641 that Adrian, with Dr. William Harvey, then physician to Charles I, was admitted a free burgess of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen.[89] Metcalfe's adherence to Charles I had its repercussions under the Oxford Articles of the Interregnum, the Committee for Compounding, in fining those who had served the Royalist Cause, made him pay £33 14*s*. 6*d*. on 25 February 1647. His petition to compound, noted as "missing" had been referred to a sub-committee on 28 November of the year before.[90]

Francis Metcalfe appears to have been the eldest son of Sir Francis. By 1624 he was wealthy enough to buy ninety-two acres of land in Lincolnshire.[91] Although his circumstances deteriorated later, he must have had a flourishing apothecary's business to have paid the fine of one-tenth—£266 13*s*. 4*d*.—imposed by the Committee for Compounding which was exacted because of the service of his brother Thomas, captain of a trained band in Charles I's army.[92] Francis himself saw service with the Royalists, as he makes clear in his petition to Charles II in 1660, when he was seeking reinstatement as apothecary to the royal household, which he says he held in 1642 under Charles I. In outlining the misfortunes to his family for their loyalty to the King during the Civil War he adds that he lost his wagon of

medicines, etc., at Naseby, had his office at Whitehall plundered, and not having £10 in the world, was forced to compound "for liberty and livelihood". Nevertheless, he affirms he ever remained faithful to the royal cause.[93] Although the certificate he submitted showed that he had been sworn apothecary to the royal household on 17 June 1642, he did not immediately regain the post, it being held that George Solby (see below) had a better right to it. Metcalfe was persistent however and the next year, 1661, he brought strong evidence to prove he had served from 1639, reminding the King that he had about £2000 arrears due to him, and again recalling that not only was he plundered in the wars but that his father, Sir Francis, was murdered and five brothers died.[94] Despite this undeniable claim to royal favour he had to wait some time for reinstatement though a warrant on file to admit him an apothecary to the King's household is dated 15 January 1660.[94a]

II. CHARLES II AND JAMES II

With the Restoration on 29 May 1660 came a crop of self-seeking royal servants all pressing for their appointment to posts of high reward or promise. Apothecaries were no exception, especially those like Francis Metcalfe (see above) who had received appointments under Charles I or who had the reversion of appointments derived from their parents' grants. Their claims went before the Lord Chamberlain in whose hands were all the offices of servants above stairs, among which were the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. Charles II, invariably attracted by the new or unusual, was to make many appointments without the guidance of the Lord Chamberlain. Amongst them were men of diverse character. One such was the charlatan Cornelius à Tilborne, chosen as a physician for his demonstration of Orvietan as a poison antidote (page 137). Another, Moïse Charas, a Protestant driven out of France by the Edict of Nantes, was appointed an apothecary on 22 July 1680. Charas, a demonstrator of chemistry in Paris,

was said to have been the first French pharmacist to prepare the celebrated Theriac. A third, also an immigrant, a Monsieur Garnier, was chosen an apothecary on 11 June 1682. Yet a fourth, Charles Angibaud, another Protestant exile, is named as one of Charles II's apothecaries on 6 January 1684, only three months after he arrived in London[94b]. These must have been extra appointments as the regular posts had long been filled : their names do not appear in the lists of payments made to royal apothecaries in the succeeding years. Denizations of Charas and Angibaud are noted in 1681.

Stephen Chase was the head of the Chase (or Chace) family who provided royal apothecaries and Masters of the Society of Apothecaries at intervals for more than a century. He took the livery of the Apothecaries in 1630 and became a member of the Court of Assistants but was never Master.[95] His post of Apothecary to Charles I is referred to in a petition by his daughter Anne (? in 1665). She pleaded that because of the loyalty to the Crown of both of her parents, who had served Charles II whilst Prince and had suffered imprisonment, sequestration and plunder, she and her two sisters might be granted the reversion of office of controller of customs in Devonshire[96]. There is no record of this grant being made. Stephen Chase had his apothecary shop in Covent Garden, London, in 1641.[97] Some time before the death of Charles I he had advanced £100 to obtain a grant for himself and John Parkinson, the apothecary and botanist, of a small plot of land next to the Tennis Court in St. James's Fields, the rent of which was 20*s*. a year. The grant was made on the basis that the land would be used for growing plants and that a house would be erected upon the land. This had not been possible because of the Civil War and the Interregnum. Parkinson had died, and in 1660 John Chase, apothecary and son of Stephen, asked for a lease of the land.[98] It is doubtful whether his request was ever granted as Charles II himself had plans for the development of St. James's Park, many of which were carried out.

Stephen Chase seems to have done well by his sons. He

bought for another son, Stephen II, the patent of "purveyor and chafe wax" to the Court of Chancery. This was worth about £360 a year and it is no wonder therefore that Stephen II in 1666 sought a renewal of the patent for himself and his own son, Stephen III. In presenting a petition for this renewal, Stephen II drew attention to the service of his father, Stephen I, as royal apothecary and added that his mother was one of the "rockers" of his Majesty when a child.[99]

The Chase family made a point of looking after their relatives. In 1660 JOHN CHASE soon after his appointment as apothecary to Charles II, secured the reversion of the office for his own son, James. John Chase tried to get out of a difficulty about a guarantee he had given for a relative, Ralph Chase of Kent. He asked the Bishop of Salisbury to provide him with an indemnity for the bond, seeking release because Ralph had taken his own life and in consequence his goods were forfeit to the Crown. John disliked paying money which would have found its way into the Treasury.[100] He was elected Master of the Apothecaries for the year 1664–65 and was reelected for a further year.[101] It was in 1665 that he was confirmed in the post of King's apothecary at a fee much increased above former payments, of £115 a year.[102] By that time he was making full use of the two great "collars" or cupboards which had been supplied to him from the Great Wardrobe soon after his first appointment. These cupboards were made with partitions and drawers, with pots and glasses, and leather for coverings. Besides these there were two trunks with drawers, two strong chests of planed wood covered with hide, and one red leather case. All this was stated to be customary. Part would have been for the furnishing of his room at Whitehall, the trunks would have their use in transporting his drugs and medicines when the King moved elsewhere[102a]

John Chase had a lengthy petition drawn up in 1667: in this he complained about the meagre allowances made to the royal apothecaries, stating that they had remained the same as

in the days of Charles I. He said the royal barbers still had to provide two dozen quilted linen bags containing aromatized sweet powder, presumably supplied by the apothecary, every quarter, for rubbing the head of his Majesty and that they were out of pocket in doing so ; the apothecary had to supply more perfume weekly for the Privy Galleries as the previous allowance was insufficient, the rooms being very large ; the wardrobes had to have their allowance of powder to keep the royal garments sweet and for the King's lodgings ; the Chapel linen had to be sweetened ; in addition there was the making ready for ambassadors, for healings (when the King touched for the Evil) and also bathing and other things. All this meant a great strain upon the apothecary's finances. He, John Chase, was owed about £6000 "for the ordering of which he humbly implores your Honours favour". This petition was addressed to the Lord Chamberlain or to the Lord Treasurer in the absence of the former.[103]

This was a period when very large sums were outstanding to royal servants, often for years ; even the yeoman of the Removing Wardrobe was owed £100 for the washing of sheets. John Chase's petition came before the King though perhaps not immediately. It was eighteen months before Charles II ordered the Treasurer and the Commissioners to find some way of paying the amount due and by that time the sum had risen to £7000. The King said he was anxious to relieve Chase's extremity and to provide for future payments and he was displeased that the bill had not already been attended to.[104] Alas ! there was little in the Treasury while the King's mistresses were receiving huge sums as presents, besides, there was the financial strain during the 1660's of the Dutch war which Charles had on his hands. So great was this burden that ships were without crews because there were no funds with which to pay the seamen regularly. It was to help John Chase in his extreme difficulty that in 1669 he was granted two-thirds of prize goods to the value of £1500 which he had discovered to have been embezzled at Plymouth : usually the discoverer received only half their value.[105] Three years after his first petition,

i.e. in 1670, Chase was obliged to remind the Lord Treasurer that payment of the arrears of his account had not been made nor, he added, was his present salary being paid.[106] So unfortunate was he in getting in his money that in 1683 he went to the length of petitioning for the grant of the goods and chattels of William Tindall who had killed another man and whose goods were therefore forfeit to the King.[107] From the will of Anne Chase, 1662, widow of a Thomas Chase, it is learned that John Chase, described in the will as "citizen and apothecary of London" had a country residence in addition to his house in London: he was then occupying Little Brook farm in Stone, Kent, which was the marriage jointure of the deceased, Anne Chase.[108]

John Chase had little satisfaction from the Treasury: in July 1688 he was still petitioning for leave to pursue his claim for certain arrears of taxes, due over a period of fifteen years, which would have compensated for his arrears of salary.[109] There had been an order in 1685 to the Treasurer of the Chamber to pay him £218 8*s*. for embalming the body of the late King (Charles II).[110] Perhaps because of Chase's lack of money the Treasury took the precaution of asking the Master of the Jewell House to certify that John Chase had delivered up the quantity of plate for which he had the responsibility after Charles II's death.[111] Apparently he had done so, for nothing further is recorded.

James Chase, son of John and grandson of Stephen Chase I, was chosen second apothecary to James II, his salary to be £500 a year from Lady Day, 1685, concurrently with the appointments of James St. Amand (first apothecary) and Charles Giffard (apothecary to the household)[112]—see below. James Chase was Master of the Apothecaries for the year 1668–69 and as a memento of his Mastership presented the Society with a silver monteith bowl and a salver.[113] His son, John Chase II, after being Senior Warden of the Apothecaries in 1750–51 was elected Master for the year 1753–54, thus carrying on the long association of the family with the Society, his grandfather, Stephen Chase I having become a liveryman of the Society in 1630.[114]

It is of special interest that the royal warrant of appointment of John Chase, bearing the date 22 February 1666, in which the reversion to his son James Chase is noted, superbly illuminated, adorns the walls of the Society which his family served for well over a century with unfailing zeal. (A further note on James Chase comes into the next chapter.)

Another of Charles II's apothecaries of distinction was William Rosewell (or Rowsewell). Having been apprenticed for eight years in 1620, at the age of 14, he obtained the freedom of the Society of Apothecaries in 1628. For many years he was the personal attendant of Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester and later Archbishop of York. His royalist service led to his being passed over in 1655 when he should have gained the post of apothecary to St. Thomas's Hospital, London, but at the Restoration he made good his claim.[115] In 1662 and again in 1664 we find him acting as apothecary to Charles II's Queen, Catherine of Braganza. Though in 1663 the Queen was to pay Rosewell out of her allowance, apparently she did not do so for it is recorded that he be paid out of the Treasury Chamber for all perfumes for her private chapel, the bills to be carefully scrutinized by a physician or by the Lord Chamberlain.[116] This appointment came after Charles II, in 1661, had supported Rosewell's application to serve the Apothecaries: Charles recommended him as Master, saying that "Major Rosewell", as he was called, had been an efficient officer in the City of London's trained bands and that he had not only served Charles I faithfully but in doing so had lost his whole estate. The Apothecaries at once acted on Charles II's recommendation, admitting Rosewell to the Court of Assistants and later in the year elected him Master.[117] In this capacity Rosewell was zealous in their interests, representing them in many disputes with the College of Physicians. He almost gained agreement with the Physicians that they would not practise as apothecaries and that patients should have the right of free choice of apothecary in having their prescriptions dispensed: unfortunately the plague put an end to the negotiations.[118] In 1675 he was granted

the Lambeth degree of M.D. We last hear of Rosewell in 1677 when again he was representing the Apothecaries in a dispute with the Physicians, this time a complaint that some apothecaries were practising as physicians. The outcome of this is not recorded.[119]

GEORGE SOLBY is known to have had his shop and to have resided in Bucklersbury, in the City of London, in 1641.[120] As already mentioned he was concerned in a dispute with Francis Metcalfe about the appointment as apothecary to the royal household in 1660. Solby claimed that this post had been granted him by Charles II when his Majesty was in Brussels in February 1660, three months before the Restoration, and that Metcalfe, who claimed to have derived the appointment from Charles I, had offered him, Solby, £250 to relinquish his right.[121] Solby was confirmed in the post. His appointment made while in Brussels seems to have been partly in recompense for services he had rendered to Charles II while in exile. Solby refers to these services some time between May 1660 and 1664—no date can be assigned to the document—when he submitted a bill for "special services to his late (Charles I) and present Majesty (Charles II) in transmitting packets, entertaining their agents in his house with commissions, cyphers, arms, etc."; all, as he says, at great expense, which had reduced him and his family to great necessity.[122] That these services were of undoubted value to Charles II is evidenced by the warrant granted to Solby for £800 to be paid to him, £150 of which seems to have been paid on account and, in April 1664, the balance of £650 is mentioned, the Lord Treasurer to pay it when he can.[123] There is a warrant too for the payment of £150 to Mrs. G. Solby, presumably Solby's wife, as the King's free gift.[124]

In part compensation for Solby's loyal service and perhaps because of delays in payments to him, the King, in January 1662, recommended to the Company of Barber-Surgeons that Solby, his sworn apothecary, be appointed for life "to provide fitting medicaments for chests, to be used in the service by sea and land, at reasonable rates".[125] This

recommendation was interpreted by the Barber-Surgeons almost as a command and Solby received the appointment. The Barber-Surgeons, in acknowledging that Solby "may well be trusted with the sole fitting out of surgeon's chests for the Navy", reminded his Majesty that naval surgeons had the privilege either of making their own medicines or of having them supplied by an apothecary of their choice, provided the value amounted to no more than the money allowed by the King, the Company being the sole judges of the price and quality of the goods.[126] The allowance for chests was on a descending scale, £50 for first-class ships to £30 for ships of the fifth class.[127] Many references to the supply of these Navy surgeon's wants by Solby are to be found in the *State Papers*. The Barber-Surgeons selected the surgeons for the Navy and allocated them to particular ships needing them, often the surgeons having little choice. A surgeon received "free gift" and "imprest" money: "free gift" money for serving during the summer or the first six months and the "imprest", in addition, if he remained in the service for both summer and winter, the amounts varying with the rating of the ship, £20 in all for a first-class ship, less for one with a lower rating.[128]

Some time after Solby had started fitting out chests, the question came up about his having more demands than he could readily meet. The Barber-Surgeons reminded Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, that the surgeons were allowed to "fit with whom they pleased".[129] They tried to help Solby with supplies but in a letter, dated 20 November 1665, to Samuel Pepys (later Secretary to the Navy), they said that Solby refused help and that delays could not be overcome while the supply was in one man's hands.[130] Complaints became so serious that Lord Arlington decided Samuel Pepys must look into them. Solby had his own influential supporters however and one of them, William Burgess, wrote to Pepys that he was much concerned that Solby should be rebuked for neglect. "Solby", he said, "is eminent for zeal and diligence, spares no pains or

expense. . . even to the consumption of estate and hazard of life."[131]

Solby had great difficulty in getting his money for the fitting out or "recruiting", as it was called, of surgeons' chests. Time and again he had to get a certificate from the Barber-Surgeons that the amounts of the bills were in order. Sometimes he had to wait more than two years for his money. Two detailed bills of what he supplied have survived—one is for £28 13*s.* 0*d.*, the other for £27 3*s.* 10*d.* The range of medicaments covers plasters, ointments, oils, electuaries, confections, syrups, powders, troches, barley flour and bean flour, etc., and a set of instruments, including syringes. One of the lists included galley pots and glasses, in addition to skins for plasters.[132] What was supplied was not greatly in advance of the recommendations made by John Woodall in *The Office and Duty of the Surgeon's Mate* (London, 1617).

Solby's friends evidently succeeded in getting the complaints against him suppressed, for Lord Arlington's secretary issued a memorandum in June 1666 that an allowance was to be made in the Navy accounts for a stipend of £200 a year, authorized by Sir George Carteret, to be paid to Solby: this was an additional recompense for his work.[133] All this was at a time when the Navy was engaged in its long and arduous campaign against the Dutch who were seeking to deprive the English of command of the high seas. According to Pepys's *Diary* many of the ship's companies suffered badly in these engagements and the surgeons must have been kept busy dealing with severed limbs, gun-shot wounds, and the hazards from the fire ships used by both sides. The situation regarding the fitting out of surgeon's chests became so urgent that four apothecaries, supported by fifteen surgeons, submitted a proposal to take a warehouse for this purpose. Having in mind, no doubt, the delays over payment, the group offered a discount of six per cent for cash.[134] There is no record of the scheme having been adopted but in 1702–03 the Society of Apothecaries secured a contract for supplying both the surgeons and the Navy with drugs and medicines, for the satisfaction of which certain

members of the Society set up a "Navy Stock" on a co-operative basis.[135]

Solby had become a freeman of the Apothecaries in 1637 but he appears to have had a shop of his own just before this, as during a search of apothecaries' shops by the Master and Wardens of the Apothecaries, samples of some of Solby's preparations were taken for examination. They were found upon a "tryal by Enquest of the office of Assize at Guildhall", London, to be bad, and after judgment in the Lord Mayor's Court, were destroyed in Guildhall yard.[136] Solby was called to take the livery of the Apothecaries in 1652 but seems not to have done so. His last recorded place of residence, and where presumably he had his shop, was in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London. It was there he made his will on 12 May 1681. He must have died late in 1684 or during the first days of 1685, probate of his will being granted on 6 January of that year.

The will was in terms that caused complications. Solby noted that his wife was frail and supposed her not to be capable of managing her own affairs : he therefore left to his daughter, Elizabeth Mather, lands and tenements in Alton, Co. Southampton, out of which provision was to be made for his wife and for others of his family, including his son, Thomas, "the greater part to such of them as stand in most need". Elizabeth died shortly after Solby and his other daughter, Anne Boles, found herself in trouble over the administration of the estate. The will was in and out of Court several times, the daughter Anne claiming that Thomas ought not to benefit under the will. Judgment was given finally on 15 May 1686 but no decision on the question of Thomas's participation is recorded.[137]

There seems to have been little ready money forthcoming for his family after Solby's death. On 16 March 1686, Lord Rochester, as Treasurer, referred to William Hewer (often mentioned by Pepys) the petition of Mrs Solby, as executrix of her husband's will, and on behalf of "her poor children", praying for some present funds as there was

nothing left for their subsistence but some Navy Bills, amounting to £2106 0*s.* 6*d.*[138] (At times Pepys refers to the almost unmarketable value of Navy Bills, there being no funds out of which to meet them.) A month later Rochester informed the Navy Commissioners that the Navy Bills of Solby had got out of the proper persons' hands and that the wrong holder had now absconded. Rochester asked the Commissioners to renew the Bills according to the entries in their books.[139] The question of payment to Solby's estate was still unresolved two years after this. In 1688 the Lords of the Treasury directed the Navy Commissioners to defer payment of Solby's Bills and to pay the next on the list.[140]

It was in Paris that NICOLAS LE FÈVRE (otherwise Nicasius le Febure) met Charles II, a meeting that led to his being invited after the Restoration to become the King's Professor of Chemistry. Le Fèvre was to have a laboratory in St. James's Palace and to hold the post of an apothecary-in-ordinary. Le Fèvre, born in France in 1610, gained his qualifications as an apothecary in the University of Sedan. He held the important post of demonstrator of chemistry at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris and lectured there, John Evelyn, the diarist, being one of his pupils.[141] Le Fèvre took up his appointments in London in 1661, being granted a fee of £150 a year as "Professor of Chymicks". For a short time he acted as Master Surgeon in *The Paradox*. He decided to make his home in London and had supplies of chemicals, drugs and laboratory equipment sent to him from Paris. Like other royal servants he had often to petition for his salary, always in arrears, and also for his perquisites and even for his allowance for laboratory fuel. The Board of Green Cloth reminded him there was only one apothecary of the royal household on their official list (John Jones) and that his, le Fèvre's appointment was a special one made by the King. Perhaps to ease the way for payment le Fèvre imported wines from Rouen for the King's own use: these were allowed in free of duties.[142]

Evelyn, writing in September 1662, says that he, accom-

panied by his Majesty (Charles II), went to see le Fèvre's "accurate preparation for the composing of Sr. W. Raleigh's rare Cordial, he making a learned discussion before his Majestie on each ingredient".[141] The compliments paid to le Fèvre on that occasion may have decided him to publish a volume *Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sr. Walter Rawleigh* in 1665. (This Cordial, devised by Raleigh whilst a prisoner in the Tower during the reign of James I, had a great vogue. It was said to be distilled from forty roots, seeds and herbs, to which animal and mineral substances were added. As "Confectio Raleighana" it was added to the *London Pharmacopœia* of 1721; its formula suffered many modifications in successive pharmacopœias and it diminished to the preparation known as Pulvis Cretæ Aromaticus, retained in the *British Pharmacopœia* until 1932.) Le Fèvre's more important work was his *Traité de la Chimie*, of which there were English versions in 1665 and 1670, translations being made also into German and Latin.[143]

When le Fèvre died in March 1669 there was keen competition for the offices he had held.[144] Richard Coling, a servant in the royal household pretended to have the reversion of the posts but was unsuccessful and Dr. Christian Harel (or Harrell) secured both appointments. First sworn in as "Operator in Chemistry" to his Majesty on 6 April 1669, with a fee of £15 a year,[145] he soon became styled "Professor of Chemistry, with his fee increased to £40,[146] this was to include his service as apothecary to the household. Harel had to give an undertaking that he would not interfere with the rights of John Jones who had been apothecary to the household for some years. When Harel was well established, his board wages were set at £60 a year, with £12 a year "bouche de Court" and £4 19*s.* 8*d.* a month for laboratory fuel,[147] the same amount as had been allowed to le Fèvre. In 1687 Harel was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London. He is said to have attended Nell Gwynne in her last illness.[148] His appointment as apothecary to Queen

Mary II and as physician to both William and Mary is the subject of a note—see ref. 148.

In May 1669, only a few weeks after Harel's appointment, Charles II, always ready to support those who could promise new things in chemistry, appointed Dr. Thomas Williams to the new office of "Chemical Physician" to the King. He was to have 20 marks a year. In justification of his having the post, Williams, reputed a highly skilled practitioner in his art of composing and inventing medicines, had to give a demonstration to Charles II. His duties were to continue experiments in the royal laboratories.[149]

An analogous appointment was that of Dr. Robert Morison (1620–1683) as "Botanic Professor". Morison had been wounded during the Civil War, had fled to France where he studied medicine, and had become one of the three superintendents of the Duke of Orlean's gardens at Blois.[150] The post to which Charles II appointed him included acting as a physician: his salary for both was to be £200 a year. Morison was not long in the royal service. In May 1669 he was ordered to deliver up to Lord Hawley the Royal Physic Garden in St. James's Park with the house and ground,[151] Charles having other plans in view for the lay-out of the Park, as already indicated. Morison suffered no loss of employment for in December of that year, 1669, he was chosen Professor of Botany by the University of Oxford. There he taught botany and grouped his plants by their fruit differences, in the manner of Cæsalpinus.[152] As late as 1693 Margaret Morison, widow of Robert, had to claim the arrears of salary due to her husband for his service under Charles II. There was £4400 owing and she said her pension was not being paid. She was told nothing could be done at the time.[153]

Mention has already been made of John Jones as apothecary to Charles II's household. His first office was that of providing perfumes and sweet waters, the fee being 20 marks yearly[154]; on appointment as apothecary to the household an additional fee of 40 marks a year became payable.

He, like John Chase (page 104), was supplied with large cabinet chests, with good locks and iron work and divisions for plasters, etc. When the royal household moved from one residence to another so did their apothecary. Jones was not satisfied with his lodgings in 1671 and, with Dr. Thos. Waldron, petitioned the King that he would refer to a surveyor the cost of fresh lodgings when his Majesty removed from Hampton Court, their former lodgings being so decayed that they must be pulled down.[155] Jones was up for election as Master of the Apothecaries in 1673 but was not successful; instead he was made a member of the Court of Assistants. In May 1676 he preferred to make a gift to the Society as an alternative to paying certain fines: he presented the Court with a portrait of Charles I to be hung in their Hall. It was the year when the bust of Gideon de Laune was set up. A few months later the Society commissioned Snelling, the limner, to copy a full-length portrait of James I, presumably to match that of Charles I. Both portraits are still in the Hall and in their original frames.

Jones, continuing the practice of former apothecaries to secure posts for their family, petitioned in June 1677 that his son, William, might have the reversion of the office of apothecary after his death: he said he had then held office for seventeen years. He reminded the Lord Chamberlain that there was a precedent in the case of Stephen Chase I (see above) and he supported his plea by saying that he and his family had suffered much for their loyalty to the royal cause at Worcester and at Gloucester.[157] The Lord Chamberlain's right to appoint to the places of physicians, apothecaries, and many others had been confirmed only a few months before Jones made his application.[158] According to his son's later claim his petition was successful. The choice of persons to such posts was a source of profit to the Lord Chamberlain, to judge from entries in Pepy's *Diary*. At the least a generous present was expected.

Valuable as his post was, Jones wanted to do better: in October 1678 he secured the consent of the Duke of Monmouth to his request that he might sue for letters mandatory

to the University of Cambridge for creating him a Doctor of Medicine.[159] His plea was backed by Charles II who in a letter to the Chancellor of the University recommending Jones for the degree, stated he was satisfied of the learning and abilities of Jones, one of his own apothecaries, and that Jones had performed long and faithful service.[160] Jones had already been awarded a Lambeth degree of Doctor of Medicine on 14 December 1677, the Fiat having been authorized by Sir John Berkenhead, Master of the Faculties. In the application for it Jones was described as an alumnus of Oriel College, Oxford, and as apothecary to Charles II.[161] (There is no record of Jones as M.D.Cantab. in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigensis* nor is his name in Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians*. Whether he was ever awarded the degree of Doctor of Medicine by a University is therefore a matter of doubt : he is not named as having that degree at Oxford.) Nevertheless he was accepted as "Doctor" by the Court of the Apothecaries at their Election Day meeting in August 1680, his presence being recorded as "Dr. John Jones".[162] He is also so described in references to him in the *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1556–1696*.[163] It was not usual in the seventeenth century to find apothecaries receiving the degree of M.D. though Adrian Metcalfe and William Rosewell were two already noted; Francis Bernard, apothecary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was another, and Thomas Johnson, apothecary and botanist of Snow Hill, London, was granted a Doctorate by the University of Oxford in 1642 at the behest of Charles I.

Taking the fullest advantage of his position, Jones petitioned in 1681 for the gift of the canonry of Christ Church, Oxford, for his son John who had been a King's Scholar at Westminster, had gone to Christ Church and had become a senior proctor of the University.[164]

John Jones's service as apothecary to William and Mary are referred to in the next chapter. Here we may note that he died early in 1693, having made his will on 21 July 1692. Described as "Doctor of Physic", he was then resident in

the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex. He died wealthy: his bequests in cash amounted to well over £2000, much of which was left to his sons John and William and to his daughter, Lady Elizabeth Lloyd, and to their children. He had properties in Worcestershire and in Warwickshire. Sums were provided for charities and for the poor, including those in Bridewell Hospital, then near the Fleet Bridge. His wife, Elizabeth, was the sole executrix. Jones mentions his stock in the "Royal Affrican Company" and in the Elaboratory at Apothecaries' Hall, and he does not fail to note the debts due to him in Whitehall by virtue of his place as apothecary to the household. Probate of his will was granted 6 February 1693.[165]

Charles Giffard, who was appointed apothecary to the household of James II in 1685 at the same time as James St. Amand and James Chase were made apothecaries to the King, had his apothecary's shop in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, then in Middlesex.[166] He had a salary of £160 a year. He held the post only a short time as he died before July 1686, probate of his will, dated 20 July 1680, being granted on 9 July 1686. His estate he left to his wife, Hester, and 10*s*. each to his brothers and sisters for the purchase of gold rings.[167]

Robert Lightfoot, one of Charles II's apothecaries, is the subject of a single-line entry in *Alumni Cantabridgensis* where he is noted as "M.D. 1682". This was about the time that he entered the royal service. His salary at first £125 a year was increased to £200 and was in arrears when the Wardrobe accounts were being prepared for James II in 1685.[168] He is named "Dr. Robert Lightfoot", with James Chase at a meeting of the Apothecaries' Court of Assistants on 19 October 1687. Both Lightfoot and Chase took their places of honour and the Court ordered that "in honour and respect to their Ma[jes]ties the severall Apothecaryes from time to time belonginge to the persons of the Kings and Queenes of England shall for ever thereafter soe long as they shall serve their Ma[jes]ties take their place

next to the Master and Wardens for the tyme beinge". A committee, which included Lightfoot and Chase, was to draw up an Address of Thanks to the King respecting his Declaration of Indulgence of 4 April 1687. By an Order in Council the Society was to remove twenty-five named Assistants ; twenty-six named Liverymen were also removed: all vacancies were to be filled. The Address reflected the Society's compliance with the Order.[169]

James St. Amand, son of John St. Amand of Greenwich, an office holder in Ludlow, Shropshire, benefitted by his father's will made 14 June 1664. After charging the executors with the duty of getting in monies due to him from the farmers of the customs of Charles I, the father left to his son James one-twelfth of his estate "to be paid unto him at such time as his apprenticeship shalbe expired or when he shall set up shoppe for himself at his owne election and discretion . . .".[170] St. Amand's first royal appointment was the post of apothecary to James, Duke of York. In 1679 he, with two servants, was issued with a pass to accompany the Duke and his household to Brussels.[171] It was a time when Charles II preferred the Duke's absence to his presence at Court because of intrigues sponsored by the Duke. Almost as soon as the Duke succeeded to the throne, as James II, St. Amand was appointed *first* apothecary to him, actually from Lady Day 1685, at the substantial salary of £500 a year.[172]

St. Amand became a Liveryman of the Apothecaries in August 1680, an Assistant in the last years of Charles II, and Master for 1687–88. Charles had been anxious for the City Companies to be packed with men of his own persuasion who would vote for members of Parliament to his liking. St. Amand was a Member for St. Ives from 1685–87 : he stood as a Tory, without success, at Steyning in 1710. Many of the Companies had been obliged to surrender their Charters. James II continued these selective appointments but in 1688, the Charter of the Apothecaries was restored and most of the time-serving Assistants were dismissed ; the services of St. Amand and James Chase (q.v.)

were retained.[173] In October 1687 he had become an Alderman of Castle Baynard ward in the City but he was superseded a year later.[174] He was regarded as sufficiently influential by the Apothecaries to head a petition to the House of Commons when a Surgeon's Bill which would have imperilled their interests was being discussed. Continuing his work for the Apothecaries he was active in securing for them in 1702–03 a contract for them to supply the Fleet with medicines; in this he took a responsible part in the deputation that commended the proposal to Queen Anne.[175] St. Amand's royal appointment brought him much practice in the Court circle. He should have grown wealthy if he was chosen by Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), to supply medicines for Sir Hans's well-placed patients. The lengthy case histories Sir Hans has left on record and for which there are innumerable prescriptions, for he was a lavish prescriber, would have kept any apothecary very busy. A note of St. Amand (undated but in the writing of an elderly man) to Sir Hans reads: "Thursday night. Lady Burlington being obliged to goe out this evening, entreats to see you too morrow about eleaven oclock, when she attend your comeing who am Sr yr most faithful humble Servt Ja: St. Amand."[176]

St. Amand was regular in his attendance on James II and his Queen. He emphasised this when two divines, Dr. George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, and Dr. George Harbin, formerly chaplain to Lord Weymouth, questioned him about his presence at the birth of James II's son, later known as "The Old Pretender". The legitimacy of James's son was still much to the fore when Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702. On 2 April 1703 St. Amand gave his two questioners details of the pregnancy of the Queen (Mary of Modena) saying this dated from the time of her stay with James II at Bath. St. Amand said he was "as well assured of the Queen being with child as any of his sex and profession could well be". He went on to say that he gave her medicines to prevent any miscarriage and he provided applications to soak up any milk forming. The

Queen had wished to be delivered of her child at Windsor but instead had an apartment prepared at St. James's Palace because Whitehall was inconvenient. Though St. Amand did not actually witness the birth, he arrived outside the Queen's lying-in apartment (10 June 1688) in time to hold the newly born infant and he took some drops of blood from the child's navel string—according to the humour of the women in attendance—the blood being fluid: this would have been coagulated had it been that of a child newly born in another part of the Palace. St. Amand said that substitution was quite impossible, especially as he saw the afterbirth, etc. He attended the infant once a day until, in December 1688, he was taken to Portsmouth to embark for France with the King and Queen. During his attendance on the young child there were two occasions on which his skill as an apothecary was particularly useful—the first was three days after its birth, when the King fearing the worst, sat up with the child most of the night and prayed; St. Amand administered a spoonful of Syrup of Peach Blossom which eased the painful breathing that had been caused by the attendant women giving the child a large dose of Mithridate. The second occasion was almost six months later when the King, fearful the child would die, forbade the Queen to go to Richmond to see it. St. Amand told Dr. Walgrave, the physician in attendance, that a drop of laudanum in a spoonful of Black Cherrywater would be good. There was some hesitation but when the King approved, St. Amand gave it to the child who then slept for four hours, after which it took milk from a foster mother—previously it had been fed only with a made diet. Thereafter the child did well.

St. Amand also told his two enquirers that soon after the news of the intended invasion of the Prince of Orange, he was summoned overnight to appear next morning before the Council. Under oath he had to dictate a deposition on the Prince's birth, in which he used the words: "I saw the Prince." Sir J. Nichols wanted him to say: "I did see", etc., but St. Amand said it was not grammatical! Soon after the Revolution he was sent for to St. James's Palace to give

an account again, which he did, and was then told that the Countess of Sutherland had given a similar account.

Both Dr. Hickes and Dr. Harbin were so keen to get St. Amand's statement on record that Hickes wrote it out two days after they had talked with St. Amand and both signed it (on 4 April), stating that it was a faithful record to the best of their remembrance. The record takes up many pages in Hickes's writing.[177]

Still not completely satisfied, they went back to St. Amand for more information. He told them that the Prince had no marks on his neck or elsewhere and that Mr. Peirse, then Serjeant-surgeon and also the King's surgeon, was not in attendance on the Queen or the Princess because they knew from experience he was a clumsy operator. Hickes made a supplementary note and dated it 15 April 1703.[178]

St. Amand's account of his attendance upon the infant Prince is attested by an Order to the Cofferer of the Household on 3 November 1688 to pay £200 forthwith to St. Amand, apothecary to the King and Queen; it being upon account of the Prince of Wales.[179] Evidently the King referred to him as "Prince of Wales" almost from his birth, five months before. There is confirmation of the order for payment in a royal warrant to the Treasurer of the Household and to the rest of the Board of Green Cloth—to pay the £200 to St. Amand for extraordinary charges in his attendance upon the Prince of Wales "to whom also we have appointed him to be apothecary". This payment was to serve until the King should settle an allowance for that service.[180]

St. Amand died on 4 October 1728. For many years before this he had been living and had his apothecary shop in the parish of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Possessed of considerable means, he left his son, James, an annuity of £300 besides other monies to relatives and to his married daughter. All his drugs, medicines, utensils and materials belonging to his shop and still-house he bequeathed to Benjamin Charlewood, a former apprentice and a fellow member of the Society of Apothecaries. Any apprentice

who might be living-in at the time of St. Amand's death was to be discharged.[181]

Four other apothecaries who served the Stuarts as apothecaries although only temporarily should be mentioned :

1. A. Plancy. At the time of her marriage to Charles I, Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France, and later Queen, had her own apothecary. The MS. Memoirs et Instructions, dated 26 May 1625 and signed by Louis himself, relating to the marriage of Charles and Henrietta, are explicit in the details of the number and status of the Ladies, Demoiselles and Officiers who were to accompany her and to be at her service in England. Le Sieur Chartier, physician, Maurice Aubert, surgeon, and A. Plancy, apothecary, were all given an equipment allowance (moyen de l'esquipper). Chartier received £1500, Aubert and Plancy each had £600. The principal officers were also to have pensions.[182]
2. Pierre Plancy. Doubtless the son of A. Plancy whom he succeeded as apothecary to Queen Henrietta Maria for he is so noted when denized on 4 February 1632. In 1660 Pierre was granted £200 for his extraordinary care and diligence in attending upon the Queen (then Queen Mother) whilst she was in France. Four years later, in 1664, he received a salary of £50 a year as her apothecary and in addition £100 from the Customs, £500 in lieu of all bills and £160 a year as board wages. There was £708 17*s.* 9*d.* due to him from the Queen Mother's estate in 1671. (Both Louise de Plancy and Elizabeth Plancy were dressers to the Queen Mother.)[182a]
3. Thomas Rushworth. On 17 November 1649 there was an order for payment of £30 to Thomas Rushworth, apothecary, "for his pains and expenses" in attending the late King Charles (the First) as apothecary from 14 February 1646 to 11 November 1647.[183]
4. Thomas Phillips. Although Thomas Phelipps (*sic*) is mentioned in the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1668, as one of the King's apothecaries, having a fee of £13 6*s.* 8*d.* a

year, he is elsewhere described as "distiller of herbs", his salary then being £8 6*s*. 8*d*. yearly. He was probably a yeoman apothecary with the minor duties of making the distilled waters so commonly in use at that period.[184]

It will be seen that the duties devolving upon the royal apothecaries who served the Stuart Kings, the Royal Children and the Households during the period 1603 to 1688 were onerous. Not only did they supply medicines and perfumes to the Royal Family and often to the Court but for a good part of the seventeenth century they continued the practice of furnishing the spices, waxes and other things needed for embalming. When Charles II was taken ill on 3 February 1685, three apothecaries sat up with him all night, in the company of two Privy Counsellors, three physicians and three surgeons. The *State Papers* record that Charles had a fit of apoplexy and convulsions and that his mouth was drawn on one side. He was bled, 12 ounces, and given a vomit and a glyster (enema) which "wrought very kindly". Although he mended somewhat, he relapsed and died on 6 February, three days after the attack.[185]

The personal apothecary to the King usually moved out of London with him and the Court: indeed, during the Civil War some of the royal apothecaries had a difficult time trying to keep their stocks together for use when needed. Some, like Rumler and Metcalfe, as already noted, lost much of their stock of medicines and equipment either because the King decided to move quickly or the baggage arrangements were hopelessly badly ordered. In addition to their office at Whitehall where they kept their drugs, etc., and made up the prescriptions of the royal physicians, or of those attending the Court or the servants of the Crown, many of them had an apothecary shop, usually in the City of London or in Westminster. It was probably John Chase who on 2 September 1661, was visited by Samuel Pepys and his friend, John Battersby, an apothecary of Fenchurch Street (near Seething Lane where Pepys lived), and who was later

a Master of the Apothecaries. Pepys records: ". . . meeting with Mr. Battersby . . . to the King's apothecary's chamber in Whitehall, and there drank a bottle or two of wine, and so he and I home by water towards London."[186]

Vertue's version of the Plan of Whitehall in 1670 shows the Confectionary as consisting of three rooms with its own small courtyard behind and to the north of the main entrance from Whitehall to the Great Court. The Banqueting House was on the south side of this entrance. As during a part of the seventeenth century the King's apothecary was also Serjeant of the Confectionary, it may have been in one of the rooms of the Confectionary that Pepys enjoyed his bottle of wine with Battersby and the King's apothecary. The King's Herb House was one of a cluster of small rooms also off the Great Court. In 1670–71 new shelving, new stopples for the furnace and new paving were ordered for "The Elaboratory", a room in the Great Gallery going from the park into the Cockpit. This was then in the occupation of the Duchess of Cleveland. In 1683 it was to be made into a kitchen for the Duke of Monmouth.[187]

Despite the difficulty of getting their salaries regularly or payment of their accounts, often years in arrear, once these apothecaries had either petitioned or even bought their way in to office, they took every advantage of their position at Court to secure favours for their sons and relatives. Most of them maintained a lively interest in the Society of Apothecaries and many were called to high office.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Akrigg, G. P. V., *Jacobean Pageant*, London, 1962, pp. 24–6.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ordinances and Regns. of the Royal Household*, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 335.
4. Banks, Sir Joseph, "Offices and Fees of the King's Household, etc. (1606)", *Archæologia*, 1836, **XV**, 72–91.
5. Nicols, John, *Progresses of James I*, London, 1828, Vol. I, pp. 593–8.
6. *CSP Dom., 1598–1601*, p. 219.
7. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Jac. I, pars iii, fo. 4, PRO and *CSP Dom. Addl., 1580–1625*, p. 465.
8. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1 Jac. I, pars xxi, fo. 38b.
9. *CSP Dom., 1603–10*, p. 98 and *Warrant Bk. II*, p. 34, PRO.

10. In a list of "Fees or Wages paid to Physitians, Chirurgians and Apothecaries" etc. undated, but assigned to 1608, the following payments are recorded; "Jo: Clavie, Apothecarie xl li; William Weston, Apothecarie xl li; Jo: Wolfgang Romler, Apothecarie xl li; Geo: Sheires, Apothecarie xl li; Jo: Nesmith the King's herbarist xiii li vi s. viii d. There is an additional payment to "Geo: Sheires provider of Sweete waters xiii li vi s. viii d." In a "Collection of Debts owinge by his Majestie" also undated but allocated to 1608, appears an entry: "Geo: Sheires, Apoth. for druggs £30 *os. od.*" (PRO, S.P. 29/40).
11. *CSP Dom., 1635–36*, p. 141 and *Coll. Sign Man.* Car I, No. 81, PRO.
12. *Ibid., 1580–1625 Addl.*, p. 456.
13. Barrett, C.R.B., *The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London*, London, 1905, p. xxi.
14. Star Chamber, 8, 44 (9), PRO. (I am indebted to Dr. R. S. Roberts, lately Wellcome Research Fellow of the Society of Apothecaries, for this reference.) For a detailed report of the case see *A History of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London*, Ed. E. Ashworth Underwood, Oxford Univ. Press, 1963, Vol. I, pp. 227–42. (Further references to this work appear under "Underwood".)
15. *CSP Dom., 1619–23*, p. 146 and *1623–25 Addl.*, p. 543.
16. *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 518–20.
17. Westminster Act Book and Calendar, 1642. MS. Westminster Public Library. Robert Shiers was called to the Bar in 1641 and became a Bencher of his Inn, the Inner Temple. He died in 1668, aged fifty-two. There are memorials to him and to his wife, Elizabeth, in Gt. Bookham Church, Surrey, and to their son, Sir George Shiers, created Baronet in 1684. A lost brass plate commemorated Maria Shiers, daughter of George Shiers, the apothecary, and who died in 1617, aged five. (Stephenson, M. "Monumental Brasses in Surrey", *Surrey Arch. Colln.*, 1899, **14**, 28 and 1912–21, Vols. xxv-xxiii, pp. 65–6).
18. *Pat Rolls*, 1 Jac. I, fo. 6b, PRO.
19. *Cal. Scot. Papers, 1595–97*, p. 88.
20. PCC Wills, 1609, "Dorset", fo. 52.
21. *Ibid., 1625*, "Clarke", fo. 73.
22. *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, London, 1884, **XX**, 279–308.
23. *CSP Dom., 1603–10*, p. 383.
24. *Pat. Rolls*, 1 Jac. I, fo. 34, PRO.
25. Rymer, *Foedera*, XVI, 522, 532.
26. *CSP Dom., 1603–10*, p. 387.
27. PCC Wills, 1607, "Hudlestone", fo. 2.
28. Akrigg, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Akrigg writes of Sir George Home: "He made a tidy fortune disposing of thousands of costly dresses left by the late Queen Elizabeth."
29. *Grocers' Company Minute Bk. Typescript*, Vol. 3, 1, Guildhall Library London.

30. *Pat Rolls*, 1 Car. I, fo. 34, PRO.
31. *Ibid.*, 3 Car. I, fo. 62 and *CSP Dom.*, *1627*, p. 423.
32. Huguenot Society, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization*, Lymington, 1893, Vol. 18, p. 151.
33. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi, xxviii.
34. *CSP Dom.*, *1631–33*, p. 342.
35. *Ibid.*, *1629–31*, p. 548.
36. *Ibid.*, *1631–33*, pp. 344, 556.
37. *Ibid.*, *1633–34*, p. 303.
38. *State Papers 15/39*, Nos. 66/67, Ms. PRO and *CSP Dom. Addl.*, *1580–1625*, p. 512.
39. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
40. PCC Wills, 1635, "Sadler", fo. 63.
41. Exchequer Bills, etc., MS. E.112/203/33, PRO.
42. Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. PRO.
43. *Ct. Min. Bk. I.*, 1617, fo. 1, Guildhall Library, London.
44. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
45. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–90.
46. Foster, J., *Chester's London Marriage Licences*, *1521–1869*, London, 1887, col. 13.
47. *Pat. Rolls*, 5 Jac. I, pars xiii, fo. 25, PRO. The original warrant of 15 December 1608 bearing James I's signature relating to the appointment of Rumler in place of Clavee, decd., and directed to the Lord Chamberlain is in the Public Record Office (LC 5.15.) Rumler's bills were to be certified "by one of Our physitians".
48. *Second Rept. Royal Commn. on Hist. MSS.*, 1871, App., p. 79. (The name is given as John Woolf.)
49. Huguenot Society, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18, pp. 16, 25. A family of Rumler is known to have been in Augsburg in the seventeenth century. There is mention of Jo. Udalicus Rumlerus, medicus et physicus, of Augspurg (*sic*) who published *Observationes medicas*, etc. (Jocher, C.S., *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1751, Vol. 3). Professor J. O. Leibowitz points out that J. U. Rumler was consulted by a number of illustrious patients and that Queen Anne, wife of James I of England, sent to Rumler her portrait in bronze with a Latin inscription, together with letters in Latin and a choice collection of drugs in a chest—a Pharmacothecium (*Med. Hist.*, 1964, **VIII**, 377–8). John Wolfgang Rumler may well have been related to J. U. Rumler.
50. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi, xxxviii.
51. *CSP Dom.*, *1611–18*, p. 313.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 326 and *Dict. Nat. Biography*, London, 1895, Vol. XLII.
53. R.N., *Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision*, London, printed for R.M. and T.I., 1616. *Harl. Misc.*, Vol. VIII, p. 167 *et seq.*

54. *CSP Dom., 1603–10*, p. 654 and *Warrant Bk. II*, PRO.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 501.
56. *The London Gazette*, No. 438, 26 January 1669–70.
57. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
58. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1624*, p. 286.
59. *CSP Dom., 1625*, p. 549.
60. *Pat Rolls*, 2 Car. I, fo. 124, PRO.
61. *Ibid.*, 3 Car. I, fo. 62 and fo. 77, PRO; also *CSP Dom., 1627*, p. 423. Rumler's appointment is entered twice, once under the name "Wolf", fo. 36, dorse.
62. *CSP Dom., 1627–28*, p. 423 and Docquet Bk., PRO.
63. *Ibid., 1665–66*, p. 145. Date of petition is uncertain.
64. *La Libre Pharmacie* (Paris), 1952, 77, 46–7.
65. *CSP Dom., 1639–40*, p. 269.
66. Petition J. Rumler, MS. Journal of the House of Lords, 18 Car. I, v, 503b.
67. *Ibid.*, 22 Car. I, viii, 690b. I am grateful for permission to quote from the House of Lords' Journals. (Dr. Charles H. Talbot kindly drew my attention to these petitions.)
68. *Ct. Min. Bk. I*, fo. 329. Guildhall Library, London.
69. *Ibid.*, fo. 359 and Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
70. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 56. A bill of Hicks, dated 25 July 1633, to Mr. Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Admiralty, who was in exile with Charles II, has been preserved. This was for purging potions, plasters, a powder to fume the head clothes, etc., totalling £2 2*s*. 6*s*. (PRO MS. S.P. 16/294). Hicks was Master of the Apothecaries 1634–35. He had his beard pulled by another apothecary who later apologized in public. Barrett says Hicks objected to Rumler as Master (Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 49).
71. *Ct. Min. Bk. I*, fo. 383.
72. Underwood, *op cit.*, p. 94n.
73. Given before the Faculty of the History of Medicine and Pharmacy, Society of Apothecaries, 23 April 1965 (*Wellcome Historical Medical Library Publications*, Lecture Series, No. 2, 1965).
74. 1. A letter dated 20 June 1626 from the Earl of Pembroke to the Lord Mayor of London refers to de Laune as one of his Majesty's apothecaries and states: ". . . he had been in the service of the Crown, without interruption for more than 20 years . . .", suggesting that he was first appointed before 1606—see also ref. 84 below.
    2. His name is not in a list of royal apothecaries, etc., to whom salaries were paid by James I in 1608. This list (S.P. 29/40) though undated in the Public Record Office, is assigned to 1608.
    3. A Patent is recorded in 1610 for the payment of an annual "pension" of £20 to de Laune for life. (PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 8 Jac. I, pars xxxvii.)

75. Gideon de Laune's reputation was such that his name was used by less successful apothecaries and by quacks to give the public confidence in a Pill, advertised widely as "De Laune's Pill", in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Christopher Merrett (*Short View . . .*, London, 1669, p. 14) wrote: "Mr. Delaune, by one pill alone, though not a very safe one, got some thousands of pounds." "Add hereunto [Universal Medicines] the fore-mentioned Mr. de-Laune's Pill, whereof I shall say nothing, being mentioned under the name of *Pilulæ ex duobus* in the *London Dispensatory*, though some make them of the Extract of Coloquintida" (Merrett, *op. cit.*, 1670 (2nd edn., p. 57)). In 1681 Thomas Delaune wrote: "His [Gideon's] famous pill is in great demand to this day, notwithstanding the swarms of pretenders to pill-making." Pamphlets circulated by quacks in London called attention to its many virtues, perhaps arising from its chief constituent, colocynth. There are references too to sales made by an apothecary "At the Delaun's Head" in Blackfriars. By the eighteenth century de Laune's Pill appears to have lost its reputation. (See Delaune, Thomas, *Angliæ Metropolis*, London, 1681.) W. Salmon referring to *Pilulæ ex duobus* (*P.L.* 1677) of which Colocynth and Scammony were the two active ingredients, says: "This is the pill which is called *de Launs Pill.*" (Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 684).
76. Arms assigned by William Segar 10 January 1612: Azure, a cross of lozenges, or, on a chief Gules, a lion passant guardant of the 2nd holding in his dexter paw a fleur-de-lis; Crest: a winged bull with nimbus, resting his hoof upon a book. These arms were verified in the Visitation of London, 1633–34.
77. Huguenot Society, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18 and *Pat Rolls*, 11 Car. I, pars xv.
78. *Grocers' Company Minute Bk. Typescript*, Vol. 3, 3, 696–7, Guildhall Library, London.
79. *Acts of the Privy Council, March 1625–May 1626*, pp. 194, 293, 371. About 5000 Privy Seal letters for forced loans, many for sums from £10 to £50, were served on foreign merchants in London (Akrigg, *op. cit.*, p. 94).
80. *Committee for Compounding, 1643–60*, Part III, p. 2167.
81. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 96
82. PCC Wills, 1659, "Pell" (8), 369. For a Pedigree of de Laune see *CSP Dom. 1658–59*, p. 292 and S.P. 18/201, PRO.
83. MS. details of the funeral arrangements are to be found in the records of the College of Heralds, London.
84. *Remembrancia* (*Records of the City of London, A.D. 1579–1664*), Ed. W. H. and H. C. Overall, London, 1878, item vi, 81, p. 7 and note.
85. Rymer, *Foedera*, XVII, 190–2, 233–5.
86. *Ct. Min. Bk. I*, fo. 174.
87. *CSP Dom., 1638–39*, p. 566.

88. *Ibid.*, *1639–40*, p. 172. Thompson (*op. cit.*, p. 96) refers to the appointment of Adrian Metcalfe by James I in Scotland. He also states that Francis was a son of Adrian but gives no authority for this: it is at variance with the documented information about Francis.
89. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 94 and note.
90. *Committee for Compounding*, *1643–60*, Pt. II, p. 1577.
91. PRO *Pat. Rolls*, 21 Jac. I, fo. 110.
92. *Committee for Compounding*, *op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 1144; J. Foster, *op. cit.*, col. 916, records the grant of a marriage licence to Adrian Metcalfe, son of Sir Francis and "doctor in physic", to Anne Salmon at Dorchester, Oxon, on 28 September 1649. Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London* (Vol. I, p. 255) notes Adrian as "A.M., M.D.", a Doctor of Medicine of Oxford of 6 May 1645 and as an Extra-Licentiate of the College on 3 December 1650. He is also noted by J. Foster (*Alumni Oxon.*, London, 1891, III, 1004) as having taken his M.A. in 1642, B.M. 1643 and D.M. 1645. Adrian was buried at Keddington, Lincs., on 8 April 1658. There is some confusion between Adrian and his brother Francis who is also shown as "Bachelor of Medicine", 1643—see Anthony à Wood, *Fasti Oxoniensis*, London, 1820, Pt. II, pp. 60 and 89.
93. *CSP Dom.*, *1660–01*, p. 24.
94. *Ibid.*, *1661–62*, p. 76.
94a. PRO., LC 3.33.
94b. PRO, LC 3.28, pp. 84–6. Angibaud was appointed Apothecary General to the Army and Military Hospitals in Ireland by William and Mary on 29 August 1689. He was to have *3d.* a day for each wounded soldier and *2d.* a day for each sick soldier during their stay in hospital. His bill for £489 11*s.* 8*d.* was acknowledged when the Army Debt at the death of William III was the subject of a report to Queen Anne in 1711 (*Cal. Treas. Bks.*, *1702*, p. 1193).

In the *Huguenot Society's List of Denizations* (Vol. XVIII) for 1684 there is an Isaac Garnier, with four sons and a daughter, and another Isaac Garnier (or a duplication of the first) in 1687. In 1724 and again in 1726 the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians visited Garnier's shop in Pall Mall and reported "Very Good" (MS. Visitations, R.C.P.). Probably he is the Isaac Garnier who was on the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries for some years until 1734, having been admitted to the Society in 1692 (*Admissions Bk.*, *1680–94*). Later members of the Garnier family, George Garnier and his son, each held the post of Apothecary to the Army in succession (*Cal. Treas. Prs. 1739–41*, p. 395; PRO, *Pat, Rolls*, 20 Geo. II). Barrett implies that a "Mr. Garnier", the King's Apothecary" died in 1819–20. I have found no trace of this Garnier as a royal servant. There is correspondence with the Society about the prices of drugs and

medicines supplied to the Forces, with which "Mr. Garnier" was concerned. The Society took the view that the charges were not unreasonable (Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–7, 188; *Ct. Min. Bk. 1779*).

95. *Ct. Min. Bk. I*, fo. 351.
96. *CSP Dom., 1665–66*, p. 141.
97. *Ibid., 1625–49 Addl.*, p. 637 and S.P. 539, Pt. I, PRO.
98. *Ibid., 1660–61*, p. 290.
99. *Ibid. 1665–66*, p. 414. See ref. to Chafe-wax, page 59. In 1693 Stephen Chase, then Chafe-wax to the Great Seal of England, was to be paid £60 for twelve years' rent of a wax house and £15 for his having repaired and furnished the old wax house at the end of Westminster Hall, which had been taken down (*Cal. Treas. Bks. 1693–96*, p. 253).
100. *CSP Dom., 1660–61*, p. 173.
101. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–7.
102. *CSP Dom., 1665–66*, p. 227.
102a. PRO, LC 3.33.
103. *CSP Dom., 1667*, p. 408 and S.P. 29/214, PRO. Point is given to this petition when it is recalled that there was an annual delivery to Chase from 1661 onwards from the Great Wardrobe, of 24 yards of crimson taffeta, 20 ells of fine Holland and 24 dozen crimson galloone, silk laid, all for making bags to contain the sweet powders needed for the linen and table linen of the King and Queen. These quantities had to be supplemented on occasion. Similar quantities were supplied to John Jones, apothecary to the household, to make bags for the linen of the King and Queen for their journey to Portsmouth in 1662. In addition, both apothecaries were provided with cabinets and chests fitted with pots and glasses for the medicines required for their Majesties' journey. These chests had to be lined with crimson velvet inside and out, with gilded locks and everything handsome about them (PRO, LC 5.60, pp. 129, 204, 233, 288, 295, 318). For the coronation of Charles II Chase received 5 yards of scarlet broadcloth for livery; for the mourning for the Queen of Bohemia (d. 1661), whose body Chase embalmed, he had 10 yards of black cloth at 30*s.* a yard (*ibid.*, pp. 174, 256, 270).
104. *CSP Dom., 1668–69*, p. 193.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 641.
106. *Ibid., 1670*, p. 525.
107. *Ibid., 1683, Jan.–June*, p. 283.
108. PCC Wills, 1662, "Laud", fo. 81.
109. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1685–89*, p. 1981.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
112. *CSP Dom., 1685–88*, p. 252.
113. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
114. *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140.

115. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–17.
116. *CSP Dom., 1664–65*, p. 98. In December 1663 Rosewell had received £400 out of £800 due to him for his service to the Queen, he having gone to attend her in Portugal at his own expense (*Cal. Treas. Bks. 1660–1667*, p. 591).
117. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
118. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
120. *CSP Dom., 1625–49 Addl.*, p. 637 and S.P. 539, Pt. I, PRO.
121. *Ibid., 1660–61*, p. 24.
122. *Ibid., 1663–64*, p. 547.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 567.
124. *Ibid., 1664–65*, p. 254.
125. *Ibid., 1661–62*, p. 252.
126. *Ibid., 1664–65*, Pt. I, p. 87.
127. *Ibid., 1667–68*, pp. 288, 600.
128. Keevil, J. J., *Medicine in the Royal Navy, 1200–1900*, Edinburgh, 1958, Vol. II, p. 73.
129. *CSP Dom., 1666–67*, p. 371.
130. *Ibid., 1665–66*, p. 65.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
132. *Ibid., 1664–65*, Pt. II, p. 381. Annexe Adm. Papers. For an additional account of medicines for ships, see *CSP Dom., 1670–71*, p. 1971.
133. *Ibid., 1666*, p. 482.
134. *Ibid., 1671*, p. 311 and S.P. 298, No. 108, PRO.
135. Matthews, Leslie G., *History of Pharmacy in Britain*, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
136. *Ct. Min. Bk. I*, fos. 357–63.
137. PCC Wills, 1685, "Cann", fo. 10; 1686, "Loyd", fo. 177 (Sentence).
138. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1685–89*, p. 288.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 708.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 1788–91.
141. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Ed. E. S. de Beer, Oxford, 1955, Vol. III, p. 336. On 16 February 1933 an old English bronze mortar, 8½ in. high, decorated with the cypher of Charles II and attributed to Nicolas le Fèvre, and inscribed ? "Edward Neal: Thomas Caels, 1664" was sold by Christies for 17 guineas (Lot 44, Christie's Catalogue, 1933).
142. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1660–67*, p. 538.
143. Goodwin, G., *Dict. Nat. Biography*, London, 1892, XXXII, 399.
144. *CSP Dom., 1668–69*, p. 244.
145. *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 533.
146. *Ibid., 1671*, p. 232.
147. *Ibid., 1671–72*, p. 582.
148. For Harel's bill of £109 for remedies and medicines delivered to Mrs. Ellen Glyn see Munk's *Roll*, Vol. I, p. 452n; *The Times*, 1 March

1875. Harel was appointed a physician to William and Mary on 27 May 1689 and in addition acted as apothecary to Queen Mary II. It was Harel who embalmed the body of the Queen in 1694. His bill marked "For the embalment of the Body of Her Majesty by Dtr. Harell, Her Majesty's Apothecary" reads: "For perfumed Sparadrape to make cerecloath to wrap the Body in and to line the Coffin, for Rich Gummes and Spices to stuff the Body, for Compound dryinge powders perfumed to lay in the Coffin under the Body, and to fill up the urne, for Indian Balsam, Rectified spirits of Wine, Tinctured with Gummes and Spices, and a Strong Aromatized Lixivium to wash the Body with, For Rich Damask powder to fill the Coffin and for all other Materials for Embalminge the Body of the High and Mighty Princess, Mary Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland etc. As also for the Spices and Damask powders to the putt between the two Coffines with the Perfumes for the Chambers altogether. (In Margin) £200 : 00 : 00.

The bill is countersigned by Dr. John Hutton (principal physician to William III). The bill bears a receipt signed by Dr. Christianus Harel and the cover denotes the sum of £250. There is a subsidiary account for the £50. "For money laid out by Dtr Harel for Crimson and White Sawrcenetts, wherein the Body was . . . and white Ribbon, for fine Holland, to make the cerecloath of, and for other uses, formerly allowed, and taken out of the wardrobe, by my Lord Chamberlaines order, which upon this sudden Occasion could not be fetch'd out of the said wardrobe beinge there was no time lefft to do it." (In Margin) £50 : 00 : 00. (Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 5751A, fos. 49–51.)

149. *CSP Dom., 1668–69*, p. 315.
150. Clokie, H. N., *An Account of the Herbaria of the Department of Botany in the University of Oxford*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1964, p. 10.
151. *CSP Dom., 1668–69*, p. 336.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 632. See also Clokie, *op. cit.* (supra).
153. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1557–1696*, p. 312.
154. *CSP Dom., 1660–61*, p. 557.
155. *Ibid., 1671*, p. 264.
156. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 96.
157. *CSP Dom., 1677–78*, p. 394.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
159. *Ibid., 1678*, p. 451.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
161. Lambeth Palace Library. Fiats: F.11, 1677, documents nos. 53a, 53b.
162. *Ct. Min. Bk. III*, fo. 10.
163. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1556–1696*, pp. 134, 203. The first relates to Jones's petition that neither Abraham Rottermondt (an apothecary from the Low Countries who came over with William III) nor any other person be admitted apothecary to "the Person" (William III) or to the

Household. The second is a petition addressed to the Lords of the Treasury by Jones showing that he had held the post of apothecary to James II and was continued in that office under William and Mary. (He could have served only a few months.) Jones said that Mr. (John) Chase had now been appointed apothecary to "the Person" and Rottermondt apothecary to the Household. Jones asked that his arrears of salary be paid promptly. For the apothecaries to William and Mary see Chapter 6.

164. *CSP Dom., 1680–81*, p. 150.
165. PCC Wills, 1693, "Coker", fo. 29.
166. *CSP Dom., 1685–88*, p. 252.
167. PCC Wills, 1686, "Loyd", fo. 95. In July 1687 the Master of the Great Wardrobe was asked to report on the petition of Hester Giffard, widow of Charles. She was seeking payment for goods he had supplied at his own cost (*Cal. Treas. Bks., 1685–89*, p. 1485).
168. Venn, J. & J. A., *Alumni Cantabridgensis, 1751*, III, p. 84; PRO, LC 3, 39, 6 Feb. 1685.
169. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 340.
170. PCC Wills, 1665, "Hyde", fo. 53. Probate granted 12 May 1665.
171. *CSP Dom., 1678–80*, p. 348.
172. *Ibid., 1685–88*, p. 252 and Entry Bk. 336, PRO.
173. Underwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–5.
174. Beavan, A. E., *The Aldermen of the City of London*, London, 1913, Vol. II, p. 115.
175. Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
176. MS. Sloane 4078, fo. 264, Brit. Museum.
177. MS. Addl. 32096, fos. 39–46, Brit. Museum.
178. *Ibid.*, fos. 47–8. (Professor David L. Cowen kindly referred me to these MSS.)
179. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1685–89*, p. 2114.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 2116.
181. PCC Wills, 1728, "Brook", fo. 364. James St. Amand, the son, equally wealthy, of Christ's Hospital and Lincoln College, Oxford, died 5 September 1754. He was both scholar and eccentric. To the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of Oxford he left manuscripts, maps and books (recorded in the MSS. of Bodley's Library), and to Christ's Hospital, a gold-framed miniature of his grandfather, John St. Amand, on strict condition that it was produced and accounted for annually (PCC Wills, 1754, "Pinfold", fo. 243).
182. MS. King's 136, fos. 412–461B, Brit. Museum.
182a. *Denizations*, Huguenot Society 1603–1700, Vol. 18; *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1660–67*, pp. 107, 535, 591; *1669–72*, p. 779.
183. *Third Rept. Royal Commn. on Hist. MSS., 1872*, App., p. 266.
184. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1667–88*, p. 549.

185. *CSP Dom., May 1684–Feb. 1685*, p. 309.
186. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, 1920, Vol. II, p. 94.
187. For Vertue's Plan, see *London County Council Survey of London*, London, 1930, Vol. 13, Pt. II, Plate I; Vol. 14, Pt. III, p. 70.

CHAPTER 6

William and Mary to Queen Anne

The changes eagerly looked for at the "Glorious Revolution" affected not only political circles but those who had been associated with the former royal household. In the Ordinance issued by King William and Queen Mary in 1689 were many new names, e.g. that of Dr. John Hutton who became principal physician to both King and Queen[1] and a Dutch apothecary, Abraham Rottermondt who was appointed apothecary to the royal household. Rottermondt must have come to England either with William's party or he arrived soon after their Majesties' succession. His board wages, wages when not in residence at the Court, were set at £127 15*s*. a year, a similar sum being allowed to the surgeon. When the King and Queen moved from one royal residence to another carriages were to be provided for the physicians, the surgeons and the apothecaries, the apothecary to the Person to share with the surgeons, Rottermondt to share with the physician to the household.[2] The King soon decided there was too large a staff. Money was scarce and it remained so during the whole of the period to 1702. In May 1690 the King reduced the number of musicians, grooms and messengers, he ordered that the post of physician to the household be suppressed, one of the four physicians to the Person to undertake those duties, and that there be only one apothecary to the Person instead of two, James Chase to be apothecary to the Person and Rottermondt apothecary to the household.[3] At Michaelmas 1689 Rottermondt was due to receive £74 5*s*. for riding charges in addition to his salary and because he and another servant were to go to Ireland with the King, the warrant

included the order: "You are to pay them forthwith."[4] He not only went to Ireland where his riding charges were £37 10*s*. but he seems to have accompanied the King on most of his journeys. He was given a pass to Harwich in 1690 and from there he went to Flanders when the King made his visit in 1691. Again he sent in a bill for riding charges of £38 12*s*. 6*d*.[5]

While in Flanders, he, with Dr. Hutton and others, were set up as a kind of commission to examine all drugs and medicines supplied to the British army and its hospitals. Isaac Teale, apothecary general to the Forces, with a few other apothecaries, furnished the medical supplies on a profit-sharing basis.[6] Teale was retained in his post by Queen Anne. William III relied upon Rottermondt very much and he was in such high favour that on December 1692, the King, seeking a way to reward him, decided to appoint him an additional apothecary to the Person, increasing his salary and allowances in one way and another so as to bring them to a total of £500 p.a., the same consolidated sum as James Chase, the first appointed apothecary to the Person, was receiving. Rottermondt's increased emoluments were to start from 20 March 1689; Chase's rearranged salary, etc., from 24 June 1691. Neither was to present bills for medicines as these were taken to be covered by the yearly amounts paid to them.[7] Whenever the King went to Flanders, as he did for several years in summer, Rottermondt was in the royal party and a Dutch surgeon, Van Loon, was included. Exceptionally, the salaries of all who accompanied the King were paid promptly. Rottermondt charged up his riding expenses: these came to almost £210 in 1701 and in that year he submitted an additional bill for riding charges to Windsor and Hampton Court and elsewhere amounting to £230.[8] To reduce future expenditure in the household the King repeated in 1702 his earlier expressed views that on the death of either James Chase or Rottermondt, only one apothecary to the Person should hold that appointment but it was never carried into effect.[9] When the final accounts for household expenses were made

up to date of the death of King William on 8 March 1702, Rottermondt was owed fifteen months salary, £446 14s.[10]

It was to Rottermondt that the materials needed for the embalming of the King were delivered—both crimson and white taffeta, and Holland in varying qualities. The amount paid for the embalming however, £212 8s., was "to the Apothecaries".[11] (The surgeons received £100 for opening the body, the plumbers £329 10s. for coffins of wood, etc., and for the strong chest to put the bowels in.[11] Surprisingly, the apothecaries had no part in the embalming of Queen Mary in 1694—Dr. Harel (see page 131) did the embalming for which he was paid £250, Dr. Nobbs receiving a fee of £100 for opening the body.[12])

The long letter sent by Queen Mary to the King during the summer of 1690 when he was in Ireland tells something about the medical practice of the day in treating facial swelling. She wrote that the Queen Dowager, Catherine of Braganza, had complimented her on her better appearance—"Yesterday I had leeches set behind my ear which has done but little good and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times."[13]

William III was by no means unfriendly to charlatans and quacks. An unusual grant from the Crown in 1689–90 is on record. This, a licence to Cornelius Tilborne, described as "surgeon to the late King" (Charles II), states: ". . . he has made experiments of the virtues of his antidote against poisons and other distempers, to the general satisfaction" and that he has obtained upon examination a licence from the College of Physicians, to practise surgery. The Crown licence to Tilborne permitted him to sell the antidote and other medicines, from a stage in any city or town, he first acquainting the chief magistrate with his intention to do so.[14]

This was the Cornelius Tilborne who demonstrated the wonderful power of his Orvietan to counteract poison before Charles II in 1682. Charles, so satisfied that the test was genuine, not only gave orders for swearing-in Tilborne as one of his physicians-in-ordinary but

gave him a gold medal and chain. Tilborne almost immediately secured a licence to sell his Orvietan throughout the realm and to set up a stage for that purpose. He made appearances in Norwich, York and Edinburgh. Although in the grant mentioned above he is said to have obtained a licence from the College of physicians this seems a misstatement for the College prosecuted him for practising without their licence in 1693 and he was fined £50. A year after this Tilborne took up residence in London and printed handbills in which he claimed he was now "Privilig'd by Our Gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary". He described himself as "Doctor" and citizen of Hamburg.[15]

Where Rottermondt was living when he was in attendance upon the King in London has not been discovered: it is likely however that he was given quarters close to the royal apartments in St. James's Palace. George I in 1715, when ordering alterations and redecoration of apartments there, included in his instructions the painting of one room and the wainscotting of another in the lodgings of Mr. Chetwin (or Chetwynd) at St. James's "which formerly belonged to the Dutch apothecaries".[16] Although in the detailed establishment order of Queen Anne, 28 December 1702, the name of Rottermondt with that of James Chase appears as one of the apothecaries to the Person, a proviso having been noted that on the death of one or the other only one should hold the appointment,[17] nothing further after 1702 seems to have been heard of Rottermondt. He seems not to have acted as one of the Queen's apothecaries and must either have retired or returned to Holland.

James Chase who had already served James II—see page 106—was appointed by William III as apothecary to the Person by May 1690.[18] He was a former Master of the Apothecaries and thus would have been well recommended for the post. With a total salary of £500 he continued to hold his post during the reigns of William and Mary,

William III and Queen Anne. He grew much concerned about the payments due to him for some years up to 1700 and submitted petition after petition to ensure that these were not overlooked. He made the point that William Jones, apothecary to the household for part of the time had already received what was owing to him as apothecary and as perfumer. Chase's certificates were not read for about a year when the King is reported as saying: "This must not be", indicating that salaries ought not to be in arrears. The Treasury, well knowing the poor state of the funds, minuted that Mr. Chase's memorial be laid before the King at a more convenient time.[19] Not until 1709 did Chase get part of what was owing to him. For carrying out his official duties Chase rented lodgings in Whitehall at £50 a year from 1692: this rent he charged to the account of the Lord Chamberlain.[20] As late as 1720 he was still pursuing the arrears of salary due to him up to 1714.[21] The only comment then made was that he would be paid out of the first moneys coming in. Warrants for the payments of his salary as one of the two apothecaries to the Person during the reign of George I are regularly recorded up to 1718. He died 23 June 1721, aged seventy-two and was buried at little Marlow, Bucks.[22] Chase had been a Member of Parliament for Marlow, Buckinghamshire, in 1701 and was re-elected in 1702.[23]

Queen Anne either had no intention of keeping to the proviso relating to her establishment that the number of apothecaries to the Person should be reduced to one when there was opportunity or she found that her numerous family and her travels would require the services of two. A new name appears in the list of December 1702, that of Joseph Pitt, as "the other apothecary to our Person". Under his patent Pitt was to receive a salary of £115 a year and for physic in lieu of bills, £205 5*s*. a year.[24] (This made up a total of £320 5*s*., a figure which so often occurs as salary in the lists of apothecaries to the Person during the reigns of the Georges.) Pitt died in the early months of 1704. His carved table tomb is in the old churchyard of

St. John the Baptist, Hillingdon, Middlesex. In his place, despite the resolve to reduce the staff, Daniel Malthus, see below, was appointed.

Daniel Malthus, born in 1651, the son of Robert Malthus, vicar of Northolt, Middlesex, and admitted a freeman of the Society of Apothecaries in 1678, soon had his own apothecary shop and started to take apprentices, one of whom, Daniel Graham, became a royal apothecary. Malthus served with Chase as apothecary to the Person, succeeding Joseph Pitt who had surrendered his place, and was sworn in and admitted on 22 July 1704.[25] By virtue of this appointment he came on to the Court of Assistants of the Apothecaries, was immediately elected Master but excused himself because of business and paid a fine of £50.[26] He was to receive the usual £320 5*s*. a year. Malthus wasted no time in making his demands known: by 3 August, only twelve days after he was sworn in, he secured the Lord Chamberlain's warrant for the delivery of "a strong chest, with partitions for twenty-four 2-quart glasses for distilled waters" and for "another chest with partitions for small glasses, pots, drugs and instruments for carrying medicines for Her Majesty's Progresses", all at a cost of £15. Later in the same month there was a further delivery to him of "such vessels of silver for Her Majesty's medicines to be made up in as have formerly been provided".[27] Whether Pitt's family had taken the previous silver vessels, if they existed, is not known—perhaps they were a perquisite of the office. Certainly Malthus was determined the Queen's medicines should be prepared in the best utensils. In 1705 Malthus was called upon to provide medicines for the royal family at Windsor, Winchester and Newmarket: this he did charging £100 12*s*. 7*d*. for them. Again in 1706 and the two following years he furnished additional supplies. (In those years two local apothecaries, Charles Tyndall and William Davis, were responsible for medicines for the servants of the Stable at Windsor.[28])

Malthus was continuously in the royal service throughout the reign of Queen Anne. He reported upon the state of

her health to Dr. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) and to Dr. John Arbuthnot (1667–1735). He was with the Queen during her last illness and he was at her deathbed.[28a] Malthus was one of the first apothecaries to be appointed by George I on his accession in 1714. The important duty that fell to Malthus and his fellow apothecary, James Chase, was to prepare the anointing oil for George I's coronation. Their bill for a large composition of "rich essential chymical odoriferous oils, balsams and spirits, highly perfumed", came to £206.[29] Again Malthus decided to strike whilst the iron was hot: less than six months after the new King, George I, began to reign Malthus petitioned the Treasury for a further lease of two houses on the north side of Pall Mall of which he had purchased the interest of the late Lord Dover. After 18 months Malthus got his lease—the houses had a frontage to Pall Mall of 30 ft. and went back in depth to 60 ft. into Pall Mall Field, then also known as St. James's Field. The house Malthus lived in was known by the sign of "The Morter" (*sic*), the other, having the sign of "The Thistle and Crown" was let to Mrs. Barbara Gilbert. Just at this time the new parish of St. James's, within the liberty of Westminster, was being carved out of the more extensive parish of St. Martin's in the Fields.[30] The last payment recorded for Malthus as apothecary to George I is at 25 December 1716.[31] He died in 1717 at the age of sixty-six and was buried at Hammersmith. Thomas Graham (I) succeeded him as apothecary to George I.

There were disputes about the royal appointments during the period after the Stuart régime collapsed. Dr. John Jones, who had served Charles II and James II, petitioned in September 1690 that neither Rottermondt nor any other person should replace him as apothecary to the household. He is recorded in 1692 as receiving his salary as apothecary to the household up to Christmas 1691[32] but he died in 1693 —see page 116. An indication of his ample means can be gained from the sums that he had loaned to the Auditor of the Exchequer—£338 6*s.* 8*d.* in September 1691, the sum due to him for back salary, £500 in July 1689 (on the 12*d.*

Aid then being raised), a further £500 in December 1689 and £1000 (on the additional 12*d.* Aid) in February 1690.[33]

A Mr. JOHN SOAMES (or Some) was appointed apothecary to the household from February 1693 and he continued until some time in 1697.[34] That caused trouble with WILLIAM JONES, second son of Dr. John Jones, who asserted his right to the post by virtue of a grant of the reversion made to his father by Charles II in 1681.[36] Jones began to complain soon after the death of Queen Mary in 1694. He said that although awarded the office yet Mr. Soames had been admitted to it and was drawing the fees: this ought to be stopped.[35] At one point the Treasurer was asked to defer payment of Mr. Soames's fees. Jones fought the case in the Exchequer Court and it was resolved in his favour that he should have an *indebitatus assumpsit:* in other words, that by grant under the great seal the grantee is in possession although not yet admitted to the office.[36] Jones regained his post by patent on 29 June 1697 and thereafter held it throughout the remainder of the reign of William III whom he accompanied to Flanders, with Rottermondt, in the summer of 1702.[37] He continued to serve Queen Anne in the same capacity, accompanied her on one of her Progresses to Newmarket in 1707.[38] He protested when his salary was reduced by Queen Anne upon her succession, saying that the salary was "inconsiderable" for the post and sought to have the cut restored.[39] Jones could have had little pecuniary satisfaction from his office because of the long delays in getting payment. Nevertheless he continued as apothecary to the royal household during the early years of George I until 1719. Not only did Jones carry out his official duties but in 1716 he was called in to assist a surgeon and nurse in caring for a post boy wounded by the fall of a brick from the Post Office: for this the Treasury paid him.[40] Jones, having been apprenticed to his father, became a freeman of the Society of Apothecaries in March 1692. He supported the Society in every way possible, became a liveryman, and was elected Renter Warden in 1722 but died during his term of office.[41]

1. *CSP Dom., 1689–90*, p. 312. In 1691 Hutton was appointed Physician General to the Army.
2. *Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household, op. cit.*, pp. 407–14. The same Regulations provided that for the King and Queen's dinner and supper there should be available 8 bottles of Lambeth ale, 2 bottles of mead and 3 gallons of beer. The King evidently retained a Dutch thirst.
3. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1689–92*, pp. 609–10.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 681.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1953; *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1557–1696*, pp. 134, 302.
6. *CSP Dom., 1690–91*, p. 335. In 1696 the bill for medical supplies came to £5888, of which over £1000 was disallowed for payment, and in 1697 to £5349. Teale, appointed in 1689, replaced Richard Whittle, Apothecary General to the Army, who had served from 1660. The reason for this commission's appointment may have been a report in 1690 that the medicines then reaching the Army were worthless; they would rather kill than cure, the Master of the Hospitals was incapable, and want was everywhere apparent. (*CSP Dom., 1690–96*, p. 315.)
7. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1689–92*, p. 1953.
8. *Ibid., 1702*, p. 1022.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1021.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 417. A lengthy detailed account of the illness and death of King William III appears in the *Compleat History of Europe* (MS. 5724, fo. 16, Brit. Museum). The consultations with his physicians and the almost overwhelming remedies prescribed are listed. Despite the medical advice warning the King about the risks of getting cold when he had determined to go shooting in the marshes, he is reported as saying: "I'll do what I have a mind to. I am very well acquainted with my own constitution." Nine physicians and four surgeons were present at the opening of the King's body before burial.
12. *Ibid., 1693–96*, p. 1078.
13. *CSP Dom., 1690–91*, p. 36. She had large stationery accounts, reams of Dutch paper, 100 Dutch pens at a time, and perfumed wax to close the letters. One account totals £17 0*s.* 6*d.* (Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 5751A, fo. 175.) Another bill, 1694, relates to Asses' Milk for four months—£21 12*s.* Countersigned by Dr. Harel, fo. 178.
14. *Ibid., 1689–90*, p. 111. S. P. Warrant Bk., p. 340.
15. For details of Tilborne's activities and those of other licensed mountebanks of Charles II's reign, see Matthews, Leslie G., "Licensed Mountebanks in Britain", *J. Hist. Med.*, 1964, **XIX**, 30–45, illus. The licensing of mountebanks was in the hands of Dr. Walter Charlton (1610–1707), M.D., F.R.S., sometime physician to Charles I and Charles II

and a President of the Royal College of Physicians. According to Dr. Geo. Cheynes (*The English Malady*, London, 1753), Charlton, on his deathbed said that all the useful or successful cures performed by the mountebanks of his day were owing to the preparations of mercury and antimony.

16. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1714–15*, pp. 660, 763.
17. *Ibid., 1702*, pp. 426–8.
18. *Ibid., 1689–92*, pp. 609–10.
19. *Ibid., 1700–01*, p. 79; *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1697–1702*, p. 386.
20. *Ibid., 1700–01*, p. 132; *1705–6*, pp. 253, 518.
21. *Cal. Treas. Prs. 1720–28*, p. 35.
22. Chase left property in several parishes in Buckinghamshire to his wife, for life and an interest in it and his other estate to relatives, including his cousin Stephen Chase (PCC Will, 1721, "Buckingham" fo. 126). When a warrant was issued in 1715 to allow the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded to ascertain how much had been paid up to and since 1707 an amount of £300 was noted as having been paid to *Dr.* James Chase as a commissioner; after 1707 he is marked "removed" (*Cal. Treas. Bks., 1714–15*, p. 434).
23. *CSP Dom., 1700–02*, pp. 531–2. Chase, as an M.P. with other influential persons, supported a petition of two brothers named Carter, "bred to surgery", one having served as a Naval Surgeon's mate. They cured a Gloucester man of a distemper, who not having money to pay them, "drank them up to a pitch", then persuaded them to help him to rob his master. They were to be tried at Gloucester, and the petition was to stave off punishment if convicted.
24. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1702*, pp. 426–8.
25. *Ibid., 1704–5*, p. 420.
26. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
27. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1704–05*, pp. 335, 337.
28. *Ibid., 1705–06*, p. 628; *1709*, p. 420.

28a. Gregory, F. L., "Parsons Malthus's Great Grandfather", *Eugenics Review*, 1961, **53** (2), 91–2.

29. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1714–15*, p. 509.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 723, 786; *1716*, p. 427. Treasc, G.E. ("Apothecaries and their Tokens", *Pharm. J.*, 1965, **195**, 313–18, illus.) records an apothecary token of 1651 bearing the initials "E.A.M." in Kings Street, Westminster, and two pestles and a mortar. This, he suggests, may well have been a token issued by a relative of Daniel Malthus. For a time Malthus was apothecary to Dr. Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) who lived near him. Malthus prospered, as did most of the royal apothecaries, and shortly after 1691 he was able to purchase the manor of Hadstock, Essex, from the Trustees of James, Earl of Suffolk for £5520. Such was the regard Malthus had for Dr. Sydenham that he named his first son Syden-

ham (Morant, Philip, *History of Essex*, London, 1768, Vol. II, pp. 522–523). Malthus's great-grandson, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1824) acquired a reputation as a political economist.

31. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1716*, 30.1, clxxxvi.
32. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1557–1696*, p. 134; *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1689–92*, p. 1827.
33. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1689–92*, pp. 1308, 1979, 1987, 2002.
34. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1557–1696*, pp. 134, 203, 344.
35. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1694–95*, p. 991.
36. *Ibid., 1702*, p. 52. Exchequer Cases 3 Wm. & Mary. This ruling was quoted in the case of *the Marquis of Carmarthen* v. *Lord Halifax*, each of whom was pressing for the right to be Auditor of the Receipt.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 1022.
38. *Ibid., 1706–07*, p. 452.
39. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1702–07*, p. 96.
40. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1716*, p. 443.
41. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–7.

CHAPTER 7

The Hanoverian Period to William IV

During the Hanoverian period the distinction between the apothecaries to the Person, the monarch, and the royal household was maintained. We have seen in the previous chapter that two of Queen Anne's personal apothecaries, James Chase and Daniel Malthus, were reappointed by George I who also re-engaged William Jones as apothecary to the household. As these men died or retired they were replaced by others either recommended by the King's physicians or who in some instances had succeeded to the practice of their predecessors or brought the needed influence to secure the vacant posts. It is convenient to note first the apothecaries to the Person in the order in which they were appointed.

THOMAS GRAHAM (I), after serving a seven-year apprenticeship in Scotland, was admitted a "foreign brother" of the Society of Apothecaries on 14 September 1698.[1] He was brother-in-law to Daniel Malthus and this relationship may have led to his being chosen to succeed Malthus when he gave up his post in 1716.[2] Graham's shop in Pall Mall, the address suggests that he took over Daniel's business, was reported "very well" by the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians on their rounds in 1724 and 1726.[3] Graham, with his son Daniel, prepared the anointing oils used for the coronation of George II and Queen Caroline. The ingredients were almost identical with those used by Daniel Malthus and James Chase for the coronation of George I (page 146) and no doubt the same formula was used. The same charge was made—£206.[4] Graham died on 14 May 1733[5] and John Warren was appointed in his stead.

Daniel Graham, son of Thomas Graham (I) above, having been apprenticed to his uncle, Daniel Malthus, for eight years from 6 December 1709, was admitted a freeman of the Society of Apothecaries on 7 November 1721.[6] He may have thought it well to enter the Society in that year as he had just been appointed an apothecary to George I in the previous August.[7] He was reappointed in 1728 by George II and retained in his service until 1741 when his cousin, Thomas Graham (II) succeeded him.[8] In March 1740, the year before he relinquished his post, Daniel Graham successfully petitioned the Treasury for an extension of the lease of two houses on the north side of Pall Mall (then described as part of Pall Mall Field), and one in Jermyn Street.[9] Both the Pall Mall houses were occupied for the apothecary business. Daniel continued to attend to his practice and his apothecary's shop but he was brought back again into royal service in 1776 when John Gowland, then an apothecary to George III, died. Although by that time Daniel Graham would have been about eighty-one years old, and on the face of it too old for such an appointment, there were many extraordinary things done during George III's bouts of illness, and it has not been possible to trace another Daniel Graham of that period. His service to George III was short-lived, it lasted only twenty months, for Daniel Graham died in March 1778.[10] In his will, made in 1776 when he was resident in St. James, Westminster, he refers to the marriage of his daughter, Henrietta Catherine, to Daniel Malthus "several years ago", probably the second son of the Daniel Malthus already noted.[11] Graham was succeeded by John Devaynes in 1778.

The business established in Pall Mall by Daniel Malthus (or perhaps by his forbears) was long-lived, certainly for over a century. Thomas Graham (I) carried it on after Malthus, and after Thomas (I) died in 1733, his son, Daniel, succeeded to it and took into partnership his cousin, Thomas Graham (II). They continued until the latter's death in 1761 when Thomas Wainwright joined Daniel as partner. On Daniel's death in 1778, his son, Richard Robert Graham,

joined Wainwright. This association lasted until about the year 1800. From that time the Westminster Rate Books show that new tenants are in possession of the two houses and there is no evidence that they were apothecaries.[12]

John Warren, who succeeded Thomas Graham (I) in May 1733 as apothecary to the Person, joining Daniel Graham, served until 1746 when he gave place to Michael Crane.[13] Warren died of an apoplexy in the street on 25 February 1747.[14] Having been Master of the Apothecaries in 1733–34, the year in which he entered the service of George II, he remained a member of the Court of Assistants until 1746. He had interests in properties in Westminster in 1735–36 and he secured from the Treasury the reversion of the leases of several houses in Eagle Street, Piccadilly and in Jermyn Street; in 1740 he took up leases of land and of more houses in the Jermyn Street area.[15]

Thomas Graham (II), a nephew of Thomas Graham (I) and cousin of Daniel Graham, and who became a freeman of the Apothecaries on 13 December 1737,[16] officially succeeded his cousin Daniel as apothecary to George II on 3 February 1741 though he had the right to fees from Christmas 1740.[17] As already noted he was in partnership with Daniel. Both the Prince of Wales and the Princess Caroline died during his term of service and he provided the embalming materials for them, charging £50 on each occasion.[18] For the materials for the embalming of George II he received £152, the royal surgeons taking part in the operation. Graham also provided the anointing oils for the coronation of George III and Queen Charlotte; for these there was no payment before 1763 when the sum of £206 was authorized for Graham's assigns.[19] He had continued in the royal service until his death in 1761.[20]

Michael Crane was an apothecary to George II from February 1747 to 1760.[21] George III then appointed him an apothecary to the household in conjunction with John Allen and Benjamin Charlewood. Crane held his post until 1776, the year in which he died.[22] His shop in St. James's Street, Westminster, was visited by the Censors of the Royal

College of Physicians in 1754.[23] Crane had been apprenticed to John Stone but as this had not been recorded at Apothecaries' Hall he took his freedom by redemption instead of by servitude. His son, also admitted on the same day, 1 October 1754, had been apprenticed to his father.[24]

Having been in the service of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and of Augusta, Princess, it is not surprising that JOHN GOWLAND was appointed by George III as one of his apothecaries when there was a vacancy in 1761. Gowland held this post until his death in 1776.[25] His successor was Daniel Graham, q.v. After an apprenticeship to John Marsden of York, Gowland seems to have set up as an apothecary almost immediately after his admittance to the Society of Apothecaries on 3 September 1754.[26] His shop in New Bond Street came in for inspection by the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians almost as soon as he started business: they tested two tinctures and found them satisfactory.[27]

The partnership begun before 1750 by Partridge and Truesdale, apothecaries of King Street, Westminster, and later of St. James's Street, provided royal apothecaries for more than a century and a half, from 1762 to 1914. From the first quarter of the nineteenth century the then partners turned almost exclusively to the practice of medicine and took less interest in the apothecary's business.

JOHN TRUESDALE, admitted a freeman of the Apothecaries in October 1754 at the same time as Joseph Partridge,[28] rapidly built up a reputation as a useful practitioner. Their shop came in the routine visits of the Censors of the College of Physicians; twelve drugs were examined but no comment recorded.[29] According to Wadd, Truesdale was in "great practice" about 1760, and had his portrait drawn by Hills.[30] In 1762 Truesdale was appointed one of the two apothecaries to the Person by George III, the other being John Gowland. Truesdale died in 1780 after serving eighteen years,[31] his place being taken by Thomas Wainwright,[32] then a partner with Daniel Graham.

ROBERT HALIFAX (or Hallifax), a freeman of the

Apothecaries in 1762[33] and who had become a partner with Truesdale and Partridge in the 1760's, held the post of an apothecary to George III's household, with Edward Holdich from 1776 to 1783.[34] He was also apothecary to the Prince of Wales during some part of 1783–84 and from 1785 until his death at Bath in 1810 acted as physician to the Prince and to the royal household.[35] In 1783 Halifax asked the Society of Apothecaries to disenfranchise him: this was done under a certificate of the Private Court, Halifax paying a fine of £50.[36] No reason is given in the Court Minutes but Munk's *Roll* shows that in that year Halifax had been created "M.D." by the Archbishop of Canterbury and that Halifax had become a licentiate of the College of Physicians.[37] There is no doubt that Halifax intended his future should be as a physician rather than as an apothecary.

Subsequent partners in this firm of apothecaries, most of whom entered the royal service were Thomas Townsend, William John Yonge, the two Richard Walkers, father and son, John Nussey, (?) Charles Craddock, Claudius Francis du Pasquier (1811–1897) and Francis Henry Laking (1847-1914). The two last-named were knighted.

William John Yonge was one of the apothecaries to the Prince of Wales, with a fellow partner in the firm, Richard Walker, senior, from 1784 to at least 1804. Richard Walker, senior, (1750–1817) was born at Birstal, Yorks., and at the age of 14 was apprenticed to William Hay, a Leeds surgeon and apothecary.[38] He came to London where he attended the hospitals for two years, then became a freeman of the Apothecaries.[39] This was in 1776 and shortly after having met one of the partners in the Truesdale and Partridge firm he joined them and rose to be the principal partner. During the period that he was one of the two apothecaries to the Prince of Wales[40] he published, in 1799, *Memoirs of Medicine*, a summarized history of medicine and its development up to the eighteenth century. This volume he dedicated to the Prince.[41] Wadd states that Walker was nearly thirty years in practice amongst the highest ranks of society, that he gained the confidence of his

patients, was skilful and a great reader, always having a book by his side when in his carriage. He retired soon after 1800. His death occurred in 1817. He was buried in the then new St. Marylebone Church. By 1824 when Wadd wrote, Walker's book was largely forgotten. A water colour drawing of him from a portrait by Hoppner is recorded by Wadd.[42]

Richard Walker, junior, having served an apprenticeship, probably with his father, joined the Society of Apothecaries in April 1795.[43] In 1820, with John Nussey, he was appointed an apothecary to George IV. They also held the post jointly of apothecary to the royal household until Walker died in 1825.[44] In accordance with custom he claimed a seat on the Court of Assistants of the Apothecaries and although challenged, his claim was allowed.[45] Before Walker's death the firm had become known as "Walker & Nussey".[46]

John Nussey, after his appointments with Walker, became a member of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries of which he had become a freeman in 1816.[47] He succeeded Walker as chief apothecary to George IV in 1825[48] and his service was continued by William IV as an apothecary to the household, sharing the duties with Charles Craddock. He served the Apothecaries as Master in 1833–34. During his Mastership a daughter was born to him and the Court of Assistants, without precedent, gave him a piece of plate worth 25 guineas.[49] Nussey took part in the negotiations about the use of Kew Gardens as a Botanic Garden instead of the Chelsea Physic Garden but no agreement was reached.[50] For some years he represented the Society of Apothecaries on the General Medical Council, of which he was Treasurer for a time, set up under the Medical Act of 1858 but failing health in 1862 obliged him to relinquish this appointment.[51] Having been in the service of King William IV for some years he was appointed by Queen Victoria as apothecary to the household, with Charles Craddock, and he was also personal apothecary to the Prince Consort. For many years he had practised from

No. 4 Cleveland Row which was formerly the home of Sir Gilbert Blane, well known for his interest in the Naval Medical Service. A son, Thomas Nussey, a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries also practised from this address.[52] John Nussey died in April 1862 having been a servant of royalty for more than forty years.[53]

Nussey, during the 1830's, had taken C. F. du Pasquier (later Sir Francis), as an apprentice and after a few years had admitted him to a partnership. In turn, Francis Henry Laking became a partner of du Pasquier about the year 1875. Both were surgeon-apothecaries to Queen Victoria, Laking also to Edward VII and to George V. Thus the direct connexion of the successive partners with the royal family lasted from 1762, when Truesdale was first appointed, until 1914 when Sir Francis Laking died.

John Devaynes, the elder of two sons of a French family, having been apprenticed to John Bakewell of Cheapside, was admitted a freeman of the Apothecaries on 4 February 1752.[54] His appointment as apothecary to Queen Charlotte's household, obtained through the influence of Archbishop Secker, began with her arrival in England in 1761 and lasted until 1796. He also served as one of the two apothecaries to George III from 1778 to 1800.[55] Devaynes died on 16 January 1801, leaving a considerable fortune.[56] He had been an acceptable member of the Society of Apothecaries, was Renter Warden 1793–94, Senior Warden 1794–1795, and Master 1795–96.[57]

Mention has been made of Thomas Wainwright, a partner with Daniel Graham of Pall Mall from 1761 to 1800. He joined John Devaynes as one of the two apothecaries to George III in 1780 and was retained until 1805.[58] Wainwright had been apprenticed to his father, John, in Hanover Street, Long Acre, Westminster and on 6 October 1761 was admitted to the freedom of the Apothecaries. He proceeded to the Livery but did not take office in the Society.[59]

The Brande family. The successor to John Devaynes as apothecary to George III from 18 January 1801 was

Everard Augustus Brande, the son of Augustus Everard. He came from a distinguished family of apothecaries, long-established in Hanover, many of whom gave faithful service to the Hanoverian Kings and Queens. The first to be noted is Christian Heinrich Brande who, coming to England soon after George I's accession, became naturalized in 1723.[60] He supplied medicines to Augusta, Princess of Wales and mother of George III from 1747–49. He was chosen apothecary-physician to the royal servants during the campaigns overseas in 1743 and again in 1746–47.[61] For aromatic ingredients for embalming the body of the Prince of Wales, son of George I, he was paid £54 4*s*. on 12 September 1751.[62]

Augustus Herman (or Heinrich) Brande was apothecary to Queen Charlotte from 1762 and he attended her when she visited Hanover in 1783. He died there in that year.[63]

His son, Augustus Everard, who had been born in Hanover in 1746 and was naturalized here in 1784,[64] succeeded his father as apothecary to the Queen and served until her death in 1818.[65] In 1821 he received £1200 for loss of office and for long and faithful service to the late George III. He was described as "M.D." though he is not recorded in Munk's *Roll*, died in 1834 and was buried at Chiswick.[66]

It may have been Everard Augustus Brande's appointment in 1801 that decided him to seek the freedom of the Apothecaries in that year.[67] He appears to have had no official post from 1820 to 1830 when William IV chose him as one of five apothecaries and appointed him also to Queen Adelaide's household. He resigned in 1833 and was designated "Honorary Apothecary". He had been one of the twelve elected by the Society of Apothecaries to constitute the first Court of Examiners set up under the Apothecaries Act of 1815. He served on the Court of Assistants but when chosen as Junior Warden in 1835 declined the office, his friend and fellow-apothecary, John Nussey, paying the fine of £50.[68] In 1809 he presented to the Royal College

of Physicians a collection of approximately 800 seventeenth-century drugs.[69] Brande gave £300 worth of stock to the Society of Apothecaries for augmenting the pensions paid to its most destitute members.[70] During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Brandes had an apothecary shop in Arlington Street, Westminster. In 1826–27 E. A. Brande and M. W. Andrews, also an apothecary to William IV for a short time, were practising as surgeons from 10 Arlington Street. By 1842 that address was used by E. D. Moore and M. W. Andrews.[71] Brande died in December 1868.[71a]

Almost as soon as George III began to make Windsor Castle his summer residence, in 1778, Robert Battiscombe, in practice there, was called in to look after the royal servants. He is first mentioned in the Lord Chamberlain's list in 1784.[72] Not long after, his duties were extended to the royal family when in residence in Windsor. George III appointed him formally as one of his apothecaries on 29 January 1805,[73] in succession to Thomas Wainwright, and he served until 1820. Though his name was retained in the list of appointments until 1830 there is no evidence that he was called upon by George IV but he was paid a salary. For a time Battiscombe was also apothecary to the Princesses Amelia and Augusta Sophia. He died at Windsor on 12 February 1839, aged eighty-six.[74] A Miss (or Mrs.) Battiscombe held the office of "Herb Strewer" for some years at a salary of £24 a year.

William IV, after his accession in 1830 made sweeping changes in his apothecary staff. Though John Nussey, see above, was retained, four at least were new—E. A. Brande (see above), J. Craddock, David Davies and William Day. J. Craddock continued to 1835; Davies turned wholly to the practice of surgery and was an Extra Surgeon to the King by 1836 though he retained the title of apothecary both to the King and Queen[75]: William Day, whose official appointment ceased in 1835, the year in which other new names are listed, served continuously as a member of the Apothecaries' Court of Assistants for more than twenty

years, his death being reported to the Court on 21 November 1855.[76] The reason for William IV's further changes in 1835 is not fully known: E. A. Brande had resigned in 1833. Edward Duke Moore and M. W. Andrews, probably partners since both practised from the same address, were brought in, Moore also becoming apothecary to Queen Adelaide, whilst Charles Craddock and John Nussey were appointed to the household. Moore became a freeman of the Apothecaries in 1834 and later was apothecary to many royal Dukes and Duchesses and for a time to Queen Victoria. For a time he gave up practice and embarked upon a scheme for manufacturing concentrated milk which he supplied in large quantities to the army during the Crimean War. This business failed and he returned to medical practice. He died in 1868, aged sixty-six.

During the long period from 1719 when William Jones retired, the royal household had its share of changes in apothecary personnel. Hugh Trimnell, who succeeded Jones, had been apprenticed to James Trioche and had become an apothecary on 7 March 1698.[77] He held his post from 17 March 1719 but died only eight years later, in 1727.[78] In August 1727 when some of his bills for medicines were overdue a warrant for payment was issued to Anne, his widow and executrix.[79] Two men were chosen to succeed Trimnell—John Allen and Marmaduke Lilly. Allen, at least, had learned something of the duties likely to be required for he had been an apprentice of James St. Amand (pages 118–121) for eight years and must have heard his master talk of Court life and all that it entailed. He waited for nine years after completing his apprenticeship before applying to the Apothecaries for his freedom which he obtained on 19 March 1723.[80] His patent to the office of apothecary to the household was dated 8 February 1728 though he took up his post in 1727.[81] He shared an annual salary of £53 6*s*. 8*d*. with Lilly. For some reason this was cut to £10 each in 1731 but was increased to £115 p.a., the normal salary under the patent, and was further increased to £120 a year. Allen served with Lilly until 1738, when

Lilly died, and from that time with BENJAMIN CHARLEWOOD until 1766. In 1761 Michael Crane was appointed an additional apothecary with them. Allen's name was retained in the official list until his death at the age of ninety in 1774 though it is doubtful if he was active as an apothecary during his latter years.

Allen and Lilly's joint bills for medicine for the royal servants were submitted quarterly and approved by the physician to the household—for many years this was Dr. G. L. Teissier—before being passed for payment by the Lord Chamberlain. For some years from 1728 the bills averaged £600 a year but they quickly increased to about £1400 and by 1734 were almost £1600 annually; in the 1740's, during part of the time that Charlewood served with Allen, the bills amounted to over £2000 a year but they began to diminish about 1750 to £1000. Substantial profit must have been gained by both apothecaries from their official posts.[82] Allen had to attend their Majesties when the Court moved to Windsor, Hampton Court or Kensington, sometimes Lilly was with him, and the periods away from St. James's Palace were occasionally as long as six months. The apothecaries had a lodging allowance of 12*s.* 6*d.* a week and a travelling allowance of 3*s.* 9*d.* a day, half what was allowed to Sir Hans Sloane, principal physician to the King.[83]

Allen was a well respected member of the Apothecaries' Court of Assistants. He was responsible for the suggestion that a repository for drugs and materia medica be established "for the honour of the Company", a proposal that was adopted, the Repository being set up in the Gallery, £50 being allocated for it from the Laboratory funds. In 1748 the Court of Assistants asked Allen to allow his portrait to be painted: this he did after some shyness, and he gave it to the Society, with a gift of two dozen silver spoons, marked "I.A." In 1749 an anonymous donor, who may well have been Allen himself, gave £200 through Allen, for the Society's charitable funds.[84] Allen, whose father had been Minister of the Old Marylebone Parish Church, lived many years in Bury Street, Westminster. He died on 17

March 1774 and under his will the Society received a bequest of £1000.[85] Barrett errs in describing him as a "Past Master" of the Society: his name does not appear in the list.

Marmaduke Lilly, son of William (d. 1727 or 1728, an apothecary who had his shop in the Piazza, Covent Garden), died on 12 October 1738.[86] Quarterly warrants drawn for the joint bills of Allen and Lilly during 1738 are in favour of Allen and of Lilly's executors.[87]

Benjamin Charlewood, another of James St. Amand's apprentices and son of Benjamin, apothecary, was admitted to the freedom of the Apothecaries in 1716.[88] He succeeded Lilly in October 1738, retaining his post until his death in 1766. Whether he continued to have an interest in St. Amand's shop or not is uncertain but it was doubtless due to his long association with St. Amand that he found himself with a bequest under St. Amand's will (page 121) of drugs, medicines and utensils in the shop near Covent Garden. Charlewood, Master of the Society of Apothecaries in 1760–61, was re-elected in 1765, the year in which he was to be one of the sheriffs for the City of London.[89] He died whilst he held both offices, on 11 April 1766.[90]

Charlewood was succeeded by Edward Holdich and Robert Halifax of whom mention has already been made. Holdich, whose apprenticeship had been divided between Adam Hills of Oundle, Northants and Samuel Archdeacon of St. Neots, Hunts. took up his freedom of the Apothecaries on 7 August 1770.[91] He served the royal household until 1814, the year of his death,[92] when A. Jones was appointed in his place, continuing until 1820.[93]

Charles Craddock who served jointly with John Nussey during the years 1836–37[94] was reappointed by Queen Victoria and both remained in her service until 1859, Craddock continuing until 1862 jointly with C. F. du Pasquier. Until 1848 Craddock was also one of the two apothecaries to the Queen herself, with Nussey.[95] A William Walker held the post of apothecary to the household for three years from 1825 to 1828.[96]

The service which the members of the Brande family gave

to the Hanoverian Queens has already been noted. Another apothecary, presumably of Hanoverian origin to judge by his name, was Ernest August Jager. He was in attendance upon Queen Caroline, wife of George II from at least 1723 until her death in February 1738, when he was called upon to embalm her body.[97] Like other apothecaries he received an allowance when he went to Windsor or to Hampton Court.[98] After the Queen's death he was apothecary to Augusta, Princess of Wales.[99] In 1743 he was appointed to attend George II on his proposed expedition to Flanders. From that time there is no further mention of him in the Treasury records.

There were many subsidiary appointments during the reign of the Georges. After John Devaynes, Griffiths Jones acted as apothecary to the Queen's household during the years 1796–1818.[100] Members of the firm of Walker, Yonge and Nussey were engaged by the Prince Regent, later George IV, for several years. He also had his own chemists and druggists, Grindell and Hastings, in addition to an Extra Apothecary, G. F. Lockley, and A. Tegart and Edward Tegart of Pall Mall as Apothecaries Extraordinary. When Brighton began to be fashionable George IV had Barrett & Blaker named as suppliers to his Majesty.

Queen Adelaide, whilst Dowager, from 1837 to 1849, had a succession of personal apothecaries—D. Davies, E. D. Moore and H. S. Illingworth. Not only did she have her prescriptions filled by Blacker & Roberts of Brighton but from 1842 to 1849, when she died, she accepted the growing importance in the country of chemists and druggists as suppliers of medicines, though for some years those to whom she gave her custom in Bath, Richmond, Windsor and Worcester were listed under the heading of "tradesmen".

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Ct. Min. Bk., 1694–1716*, p. 74.
2. PRO, LC 3.63, p. 141.
3. MS. Visitations, R.C.P.

4. PRO, *Warrant Bk.*, LC 5.18, p. 7.
5. Mural Tablet, South Aisle Wall, Harrow Church. Graham is described as Apothecary to Geo. I and Geo. II and as Apothecary General to the Army. He bore the arms of Graham of Ardoch, Scotland. He was a Governor of Harrow School, 1727–34.
6. *Ct. Min. Bk. 4*, fo. 322; *Admissions Bk. 1*, p. 155.
7. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 8 Geo. I.
8. *Ibid.*, 1 Geo. II; *Cal. Treas. Prs. 1739–41*, p. 619. The actual date when Daniel Graham ceased to hold the post is uncertain. The patent to Thomas Graham (II) of 14 Geo. I gives him the right to fees as from Christmas 1740.
9. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1739–41*, pp. 305, 317, 336.
10. PRO, LC 3.67, pp. 93, 107: Mural Tablet, South Aisle Wall, Harrow Church, gives his age as 83. He was a Governor of Harrow School, 1738–61.
11. PCC Wills, 1778, "Hay", fo. 109. The will was proved on 7 March 1778.
12. MS. Westminster Rate Books, Pall Mall Ward, 1750–1820. Westminster Public Library.
13. PRO, LC 3.65, pp. 1, 207; LC 5.21, p. 266.
14. *Gent. Mag.*, 1747, p. 103. For Warren's will, see PCC Will, 1747, "Potter", fo. 86.
15. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1735–38*, pp. 77, 218, 222, 531, 560, 562.
16. *Ct. Min. Bk. 6*, fo. 134.
17. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 14 Geo. II.
18. PRO, LC 5.23, p. 327; LC 5.24, p. 405. Both Graham and C. H. Brande were paid for the necessaries for the embalming of the Prince of Wales.
19. PRO, LC 5.168, pp. 31, 249. The warrant sets out the materials for embalming the body of George II; these included fine cerecloth, rich perfumed armoniac powder, honey water, lavender water, etc., in addition to sweet perfumes for the coffins (*sic*).
20. PRO, LC 3.58, 5 Jan. 1762. Graham's will is PCC Will, 1761, "Cheslyn", fo. 94.
21. PRO, LC 3.65, p. 207.
22. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*. 1 Geo. III, fo. 65; *Royal Kalendar*, 1767–76. In 1772 a warrant for payment of £250 was made out to Crane and Allen but the names are deleted and those of Halifax and Holdich substituted (Warrant Bk. LC 5.25, p. 2). For Crane's will see PCC Will, 1776, 'Bellas', fo. 352.
23. MS. Visitations, RCP.
24. *Ct. Min. Bk. 7*, p. 89; *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 101.
25. PRO, LC 3.58; LC 3.67, p. 93; *Court & City Register*, 1761–76. For Gowland's will, see PCC Wills, 1776, "Bellas", fo. 357.

26. *Ct. Min. Bk. 7*, p. 88.
27. MS. Visitations, R.C.P.
28. *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 107.
29. MS. Visitations, R.C.P.
30. Wadd, William, *Nugæ Chirurgicæ or a Biographical Miscellany*, London, 1824, p. 153. The portrait is not listed in the Brit. Museum.
31. *The Royal Kalendar*; PRO, LC 3.58; LC 3.67, p. 120; PCC Will, 1780, "Collins", fo. 453. Truesdale's original Warrant of Appointment as Apothecary to the Person in the room of Thomas Graham, removed and discharged, was sealed on 20 March 1762. This, and a detailed statement of fees and expenses paid by him in the various offices, are preserved in the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex), Acc. 5/378–80. The partnership between Partridge and Truesdale is pre-1761. In that year Truesdale executed a Trust Deed whereby a bond of £10,000 guaranteed repayment of a loan to him of £5000. One set of five sheets of the Deed of Grant by Truesdale and Partridge of a share in the partnership to Halifax, dated 24 December 1763, is also extant. Halifax could take up one-half of Truesdale's half share as a partner after five years. In 1767 when Truesdale contemplated some ease of duties Halifax became responsible for the firm's shop and premises on conditions affecting profit sharing and provided he executed a lease of the premises in Truesdale's favour (*Ibid.*, Acc. 85/5, DDX 266–280 and DDX 174/188–208). Truesdale lived as a country gentleman at Harefield Place, Middlesex; had properties there and in Lincolnshire. He left investments worth over £20,000 besides his interest in the leasehold properties in St. James occupied by his apothecary partners, one of whom, Partridge, was an executor of his will. Truesdale's Georgian square tomb, surmounted by a classic urn, stands in Harefield churchyard, Middlesex. Now partly weathered and part indecipherable, one can read "... To the Memory of John Truesdale, Esq., of Harefield Place, Whose extensive Knowledge, sound Judgment and truly Christian Benevolence conferred Honour on the Medical Profession and rendered his Death a publick Loss. August 20th 1780, in his 65th Year." His name is preserved in "Truesdale Drive", a new road in Harefield.
32. PRO, LC 3.68, p. 65; *Court & City Register*, 1806.
33. *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 131.
34. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 1776–67, fo. 393; LC 3.67, p. 94; *The Royal Kalendar*, 1784.
35. *Gent. Mag.*, 1810, II, p. 646. Halifax was born at Mansfield, Notts, the son of an apothecary.
36. *Soc. Apoth. Rough Ct. Min. Bk. 1776–1783*, 4 Nov. 1783.
37. Munk's *Roll*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 336.
38. Wadd, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

39. *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 169.
40. *Court & City Register*, 1804.
41. London, 1799. This was intended for students.
42. Wadd, *op. cit.*, p. 158. The portrait is not listed in the Brit. Museum. For Walker's will, see PCC Wills, 1817, "Effingham", fo. 551.
43. *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 51.
44. *London Gazette*, 1820, p. 771; *Brit. Imp. Calendar*, 1820–21. Walker and Nussey also held appointments to the Duchy of Cornwall. Royal appointments were spread amongst the principal apothecaries about this time.
45. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
46. Underwood. *op. cit.*, p. 90n. In 1815 the firm was known as Walker, Yonge and Nussey (PRO, LC 3.72, pp. 13, 138). Underwood notes that Thomas Wheeler, one of Walker's pupils, became a botanist of distinction, apothecary to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1806–20, and Master of the Apothecaries in 1823–24.
47. *Admissions Bk.*, 1814–36, p. 7.
48. *Brit. Imp. Calendar*, 1826; PRO, LC 3.72, pp. 13, 138.
49. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
52. *The British Medical Directory*, 1863.
53. *Brit. med. J.*, 1862, **i**, 415. From Nussey's will (1862, fo. 294) it appears that he was twice married and left a young family in addition to grown-up sons. The will was proved on 10 May 1862.
54. *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 97.
55. *The Royal Kalendar; Court & City Register*, 1779–1800; PRO, LC 3.67, p. 107.
56. *Gent. Mag.*, 1801, p. 93. Devaynes died at Spring Gardens, Westminster and was buried in the family vault at Putney. By his will (PCC Wills, 1801, "Abercrombie", fo. 142) he left an annuity of £400 to his great patroness, The Marchioness Townsend: to his brother William, an M.P., and his family he left £10,000. Part of a residue went to the Society of Apothecaries for poor widows. There are no less than eleven codicils to the will, the legacies being set out in many orderly schedules.
57. *Ct. Min. Bk. 9*, 1793–96.
58. PRO, LC 3.67, p. 120; LC 3.68, p. 85; *Court & City Register*, 1806: PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 21 Geo. III.
59. *Ct. Min. Bk. 7*, fo. 167 and *Bk. 8*, fo. 107; *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 129.
60. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 10 Geo. I.
61. PRO, LC 5.22, p. 264.
62. *Ibid.*, LC 5.23, p. 302.
63. *Ibid.*, LC 5.168, p. 202; *Gent. Mag.*, 1783, p. 638.

64. PRO, *Pat. Rolls*, 24 Geo. III.
65. *Court & City Register*, 1818–19. It may have been when returning from a visit to his royal patient that A. E. Brande, in November 1789, in a post chaise in Hyde Park, was held up by a foot pad, who threatening the coachman with a pistol, opened the chaise door and demanded money. Brande gave him two guineas, a shilling and a Russian coin but told him his watch was not worth the taking. Despite a sworn information against the foot pad, who was apprehended, and whom Brande claimed to identify, in addition to recognising the pistol, and identification by three other persons also held at pistol length, with the words: "Damn you, stop or else I'll shoot you", the foot pad was released (Greater London Record Office (Middlesex)—Old Bailey Sessions Papers, 1789).
66. PCC Will, 1834, "Teignmouth", fo. 42. Brande left much property in Buckinghamshire, in addition to substantial investments to his wife, Anne, and to his three sons, Everard Augustus, George William and William Thomas. In 1792 A. E. Brande contributed a note to the *London Medical Journal* on Angustura Bark which had just been introduced to Europe. Brande considered it to be the equal of Peruvian Bark, and, in certain cases, superior to it. Brande's brilliant third son, William Thomas Brande, F.R.S. (1788–1866), who had been apprenticed to his brother in 1802, became Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica to the Society of Apothecaries. He helped greatly in organizing its educational policy. Master in 1851–52, his portrait, painted by H. Weigall, was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1859 and has since hung in the Society's Parlour (Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–50).
67. *Court & City Register*, 1802; PRO, LC 3.68, p. 62; *Admissions Bk. 3*, p. 80.
68. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
69. These drugs are now (1967) under investigation by the Pharmaceutical Society's Department of Pharmaceutical Sciences.
70. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
71. *New Commercial Directory*, 1826–27 (Pigot & Co. Manchester); *Post Office London Directory*, 1842.
71a. He was described as "Father of the medical profession", *Lancet*, 1868, **ii**, 839. His practice at Arlington Street, London, had been taken over by Mr. Illingworth.
72. PRO, LC 5.25, p. 106.
73. *Brit. Imp. Cal.*, 1806; PRO, LC 3.68, p. 94.
74. *Gent. Mag.*, 1839, **i**, 329.
75. *Brit. Imp. Cal.*, 1831–35.
76. *Ibid.*, 1831–35; PRO, LC 3.69, p. 31; *Ct. Min. Bk. 7*, p. 505.
77. *Ct. Min. Bk. 4*, fo. 84.
78. PRO, LC 3.63, p. 223; PCC Wills, 1727, "Farrant", fo. 99.

79. PRO, LC 5.18, p. 44.
80. *Ct. Min. Bk. 4*, fo. 107; *Admissions Bk. 1*, p. 165.
81. PRO, LC 5.18, p. 25. The warrants for both Allen and Lilly were dated 4 April 1728. Charlewood was appointed from 28 October 1738 but the warrant was not recorded until 6 February 1729 (LC 5.21, p. 31).
82. PRO, LC 5.18–24.
83. *Ibid.*, LC 5.19, p. 194; 20, pp. 286, 370.
84. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 138, 143, 144, 150.
85. PCC Will, 1721, "Buckingham", fo. 126. Allen left many thousands of pounds to charities. Matthew Yatman, an apothecary, was one of his executors and to him Allen left his shares in the Navy and Elaboratory Stocks of the Society of Apothecaries. His memorial plaque was on the south side of Old Marylebone Church. It recorded that he was Apothecary to George I, II and III, had an ample fortune, left numerous benefactions, especially to the poor and to charity children. It described him as "an excellent man . . . how useful a private person may be with a mind so disposed". Allen was one of the first Governors of St. George's Hospital to which he bequeathed £1000 (Smith, Thomas, *The Parish of St. Mary-le-Bone*, London, 1833, p. 76).

Notes:

1. A composite bill of 45 pages for medicines for the royal servants for two periods, 28 September 1726–23 March 1727 and 23 March–19 April 1727, survives. This may be just before the Allen-Lilly period. Among those for whom physic is supplied are the Master Cook, Yeomen of the Guard, and footmen. Each item is typical of eighteenth-century prescriptions, e.g. boluses, draughts, stomachic cordials in pint and two-pint quantities, often repeated. Appropriately, Thomas Loe "of the Beer cellar" had ingredients for three-gallon quantities of Diet Drink at a time, tempered with repeated "quickening draughts". Dr. Teissier, the household physician, who approved the bills, understandingly writes on the bill: "I have examined this bill and I think the prices are not unreasonable." The total for about seven months was £211 (PRO, Apothecaries' Bill for the Household Servants of King George I. T.1.cclxiv (26)).
2. In 1754 Allen and Charlewood were required to be in lodgings when the King was in residence at Kensington Palace and on this occasion they hired a shop, presumably to be able to store a sufficient stock of drugs and utensils for the medical needs of the household servants. The Court and the two apothecaries were there from 20 April to 9 November 1754 (PRO, LC 5.24, p. 103).
3. It was during the middle third of the eighteenth century that the practice was begun of employing local apothecaries to provide medicines for the minor royal servants, including those of the Queen and

of Prince Edward (1786), e.g. those in the Mews and the Stables at Windsor, Richmond, etc. This seems to have been done mainly on the ground of expense although it would have been inconvenient for the regular apothecaries to have made urgent journeys. Among those named as submitting bills are Uvedale, Hampton Court, 1734–1735; Glover, Hampton Court and Richmond, 1755; David Dundas, later a surgeon, Richmond Lodge, 1783; Robert Battiscombe, *q.v.* Windsor, 1784; William Robertson, Richmond Lodge and Kew, 1784–86 (PRO, LC 5.19, p. 240; 5.20, p. 49; 5.24, p. 159; 5.25, pp. 106, 107, 109, 112, 117, 121, 125).

86. *Cal. Treas. Prs., 1739–41*, p. 166; *Gent Mag.*, 1738, p. 605. Lilly's servant, Elizabeth Miller, executrix of his will, was specially directed to take care of his harlequin dog, Senesino.
87. PRO, LC 5.21, pp. 8, 33, 60, 73.
88. *Ct. Min. Bk., 1694–1766*, p. 232; *Admissions Bk., 1694–1725*, p. 131.
89. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 147. In 1740, No. 44 Gerrard Street, Soho, became an apothecary's shop and was occupied until 1765 by Charlewood (G.L.C., *Survey of London*, 1966, Vol. XXXIII, St. Anne, Soho).
90. Beaven, A. B., *The Alderman of the City of London*, 1908, Vol. II, xxix; Charlewood's will is PCC Wills, 1751 "Tyndall", fo. 133. Charlewood's elaborate tomb is in the old churchyard of St. John the Baptist, Hillingdon, Middlesex.
91. *Ct. Min. Bk. 8*, fo. 56; *Admissions Bk. 2*, p. 141.
92. *Royal Kalendar*, 1777–1814, PCC Wills, 1814, "Bridport", fo. 419.
93. *Brit. Imp. Cal.*, 1815–24.
94. PRO, LC 3.70, p. 1.
95. *Brit. Imp. Cal.*, 1839–62.
96. *Ibid.*, 1825–28.
97. PRO, LC 5.19, p. 167; LC 5.20, p. 297; LC 5.21, p. 395.
98. *Ibid.*, LC 5.18, p. 99.
99. PRO, Entry Books 22 and 28.
100. *Court & City Register*, 1797–1818.

CHAPTER 8

Queen Victoria to King George VI

By the time that Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 few apothecaries were continuing to practise pharmacy in addition to their normal practise of medicine and surgery. Their examinations under the Apothecaries Act of 1815 still called for a grounding in materia medica and pharmacy but for the most part apothecaries had become general practitioners, regarded as such by themselves and by the general public. Nevertheless the title of "Apothecary" was applied to those, some of whom were physicians, some surgeons, who were chosen by the Queen, both for herself personally and for her household. Hence at the outset she continued to have as her close medical advisers John Nussey and Charles Craddock jointly though later she called in other, and in some cases, specialist practitioners. Nussey was also apothecary to the Prince Consort from 1842 until the Prince's death in 1861.

About 1864 the title "Apothecary" was changed to "surgeon and apothecary". Shortly after this most of those appointed were designated "surgeon-apothecary". This is still the title which distinguished physicians and surgeons have held for almost a century and is the one by which many who have served the monarch or who still serve are proud to be called. An exception in designation is the "apothecary" to the Sovereign, not "surgeon-apothecary". Many royal surgeon-apothecaries have not only become Licentiates of the Society of Apothecaries of London but have held the high office of Master or Warden of the Society and have brought distinction and have added lustre to it.

The following tables compiled chiefly from the *British Imperial Calendar* give the names of the apothecaries holding royal appointments during Queen Victoria's reign, from 1837 to 1901, and during the succeeding reigns to 1952.

TABLE I—1837–1901

Years	*To the Queen*	*Royal Household*
1837–48	J. Nussey–C. Craddock (jointly)	J. Nussey–C. Craddock (jointly)
1848–57	J. Nussey–E. D. Moore (jointly)	
1858–62	J. Nussey	J. Nussey–C. F. du Pasquier
1863–74	C. F. du Pasquier[1]*	C. F. du Pasquier
1875–77	C. F. du Pasquier–F. H. Laking (jointly)	
1877–79	C. F. du Pasquier	
1880–1901	F. H. Laking[2] (to 1914)	F. H. Laking (to 1914)

Years	*Windsor*	*Years*	*Sandringham*
1860–66	Henry Brown James Ellison[3]	1892–1901	Alan R. Manby[7] (Also Apothecary to Edward, Prince of Wales and the Household at Sandringham)
1867–80	James Ellison Thomas Fairbank[4]		
1880–88	James Ellison William Fairbank		
1888–97	James Ellison William Fairbank W. A. Ellison[5]		
1897–1901	William Fairbank[6] (to 1929) W. A. Ellison (to 1917) Appointments held jointly		

Years	*Osborne, Isle of Wight*	
1847–68	W. Carter Hoffmeister William Cass	Note: *Whitaker's Almanack* for the period shows variations for *Osborne*:
1868–88	W. C. Hoffmeister† Wm. Hoffmeister	1892–1895 Wm. Hoffmeister only
1889–90	W. C. Hoffmeister Wm. Hoffmeister G. W. B. Hoffmeister	1896–1897 Wm. and J. B. Hoffmeister
1891–97	Wm. Hoffmeister G. W. B. Hoffmeister	1898 Wm., J. B., and H. E. W. Hoffmeister
1898–1901	Wm. Hoffmeister H. E. W. Hoffmeister	1899–1901 Wm. & J. B. Hoffmeister

* The superior figures refer to the notes following Table II.
† Knighted 1868.

TABLE II—1901–1952

Years	*To the King and the Royal Household*
1901–14	F. H. Laking
1914–50	F. S. Hewett[8]
1950–52	J. Nigel Loring* (to 1965)
	(F. S. Hewett Extra Surgeon-Apothecary)

Years	*Windsor*	*Years*	*Sandringham*
1901–17	William Fairbank	1901–24	Alan R. Manby
	W. A. Ellison	1924–49	F. Jeune Willans[11]
1917–18	William Fairbank	1950–52	J. L. B. Ansell (1950–)
1918–29	William Fairbank		
	L. Henry Martyn[9]		
1930–38	L. Henry Martyn		
1938–52	E. Claud Malden[10] (to 1962)		

SCOTLAND

Years	*Balmoral*	*Years*	*Holyroodhouse*
1911–31	A. Hendry[12]	1909–23	W. B. Alexander
1931–52	G. P. Middleton† (1950–)	1923–29	Lt.-Col. D.J. Graham, O.B.E.
		1929–30	W. McCrae Taylor
		1930–52	N. S. Carmichael

* Now Sir Nigel Loring. † Now Sir George Middleton, G.C.V.O.

1. Du Pasquier, Sir Claudius Francis, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (1811–1897)
   Father Swiss. Served an apprenticeship with John Nussey, 4 Cleveland Row, St. James, Westminster. Freeman and Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Sometime Assistant Apothecary to St. George's Hospital and afterwards a partner of Nussey with whom he was apothecary to the Prince Consort and to the Household. From 1862 he was Surgeon-Apothecary to Queen Victoria and to the Household, and from 1879 to Edward, Prince of Wales (later, Edward VII) until his death in 1897 (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1897, **i**, 619).
2. Laking, Sir Francis Henry, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B. (1847–1914)
   Entered into partnership with du Pasquier about the year 1875. Appointed Apothecary to the Household and from 1880 Surgeon-Apothecary to the Queen and to her Household, to the Prince of Wales, etc. Later he became Physician to the Queen, to Edward VII and to George V. He was also Physician-in-Ordinary and Surgeon-Apothecary to Queen Alexandra and her Household from 1911 to 1914 (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1914, **i**, 1216).
3. Ellison, James, C.V.O. (1818–1897)
   An articled pupil to Dr. T. Walker of Peterborough, he became a partner with Dr. Henry Brown about the year 1852 and joined him as Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Windsor in 1860, retaining his post until his death in 1897 (Obit., *Lancet*, 1897, **i**, 492).
4. Fairbank, Thomas (1844–1880)
   Appointed in 1867, at the age of 23, as one of the Surgeons and Apothecaries to Queen Victoria and the Royal Family at Windsor. In 1880, the year in which he died he was also Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Windsor (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1880, **i**, 382–3).
5. Ellison, William A. Lt.-Col., C.V.O. (1855–1917)
   A great oarsman for Oxford 1878–80. Appointed a Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Windsor in 1888 and reappointed by King Edward VII and by King George V. He also acted as resident physician at Balmoral in the 1890's (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1917, **i**, 635).
6. Fairbank, Sir William, K.C.V.O. (1851–1929)
   Appointed Surgeon-Apothecary to Queen Victoria's Household at Windsor in place of his elder brother, deceased, in 1880. He became in turn Surgeon-Apothecary at Windsor to Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V. For some years before his death in 1929, aged 78, he was Honorary Surgeon-Apothecary (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1929, **i**, 1102).
7. Manby, Sir Alan Reeve, K.C.V.O. (1848–1925)
   Surgeon-Apothecary to the Royal Household at Sandringham 1892–1924. Also to the Prince of Wales's Household, 1910–11, and to Queen Alexandra and her Household 1911–14 (Obit., *Lancet*, 1925, **i**, 785; *Brit. med. J.*, 1925, **ii**, 674).

8. Hewett, Sir Frederick Stanley, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., K.B.E. (1880–1954)
Surgeon-Apothecary to King George V and King George VI and to the Royal Household from 1911 to 1949 when he was appointed Extra Surgeon-Apothecary. He was also Extra Surgeon-Apothecary to Queen Alexandra and her Household, 1925–26, and to Queen Mary from 1949 to 1954. He was also Extra Surgeon-Apothecary to Queen Elizabeth II from 1952 to 1954 (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1954, **ii**, 471–2).

9. Martyn, Sir Henry, K.C.V.O. (1888–1947)
From 1919 to 1938 he was Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Windsor, for a time with Sir William Fairbank. He was in attendance upon King George V in 1929 and 1931, the year in which he was knighted. He was succeeded by E. Claud Malden in 1938 (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1947, **i**, 119).

10. Malden, E. Claud, C.V.O. (1891–1962)
Joined the practice of Dr. Henry (later Sir Henry) Martyn and Dr. Hathaway at Windsor and in 1938 succeeded Sir Henry Martyn as Surgeon-Apothecary to the Royal Household there. Malden resigned in 1952 but was appointed Extra Surgeon-Apothecary. His successor was Richard W. L. May, C.V.O., who was also appointed Surgeon-Apothecary to H.M. Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother (Royal Lodge, Windsor). In Malden's obituary notice the *British Medical Journal* commented (1926, **i**, 364) "The post of Apothecary (later styled Surgeon-Apothecary) had existed since shortly after King George III made Windsor Castle his summer residence in 1778. In recent times the duties involved the care of most of the Castle residents and all the Royal Household and staff."

11. Willans, Sir F. Jeune, K.C.V.O. (1874–1949)
Succeeded Sir Alan Manby as Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Sandringham in 1924. Died in 1949 (Obit., *Brit. med. J.*, 1949, **ii**, 181).

12. Hendry, Sir Alexander, K.C.V.O. (1867–1931)
Was the first Surgeon-Apothecary appointed to the Royal Household at Balmoral, 1911, and continued until his death in 1931. He was succeeded by Dr. George Proctor Middleton (now Sir George Middleton, K.C.V.O.).

The present appointments (1966) to H.M. Queen Elizabeth II are as follows:

Apothecary to the Household: Ralph Southward, M.B., Ch.B., M.R.C.S. Appointed 1965.*

Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Windsor: J. P. Clayton, M.B., B.Chir., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Appointed 1965.†

*Also Apothecary to the Household of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.
†Also Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother at Royal Lodge (Windsor).

Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Sandringham: H. K. Ford, M.B., B.S., D.Obst.R.C.O.G. Appointed 1966.

Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Balmoral: Sir George Middleton, K.C.V.O. Appointed 1931.

Surgeon-Apothecary to the Household at Holyroodhouse: George Brewster, M.D., D.P.H. Appointed 1952.

Sir George Clark in his Gideon de Laune Lecture on "Aims and Methods in the History of the Medical Profession", given before the Faculty of the History of Medicine and Pharmacy of the Society of Apothecaries on 30 March 1966, reminded his audience that from the Restoration onwards there had been royal appointments in Scotland comparable in purpose if not in numbers with those made in England by successive monarchs. Many of those appointed were not called upon for service but they had the dignity of the royal appointment and the fee that went with the office. There have been gaps in time, at least as far as the apothecaries are concerned. Queen Anne appointed Patrick Hepburn as her apothecary in Edinburgh from 1 May 1708 at a salary of £40 a year.[1] Hepburn, a burgess of Edinburgh, was already well known there. He had been recorded as a surety for the appearance of a minister released from prison for a month in 1684 and he was a witness in a case in 1686, the year in which he had been noted as a passenger in the *Dragon* from Rotterdam.[2] George I reappointed him in December 1714 at the same salary.[3] He appears to have been succeeded by his son about the year 1718. In 1780–81 Gilbert Lawrie (or Laurie) held the post; William Thompson replaced him for two years, 1782–83, but Lawrie was reappointed until 1788. Dr. George Wood, whose service must be one of the longest on record, was Lawrie's successor in that year and he went on until 1840.[4] No name appears in the Scottish Household staff as apothecary in 1841 but about that time there was a noticeable increase in the number of physicians and surgeons on the Queen's list. In 1862 a firm of chemists and druggists in Edinburgh, Duncan Flockhart & Co. was appointed

"Chemists and Druggists in Ordinary" to the Queen.[5] This was continued until about the year 1875. No other formal appointments in Scotland have been noted until that of Alexander Hendry at Balmoral in 1911—see Table II.

Duncan Flockhart & Co., the "Chemists and Druggists in Ordinary" mentioned above were by no means the first to be nominated medical suppliers to the royal house. As early as 1780 Robert Sanxay appeared in the Official list as "Druggist"; to be followed by John Antrobus (1782–92) and by Richard Stringer (1792–98). What they supplied is not known. By the 1830's four chemists and druggists at least were listed, with sundry other suppliers, in Bath, Brighton, Windsor and Worcester.

By the time the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain was formed (1841) and had received its first Charter from the Queen (1843) the pharmacist, then known as a pharmaceutical chemist or chemist and druggist, had become recognized as the person best fitted to provide medicaments and to dispense physicians' prescriptions. Peter Squire, a pharmaceutical chemist in business about 1831 in Oxford Street, London, was the first pharmacist to have his name added as "Chemist in Ordinary" to the Queen's Medical Establishment. This was shortly after 1837, probably on the advice of Sir James Clark (1788–1870) then one of the Queen's physicians, for whom Squire had dispensed prescriptions for Victoria when a Princess. Squire, twice President of the Pharmaceutical Society, served the Queen for forty years, to 1877. From 1867 he had been joined by his son, Peter Wyatt (later Sir Peter) who continued to hold the appointment until 1919, his brother Alfred Herbert, having been joined with him from 1878 to 1897. The appointments to the medical staff of the reigning monarch and to other members of the Royal Family was an honour the Squire family greatly valued. Royal orders were brought in dispatch boxes, each of the Queen's pharmacists having a key to the box, each also had a private telephone in order to give a twenty-four-hour service, and books of prescriptions were kept confidential.

Savory & Moore, pharmaceutical chemists of New Bond Street, established about 1780, was another firm regularly receiving commands for medical supplies from King George IV, Queen Victoria, the Royal Family and from Foreign Royalties. In 1953 Savory & Moore Ltd. prepared the Oil for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. The formula was that which Peter Squire had used for the Coronation of Queen Victoria, and which his successors Squire & Sons had used for the Coronation of King George VI in 1937. The formula was said to have been devised originally by Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, physician to James I, and contained orange and jasmin flowers distilled in benjamin oil, distilled oils of rose and cinnamon, prepared benzoin, ambergris, civet, musk, and spirit of rosemary. It has a rich and peculiar fragrance.[6]

During the long period covered by this review, from 1200 onwards, some scores of apothecaries have served their Monarchs and the Royal Families ungrudgingly and as trusted servants, travelling with the King or the Court as part of their duties, often in hazardous circumstances. In troublous times their loyalty was never questioned and in many ways they eased the burden of the monarch. In the earlier centuries they added to the pleasures of the table and cuisine by the preparation of spiced wines and confectionary that must have been a boon when winter brought the inevitable plain diet. They sometimes moved into the mystery of the Kinghood by compounding the Coronation oil : they were equally concerned in the preparations for the embalment of their regal deceased employers. All through the long centuries there is no indication that they ever lacked competence or that their service gave rise to scandal. That they were men of probity is clear from the long periods their employment continued and the provision made for some of them when they were too old for active duty. As royal servants they consistently upheld the tradition of their high office.

1. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1709*, p. 263.
2. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1684–85*, Vol. X, p. 305; 1689, Vol. XIV, p. 611 and Vol. XII, pp. 336, 482.
3. *Cal. Treas. Bks., 1714–15*, p. 231.
4. *Royal Kalendar and Brit. Imp. Cal.* It is through Wood that the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh came into possession of a small eighteenth century travelling medicine chest traditionally called "Prince Charlie's medicine chest". This case, of French origin, may have been brought to Scotland by Charles Edward in 1745. It belonged to Sir Stuart Threipland who gave it to Wood's father (Lang Sandy Wood); from George Wood it passed to Dr. John Smith and thence to the College (Comrie, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 448).
5. The principal partners in the pharmacy of Duncan Flockhart & Co. were John Duncan, then well known as a manufacturing chemist and William Flockhart, a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. The firm supplied chloroform to Sir James Y. Simpson for his experiments in September 1847. Before the appointment of Duncan Flockhart & Co. medicines had been sent to Balmoral by Peter Squire of London.
6. *Chem. & Drugg.*, 1937, **126**, 565; 1953, **159**, 561–2; *Pharm. J.*, 1937, **138**, 483; 1953, **170**, 404, 415. Note: Squire & Sons held Royal Warrants of Appointment and Savory & Moore have continued to hold them for many years. Royal Warrants are granted to a principal, partner or director after three years' supply of goods or services "in material amounts" in relation to the total requirements over that period. Warrants are renewed if the conditions continue to be met. Warrant holders may display the Royal Arms ("Royal Warrants of Appointment" and "Chemists to Royalty", Laurence Dopson, *Chem. & Drugg.*, 1953, **159**, 569–71). The list of pharmaceutical Warrant Holders has been enlarged to meet the need of new royal establishments. The following names appeared in the *London Gazette* of 30 December 1966 (Eighth Supplement, 2 Jan. 1967): Allen & Neale (Chemists Ltd., King's Lynn; Boots Pure Drug Company Ltd., Nottingham; Buddles, William & Co., London; Ironside, M. L. (Miss), Ballater; Nelson, A. & Co. Ltd., London; Reid, C. J. (Eton) Ltd., Eton; Savory & Moore Ltd., London.

APPENDIX

List of royal apothecaries traced

Name	*Period during which name occurs (not always as apothecary)*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*	*Spicery or Confectionary servants*
Spicer-Apothecaries				
William, King's spicer	1207–1265		John Henry III	
Josceus (Joseph)*	1236–1237		Henry III	
Bartholomew*	1249–1273		Henry III Edward I	
Derkyn, Richard	1238–1244		Henry III	
Robert of Montpellier	1243–1278	?1278	Henry III Edward I	
Philip of Gloucester	1265–1306		Henry III	
Reginald of Hereford	1265		Henry III	
Richard de Montpellier	1277–1310		Edward I Edward II	
Henry de Montpellier	1286–1311/2	?1311/2	Edward I Edward II	
Peter of Paris	1300–1303		Q. Margaret, wife of Edward I	
Apothecaries				
Peter of Montpellier	1289–1329		Edward, Pr. of Wales (later Ed. II) Edward III	

* No record of appointment

Name	*Period during which name occurs (not always as apothecary)*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*	*Spicery or Confectionary servants*
Odin (or Odinet)	1311–1316		Q. Isabel, wife of Ed. II	Amongst Q. Isabel's servants were Simon Lespicer, Guy Lespicer and Thomas de la Spicerie
Adam, John	1328–1357		Edward III	
Stanes, William de	?1358–1376		Edward III	
Myne (or Mine) Bartholomew*	1309–1373		Edward II Edward III	
Coursus de Gangeland	1345		Edward III	William de la Spicerie William of Porchester John de la Ryvere
Nicholas, Michael	1359		Edward, the Black Prince	Walter del Hay, yeoman of the Spicery
Clay, Robert	1385–1397		Rich. II	Nicholas Lary, John Dam, Thomas Sheldebourne, Thomas Horton, clerk, William Thenford, spicer and buyer
Burton, William	1401–1438		Hen. IV Henry V	John Whitlock, yeoman, John Breche, clerk, Hugh Smyth, yeoman
Hakedy, Richard	1441–1456	1456	Hen. VI	William Pek, clerk, Thomas Pek, yeoman, John Woodcock, underclerk
Godfrey, William	1457–1472		Hen. VI	
Clerk, John	1428–1483	1483	Ed. IV	Nicolas Spicer

*No record of appointment

Name	*Period during which name occurs (not always as apothecary)*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*	*Spicery or Confectionary servants*
Grice, John	1488–1502	1505	Hen. VII Q. Eliz. of York	Lyonard Twycross
Pykenham, John	1488		Q. Eliz. of York	
de Soto (or Soda) John (I)	1501–1551	1551	Princesses Katherine and Mary	
de Soda, John (II)	1554–?	?	Q. Mary I	
Pierson, Thomas	1509–1531	after 1531	Hen. VII Hen. VIII	
Babham, Richard	1509–1527	15 June 1537	Hen. VII Hen. VIII	
Blackeden, Cuthbert	1519–1540	1540	Hen. VIII	
Alsop, Thomas	1540–1557	1557	Hen. VIII Ed. VI Q. Mary I	
Reynolds, Patrick	1546–1551	1551	Hen. VIII Ed. VI	
Carlton, George	1546–1553		Hen. VIII Ed. VI	
Hemingway, John	1531–1564	after 1564	Hen. VIII Ed. VI Q. Eliz. I	Edward Hemingway, yeoman
Morgan, Hugh	1559–1613	1613	Q. Eliz. I (also to James I)	
Ryche, John	?1576–1592	1592	Q. Eliz. I	
Weston, William	1587–1603?	1609	Q. Eliz. I, also Prince Henry	

STUART APOTHECARIES

Name	*Period during which name appears*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*
Morgan, Hugh	1603–1613	1613	Apoth. Extraordinary to James I
Shiers, George	1603–1625?	1642	James I
Clavie, John	1603–1607	1607	James I
Rumler, John W.	1604–1642	after 1650	Q. Anne of Denmark, James I, Charles I and Household.

Name	*Period during which name appears*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*
Weston, William	1604–1607	1609	Prince Henry
Clayton, Ralph	1607–1612	1625	Prince Henry
Laune, Gideon de	?1606–1625?	1659	James I and Q. Anne of Denmark
Lemire, Lewis	1607–1635	1635	James I, Charles I and Prince Charles (later Charles II)
Lownes, Jolliffe	?–1627	1627	Prince Charles and when King
Plancy, A.	1625–?	?	Q. Henrietta Maria
Plancy, Pierre	1632–1669	?	Q. Henrietta Maria
Parkinson, John	before 1640	1659	Charles I
Metcalfe, Adrian	before 1640	1658	Charles I
Metcalfe, Francis	1639–1649	?	Charles I
	1660–?		Charles II
Chase Stephen (I)	before 1649	before	Charles I
		1665	Charles II
Chase, John	1660–1685	after	Charles II
		1688	
Solby, George	before 1660–?	1684/5	Charles II
le Fèvre, Nicolas	1661–1669	1669	Charles II
Jones, John	1661–1688	1693	Charles II, James II
	1689–1692		Will. and Mary
Rosewell, William	1662–?	after	Charles II, Q. Catherine of Braganza
		1677	
Harel, Christian	1669–?	after	Charles II
		1702	Physician to Will. and Mary
St. Amand, James	1679–1688	1728	James, Duke of York and later James II
Lightfoot, Robert	?1682–1688	after	Charles II
		1688	James II
Charas, Moïse	1680–?	1688	Charles II
Garnier, Isaac	1682–?	1736	Charles II
Angibaud, Charles	1684–?	after	Charles II
		1743	
Giffard, Charles	1685–1686	1686	James II

William and Mary, William III, Queen Anne

Name	*Period during which name appears*	*Date of death*	*Royal Person served*
Rottermondt, Abraham	1689–1702	after 1702	William and Mary Will. III (from 1692) Q. Anne (no evidence of service to her)
Jones, John	1689–1692	1693	William and Mary
Chase, James	1690–1714 1714–1718	1721	Will. and Mary, Will. III, Q. Anne, George I
Soames, John	1693–1697	?	Will. III
Pitt, Joseph	1702–1704	1704	Q. Anne
Jones, William	1697–1714 1714–1719	1722	Will. III, Q. Anne, George I
Malthus, Daniel	1704–1714 1714–1716	1717	Q. Anne George I

George I, II, III, IV and William IV

Name	*Period served*	*Date of death*	*King*
Apothecaries to the Person			
Chase, James	1714–1716	1721	Geo. I
Malthus, Daniel	1714–1716	1717	Geo. I
Graham, Thomas (I)	1716–1733	1733	Geo. I, II
Graham, Daniel	1720–1741		Geo. I, II
	1776–1778	1778	Geo. III
Warren, John	1733–1746	1747	Geo. II
Graham, Thomas (II)	1741–1761	1761	Geo. II, III
Crane, Michael	1747–1760	1776	Geo. II, III
Gowland, John	1761–1776	1776	Geo. III
Truesdale, John	1762–1780	1780	Geo. III
Devaynes, John	1778–1800	1801	Geo. III
Wainwright, Thos.	1780–1805	?1805	Geo. III
Brande, E. A.	1801–1820	1868	Geo. III
	1830–1833		Will. IV
Battiscombe, Robt.	1805–1820	1839	Geo. III
Walker, Rich. jun.	1820–1825	1825	Geo. IV
Nussey, John	1825–1837	1862	Geo. IV
			Will. IV
Craddock, J.	1830–1835	?	Will. IV
Craddock, Charles	1830–1837	after 1859	Will. IV
Day, William	1830–1837	?	Will. IV
Davis, David (later surgeon)	1830–1837	?	Will. IV
Moore, Edward D.	1834–1837	after 1857	Will. IV
Andrews, M. W.	1834–1837	?	Will. IV

Name	*Period served*	*Date of death*	*King*
Apothecaries to the Household			
Jones, William	1714–1719	1722	Geo. I
Trimnell, Hugh	1719–1727	1727	Geo. I
Allen, John	1727–1774	1774	Geo. I, II, III
Lilly, Marmaduke	1727–1738	1738	Geo. II
Charlewood, Benj.	1738–1766	1766	Geo. II, III
Crane, Michael	1760–1776	1766	Geo. III
Holdich, Edward	1776–1814	1814	Geo. III
Halifax, Robert (later physician)	1776–1783	?	Geo. III
Jones, A.	1814–1820	?	Geo. III
Walker, Rich, jun.	1820–1825	1825	Geo. IV
Nussey, John	1820–1825	1862	Geo. IV
Walker, William	1825–1828	?	Geo. IV

Subsidiary Appointments

1. *Apothecaries to the Queen and to Her Household*

Jager, A. E.	1723–1738	Queen Caroline
Brande, Christian H.	1723–1749	Augusta, Princess of Wales, mother of Geo. III
Brande, Augustus H.	1762–1783	Queen Charlotte
Brande, Augustus E.	1783–1818	Queen Caroline
Brande, Everard A.	1830–1833	Queen Adelaide
Devaynes, John	1761–1796	Queen Charlotte's Household
Jones, Griffiths	1796–1818	Queen Charlotte
Davis, D. Moore, E. D. Illingworth, H. S.	1830–1849	Successively, to the Dowager Queen Adelaide

2. *Apothecaries to the Prince of Wales, later Prince Regent and Geo. IV*

Halifax, Robert	1782–1783	Appointed physician
Walker and Yonge	1797–?	
Yonge, Walker & Co.	1804–?	
Walker, Richard, sen.	?1784–1817	

Chemists and Druggists to the Prince Regent: Grindall and Hastings
Extra-Apothecary: G. F. Lockley
Apothecaries Extraordinary: A. Tegart and Edward Tegart, Pall Mall
Chemists and Druggists to Geo. IV at Brighton: Barrett and Blaker

3. *Apothecaries to Queen Victoria*, 1837–1901: see Table I, pages 166–67.

4. *Apothecaries to Edward VII, George V, George VI, Edward VIII and George VI:* see page 168.

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