

# LONDON'S IMMIGRANT APOTHECARIES, 1600–1800\*

by

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THE topics chosen by former Monckton Copeman lecturers on the relations between the City of London and Medicine have been wide and varied. The present subject is the apothecaries who came to this country and especially to London, many of them as refugees, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their place in pharmacy.

Long before the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572, refugees from Europe had been coming to England. Many of these were recognized as denizens by Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. While French Protestants were guaranteed a measure of privilege under the Edict of Nantes in 1598, these rights were whittled away under Louis XIV until their final revocation in 1685. Before that fateful year it had become impossible for non-Catholics in France to practise the liberal professions. What had been a trickle of refugees from the mid-seventeenth century became a veritable flood in the 1680s. Those who fled early brought with them money and some possessions but the later ones had to leave with almost nothing.

Mr. LeFanu, a former Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and himself of Huguenot stock, in his account of Huguenot refugee doctors in England<sup>1</sup> notes that from 1500 to 1700 there were 470 refugees from France described as "Docteurs en Médecine, Chirurgiens and Apothicaires". Many of the apothecaries are merely names, and particulars are lacking; they are entries only in the extensive Huguenot Church Registers or occasionally in the records of the Society of Apothecaries. Refugees from the Low Countries and from the Rhine Palatinate helped to swell the numbers but unless they subsequently attained distinction, and many did so, they are less well documented than the French.

I have been unable to identify many of the Palatinate refugees as apothecaries. The Palatinate, on the left bank of the Rhine and north of Alsace, was ravaged by Louis XIV in the years 1687 and 1688. A plea to Queen Anne in 1709 on behalf of the distressed Protestants from the Rhine Palatinate refers to the "merciless cruelty of the Bloody French who like a torrent came upon them burning houses to the ground, razing cities like Heidelberg and Mannheim and forcing thousands into woods and caves." Queen Anne ordered a Brief to be issued to Justices of the Peace in Middlesex for the collection of funds. A charity was set up in Stoke Newington to build four houses for the refugees in what is now Palatine Street.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the royal interest and assistance from about 1500, none of the Tudor monarchs, with the exception of Queen Mary, appointed immigrant apothecaries to

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positions at Court. John de Soda, called “pottycaryo”, was a member of the staff of Katherine of Aragon when she came to England to marry Prince Arthur in 1502. He became an attendant upon the Princess Mary, and his son John was appointed apothecary to Mary when she became Queen in 1553.

On succeeding to the throne in 1603 James I quickly made changes. Not only was the Court routine changed but places had to be made for the Scots who followed James to London and who expected preferment. Coveted posts at Court often went to those who could give a large present for a successful recommendation and many who secured important appointments almost impoverished themselves in obtaining them.<sup>3</sup> James I tried to cut down the enormous expenses of his large staff, insisting upon modest fees for his personal servants such as his physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. His personal apothecary was to have £60 a year with “Bouche of Court”, which comprised loaves of white and brown bread, two gallons of ale a day, torches, lights and wood for fires. Although George Shiers, who had served Queen Elizabeth I as an apothecary, was appointed the king’s personal apothecary, within three years, about 1606, James appointed the immigrant Gideon de Laune as apothecary to himself and his queen, Anne of Denmark.<sup>4</sup> De Laune, twice Master of the Apothecaries, died in 1659 leaving an immense fortune to his heirs, part of which had come from the sale of his famous Pill, copied later by many quacks. The formula or a modification of it was said to have come into the pharmacopoeia as *Pilula ex Duobus*, the pill of two ingredients, mainly colocynth and scammony. De Laune had married Judith Chamberlen of the notable family of the Huguenot Chamberlens (see below).

In addition to de Laune, James I appointed Lewis Lemire (or Lamere), an apothecary from Flanders, as royal apothecary in succession to John Clavie in 1607. Lemire had come to England in 1600. He is named as one of the Assistants in the 1617 Charter of the Society of Apothecaries and he became Renter Warden in 1625–26. He retained his royal post for many years and later claimed he had provided “all the accomplishments for the embalming of both James I and his Queen”, a duty devolving upon the royal apothecaries. This claim was disputed by his rival and brother-in-law, John Wolfgang Rumler, who received payment for the embalming of James I. Lemire declared he had been sworn in as apothecary to Charles I in 1625. In 1630 he was chosen as personal apothecary to Prince Charles, later Charles II. Lemire’s bill remained unpaid, he became impoverished and his despair is shown in three petitions for payment, one in 1632 and two in 1633. In the last of these he claimed what was due “for God’s sake and the love of justice”. However, he died suddenly without ever receiving payment and his wife had to petition Charles I for it. She said that her husband had lost more than £5,000 during his period in the royal service, that he had left debts of more than £1,600 and that there was insufficient to pay for his burial. Lemire had lived in St. Martin’s Lane, in and around which so many refugee apothecaries took up residence or opened shops.

Lemire’s quarrel with Rumler, who also held an appointment as apothecary to James I in 1607, finally came into the open in 1625. There was clearly an agreement between the two for sharing the fees of office and the profits made upon supplies to the royal household. The details in the Exchequer Bills of 1625 show that Lemire claimed to have paid out at least £10,000 to druggists and grocers and that he had borrowed

money to finance these transactions, and was paying interest. Rumler insisted that the so-called partnership had been dissolved in 1619. Unfortunately, the final outcome is not recorded.

Before commenting further upon Rumler's career, I should like to recall that when Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France, came to England to marry Charles I she brought with her a huge entourage. The "Mémoires et Instructions", dated 26 May 1625, set out the numbers and rank of all her attendants, amongst them her own apothecary, physician and surgeon.<sup>5</sup> The apothecary, A. Plancy, had a son Pierre, also an apothecary who was denized on 4 February 1632 and who succeeded his father as apothecary to Queen Henrietta Maria. He remained in her service whilst she was in England and was with her when as Queen Mother she lived in France; his constant service was well rewarded at her death. His two sisters acted as her dressers.

John Wolfgang Rumler was a quite exceptional and loyal apothecary. Born in Augsburg in Germany, according to the Bill of Denization of 1619, he had married Anne de Lobell, a sister of Paul Lobell, also an apothecary, who came to England from Middleborough in Zetland, and whose father was the famous botanist Dr. Mathias l'Obel. Rumler was undoubtedly of the Augsburg family, well known there, one of whom, Dr. Johannes Udalicus Rumler, was consulted by Queen Anne of Denmark who sent him a bronze portrait of herself with a *pharmacothecium*, a chest of choice drugs. It was probably this connexion that gained for John Rumler a royal appointment early after his arrival in London. His name heads the list of the Court of Assistants of the Society of Apothecaries in the 1617 Charter. He remained closely associated with the Society during most of his active life, being twice Master. His Court post entitled him to a place next to or with the Master at all meetings of the Society. Like most royal apothecaries he had his own shop, a necessity as the royal exchequer never paid bills on time and Rumler's debts, which included those for supplies of perfume for the queen, were outstanding for years.

In 1620 Rumler, by virtue of his royal post, obtained from James I a monopoly for making mercury sublimate. He declared this grant to the Apothecaries but the Court of Assistants, fearing that its implementation might imperil their Charter, refused to allow him to exercise the monopoly. Later Court Minutes refer to experiments relating to the sublimation of mercury.<sup>6</sup>

Rumler's loyalty to the Stuart cause is demonstrated by his activities during the Civil War. A warrant was granted to him in 1642 to take several parcels of medicines, using horses and men, through the lines to the king at Oxford. His petition of 1647 to both Houses of Parliament vividly portrays the circumstances in which the aging royal servant had sought to maintain his care for his monarch. Losses of cartloads of medicines, money and provisions at Shrewsbury did not daunt him, but by 1647 when he submitted his petition for funds he was a broken man, living at Isleworth in Middlesex, no longer able to serve the king, in constant fear of creditors and without funds to stave them off. He pleaded for money to be granted him. The faltering signature tells its own tale. He lived another three years until 1650, the year in which administration of his will is recorded.<sup>7</sup>

The inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the unexplained death in 1613 of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower involved many apothecaries. It was suspected he

died from poison and Rumler was a possible scapegoat; his brother-in-law Paul Lobell, also an immigrant apothecary, was another.<sup>8</sup> As already mentioned this Paul was the son of the famous Dr. Mathias l'Obel, also a refugee and official Botanist to James I. Paul Lobell, who had his apothecary shop in Lime Street, near the Tower, was apothecary to Dr. Mayerne and is said to have married Mayerne's sister. Under examination Lobell persisted in his statement that the only medicines he supplied to Overbury were those specially prescribed by Dr. Mayerne, the king's chief physician. Lobell had noticed that Overbury had received other medicines and plasters not supplied by him. One likely cause of Overbury's death was poison administered in a glyster. Because Lobell's son or apprentice, William, had prepared a glyster for Overbury on Mayerne's instructions he was sent to France during the inquiry. The real supplier of the poison or poisons was held to be the apothecary, James Franklin, who was duly executed.

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II showed his keen interest in scientific projects of all kinds; not only was the Royal Society founded with himself as Patron, but in 1661 he brought over Nicasius le Fèvre to be his Professor of Chemistry and set him up in a laboratory in St. James's Palace. Le Fèvre, previously demonstrator of chemistry and lecturer at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, had all his supplies for the laboratory sent from Paris. He gave a demonstration of making Sir Walter Raleigh's Great Cordial to Charles II. John Evelyn was there and in his *Diary* he notes that le Fèvre gave a learned discussion upon each of the fifty-two ingredients.<sup>9</sup> Le Fèvre's comments were so well received that he published a *Discourse on the Great Cordial of Sir W. Raleigh* in both English and French in 1664 and 1665. His *Traicte de la Chimie* became a bestseller in English and Latin translations.

When le Fèvre died in 1669 there was great competition for his place. It was filled by Dr. Christian Harel, an apothecary from Holland. He was sworn in as Operator in Chemistry, was soon styled Professor, and became an apothecary, at least in title, to Charles II's household. This was for the purpose of getting him a fee of £40 a year in addition to his laboratory expenses, but he had to undertake not to interfere with the rights of John Jones who had been appointed apothecary to the royal household some years earlier. By 1687 Harel was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. In Munk's *Roll*<sup>10</sup> there is mention of Harel's bill of £109 for remedies and medicines supplied to Mrs. Ellen Glyn. Harel became physician to William III and Queen Mary II and he also acted as the queen's apothecary. His detailed bills amounting to £250 in all for embalming the body of the queen have survived.<sup>11</sup>

Among the large influx of refugees from France during the last quarter of the seventeenth century were many apothecaries. Some had been well established, like Charles Angibaud, apothecary to Louis XIV: others, the majority, had to leave their shops and their livelihood, bringing their families but few or no possessions. It says much for Charles II and his brother James II that they granted asylum in Britain to these expatriates even at a time when their links with Louis XIV were so close (e.g. while Charles was negotiating the Dover Treaty with Louis and a loan of £10,000). Furthermore, Charles II, whenever possible, gave the refugees distinguished royal appointments. Perhaps he knew only too well from his own experience the anxieties and deprivations of a refugee.

The scientific experiments of Robert Boyle led him to Germany and there he

acquired at least some part of the closely guarded secret process for manufacturing phosphorus then being undertaken by one of the Brande family of apothecaries in Hanover. Boyle resolved to try out his new-found knowledge in London and for that purpose invited Ambrose Godfrey Hanckwitz,<sup>12</sup> one of Brande's assistants, to help him in the building of a laboratory. As a result of this, the first preparation of phosphorus was made in England. During his term as President of the Royal Society, Boyle deposited with the Society a sealed packet containing an account of his experiments and the process for producing phosphorus, which he called "Icy Noctiluca".

Hanckwitz, later adopting the surname of "Godfrey" only, published a pamphlet "Historia phosphorus et Fama" in which he claimed his phosphorus was of the "right glacial kind". His reputation and his sales grew rapidly. He began to sell pharmaceuticals in addition to chemicals, and he established a prosperous business at the sign of the Phoenix in Southampton Street, Strand, constructing a laboratory in the rear, on the site of which now stands the crypt of the Church of Corpus Christi, Maiden Lane.<sup>13</sup> Godfrey advertised a whole range of pharmaceutical preparations. He died in 1741, leaving the business to his son, Ambrose Godfrey II,<sup>14</sup> and to John Godfrey, his brother. Their descendants continued at the same address. Later C. G. Cooke joined the firm, and its name became Godfrey & Cooke. This pharmaceutical business was removed to Conduit Street, then to Old Bond Street. Its final demise was in 1916.<sup>14a</sup>

The more distinguished immigrant apothecaries of the period 1680 to 1700 included Charles Angibaud, Moise Charas and Isaac Garnier from France, and Abraham Rottermond from Flanders. The list of freemen of the Society of Apothecaries published between 1667 and 1713 includes many foreign names, for example, David Boucheret, Theo Devaux, John Daboron, Richard Focault and John Bisère. Some are recorded as in continuous membership for twenty or thirty years, even after they are noted as having "given up trade".

Moise Charas (1619–1698) had an eventful life. Apothecary and demonstrator in chemistry at the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, where he succeeded Glaser, he specialized in vipers, publishing his book *Nouvelles expériences sur la vipère* in Paris in 1669, and in 1676 his *Pharmacopée royale galénique et chimique*. He records self-experimentation to determine the effects of opium.<sup>15</sup> Two further editions of his pharmacopeia appeared in 1691 and 1693, which he must have compiled whilst in London, and translations into many languages were made. Charas had practised in Paris at the sign of the Golden Vipers. It was there that he prepared theriac in 1668, the first in France to do so, before a group of magistrates and physicians. As a Protestant he, with his wife and four children, fled to London in 1680. A year later the family was naturalized and Charles II, aware of his reputation, quickly gave him a Court appointment. Though he is said to have become a doctor of medicine, his name does not appear in Munk's *Roll*. Charas left London for Holland and went thence to Spain where in Toledo he was imprisoned for having proved that vipers there still possessed venom, contrary to an ecclesiastical pronouncement that vipers in the Toledo Archbishopric were to lose it. Later, Charas abjured protestantism, finally returning to Paris where he was kindly received by Louis XIV by whose authority he was elected to the Académie des Sciences. He died in 1698.

Charles Angibaud, born in Saintes near Bordeaux, became a Master Apothecary

to Louis XIV, who in 1678 presented him with a fine mortar made in the royal foundry. This mortar, weighing 284 lb., bearing the arms of France and a device of an angel in a sunlit sky, a play upon the name of Angibaud, was presented to the Pharmaceutical Society in 1902 and remains in the Society's collection. Angibaud, fearing complications because of his Protestant religion, left Paris with his wife and three children for London in 1681. He was given letters of denization in December of that year. In 1684 he was named as one of Charles II's apothecaries. He was naturalized in 1685, after which he was examined, and approved as a freeman of the Apothecaries. He took livery in 1699, became Renter Warden in 1721, Upper Warden in 1726 and Master in 1728. He had been appointed Apothecary-General to the Army and Military Hospitals in Ireland by William III and Queen Mary in 1689.<sup>16</sup> Almost from the time when he came to London Angibaud had an apothecary shop in St. Martin's Lane at the sign of La Renommée (or The Fame), near Charing Cross. Whilst in Paris he had devised and sold Pectoral Lozenges made with a base of liquorice. These were known as *Pastilles de Blois* and these he advertised in the *London Gazette* in October 1683.<sup>17</sup> Flat pastilles of liquorice juice of Blois, both white and yellow, are mentioned in Pomet's treatise on drugs of 1694.<sup>18</sup> Angibaud's two sons, Charles and Daniel, were apprenticed as apothecaries in London, Charles in 1694 and Daniel in 1696. After his father's death in 1733,<sup>19</sup> Charles carried on the shop, but in an announcement in the *Daily Advertiser* of 1743 he made it known that he intended to devote himself to surgery; nevertheless he would continue to sell the 'Famous Pectoral Lozenges of Blois', invented by his father.<sup>20</sup>

In introducing the Garnier family from France, reference should be made to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, founded by Charles II on the lines of the Hôtel Royale des Invalides in Paris, which had been established by Louis XIV in 1670. Having commissioned the first of his hospitals for pensioned soldiers at Kilmainham near Dublin, Charles sought to build another near London. He had no funds available, but Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster-General, provided enough money in 1681 to buy land in the village of Chelsea. Wren was appointed architect and he modelled the hospital on the plan of Les Invalides.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately Charles never saw his new hospital completed. He paid his last visit only a few days before he died in April 1685 and it was not ready for occupation until November 1689.

Both King William and Queen Mary were keenly interested in the welfare of the Forces and the queen in particular was also much concerned about the plight of the numerous refugees from France. She therefore appointed in 1691 as the first Apothecary to the hospital Isaac Garnier, one of the many refugees from France and a man with an established reputation. Garnier's salary was to be £50 a year.<sup>22</sup> He had come to London with his family in the early months of 1682 and by July Charles II had enrolled him as a royal apothecary. Garnier was naturalised and became a member of the Society of Apothecaries. At Chelsea he had a comfortable house of four rooms with rations, fuel and light. Besides a laboratory, equipped with a furnace, stills and a press, there was an enclosed physic garden of 1½ acres. The laboratory was pulled down in 1820, when the apothecary decided to buy his drugs from Apothecaries' Hall. Isaac Garnier I (1631–1712), born in Vitry le François in Champagne, was a Protestant who had studied medicine and pharmacy but because of his religion could not obtain a

diploma. Nevertheless he practised in Vitry.<sup>23</sup> Though his salary at the Chelsea Hospital was only £50, he gained additional income from his bills for drugs and medicines supplied to the sick and wounded under his care. The first physician to the hospital, Charles Fraiser, served as a consultant, and the real work was done by Garnier, except that a surgeon, John Noakes, attended to the surgical cases. Noakes was careful to see that Garnier did not supply medicines for external use—a right reserved for the surgeon. During the first fifteen months of his service Garnier records the supply of almost 1,000 lots of medicaments for which he charged £145. His original bills in the Public Record Office include mercurial pills, blistering plasters, juleps, diet drinks, electuaries, Venice treacle and chemical oils. Each year the quantity of medicines increased and the bills rose astronomically. In 1702 when aged seventy, Garnier resigned the post in favour of his son, Isaac II. Garnier's handsome tomb may be seen in the burial ground attached to the hospital. The arms of the Garniers are engraved upon it and in Latin it records Isaac's origin in Champagne, the reason for his emigration, his appointment to the hospital and the royal favours he received. In his will Isaac bequeathed £50 to the poor of his birthplace, Vitry.

The eldest son, Isaac II, had been apprenticed to his father. He became a freeman of the Apothecaries in 1692 and later served on the Court. He also set up an apothecary shop in Pall Mall near St. James's. It was favourably reported upon by the Censors of the College of Physicians when they visited it in 1724 and again in 1726. Isaac II was a wealthy man when he died in 1736.<sup>24</sup> His second son, Thomas, had followed his father at the hospital in 1723 and remained there until his death in 1739. Other members of the Garnier family became apothecaries, two of them successively held the post of Apothecary-General to the Army and another, Charles Garnier, was Director of all the Hospitals of the British Forces in Flanders during the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Abraham Rottermond, a Dutchman, probably came to England with King William III in 1688. By 1690 he had been given the formal appointment of apothecary to the Household but he was obviously regarded as a personal attendant upon the king whom he accompanied to Ireland and upon most of the king's journeys to Flanders. Rottermond was a shrewd man of business—he never failed to submit bills for his riding charges wherever he went and, surprisingly, for William III had money problems, Rottermond's bills were usually paid promptly. It was he who had the main responsibility for embalming the king's body at his death in 1702. The detailed account of the king's illness and death shows what a formidable list of medicines the king had to combat. Apparently it needed the presence of nine physicians and four surgeons to oversee the opening of the king's body before burial.<sup>26</sup> It is likely that Rottermond was given quarters close to the royal apartments in St. James's Palace, for when certain rooms there were redecorated in 1715 they are referred to as those "which formerly belonged to the Dutch apothecaries".<sup>27</sup> Although Rottermond's name appears with that of James Chase as one of the apothecaries to the Person in Queen Anne's establishment of 28 December 1702, nothing further seems to have been heard of him after that date.

During his short reign James II more than once declared that Protestants who came to England should have the right to practise their trades and handicrafts and should be free to have their own schools and colleges. Moneys were to be collected for them and

distributed by the chief Protestant Churches in London. One of these was the Huguenot Church in Threadneedle Street opposite the present Bank of England. It was there that most French refugees submitted their proof of identity (*témoignage*). Entries in the records of that church show how great was the need of help. In only two years, 1681–82, five French apothecaries were so impoverished that they needed to be provided with shoes for themselves and their children. Two were given money to seek employment in the provinces. The sums were pitifully small, 2s., 3s., 5s., or tiny weekly grants. John Robert, himself an immigrant and apothecary to the Bunhill hospital, out of his small wages bought medicines and shoes for children in dire need. Three druggists were given small sums of money and one a cravat and shoes, presumably to enable him to dress well enough to have a chance of finding work. I have noted the names of more than thirty apothecary refugees in the period 1680–1700. They were not all from France; some are described as “Master Apothecary”, and their names are scattered through the Huguenot publications and elsewhere. In addition there are druggists and herb vendors, the last group being miserably housed.

St Martin's parish, in Westminster, or the neighbourhood, was the home of many of these refugee apothecaries: they became a closely knit community, often intermarrying. These relationships are to be found in the various registers of the Huguenot churches in London or in the provinces. A few quickly succumbed to illness and died in the French Hospital. Others, like John Buisnière and Matthew Boucheret, after apprenticeships to London apothecaries, married heiresses and became proprietors of estates. Buisnière served the office of High Sheriff of Lincolnshire. Another, Nicholas Gambier, ceased to practise as an apothecary and set up as an entrepreneur and dealer in Bank Stock. When he had reached a turnover of £20,000 a year he was no longer described as “apothecary” but styled “gentleman”. The records of the Society of Apothecaries include the apprenticeships of several of the sons of immigrants round the turn of the seventeenth and during the early eighteenth centuries. Copies of some of the immigrants' wills are preserved.

As we might expect, the German background of George I and his successors brought a group of Hanoverians into the limelight. Amongst these were members of the related Jaeger and Brande families of apothecaries, based in Hanover, and who for many years had held Court appointments there. The first members of these two families to come to London were Ernest Augustus Jaeger and Christian Heinrich Brande. Both these men were registered as denizens in 1723. Spiers suggests that George I may have brought these two apothecaries back with him from Hanover in 1717 and that Jaeger found a suitable house in St. James's Street before June of that year.<sup>29</sup> Jaeger acted as apothecary to Queen Caroline and he was called upon to embalm her body at her death in 1738. He then became apothecary to Augusta, Princess of Wales. By 1734 he had moved his apothecary shop from St. James's to the more fashionable Arlington street not far away. He died some time after 1743.

Christian Brande's brother, Augustus Herman, trained as an apothecary in Hanover and was given a partnership in the old-established Jaeger pharmacy in his native city but he came to London in 1752 at the request of George II to act as Court apothecary. Nevertheless by virtue of a Royal Warrant he continued to hold his Hanover partnership. He was chosen as apothecary to Princess Charlotte from 1761, a few months before



her marriage to George III and he continued to serve her whilst she was queen, and, as Spiers remarks, probably during her nineteen pregnancies. He attended her when she visited Hanover in 1783. He died soon after this visit.

Of Augustus Herman's numerous family, two sons, born in Hanover, followed the family tradition in medicine. One of these, Augustus Everard, gained a Doctorate in Medicine in Göttingen and succeeded his father as apothecary to Queen Charlotte until her death in 1818. He was among the first to try out the effects of the newly introduced angostura bark which he considered superior to Pereira bark. For his services to Queen Charlotte and to King George III he was presented with £1,200 for loss of office and for faithful service. He died in 1834 and was buried at Chiswick.

Two sons of Augustus Everard became well known in the nineteenth century. The oldest, Everard, joined the Society of Apothecaries in 1801, served as an Assistant and later became a member of the first Board of Examiners set up under the Apothecaries' Act of 1815. He was also one of five apothecaries appointed to King William IV and Queen Adelaide. His generous disposition showed itself in his legacy to the Society of Apothecaries for supplementing pensions paid to destitute members. The other son to follow a scientific bent was William Thomas Brande who was elected F.R.S., held many appointments within the Society of Apothecaries, of which he was Master in 1851, and at the Royal Institution and the Royal Mint.

During the long period when the Jaeger and the Brande apothecary shops were flourishing, they had their share of visits from the College of Physicians. Invariably, as befitted these ardent practitioners, the records of the College show their medicines were classed as "good" or "extraordinarily Good". An outstanding assistant at the Brande pharmacy in Arlington Street was the immigrant apothecary, Friedrich Christian Accum (1769–1838). He had been apprenticed in the Brande pharmacy in Hanover. The London pharmacy gave him insufficient scope for his ability and by 1790 he published his first paper on the purity of drugs and pharmaceutical materials. Two years later he began a series of lectures and chemical demonstrations in Old Compton Street, London, where he sold chemicals and apparatus. In 1803 he was chosen to be lecturer in chemistry at the Surrey Institute. He also lectured at the Royal Institution. His interest in purer foods and drugs never flagged. In 1820 he published *A Treatise on Adulteration of Food and Culinary Poisons*, using as a frontispiece a figure and the caption "There is death in the Pot". Accum, occasionally cantankerous but always sincere in countering frauds of all kinds, had troubles in London and in consequence he returned to Germany, becoming Professor at the Berlin Technical Institute. It was due to Accum's powerful advocacy, furthered by that of John Postgate, apothecary and surgeon, that pressure on Parliament in 1860 resulted in the passage of the first Act for preventing Adulteration of Food and Drink.

Close examination of the eighteenth-century registers of apprenticeships and freemen of the Society of Apothecaries yields a number of French names. The sons of some of the later immigrants were apprenticed to French apothecaries who had already become freemen of the Society. For example, Peter Motteux, a merchant's son, was bound to Paul Hanjoux; Gabriel Rousseau, son of Philip Rousseau of Poitou in France, was apprenticed to Jean Dorasseau; and Peter des Reaux to John D'Raffau. The circumstances of D'Raffau's admission to the Society are unusual. In 1700 he produced an

order from the Court of Aldermen of the City of London saying that he had served in the Fleet. He was examined and admitted, the Minutes of the Society noting that this was in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament. By this Act of 1698, men who had served in the Army (and apparently also in the Navy), and had practised a trade or occupation or who had not completed their apprenticeships, were authorised to continue their trades or occupations if they obtained a certificate of service.<sup>29</sup> D'Raffau evidently wanted to assure his acceptance as a qualified apothecary.

The subject of immigrant apothecaries would be incomplete without some mention of the mountebanks and charlatans who flourished in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some were qualified as apothecaries or doctors and a few were licensed by the College of Physicians; others assumed titles they did not possess but all invariably spoke or wrote of their skill in curing specific diseases.

As is well known, Charles II, a great supporter of science and interested in chemistry, looked kindly on anyone who could put on a show. Hence when Cornelius à Tilborg, a notable quack, demonstrated the wonderful powers of his Orvietan, a confection of several ingredients, in counteracting the poisonous effects of sixty grains of arsenic sulphide given to one of his servants, Charles at once gave orders for him to be sworn in as one of the royal physicians. Tilborg made the utmost use of this in printed circulars and in his appearance on stages throughout the country. He was unlucky when he tried the same experiment in Edinburgh in 1784—his servant died—but apparently no penalty was demanded. Tilborg subsequently gained favour with King William and Queen Mary. Despite his appointment to Charles II, Tilborg was successfully prosecuted by the College of Physicians for practising without a licence. Many others were also prosecuted by the College, always on the look-out to eliminate the worst of these offenders.

Tilborg and others like him, many from Germany and the Low Countries, Italy and France, travelled the country obtaining licences during Charles II's reign to set up stages in various cities. The licences were addressed to Mayors, Justices, etc., to allow the holder, always stated to be skilled in medicine and surgery, to vend and dispose of his medicines, practise his skill, travel freely, erect a stage, etc. I have traced several of these men from city to city. Some fell foul of the local authorities and were driven out of the town. In 1673 Johannes Micha Philo, an Italian, stayed three months in Edinburgh where, according to reports, he did notable cures on blind and lame persons without charge. He was so successful that the Privy Council recommended him to “go and do likewise in all the other Boroughs of the Kingdom”.

Johannes Punteus, a Frenchman and a noted charlatan, is recorded by both John Evelyn and Anthony à Wood. He was given a licence by the University of Oxford in 1649. The *Annals of the College of Physicians*<sup>30</sup> note his easy manners and that as a pedlar he was better endowed with family than with property. He tried more than once to get the College to allow him to sell his balsam and antidote by submitting recommendations from Oxford, from the lords and from the king's physician. Finally in 1651 the College granted him a certificate to sell his remedies but did so not upon their merit but upon the esteem of his backers. In later life Punteus retired and became a respectable practitioner.

Though not a quack but a refugee physician from the Saintonge area of France,

Dr. Jean Misaubin (1687–1734), a licentiate of the College of Physicians, was often described and caricatured as a charlatan. Misaubin, tall and spare, with long oval face, wore a long well-curved wig, dressing in the height of the current fashion. His habits and his oft-quoted “Prenez les pilules”<sup>31</sup> attracted the pen of the artist Watteau during his stay in London.<sup>32</sup> Misaubin is also reputed to be the quack drawn by Hogarth in one of the “Marriage à la Mode” series and in Plate V of “The Harlot’s Progress”. Fielding in *Tom Jones* cites Misaubin. Misaubin practised in St. Martin’s Lane, either near or at the house of his nephew Charles Angibaud, junior, having married Marthe Angibaud, a sister of Charles Angibaud, senior. Misaubin’s flamboyant style is reflected in his will made not long before his death in 1734. In it he names the Duke of Richmond and Lord Baltimore, to whom he left rings, as two persons whom he wished to be responsible for the publication of his nostrums for the benefit of the public if his son died before the age of twenty-one. He refers to the disposition of his goods, which, if they did not pass to his son, were to be sold for the benefit of the French Providence Hospital.<sup>33</sup>

The medical advertisements in the British Museum Library include many eighteenth-century circulars issued by so-called High German doctors, Italian charlatans and Dutch quacks.<sup>34</sup> Their remedies were mostly for the treatment of the pox and though many disclaimed the use of mercury and antimony, it is clear that these two were the principal active ingredients employed. It is perhaps not surprising that some English qualified practitioners, licensed by the College of Physicians, finding that their patients resorted to these quacks, themselves started advertising in defiance of the College’s code of conduct. Paul Chamberlen (1635–1717) did this. Although a Doctor of Medicine and a member of the family of Chamberlen noted for its use of midwifery forceps, Paul made it known that his medicines and particularly his Anodyne Necklaces were sold at the Sign of the Anodyne Necklace next to the Rose Tavern by the Temple Bar. The necklaces, much copied, were for children cutting teeth and for women in labour. The best necklaces were said to be made from St. Hugh’s bones.

The charlatans and quacks apart, the many apothecaries who were welcomed to this country during the period from 1600 to 1800 made important contributions to the advancement of pharmacy. The majority made their homes and had their shops in London. Several of them entered the royal service, proving themselves intensely loyal to their sovereigns. A large number became freemen of the Society of Apothecaries and many took high office in it, promoting its objects and sustaining its prosperity. Their immediate descendants played an equal part in the medical and social life of London.

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2. *The piety and bounty of Queen Anne . . . towards the support and settlement of the distressed Palatines*, London, 1709. See also J. R. Geratling, *History of the Palatine Estate*, London, 1928; and An Act for allowing 213 families from the Palatinate . . . in Ireland to take oaths for naturalization (1 Geo. I, c. 29, 1714).
3. Leslie G. Matthews, ‘De quelques apothicaires français en Angleterre durant le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Bull. Ordre Pharmaciens, Paris*, 1969, no. 123, 509–529.
4. F. N. L. Poynter, *Gideon de Laune and his circle*, London, Wellcome Historical Medical Library, Lecture Series no. 2, 1965.

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5. British Museum, MSS. King's 136, f. 412–61B.
6. C. R. B. Barrett, *The history of the Society of Apothecaries*, London, Elliot Stock, 1905, p. 7; Court Minute Book No. 1, Society of Apothecaries, f. 23, 25 May 1620 (Guildhall Library).
7. Public Record Office, PROB 6/25, 81, 183, 1650.
8. Paul de Lobell was listed as a stranger, born in Antwerp. When he took the oath of loyalty in 1604 he was said to have been brought up in England for twenty-two years. Both he and Lemire were listed in the Return of Aliens in London, 1598–1625, and both were then at Lambert's House in the parish of St. Benet's, Gracechurch (*Hug. Soc. quart. pubns.*, 1907, 10: 121). Mathias de l'Obel, physician and botanist, was born in Flanders in 1538. After obtaining refuge in London, he gained the title of Botanist to James I. He died in Highgate in 1616. (See also Beatrice White, *Cast of Ravens*, London, John Murray, 1965, p. 205).
9. *The diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E. S. de Beer, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, vol. 3, p. 336.
10. W. Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London 1518–1825*, London, Royal College of Physicians, 1861, p. 452; *The Times*, 1 March 1875.
11. British Museum, MSS. Add. 5751A, f. 49–51.
12. A. G. Hanckwitz, born at Nieuburg in Brandenburg, became a denizen on 15 April 1693, and was naturalized on 24 March 1700 at the same time as his brother, John Andrew, a Protestant who had served as a private trooper in the English Horse in the late war.
13. Engravings of the Godfrey laboratory were made by K. Gravelot, c. 1744.
14. Ambrose Godfrey II was elected F.R.S. in 1729. In 1774 he issued a prospectus for 'A compleat course of chemistry'. This was never published: the manuscript is in the Library of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.
- 14a. In 1916 the goodwill of this business was acquired by Savory & Moore, London, the shopfittings and its fine bronze mortar, dated 1697, being sold by auction.
15. Claire Salomon-Bayet, 'Opiologia—Moise Charas, auto-experimentateur sur l'opium' *Rev. Hist. Sci.*, 1973, 25: 125–150.
16. *Cal. Treas. Bks.*, 1702, p. 1193. Angibaud was to receive 3*d.* a day for each wounded soldier and 2*d.* a day for each soldier during his stay in hospital. Angibaud's bill of £489. 4*s.* 8*d.* was acknowledged when the Army debt at the reign of William III was reported to Queen Anne in 1711.
17. 'The Troches, or Juyce of Liquorice of Blois, very good for Coughs and other Distempers of the Breast, as also for Consumptions. Prepared by Monsieur Angibaud, late of Paris, Apothecary . . . at his Shop in St. Martin's Lane . . . at the sign of the Fame . . .' (*Lond. Gaz.*, 29 October 1683). See also A. Lothian Short, 'Charles Angibaud and his mortar' and P. Julien, 'Angibaud and the pastilles of Blois', *Pharm. J.*, 1966, 188, 287, 289. The lozenges were made of liquorice paste with gum arabic. Angibaud's Lozenges of Blois remained as a proprietary preparation into this century. (Liquorice and anise oil were the constituents of the well-known 'Brompton' cough lozenges.)
18. P. Pomet, *L'histoire générale des drogues*, Paris, J. B. Loyson & A. Pillon, 1694.
19. In his will Angibaud left many family bequests, including shares in the ill-fated South Sea Company. (P. C. C. Wills, 1733, 1 'Price', f. 1. Public Record Office.)
20. 'This is to acquaint the Publick that Charles Angibaud, Apothecary, who lately liv'd at the Angel the lower end of St. Martin's Lane . . . has left off Business, applying himself entirely to Surgery, and lives at Mrs. Misaubin's, his Aunt, (Widow of the late Dr. Misaubin) near Slaughter's Coffee-House the upper end of St. Martin's Lane where he continues to sell the famous Pectoral Lozenges of Blois . . .' (*Daily Advertiser*, 1743. British Museum, Burney 279b).
21. C. G. T. Dean, *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea*, London, Hutchinson, 1950, pp. 24–43. Dean records that to pay for the maintenance of the hospital deductions were made from the pay of serving soldiers.

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22. Public Record Office, A.O. 3/584/3.
23. A. E. Garnier, *The chronicles of the Garniers of Hampshire, 1520–1900*, London, Jarrold, 1900.
24. P. C. C. Wills, 1736, 'Loarby', 56. Public Record Office.
25. George Garnier (1703–1763), grandson of Isaac Garnier I, and his son George. Charles Garnier died in January 1744.
26. Details in British Museum, MS. 5724, f. 16 (Compleat history of Europe).
27. *Cal. Treas. Bks.*, 1714–16, 660, 763.
28. C. H. Spiers, 'William Thomas Brande, leather expert', *Ann. Sci.*, 1969, **25**: 171–185.
29. An Act to enable such Officers and Soldiers as have been in H.M. Service . . . to exercise Trades . . . (10 Gul. III, c. XVII). These would otherwise have been prevented from doing so by local laws or by the rules of the various corporations. By the Act they could practise and were free from imprisonment and from the confiscation of the tools of their trades.
30. *Annals of the Royal College of Physicians*, vol. IV, p. 40 [typescript].
31. The pills were probably mercurial pills of which Lemery in his *Pharmacopée Universelle*, 1697, gave three formulae.
32. Jean Savare, 'Le docteur Misaubin de Watteau', *Rev. Hist. Pharm.*, 1967, no. 195, 597–607.
33. Public Record Office, PROB. 11, 222. One shilling and a Bible only were left to his wife, but her marriage settlement was confirmed.
34. British Museum, c. 112 f. 91; 551 a 32.