Local Studies of the English Apothecary

Part I

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE ENGLISH APOTHECARY

J. G. L. Burnby

The title 'apothecary' in England was but rarely used before the middle of the thirteenth century; earlier he was referred to as 'spicer' or 'pepperer' which gives us a clue as to his main occupation.¹ Many such men were spice merchants who also dealt in simple and prepared medicines, but the term 'spicery' also covered a wide field of other commodities besides ginger or mace or pepper. Amongst their goods we find listed wax, rice, dyes, honey, almonds and candied fruits, or special wines and a few chemicals, such as hemp and even cotton, cotton thread and silk. All of them, it will be seen, expensive and mostly imported.² Robert Speecer or Spicir or Spizarius was to be found 'in villa Sancti Botulfi apud Holland' at the very end of the twelfth century.³ Living in this busy port we can guess that he was an importer of overseas merchandise of which drugs and spices formed a high percentage of his trade. Trease, however, believed that in general the pepperers corresponded more closely to the importers and wholesalers, whilst the spicery were concerned with retail trade. The spicery were to be found at first in the boaths of the great fairs like the one held at Lenton, near Nottingham, and later came to have their 'sells' in the large towns and cities.⁴

By the late thirteenth century the occupational terms of 'spicer' and 'apothecary' had become interchangeable, so much so that Trease coined the word 'spicer-apothecary'.⁵ These men lived in such urban centres as York, Hereford and Nottingham besides, of course, the capital, and we know that Henry Montpellier, court apothecary, when he was sent to Lincoln for medicines, when he was with the dying Queen Eleanor in 1290.

There has been much discussion as to what degree a medieval apothecary practised medicine, but there is no doubt he did so. On 28 February 1354 in London four men, three of them surgeons, were put on oath to determine whether John le Spicer de Cornhulle had been guilty of negligence in treating a wound.⁶ Some eighty years later, in 1433, the prior of Guisborough and one of his canons, Brother Richard Ayreton demanded £40 damages from Matthew Rillesford, leech of York, for malpractice in the treatment of Richard's leg. The two sides of the case were brought before Robert Belton of York, apothecary. The final outcome is not known but the main interest lies in the point that an apothecary was regarded as being of sufficient status and medical experience to arbitrate in a case of alleged medical incompetence.⁷

The earliest known surviving English apothecary's inventory is that of John Hexham of London who was hanged in 1415 for coinage. His goods were valued at £53s.7d. of which £44s.7d. consisted of pharmaceutical simples and compound preparations many of them made to the formulae of the famous Antidotarium Nicoli which dates back to the early twelfth century. He had also a still valued at 2s.4d. The apothecaries in London were at this time members of the powerful guild of the Grocers' Company. In the provinces they were more frequently members of guilds in which the mercers were the leading members and who gave their name to that body. The collective noun of 'mercery' often included items of spicery.

The apothecaries grew restive in the London Grocers' Company, and in 1617 actively encouraged by James I, their own independent guild was established. The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London as it came to be known, was influential in the development of English pharmacy and medicine, because it was common for affluent men to send their sons to be apprenticed to members of the company in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The minutes of the court held on 18 January 1645/6 record that two young men of Lincolnshire took the first step towards their future career, 'Francis lyld son of Richd. lyd late of Hambleton in the countie of Lyncoin, clerk, examined, approved, sworn & bound to Adrian Garner for 9 years, and Stephen Walpoole son of Dymock Walpoole late of Spalding... deceased is examined etc... to William Weele for 8 years.' The normal length of the apprenticeship for London apothecaries was eight years and not seven as with other occupations, and the apprentices' age sixteen. The would-be apprentice was examined to determine whether he had attained a sufficiently high academic standard, particularly in Latin before approval of the binding was given. He then had to swear to be loyal to the Society and to serve his master faithfully. When his period of training was finished if he wished to obtain the Freedom of the Society which would be essential if he were to set up for himself in London or seven miles around, then he had to pass an examination as to his ability and knowledge.

The premiums paid by the apprentices' parents were by no means inconsiderable. We have few figures for the seventeenth century but there is almost complete coverage in the following one. In the second decade the commonest figure was about £50 with a minimum of £20, and a maximum for London of £100 and for the provinces £65. By mid-century the average premium had risen to between £50 and £105 with the metropolis again being rather higher. By the end of the eighteenth century even higher sums could be commanded. In comparison with other professions, crafts and trades it is useful to note that in about 1750, weavers, nailers and framework knitters' premiums were amongst the lowest, being a mere £3 to £4, joiners, butchers and watchmakers' could rise to £16 or £20 but were usually less. Grocers demanded sums from £10 to £50, and saddlers and coachmakers from £25 to £50. Attorneys' articles were almost consistently between £100 and £150.⁸

In the past, medical historians have neatly categorised practitioners of medicine into three distinct and separate groups, the physicians at the top of the tree, followed at a distance by the surgeons, with the apothecaries trailing behind. The physicians were said to be a university educated élite preferably holding a doctorate in medicine from Oxford, men of scholarship with an excellent acquaintance of the works of Pliny and Hippocrates, and in particular of Galen a physician of the second century A.D. They did not demean themselves by practiseing the

---

¹ The Society is grateful to Dr J. G. L. Burnby for editing the late Dr Douglas Whittey's paper on apothecaries' tokens for publication and for providing the introductory discussion of the changing role of the apothecary.
manual crafts of the surgeon and apothecary although they claimed the right to supervise the work of both of them. The surgeons dealt only with external disorders, skin diseases, broken and dislocated limbs and wounds, the more daring and skilful operated for the stone; they were not allowed to administer medicines for internal use. In theory the apothecaries’ function was to sell drugs and spices and a few groceries; they made the complex pharmaceutical preparations to the recipes of the pharmacopoeias and dispensaries currently in vogue, and of course dispensed the physicians’ prescriptions. The view was also strongly held that the three groups never mixed, either professionally or socially.

Recently this simplistic stance has been successfully challenged, Margaret Pelling even going so far as to say when writing of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, ‘The tripartite division of labour within the medical profession as favoured by humanist physicians was largely a utopian dream. Medical practice in London and the provinces was dominated by general practitioners, some licensed, most unlicensed...’ Certainly among these doctors, with or without a licence, were some apothecaries; for Miss Pelling cites the cases of John Cobbe, apothecary, who was employed by Norwich corporation to treat patients; George Bodley, apothecary, surgeon of the same city who ‘ministered physic and surgery’ to the poor in St. Giles’ Hospital besides treating members of Katherine Paston’s household.

It was natural that apothecaries should turn to the practice of physic for they frequently accompanied the physician on his visit and would be present if any examination took place. They made up the prescribed medicines, and as likely as not, took them to the patient’s house. There he might administer an emetic (then called a clyster) or apply leeches. If the physician were busy or ill or lazy, then the apothecary made subsequent visits and reported back on the patient’s condition. In Exeter an important confrontation was enacted between John Woolton, who had the full eleven years of theoretical education at Oxford culminating in an M.D., and an apothecary turned doctor called Thomas Edwards. Woolton in an endeavour to protect Edwards who had become a much favoured ‘doctor of first instance’ resorted to a law suit. In this he was very unwise because Lord Chief Justice Coke in the court of Star Chamber ruled for Edwards in 1607 awarding him £170 and fining Woolton £50. Thus by using the argument of ‘legal precedence’ the apothecaries won the right to practise all branches of medicine in the country.

In London where matters were more rigid owing to the power of the College of Physicians, such legalised freedom of action had to wait until the successful outcome of the test case in the House of Lords known to medical history as the Rose Case in 1704. Subsequently the apothecary was recognised as a medical practitioner although he was still not allowed to charge for his advice, only for the medicines supplied. In practice this last rider was often ignored particularly in the country districts where requests were made for payment for ‘The Journey’. Hence forward all over England, the apothecary could if he so wished become a medical practitioner. The signal that he intended to so apply himself more or less full-time was his application to the bishop of his diocese for a licence to practise medicine and/or surgery. Lincolnshire examples of this intention are Thomas North of Horncastle, apothecary, who received a licence to practise surgery within the diocese in August 1688, or John Harnes of the city of Lincoln, apothecary, who was given leave in July 1711 to act as both physician and surgeon.

During the eighteenth century, the work of the apothecary and of the surgeon drew even closer together. No surgeon, except those of the few large hospitals, could subsist on surgery alone, so he opened a shop where he soldointments and plasters and urinals as well as general commodities. The apothecary already had his shop from which he sold his spices and drugs, and to a decreasing extent grocery lines, and where he prescribed and dispensed medicines, but besides making domiciliary he began increasingly to venture into the fields of surgery. He treated skin complaints and ulcers, and even would tackle a simple fracture but was rarely foolhardy enough to attempt a lithotomy or removal of a stone from the bladder. Both men, surgeon and apothecary, were employed by the local Overseers of the Poor, and many of their payments are extant in the Overseers’ accounts.

The time arrived when it became difficult to distinguish between an apothecary and a surgeon. The question of titles arises again. The modern concept of ‘job-description’ with the legal protection of professional titles did not develop until the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, the dividing lines are so finely drawn that we differentiate between structural and civil engineers, and both from mechanical engineers. It is between clinical pharmacologists and clinical pharmacists, neurologists and neuro-surgeons, and so on. It was far different in earlier centuries.

J. E. Kett noted that, ‘After 1730 the words “surgeon” and “apothecary” were used interchangeably in the provinces... a view which is corroborated by the Inland Revenue Apprenticeship records.’ John Dixon of Grimsborough became the master of Adam Stephenson in 1714 when he was described as an apothecary, but when his next apprentice, Joseph Wildibore of Misterton, Nottinghamshire signed his papers in 1716 Dixon was called a surgeon, as he was in 1721 when Thomas Smeeton of Whitwell, Derbyshire became his apprentice. Three years later at the binding of Benjamin, son of John Charlesworth of South Leerton, Nottinghamshire, clerk, Dixon was a ‘surgeon and apothecary’, then once again he was called an apothecary when Dorothy Tholominson’s son Thomas, of The Bail, Lincoln, was bound to him in 1732. Many other such instances could be cited. As the eighteenth century progressed the title of apothecary in common parlance diminished and came to be replaced by that of surgeon. Finally both came to be replaced in the nineteenth century by the all embracing ‘general practitioner.’

By the mid-eighteenth century there is little doubt that the majority of apothecaries were practising as doctors. Their shops became less important to them although they did not relinquish the dispensing of their own prescriptions. A number of these apothecaries and surgeons (which should now be regarded as a dual title) proceeded even further along the purely medical line. William, son of John Hairby a grazier in Spilsby, was apprenticed to Samuel Bennet, surgeon and apothecary of Alford, for six years in 1743. The premium was £40. Just how long William Hairby practised as a surgeon and apothecary in Spilsby we do not know, though he was certainly working in that capacity in 1770 when he agreed to take William Watson as his apprentice for five years. He must have been nearing fifty years of age when he decided to attempt to obtain an M.D. from the University of Glasgow. In this he was successful in 1776.

For many years there had been complaints that some of the Scottish universities were conferring medical degrees on the unskilful and undeserving. The universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen frequently gave degrees in
Medicine without the candidate having even to present himself for examination. Doctorates of Medicine from both these universities could be obtained by submitting only letters of recommendation as to the applicant’s skill, experience and probity from two or three acceptable physicians. Both a local Quaker, John Howell of London, and John Rough of Stamford obtained doctorates from Aberdeen in this manner.22 In 1755, however, Glasgow University had enacted that, without any exceptions, no degrees in Medicine should be conferred in absence. Previous attendance at Glasgow University’s own courses was not demanded, but after c.1770 testimonial letters from two or more regularly qualified physicians were rarely regarded as sufficient. A stricter evidence of having completed a definite curriculum of study was now required.

What Hairby presented by way of evidence is not known, but undoubtedly he had to make the long journey to Glasgow to undergo a series of examinations which lasted for three or four days. He also had to defend a thesis in Latin which had already been submitted to the Senate and printed.23 We can guess that after this successful expedition to Scotland, Hairby, on his return to Lincolnshire, relinquished his apothecary’s shop, but probably, like many of the Scottish educated doctors he continued to do his own dispensing. He died at Spilsby in 1814 aged 87.

Not all apothecaries forsook their pharmaceutical origins. Thomas Wright Tonge (1773-1854) of Alford has left a small account book for the years 1790-1796 entitled ‘Expenses of the Shop paid out of the Till’ from which we are able to glean information on the activities of his shop.24 A recurring item were leeches, ‘Pd. Rebecca Hill for leeches (alone 2s)’ Other items brought him local produce, elder leaves (6d. in July 1791), violets (6d. in April 1793), Solomon’s seal root (3d.), oak bark (2d.) and the dangerous hemlock plant (2d.) The carrier was paid for drugs which were certainly not of English origin, sarsaparilla, guaiacum wood, oil of origanum, gum arabic and tamarinds, to say nothing of a nutmeg (one) which cost 3d. Sugar at 1d. a pound was a commodity which had previously been bottled, vials, flasks, bladders and tallow, and bay salt which was used for the anchovies. (A commodity often sold by the older type of apothecary).

Carriage from London occurred occasionally as it did from Boston, Hull and York, but his main supplier was in Lincoln. Postage was a heavy item.25 By way of staff he had ‘Parkers Boy’ who received 6d. now and again and travelled frequently to the nearby villages. ‘Chants Boy’ was employed for ‘killing’ or ‘rubbing’ quicksilver—an arduous and time-consuming job. For equipment he bought a ‘working mortar’ (6s.6d.) a funnel (2d.), a dram glass (3d.), a course (sise), sieve (7d.), paper, a brush (1s.6d.) and shop towels (4d.) from which we can see that he was still a working pharmacist and did not buy all of his preparations ready-made from a city druggist.

An apothecary’s shop of this type would within perhaps the next twenty years be hived off from the medical practice to be run by the newly emergent pharmaceutical chemists. Pharmacy and medicine would then parallel their separate paths to develop as two distinct careers and disciplines.

A proper understanding of the position and practice of the English apothecary will only be brought about by the detailed studies of local historians. Wills, inventories, parish registers and municipal records all help to clarify the picture, and of particular value are the rarely extant accounts books. That of Thomas Wright Tonge has already been mentioned but another important source are the diaries and accounts of Matthew Flinders of Donington whose family and friends were discussed in the last number of Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.26 It would be interesting to know how much—or how little—Tonge and Flinders’ practices differed. The lists compiled by Thomas Mills and Anthony Comberbach and John Rous of Lincolnshire are of Lincoln in the late eighteenth century, also published in the last number of this journal,27 provide a good starting point. Another useful source of information is the tradesmen’s tokens, issued in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, and discussed in the following article.

NOTES

1. The word ‘apothecary’ comes from ‘apoteke’ meaning originally a store-room.
3. Ibid., p. 46, no. 5.
4. A ‘seed’ was an open-fronted shop with storage space behind and a place where materials could be prepared for use.
5. Tregoe, p. 56. Philip of Gloucester between 1248 and 1296 was called ‘spicer’ 46 times and ‘apothecary’ 28 times.
7. It should be noted that the right of spicer to give medical treatment was not being challenged, only that he had been negligent.
10. Other Lincolnshire examples are Thomas Marshall son of Ralph of Tholcethorp bound to John Sheilburne in July 1644; Robert Shelfield son of John late of Claypole, Grant to Arthur Holleymore in April 1672, and three years later Vincent Lawson son of a man of the same name of Kingherly, clerk, to William Phillips. In the next century Thomas Howard, apothecary in Lincoln, sent his son Thomas to London in 1716 to be trained.
12. M. Pelling, ‘Medical practitioners’, in M. Pelling and C. Webster, eds., Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1979), p. 215. The Act of 1512 (3 Hen VIII, c.11.) required, with few exceptions, anyone practising physic or surgery to be licensed by a bishop. ‘...that noo person...take upon him to exercise and occupie as a Phisician or Surgeon in any diocese within those Royalle but if he be first examined and approved by the Bishop of the same diocese or being out of the diocese, by his Viar General, either of them calling to them such expert persons in the said faculties as there discretion shall think convenient...’ Statutes of the Realm, 1803 (London, 1803), Vol. 1, p. 52. These licences came to be granted on the basis of previous skill and experience, or as A. I. Rowe has more trenchantly written, the ‘bishops’ licences’...were certificates of honesty and good conduct rather than of medical qualification.’ See, The Elizabethan Renaissance: The Cultural Achievement (London, 1972), p. 260.
14. Rowe, p. 262; a detailed study of this Star Chamber case was made by R. S. Roberts, The personal and professional practice of medicine in Tudor and Stuart England, Part I, the province, Medical History, 6 (1962), pp. 363-82.
16. J. F. Kett, ‘Provincial medical practice in England, 1730-1815’, J. Hist. Med., 19 (1964), p. 17. The Inland Revenue Apprenticeship Records, 1710-1805 are to be found at the Public Record Office, Kew. Clerk when commenting on the Star Chamber case of 1641 to 1607 wrote, ‘But it shows...that at and after this time the appellation of physicians, apothecaries, and for that matter, surgeon and doctor, were not used either by provincial practitioners or in popular speech, or even in some official records, so as to demarcate different kinds of practice.’ See G. Clark, A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London (Oxford, 1964), vol. I, p. 608.
18. Such as Michael Cox of Spalding who in 1731 was an ‘apothecary’ (apprentice, George son of Clement Tookey of Chippenham, Cambs.), in 1737 ‘apothecary etc.’ (Newman and Ryder of London) in 1742, 1752, ‘Surgeon etc.’ (Richard Grundy and Michael Humphrey), (L.R. /1/12, L.R. /1/15, L.R. /1/50 and L.R. /1/19), Samuel Bennet of Alford who was in turn, ‘Surgeon etc.’ (1743), ‘surgeon’ (1749 and 1758), ‘surgeon etc.’ (1762), apothecary (1768) and again ‘surgeon etc.’ in 1778 and 1790. (L.R. /1/ volumes 50, 18, 53, 23, 55, 29 and 34).
19. It is interesting to note that John Flinders, the grandfather of Matthew the explorer, is called an apothecary on his tombstone but on the memorial within the church erected by descendants in the nineteenth century he has become a surgeon.
Medicine without the candidate having even to present himself for examination. Doctorates of Medicine from both these universities could be obtained by submitting only letters of recommendation as to the applicant's skill, experience and probity from two or three acceptable physicians. Both James Brecknock of Holbeck and John Rogers of Stamford obtained doctorates from Aberdeen in this manner. In 1755, however, Glasgow University had enacted that, without any exceptions, no degrees in Medicine should be conferred in absence. Previous attendance at Glasgow University's own courses was not demanded, but after c.1770 testimonial letters from two or more regularly qualified physicians were rarely regarded as sufficient. A stricter evidence of having completed a definite curriculum of study was now required.

What Hairby presented by way of evidence is not known, but undoubtedly he had to make the long journey to Glasgow to undergo a series of examinations which lasted for three or four days. He also had to defend a thesis in Latin which had already been submitted to the Senate and printed. We can guess that after this successful expedition to Scotland, Hairby, on his return to Lincolnshire, relinquished his apothecary's shop, but probably, like many of the Scottish educated doctors he continued to do his own dispensing. He died at Spilsby in 1814 aged 87.

Not all apothecaries forsook their pharmaceutical origins. Thomas Wright Tonge (1773-1854) of Alford had left a small account book for the years 1790-1796 entitled 'Expenses of the Shop paid out of the Till' from which we are able to glean information on the activities of his shop. A recurring item was leeches, 'Pd. Rebecca Hill for Leeches (sic) 1s.' 'Pd for Leeches 2s.' Other people he bought local produce, elder leaves (6d. in July 1791), violets (6d. in April 1793), Solomon's seal root (3d.), oak bark (2d.) and the dangerous hemlock plant (2d.). The carrier was paid for drugs which were certainly not of English origin, sarsaparilla, guaiacum wood, oil of origanum, gum arabic and tamarinds, to say nothing of a nutmeg (one) which cost 3d. Sugar at 10d. a pound was a common ingredient, as were candles, bottles, phials, gallipots, barters and tallow, and bay salt which was used for the anchovies. (A commodity often sold by the older type of apothecary).

Carriage from London occurred occasionally as it did from Boston, Hull and York, but his main supplier was in Lincoln. Postage was a heavy item. By way of staff he had 'Parker's Boy' who received 6d. now and again and travelled frequently to the nearby villages. 'Chants Boy' was employed for 'killing' or 'rubbing' quicksilver—an arduous and time-consuming job. For equipment he bought a 'working mortar' (6s. 6d.) a funnel (2d.), a dram glass (3d.), a course (sic), sieve (7d.), paper a brush (1s. 6d.) and shop towels (4d.) from which we can see that he was still a working pharmacist, did a little bit of his preparations ready-made from a city druggist.

An apothecary's shop of this type would within perhaps the next twenty years be hived off from the medical practice to be run by the newly emergent pharmaceutical chemists. Pharmacy and medicine would then pass along their separate paths to develop as two distinct careers and disciplines.

A proper understanding of the position and practice of the English apothecary will only be brought about by the detailed studies of local historians. William inventories, parish registers and municipal records all help to clarify the picture, and of particular value are the rarely extant account books. That of Thomas Wright Tonge has already been mentioned but another important source are the diaries and accounts of Matthew Flinders of Donington whose life and family were discussed in the last number of Lincolnsiret History and Archaeology. It would be interesting to know how much—or how little—Tonge and Flinders' practices differed. The lists compiled by Dennis Mills from the medical registers and directories of the late eighteenth century published in the last number of this journal, provide a good starting point. Another useful source of information is the tradesmen's tokens, issued in the middle decades of the seventeenth century, and discussed in the following article.

NOTES
1. The word 'apothecary' comes from 'apotheke' meaning originally a store-room.
3. Ibid., p. 46, no. 5.
4. A 'seld' was an open-fronted shop with storage space behind and a place where materials could be prepared for use.
5. Ther, p. 56, Philip Chilvers was freed 1248 and 1296 was called 'sizer' 46 times and 'apothecary' 28 times.
6. R. R. Sharpe, ed., Calendar of the Letter Books... of the Archives of the City of London (1899-1928), vol. vii (1921), p. 428. It should be noted that the right of sizer to give medical treatment was not being challenged, only that he had been negligent.
9. Knyvett, MS 8200/1.
10. Other Lincolnshire examples are Thomas Marshall senior of Ralph of Thedlethorpe bound to John Shawburne in July 1668; Robert Sheffield son of John of Castle on the 1st of June 1672, and three years later Vincent Lawson son of a man of the same name of Kingherby (Kingerby), clerk, to William Phillips. In the next century Thomas Hooton, apothecary in Lincoln, sent his son John in 1716 to be trained in London.
12. M. Polling, 'Medical practitioners', in M. Polling and C. Webster, eds., Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1979), p. 235. The Act of 1512 (3 Hen. VIII, c.11) required, with few exceptions, anyone practising physic or surgery to be licensed by a bishop. 'That no person... take upon himself to exercise and occupy as a Phisician or Surgeon in any diocese within this Realm and if he be first examined and approved by the Bishop of the same diocese... no other ecclesiastical licence was granted on the basis of previous skill and experience, or as A. L. Rowe has more trenchantly written, the 'bishops' licences'... were certificates of honesty and good conduct rather than of medical qualification.' ('Aphorisms and Modernity' in Elizabethan Renaissance: The Cultural Achievement (London, 1972), p. 260.
16. J. F. Keir, 'Provisional medical practice in England, 1730-1815', J. Hist. Med., 19 (1964), p. 17. The Inland Revenue Apprenticeship Records, 1710-1805 are to be found at the Public Record Office, Kew. Clark when commenting on the Star Chamber case of 1604 to 1607 wrote, 'But it shows... that at and after this time the apprenticeship of physician, apothecary, and for that matter, surgeon and doctor, was not used neither by either provincial practitioners or in peculiar speech, or even in some official record, or to denominate different kinds of practice.' See G. Clark, A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London (Oxford, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 606.
17. F. R. O. I.R./1/1; I.R./1/3; I.R./1/10.
18. Such as Michael Cox of Spalding who in 1731 was an 'apothecary' (apprentice, George son of Clement Tockey of Chipinham, Cambs.), in 1737 'apotheke' etc. ('Peregrine Ackrington') and in 1745 and 1752, 'Surgeon etc.' Richard Haggard of Spalding (I.R./1/12, I.R./1/15, I.R./1/50 and I.R./1/19), Samuel Bennet of Alford who was in turn, 'Surgeon etc.' (1743), 'surgeon' (1749 and 1750), 'surgeon etc.' (1766) apothecary (1766) and again 'surgeon etc.' in 1778 and 1790. (I.R./I volumes 50, 18, 53, 23, 25, 29 and 34).
19. It is interesting to note that John Flinders, the grandfather of Matthew the younger, is called an apothecary on his tombstone but on the memorial within the church erected by descendants in the nineteenth century he has become a surgeon.
LINCOLNSHIRE APOTHECARIANS' TOKENS AND THEIR ISSUERS

The Late T. D. Whittet

Between 1648 and 1672 the issuing of tokens by tradesmen was practised on a large scale as there was a great scarcity of small change. The royal mint issued a silver coinage but refused to produce a lesser currency of base metals which was so necessary in the day to day running of life. The standard work on the subject is George C. Williamson's Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century, a revision of William Boyne's earlier work of the same title first published in 1859.1 Lincolnshire students of the subject are probably familiar with A List of the Lincolnshire Series of Tradesmen's Tokens and Town Pieces of the Seventeenth Century published in 1872 by Justin Simpson who was Boyne's sub-editor for the county, as well as T. W. Townsend's Seventeenth Century Tokens of Lincolnshire issued by Lincolnshire Museums in 1983.

Tokens usually bore the name of the issuer, his town and a device. The devices were often the arms (or part of them) of the London guild of the issuer's trade, or a toot of that trade, or its patron saint. Rare discussed ten types of device which appeared on the 127 tokens issued by men he believed to be apothecaries.2 These included the arms of the Society of Apothecaries of London (Apollo with his bow and arrow astride the dragon of disease), its crest (a rhinoceros), or the motto (Opiferque per orbem climae—they call me the bringer of help), the arms of the City of London, a mortar or mortar and pestle, a still, a bung or a pot of lilies, and occasionally a unicorn as the mythical beasts were the two supporters of the London company's arms.

In the seventeenth century, London was the only town in Britain where the apothecaries were sufficiently numerous to form a separate guild. Provincial apothecaries therefore belonged to mixed guilds such as the Mergers, Ironmongers, Grocers and Apothecaries of Chester, or the Company of Mercers in Derby which, despite its name, included apothecaries, ironmongers, upholsterers and milliners, although the mercers were the wealthiest and the most influential members. Likewise in Abingdon and Salisbury, their Grocer's guild comprised not only grocers but mercers, apothecaries, goldsmiths, linen drapers and upholsterers and other trades. It is not surprising therefore if some apothecaries used on their tokens the word 'grocer' or 'mercet' and for their device a part of the London companies, for example the groups of three cloves of the grocers, or the crowned virgin of the Mercers.

APOTHECARIANS' TOKENS

1. Richard Barber of Gainsborough

   O. RICHARD · BARBER · MERCER –
   The Apothecaries Arms
   R. his halfpenny in Gainsborough 1668 R B (¼d.) (Fig. 1).

   Fig. 1 Token of Richard Barber. Actual size 2.0cm diameter.

   The Gainsborough parish register records that on 29 July 1673, 'Richard Barber of Gainsborough, mercer' was buried. He died intestate and on 1st August his widow with George Branstoe, mercer, and Nicholas Taylor, 'Farmacopolem' (i.e. apothecary) gave a bond of £10 to administer the estate fairly.3 Taylor was certainly an apothecary who was practising medicine as he was granted an episcopal licence to do so on 9 March 1677.

   Richard Barber aged 26 had taken out a marriage licence on 17 November 1669 to marry Mary Hodgkin also aged 26 and also of Gainsborough. Both Williamson and Simpson suggest that the following entry in the Constable's accounts refers to a member of his family, 1733, April 25. The Constables to postage and mile the footway from Fr. Barber's close at the towns end (and afterwards said to be from Tinkers Bridge) to the turnpike over against the ship-yard:

2. William Clarke of Grantham

   O. WILLIAM · CLARKE –
   A double-headed eagle displayed.
   R. OF · GRANTHAM – W C K (¼d.) (Fig. 2).

   Fig. 2 Token of William Clarke. Actual size 1.8cm diameter (City and County Museum, Lincoln).
THE CLARKES OF GRANTHAM AND LOUGHBOROUGH

--- (1) ---

RALPH CLARKE
Buried 24 April 1617
Apothecary–Alderman 1611 & 1621

--- (2) ---

CASSANDRA
Youngest children

ANNE
baptised 27 January 1600
married 17 September 1621
Robt. or Thos. Woodmansey
buried 18 January 1605

ELIZABETH
baptised 7 March 1602
married 11 February 1607
LUDLAM

WILLIAM
baptised 16 October 1603
buried 17 May 1607

JANE
baptised 9 June 1605
buried 3 March 1661

ARTHUR
baptised

WILLIAM (II)
baptised 23 April 1609
married Katherine nee Battington who was baptised
23 March 1610
Will: 1671
pr: 1682
Apothecary
Alderman
1651 & 1657

SARAH
baptised 8 December 1622
alive 1630

MARY
baptised 30 July 1644
d. inf.

RACHEL
baptised
alive 1650

REBECCA
baptised
alive 1650
FRANCES
baptised
alive 1650

--- (2) ---

JOSEPH
baptised 27 July 1625
died 1690
Practised Physic

BENJAMIN
baptised
2 April 1620
alive 1630

RACHEL
baptised 15 July 1621
d. inf.

DEBORAH
alive 1650

JOSEPH (II)

--- (3) ---

JOSEPH CLARKE
of Loughborough
Electioneering:
Will: 1717
Pr: 1721
D.D.P.
Apothecary

(1) Rebeza
(2) Frances, daughter

WILLIAM CLARKE (II)
baptised 25 April 1640
Apothecary

JOHN
alive 1671

JOHN BOYER
matron of Loughborough
alive 1717

--- (2) ---

MARSHA CLARKE
alive 1717

JOHN

WILLIAM CLARKE (III)
baptised 8 March 1670
Trinity College, Cambridge
M.D. (Utrecht) 1694

ANN
baptised 25 September 1674

JOSEPH CLARKE (III)
baptised 4 April 1679
Surgeon & Apothecary (Bishop’s Lic. 1720)
Alderman 1721

RALPH CLARKE (III)
baptised 22 November 1665
died 5 November 1764
aged 79
Surgeon & Apothecary
(Bishop’s Lic. 1723)
Alderman 1752 & 1760

--- (2) ---

MARY
baptised 19 November 1723

JUDITH
baptised 21 November 1726

JOSEPH
baptised 8 March 1728
B.A. (Cambridge) 1751

RALPH (III)
baptised 1 April 1726
B.A.
died 7 October 1751
at Cambridge aged 22

JUDITH
baptised 21 June 1729

BENJAMIN
baptised 14 July 1741

ARTHUR
baptised 30 June 1743

CHARLES
baptised 3 August 1747
died 18 June 1786
aged 39
Apothecary
The initials found on tokens often referred not only to the token issuer but to his wife as well, just as it is to be seen on buildings of the same period. In this case WCK almost certainly refers to William and Katherine Clark, we know that William's wife was named Katherine from his will of 1671.

Because of their association with Isaac Newton in his youth, this is an important family in the history of science (Fig. 3). The earliest member as yet known is Ralph Clarke whose will was made on 10 December 1630 and was proved in the following February when an inventory was made. On both documents he is named as a merchant but the inventory makes it clear that he was a wholesale and retail apothecary and druggist with a number of other interests as well. The value of his house, home and business amounted to £487.2s. Stukeley in his letter of 1727 to Dr Richard Mead wrote that, "Twas the next house to the George Inn northwards in the High Street." It was a fair-sized building consisting of a hall, shop, gallery kitchen, buttery, two still houses and brewhouse with chambers over the hall, shop, gallery and kitchen. Possibly it may have been of three stores as besides the room over the shop there was also a 'high chamber over the shop'. It was very handsomely appointed. To mention just a few items, there were 30 Venice glasses and 30 green glasses, 'a pair of virginallis, a hute and a bandora (another musical instrument), 'a chairre wrought with needlework', carpets and a silk canopy cover.

In the yard was a 'swyne stie with twoe younge swynes' and in the back yard a cow with hay in the chamber. He possessed pit coal and seal coal to the value of £6, and six loads of charcoal at £9. In the sand pits he had timber, and also some stored with other people which amounted to £13.6s.8d. There were pails, boards, locks and keys and other implements of and belong to the boarden shoppe in the little lane in the Market place (made to store stronge waters in) betwixt the shoppes of Robt Calcroft and Thomas Pole. He also had the lease of the 'Town Mills' and the lease of the mill holme which were given the high value of £150.

The goods in the shop were appraised at £123.15s.3d. and covered a wide selection of drugs ranging from 'Oyle of Synamon, Cloves, nutmegs & other Chymicall Oyles', (that is were obtained by distillation and not by expression) to 'Flowers of Rosemary, Roses, Calustrines and other flowers', 'Coloquininta, Cubibs, myrobalanes, Cyprus nuts & other fruits', to 'Aloes, Dragons bloud & other Juices', and 'Crocodiles, French flies and other Animals'. It is not possible to tell whether he made his own compound preparations such as 'Pilulæ Cochlia, fetida & other pills', or 'Unguent Agrippae, Altheae, Apostolorum & Other unguents', (i.e. ointments) but he did possess scales, weights, measures, four mortars and pestles of brass, and one stone mortar with a wooden pestle. Curiously he did not stock the very expensive cure-alls of the day compound of dozens of ingredients, mithridatum and thorica found on the shelves of nearly all apothecaries, though he did have a quantity of Venice treacle which is in the same category.

Finally at Folkingham he had a mill-house which held tubs, iron bars and laths, a leaden worm and a pewter worm for a still, and in the warehouse there was 'one mill post (sic) for spices'.

In his will dated 10 December 1630 he bequeathed to his eldest son Arthur £20 and 'my still hanging up in the old still house, and all my implements which now bee remaininge in the custodie of one Robert Knutton of Folkingham'. The three daughters by his first wife, Mary, Rebecca and Frances Clarke, were to receive £60 when they became 21, as were Joseph and Deborah his two youngest children. Another son, Benjamin, was to have £20 when he came of age, whilst his daughters Anne Woodmansey and Elizabeth Ludlow were to have 20s. each. They, one assumes, had already had their portions on marriage.

Cassandra his 'now wife' was to receive an annuity of £7.5s.8d. for seven years which was to be paid out of the profits of the shop. She was also to have the cow and half the coal, and the house which he had 'estated upon her for her Joynture' and an equal use of the garden with son William which belonged to his 'Mister Stukleying home in Grantham'. William was bequeathed the residue of the estate, which in fact was the bulk of it, and £19.10s. a year which was derived from the lease of 'those mills called the Well Lane Millis' conveyed to him by the then Alderman and Burgess of Grantham which he had then leased back again to them at £39 a year.

He made Thomas Godfrey Esq., of the 'fryers near Grantham' and his cousins William Bury, Robert Halford of Sleaford, clerk, and Richard Cory of Grantham, mercer, overseers and supervisors of his will.

Thus William (I) became the owner of this fine apothecary business and was to become the token issuer. It was in his home that the young Isaac Newton lodged when he attended Grantham grammar school. William when he was living in Loughborough, Leicestershire, where he had set up his son Joseph as an apothecary, made his will in June 1671 although in 'good and Perfect health of body'. His wife Katherine was remembered by the bequest for life of a house in Grantham in the occupation of Widow Kirke, butcher, Joseph, on William's death, was to have that portion of the interest in the Loughborough shop which William had retained for himself. He gave his late dwelling house in Grantham to his son William (II), who was now living there, and also the garden in Deadmams Lane. The rest of his estate was to be divided between his daughter Martha Clarke and his sons John and Joseph, which task he put upon his loving brethren Dr Humphrey Babington, Doctor in Divinity, and Mr Joseph Clarke, 'physician'.

Joseph did well in Loughborough but although he married twice he died without an heir. He is mentioned as belonging in an apothecary in his will of 6 November 1717 but he appears not to have been practising at the time of his death for no shop is listed. He held a considerable amount of real estate in and around Loughborough. With small sums of money he remembered the families of his brother William Clarke (II), apothecary in Grantham, of his sister Martha who had become the wife of John Boyer, master of Loughborough, and of his half sister Katherine, now Katherine Vincent of Grantham, nor were the children of the brothers and sisters of both his wives forgotten, but most of his estate went to charity. He left money or land in trust for educational purposes including for poor children of Grantham, 'my native place'. He also augmented the income of the hospital in Barrow-on-Soar 'and commonly known by the name of Theophilus Cave, his hospital, (my grandparents brother)' by giving certain tithes lands and profits to the four trustees nominated by his 'unkle Revd Humphrey Babington D.D., dec'd.'

If the line had died out in Loughborough, theClarke were still much in evidence in Grantham. William (II) who had inherited the original apothecary business had a number of children, one of whom married a relation of William Stukeley from whom Isaac lodg'd at my Cozens Mrs Clark' and then goes on to add, 'My Coz Ralf Clark says it was his grandfather that Sir Isaac lodg'd withal when a schoolboy.' Ralph
(II), born 1685, like old Ralph (I) and his grandfather William (I) was Alderman of Grantham twice. He was granted in 1723 an episcopal licence to practise surgery and he is described as a surgeon and apothecary on his memorial.13 Brian Cumberland was apprenticed to him in 1724 and the premium demanded was £80. Ralph (II) was a subscriber to Thomas Short’s, The Natural, Experimental and Medicinal History of the Mineral Waters of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, published in 1734. Ralph (II) died in 1764 but his estate was still unadministered in 1784 when administration was granted to his son Charles, also an apothecary.14 Charles Clarke by his will of 1795 left £250 for the relief of widows and orphans, and £500 for the beautifying of Grantham church. There were thus at least five generations of the Clarke family in a direct line who were surgeons or surgeons and apothecaries.

3. Andrew Poole of Grantham
O. ANDREW POOLE — The Apothecaries’ Arms
R. OF GRANTHAM — 1667 —
A. P. A. (¼d.) (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4 Token of Andrew Poole. Actual size 1.5cm diameter (drawn from rubbing supplied by City and County Museum, Lincoln).

On 16 August 1676, Andrew Poole of Grantham in the County of Lincoln, apothecary, being of a good minde perfect Remembrance and understanding... drew up his will, and as it is of his own devising and in his handwriting, the form and spelling are distinctly idiosyncratic.14 After expressing the desire that his body should be buried in Grantham churchyard, he bequeathed one shilling to his son John which probably indicates that Andrew had already set him up in a business or profession.

His first care was for his ‘crandchildren’. He gave to Anthony Hotchkin £100 ‘to goe Forwarde for them till they come at age, and if it shall Happen that if any of the said Childe shall Dye... it shall goe to the other tow ore, the Longer Liver of them’. Daughter Bristow also received £100 ‘to be equally Devised (divided) Among the Children in Case she have Any, if not I Give it to her’.

‘Crandchild’ Andrew Poole was to have ‘the House I now live in... these to be Paid with in one yeare after my Wifes Decease’. The Hearth Tax return of 1665 shows that the house had three hearths and was situated in Market Place ward.

He then remembered his wife Ann by bequeathing to her, ‘all my messuage and tenement with... th’appurtenances... And all my Goods and Chattelles... for her lifetime provided she did not re-marry’. If she did then she had to relinquish all these rights and receive only £50. On the other hand she could sell any part of the goods and chattels for her maintenance. Other bequests were £10 to Elizabeth daughter of William Poole, 10s. each to his brother Richard’s four children, and 20s. to the two children of Christopher Poole, and his sister’s daughter, Elizabeth Rudkin, to have £4 after his wife’s death.

The inventory of Andrew Poole’s goods was presented at Grantham on 22 October 1677 and amounted to £438.2s.2d. It was a well appointed house with carpets, six ‘Russia Leather Chairs’ valued at £3 each, two large embroidered chairs, a ‘Looking Glass’, nine pictures and ‘1 Glasse Case’ valued at 20s. Books were appraised at £1 and the goods in the shop of which no details were given had a value of £110.4s.2d. Like all established shopkeepers of the period he had money out on bond and had trading debts. These were all placed together under the comprehensive phrase, ‘In debts and specialties good and desperate’ £260. The appraisers were John Hurst, Nicholas Becke senior and Edward Reed.15

Thirty years later on 18 November 1707, Thomas Poole, another Grantham apothecary made his will. He was in all likelihood one of Andrew’s nephews and from the inventory of January 1707/8 he would appear to be living in the same house and shop. This he bequeathed to his wife Elizabeth for life and then to his only child John, still a minor. His three brothers, John, William and Richard, were to have 20s. each for the fashionable mourning rings, as were his brothers-in-law, John and Robert Calcroft.

Thomas’s goods and chattels, appraised by John Stevens, John Calcroft and William Poole, came to £269.18s.4d. The house was by no means as richly furnished as in Andrew’s day, and the goods in the shop and the warehouse—which seems to have been added—were valued at only £600.0s.8d. ‘Debts in the Book’ were now £70, but his brother-in-law, John Calcroft of Grantham, chandler, had been lent on security £100. Thomas Poole also possessed three sheep and a mare with bridle and saddle, all together worth £7.16

4. Nicholas Rodsby of Lincoln
O. NICHOLAS RODSBY — The Apothecaries’ Arms
R. IN LINCOLN — N. R. (¼d.) (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 Token of Nicholas Rodsby. Actual size 1.5cm diameter (drawn from photograph supplied by City and County Museum, Lincoln).

From a bargain and sale of 1650 we learn that Nicholas was the son of John Rodsby, a vintner who had devised to his son John property in Louth which later had passed to the younger Nicholas. For £124 Nicholas sold this inheritance to Thomas Small, apothecary in Louth. It consisted of ‘a messuage in Mercer Row, on the market on the south side of the Street, where Martin Baily, vintner lives, and three cottages in Kidgate Street, in occupation of Katherine Burton, widow, Margaret Briggs, widow, and Margaret Butler, widow’. Why it should have been necessary is not clear, but on 29 July 1657 Nicholas Rodsby leased for a year from William Harvey of the Close, gentleman, and Henry Crowlesley of the Bail, woolen draper, ‘the messuage situate on Castle Hill in the Bail of Lincoln, Robert Sutton, north, late Kingsway leading to the castle south, castle hill east, and castle dyke west, now in the occupation of Nicholas Rodsby’,
and three pieces of enclosed ground, one adjoining his house to the east, another in the north bail-dyke and the third a part of the east castle-dyke.18

The will of Nicholas Rodsby of the Bayle, apothecary, was made on 18 September 1658 and proved by his widow Jane in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 27 November. It is probable that Nicholas had lived in London in his youth as it is known that Baldwyn Hamey the younger, a physician who rose high in the affairs of the London College of Physicians, stayed with him in Lincoln in 1639.19 He left to his wife the house and lands in the Bail for her lifetime, after which they were to pass to Nicholas Rodsbe, second son of his late brother William. She also received land and tenements at Louth for life and then they went to William, the eldest son of his brother William, who had to pay an annuity of £4 to Aunt Mary Sherriffe.

Jane also inherited his house in Alford, shop and chamber which had been mortgaged to him by his brother William as a security for £100, if the money were not repaid, and after her death his niece Elizabeth Rodesbe was to have it. There were bequests to relatives, friends, servants and his two apprentices amounting to over £130. His wife and nephew were to permit Dr Pickles to enlarge his dwelling house into the yard of their house. The witnesses to the will were Thomas Douse and the previously mentioned Henry Cloudesley.20

His inventory gives brief valuation of his goods, names the rooms in his house and mentions pots, glasses, mortars and pestles in the shop but gives no details of other goods or medicines.

**5. John Rogers of Stamford**

O. JOHN • ROGERS • 1664 – The Apothecaries’ Arms.

R. IN • STAMFORD – I • R • (¼d.) (Fig. 6).

---

The family was armigerous, its arms being ‘argent, a chevron between three bucks trippant’. On 25 October 1660 John Rogers, apprentice of Edward Johnson, became a Freeman of Stamford. He may have been a descendant of Thomas Rogers, who had been apprenticed to ‘Stepher Byrde, grosser’ on 16 January 1618/19. In 1660/1 he was a special constable for the parish of St. Michael’s and on 29 August 1662, as a Royalist, was elected a capital burgess. On 7 October 1669 Nathaniel Wych, late apprentice of John Rogers, pharmacopole, took up his freedom. Rogers became chamberlain in 1669/70, alderman (27 August 1674) and Mayor (1674/5 and 1675/6). He was assessed for four hearths in 1671. He resigned from the council in 1711. He was probably the John Rogers, gent., who was buried at St. Michael’s on 24 July 1719.

The token issuer’s son John, who became a Freeman of Stamford on 13 May 1703, was also an apothecary. He was elected a capital burgess on 29 April 1704, alderman, 30 December 1708 and Mayor in 1710/11. He had Edward King bound to him on 21 May 1713 and William Lurcock on 5 May 1719.21 The latter, on 4 March 1724/5, advertised in the *Stamford Mercury*:

W. Lurcock, late apprentice to Mr. Rogers, apothecary, in Stamford, is now settled in St. Mary-street, Stamford, where all persons may be furnished with all sorts of medicines, chymical and galenicall, and as also Daffy’s and Stoughton’s Elixir, Tea, Chocolate, Snuff, &c., &c. John Rogers, jun., was granted an episcopal licence to practise medicine on 22 February 1721/2 and he became a Doctor of Medicine of Aberdeen.22 On 18 April 1723 he advertised in the *Mercury*:

Whereas John Rogers, of Stamford, in the county of Lincoln, Alderman, being bred up in Physick for these 30 years last past, did, by the advice of many worthy friends (better than a year since), qualify himself to practice as a doctor in physic. Dr. Wilson, an eminent Physician being lately dead, the said John Rogers acquaints the world that he intends to continue his practice as a Physician, and as he has hitherto shown good skill in his profession, so he doubts not but that he shall acquaint himself as well as any other of his neighbours in that faculty; and he is desirous of being serviceable to his king and country, will accept small fees.

He must have died in about 1740 as the following advertisement appeared in the *Mercury* on 10 January 1740/1:

To be sold, the remaining part of some household and some other goods, late Dr. Rogers, deceased. To wit, at Castor, 5 pictures, full length, fit for a large room or staircase. At Stamford, 36 ells of tapestry hanging (some pieces fresh), a marble chimney piece and slab, a harpsichord, and 7 dozen of bottles of his gout oils, neatly prepared by him about a month before his death. Enquire of Mr. Wright, upholsterer in Stamford.

Dr. Rogers’ gout medicine at 7s.6d. per bottle was included in the ‘Pharmacopoeia Empirica, or the list of Nostrums and Empirics’ of 1748.23

On 15 October 1754 John Truesdale, who had served seven years with John Rogers, apothecary of Stamford, was admitted to the London Society by redemption.24

---

**6. Jane Small of Louth**

O. IANE • SMALL • OF – The Apothecaries’ Arms.

R. LOWTH • 1668 – HER • HALFE • PENY • (½p.) (Fig. 7).

---

Jane Small was the widow of Thomas Small, who was admitted to the freedom of Louth in 1647, was Churchwarden in 1654 and died in 1658.25 The will of Thomas Small was made on 30 August 1656.26 He left to his daughters Ann and Mary Small a close of meadow in Cleatham, Lincolnshire, called the Old Close or Drackworth Close, and two tenements in East Butterwick with the common rights belonging, all after the death of their grandmother Mary Darwin.27 He also left them his dwelling house and three cottages and lands in Louth after the death of their mother, Jane Small. If his son Thomas paid them £200 each within a year of his twenty-first birthday the lands were to pass to him. His wife Jane was
to continue to live in the house for her lifetime and was to receive the residue of his estate. She was sole executrix; the overseers were William Darwin, William Palmer and Henry Stone of Skeltingthorpe and the witnesses John le Hunt, Robert Cracroft and John Plowe. Jane proved the will on 4 June 1653.

POSSIBLE APOTHECARIES’ TOKENS

As we have seen in the case of Ralph Clarke (I) of Grantham, some men who termed themselves mercer or grocer or used the devices of those London companies were in fact apothecaries; consequently it is useful to examine their inventories and background to determine more exactly their occupations. In some cases no craft or trade is indicated but their token bears a device which is commonly used by apothecaries, such as the unicorn or a cross, in others the token issuer belongs to a family which was strongly orientated towards medicine in all its branches. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was common for a high proportion of family members to follow the same profession or trade. A list with biographical details of such apothecary token-issuers is here appended.

1. Thomas Cracroft of Burgh le Marsh
   O. THOMAS · CRACROFT - A Fleur-de-lis.
   R. MERCER · IN · BVRGH · 66 - A cross patee.
   *(¼d.) (Fig. 8a).*

   ![Token of Thomas Cracroft](image)

   **Fig. 8a. Token of Thomas Cracroft. Actual size 1.7cm diameter.**

   ![Token of Gerrard Colley](image)

   **b. Token of Gerrard Colley. Actual size 1.5cm diameter (John Fleetwood, 'History of Medicine in Ireland', by permission of the author and Brown & Nolan Ltd.).**

Thomas Cracroft was the third son of John of Burgh le Marsh, gentleman, and was baptised at Burgh on 7 February 1640/41. Although he is described on his token and in his administration bond as a mercer it is possible that he was an apothecary. A number of the name of Cracroft were apothecaries in Lincolnshire, for example Charles of New Seaford and John of Spalding, Stamford and Leicester. The cross on his token is typical of that used by many apothecaries. Fig. 8b shows the token of Gerrard Colley, apothecary of Dublin, for comparison with that of Thomas Cracroft.

He was married for the first time by licence dated 11 December 1666 to Margaret Weldon, spinster of Ingoldmells who died in childbirth and was buried at Burgh on 5 October 1667; the details of his second marriage by licence dated 16 December 1667, are given below:

Thomas Cracroft of Burgh-in-le-Marsh, widower, aet. 26, and Margaret Anton of Croft, spinster, aet. 23. His mother consents; her parents are dead. Application by William Cracroft of the Bail of Lincoln, apothecary, and Robert Garratt of the same, cordwainer. The apothecary was probably his eldest brother William.

Thomas died intestate and was buried at Burgh on 24 December 1675. The administration bond was signed by Samuel Hutchinson of Boston, mercer, William Leach of Ranby, Lincolnshire, gentleman, and Joseph Anton of Burgh, gentleman, who was probably his brother-in-law. An inventory was made by William Brewster, William Thompson, Christopher Crosley, Reginald (?) Maxey and Edward Clarrie. The goods included parcels of 'Mercery wairs', 'of Grossery' and 'haberdash wairs' but there are no drugs listed which suggests he was a general retailer.

2. William Fox of Louth

O. WILLIAM · FOX · MERCER - The Mercers' Arms.

R. IN · LOVTH · 1668 - Three coves [Part of the Grocers' Arms] *(¼d.) (Fig. 9)*

   ![Token of William Fox](image)

   **Fig. 9 Token of William Fox. Actual size 1.6cm diameter (City and County Museum, Lincoln).**

Another variety is dated 1656. Goulding notes that William Fox was Churchwarden of Louth in 1653 and 1672 when he was described as 'mercier'. The entries of the baptisms of his children in the parish registers give his wife's name as Frances. Another William Fox (wife Helen) of Louth, an apothecary, was buried in 1674. Although it is possible that the William Fox described as a mercer is one and the same man as the one termed apothecary, many men in the seventeenth century having more than one wife owing to the high mortality rate in childbirth, it is thought to be unlikely in this case. It is known that there were two William Foxes in Louth at the same time because in 1667 a William Fox Junior was admitted a Freeman to the town. It is probable that the younger man was son or nephew to the mercer, and that he was the apothecary. However, further work is required to settle the question beyond doubt. Fox was a customer of the London firm of wholesale druggist, Eastwick and Conyngham.

The will of William Fox, apothecary of Louth, has not survived but an administrative bond was given by Thomas Barker, Richard Hardy and John Chapman, an ironmonger token issuer. The inventory totalled £285.6s.4d. and was appraised by Anthony Butler, William Wood, John Chapman and Francis Carrington. His premises included a malthouse and 'the shoppe with all the requisite drugs, waters, medicines, mortars, counters, tables, shelves, stills, glasses, conserves and the appurtenances therein' valued at £80.
3. Robert Harrison of Spilsby
O. ROBERT · HARRISON — A Unicorn.
R. IN · SPLILSEBY · 1659 — R.H. (¼d.) (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10 Token of Robert Harrison. Actual size 1.5cm diameter.

In his will dated 19 May 1686 and proved only three days later, he is referred to as a mercer. He left £5 to his eldest son Robert of Bolingbroke to pay a Mr Green, and 20s. each to Robert’s wife and daughter, both called Bridget, and 20s. to Edmund Jackson son of his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Jackson. The residue was to be equally divided between his wife Anne, son Thomas Harrison, and daughters Elizabeth Jackson and Anne Harrison. His inventory shows him to have been a wealthy man with two shops and huge stocks of goods. Debts due to him amounted to over £100. His Spilsby premises comprised a hall, best parlour, best chamber, a little chamber, kitchen and kitchen chamber, brew house, dairy and shop, and he had a horse and three ‘bease’. The stock at Spilsby was valued at about £360 and that in the shop at Bolingbroke around £75.

By far the largest proportion of his stock consisted of draperies and haberdashery in which he had a remarkably fine range of goods. He also had a well assorted amount of ironmongery. His groceries which could be found in many apothecaries‘ businesses such as almonds, rice, prunes, figs and ‘sallet oil’ comprised over £20 but at least £17 of it was for sugars of one sort and another. Spices only came to about £4 in value as they were in very small quantities. Chemicals such as alum and cooperas were carried but only around £1.10s. worth whilst drugs were named as such were even less, one parcel being priced at £1, and 3 ounces of disaccordium and a parcel of mithridatum at 3s. He had a good stock of tobacco which could be used medicinally in those days and was stocked by many apothecaries. From this inventory one gains the impression that he would supply the goods required by general retailers and apothecaries in the medicinal line but only on a limited scale.

4. Alexander Howgrave of Horncastle
He was the issuer of two tokens, one undated and one of 1656, both of which bear the grocers’ arms. His inventory was drawn up on 15 June 1691 by Thomas Howgrave, Thomas Walton, George Howgrave and Hugh Bethell, in which he was termed ‘gent’. It amounted to £362.1s.4d. of which ‘Debts upon Specialty’ came to £174.10s., ‘Debts without Specialty’ £61, and ‘Debts as appears by Specialty which are desperate & Debts desperate without specialty’ stood at £40. Although no shop was mentioned he had weights and scales.

It is doubtful if he were an apothecary but a relative, John Howgrave of Horncastle, certainly was. The inventory, made 6 March 1716/17 shows his estate as being £762.6s.6d. although his house which is leased is modest and modestly appointed. He had two lottery tickets at 10s. each, the shop goods were valued at £53 and his ‘book debts (supposedly good)’ at £50, but amazingly, ‘Bonds & notes under Hand (supposedly good)’ were £537.10s. He had an apprentice Richard Chapman bound to him in 1714.

5. Joseph Nutton of Spalding
He issued an undated token bearing the device of a rose crowned. There is no information as to whether he was an apothecary but he was probably related to the apothecary William Nutton of Spalding who in 1718 took James Ayscough as his apprentice, and to John Nutton, M.D. also of Spalding who acted as William Stukeley’s physician when he was a boy.

6. Edward Thorold of Louth
He issued two tokens, one of 1670 and the other undated, which bore the device of a unicorn, one not infrequently used by apothecaries. He will in which he is described as a mercer was drawn up on 23 April 1698. Bequests for mourning rings were made to his parents and Mother Hughson (probably his mother-in-law), his brother William, and sisters Rachel and Mary, several cousins and his uncle James Westhorpe of Keddington, clerk. His wife received the remainder of his estate which she proved on 30 January 1699/1700. No children were mentioned.

7. William Tingembe of Spilsby
O. WILLIELMVS · TINGEMBE · SPLILSEBY
R. ECCE · SIGNVM · 1659 — A cross moline.
(¼p.) (Fig. 11).

Townsend noted that a Mary Tincombe, widow, was assessed for four hearths in 1662, and he also quoted the following baptisms from the Sausthorpe parish registers: 6 October 1676, Elizabeth, and 2 March 1678/9, Prudence, both daughters of William and Mary Tingembe. No occupation is given on the token or in the registers, and no will or inventory have been found but it is probable that he was closely related to John Tingembe an apothecary in Spilsby who died intestate in 1670. Administration was granted to Robert Harrison the mercer of Spilsby (q.v.) his half-brother, and Anthony Hobman of Lincoln, yeoman. The estate amounted to £78.2s.9d. including drugs to the value of £28.17s.1d. His debts included £5.19s. to Mr Berrisford of the City of London, druggist.

NOTES
   It was revised by George C. Williamson in two volumes, 1889-1891, and re-printed in three volumes by B. A. Seaby Ltd. in 1967. The work is now popularly called ‘Williamson’.
6. L.A.O., L.C.C. Wills 1682/ii/465. The will was not proved until 1682.
7. William I had married Katherine Babington daughter of Adrian Babington of Cossington, Leicestershire and his wife Margaret Cave.
8. Humphrey Babington (1615-1691) was the brother of William’s wife Katherine. He became a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge (1640) and gained fame for a phrase in an aseine sermon at Lincoln. He preached that the monarchy of England was ‘the best protection in the world against the bull of Papal aggression and the less giddy cattle of schismatic presbytery’. This so appalled Charles II that he persuaded the University of Cambridge to make Babington a Doctor of Divinity per litteras regias.
9. William I’s brother Joseph was an usher at King’s School, Grantham until 1662 when he was ejected owing to his non-conformist views. Thereafter he ‘practiced physic’, a not unusual pattern of events.
10. Edmund Turner, *Collection for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham* (London, 1806), p. 176, noted ‘Mrs Vincent, a widow living here aged 65 was sister to a Dr. Storey. Her mother was second wife to Mr Clark the apothecary where Sir Isaac lodged... Her mother and Sir Isaac’s mother were intimately acquainted...’ Richard S. Westfall, *Short-writing and the state of Newton’s conscience*, Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, 18 (1963), pp.10-16, provides further evidence of his connection with the Clarke, Storer/Storey and Babington families.
12. W. C. Lukis, ed., *The Family Memoir of William Stukeley*, 3 volumes, (1882-1887), I, p. 116. Lukis relates that, ‘Mr Clarke’s house, in which Newton lodged, was destroyed in the last century by a great fire, which consumed a great part of the south side of the High Street.’ The house was re-built in 1711.
14. L.A.O. MS Thorold 1/2/AN39/80. Charles Clarke of Grantham in an indenture of assignment of a mortgage dated 1784 is described as an apothecary. ShMS Thorold 1/2/AN39/39 and 40. Charles was the much younger brother of Ralph III who had been admitted to St John’s Cambridge in 1745 and obtained his Bachelor of Arts in 1750 but died at the college on 7 October 1751, aged 22.
15. L.A.O. Inv. 219A/249.
22. Ibid., p. 511.
23. ‘Pharmacoepia Empirica’, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 1748. Simpson’s comment on Rogers’ goat oil (p. 91) is worth noting: He was apparently successful in these oils, as the application of them was beneficial to at least one sufferer, viz., the Archdruid, Dr. Stukeley, then Rector of All Saints’, Stamford, there is in the garden of Mr. J. E. Atter, Town Clerk, a stone tablet recording the fact thus inscribed: – Johanni Rogers, ob hydram podagrae dominam gratitudinis ergo Williamms Stukeley, MDCCXXXIII (sic).
24. Guildhall Library, Society of Apothecaries’ Court Minute Book, MS 8200/7, f. 90.
27. Thomas Small’s mother was born Mary Healy daughter of Thomas, vicar of Haxey. She married Thomas Small of Clentham, the father of the apothecary, and after his death married William Darwin of Clentham, and thus became the great-great-great-grandmother of the naturalist Charles Darwin. Mary Darwin was buried at Manston on 17 September 1879. Her son, William Darwin, one of the overseers of the apothecary’s will was of Lincoln’s Inn and Recorder of the City of Lincoln.
32. R. W. Goulding, *Louth Old Corporation Records* (Louth, 1891), p. 73, ‘1667 Jan: 17th Mr Wilt: fox jun. is admitted into this Towne & made free man thereof & to enjoy all priviledges thereunto belonging paying forty shillings & ye same is hereby ordered to give him ye oth of a free man.’
34. L.A.O. L.C.C. Admon. 1674/56.
37. L.A.O. L.C.C. Inv. 189/16.
40. L.A.O. Louth Wills 1699/1030.