Introduction

Anthony Daffy's Elixir Account Book offers a unique insight into the medical economy of the later seventeenth century. It records sales beyond London in the 1670s and 1680s of Daffy's "Elixir Salutis", or simply Daffy's Elixir as it was better known, a medicine that continued to be manufactured and widely used into the twentieth century in England, America and various European countries.[1] Daffy's Elixir was one of the most famous, as well as one of the most long-lasting, of proprietary medicines, that amorphous group of remedies distinguished from the rest of the pharmacopoeia by the secrecy with which their producers shrouded their ingredients. Secret remedies had long been a part of medicine in Europe, and had circulated internationally since the sixteenth century at least.[2] However, in England the variety and scale of production of proprietary medicines seems to have dramatically expanded in the later seventeenth century, although this is largely inferred from the survival of advertisements and pamphlets. The increasing prominence of proprietary medicines was one of the most distinctive, controversial and striking developments in medicine of the period. They are well known to historians from the mass of colourful, argumentative and immodest pamphlets and advertisements that their producers issued—and from the extensive condemnations that they later attracted from orthodox medical practitioners, particularly in the nineteenth century when the *Lancet* launched all out war on quack medicines.

Much less is known of the economics of the trade than of the advertising strategies, rhetoric and the ethics of proprietary medicine producers, which have inevitably attracted much comment.[3] For the later period we have some sense of the massive scale of the proprietary medicine industry from tax records. However, we have previously had nothing

[1] Advertisements for American sales are noted in David L Cowen, *The New Jersey Pharmaceutical Association, 1870–1970*, Trenton, NJ, New Jersey Pharmaceutical Association, 1970, pp. 117–18; J H Young and George B Griffenhagen, 'Old English patent medicines in America', *Chemist and Druggist*, 29 June 1957, Annual Special Issue, pp. 714–22; James Harvey Young, *The toadstool millionaires: a social history of patent medicines in America before federal regulation*, Princeton University Press, 1961, pp. 7, 9. A German recipe for "Daffys Blutreinigendes Elixir" (roughly translatable as "Daffy's Bloodcleansing Elixir") was included in E Hahn and J Holfert, *Spezialitäten und Geheimmittel: Ihre Herkunft und Zusammensetzung*, 6th edn, Berlin, Springer, 1906. We are grateful to A Helmstaedter for this information, and to Ulf Schmidt for the translation.

[2] The fullest discussion to date is of the "Orvietan": David Gentilcore, *Healers and healing in early modern Italy*, Manchester University Press, 1998. Imports to London are briefly discussed in Patrick Wallis, 'Medicines for London: the trade, regulation and lifecycle of London apothecaries, *c*.1610–*c*.1670', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2002, pp. 210–13.

[3] There is now a substantial body of work on proprietary medicines and the "medical fringe". The best study remains Roy Porter, *Health for sale: quackery in England, 1660–1850*, Manchester University Press, 1989. See also W F Bynum and R Porter (eds), *Medical fringe and medical orthodoxy, 1750–1850*, London, Croom Helm, 1987; Renate Wilson, *Pious traders in medicine: a German pharmaceutical network in eighteenth-century North America*, University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. One of the few to consider the commercial implications of the trade is John Styles, 'Product innovation in early modern London', *Past and Present*, 2000, **168**: 124–69.

more than speculation about the question of how widely proprietary medicines were promoted, distributed and retailed in the seventeenth century. This lacuna has been particularly unfortunate because proprietary medicines form part of the interesting group of luxury or semi-luxury products that were seemingly all being consumed in ever greater quantities at the close of the seventeenth century. The part played by medical products and services in this development was significant: as has often been observed, a number of the most popular new products, such as tea, chocolate, coffee and tobacco, were originally medicinal in purpose, before their other attractions were popularized.[4] But with these and a few other exceptions, medicine's part in the growth of consumption is still largely uncharted. The business history of a proprietary medicine such as Daffy's Elixir provides new evidence of the process by which merchants and manufacturers inspired and met the new demands that arose as the consumption patterns of English society changed. It also provides an unusual source on the activities of one of the many traders involved in the internal and external trade of England, revealing the large scale and extensive international reach that it was possible for them to attain.[5] The fortunate survival of this single Account Book recording the Elixir's sales beyond London in the 1670s and early 1680s therefore provides us with a window, albeit a narrow and at times somewhat opaque one, into an aspect of trade, commerce and manufacturing that has wholly eluded historians before now.

It is in the conviction that Anthony Daffy's Account Book provides a source of interest to the history of both medicine and trade that this edition has been produced. The very story behind the survival of the Account Book among the Chancery Master's Exhibits in the National Archives at Kew, as we will see, illustrates some of the commercial practices, and ambitions, of those involved in the proprietary medicine trade.[6] There it forms part of one of the many boxes of business and personal records left unclaimed after submission as evidence in the notoriously slow and inconclusive equity cases which the Court of Chancery oversaw. Daffy's Account Book was put in the hands of the Court during an interminable legal saga over who had the right to produce the Elixir. This ensued between his two surviving daughters, his wife, and her new husband, soon after his death, intestate, in 1684. However, before we explore the aftermath of his death further, we should first examine the life of Anthony Daffy.

[4] Carole Shammas, *The pre-industrial consumer in England and America*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990; John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds), *Consumption and the world of goods*, London, Routledge, 1993; John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century*, London, HarperCollins, 1997; Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang, '*Sans-culottes, sans café, sans tabac*: shifting realms of necessity and luxury in eighteenth-century France', in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (eds), *Consumers and luxury: consumer culture in Europe, 1650–1850*, Manchester University Press, 1999, pp. 37–62.

[5] See Thomas S Willan, *The inland trade: studies in English internal trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Manchester University Press, 1976.

[6] National Archives (hereafter NA), C 114/59. The box contains three other manuscript books which relate to an apothecary's or druggist's business, although it is uncertain if this was Anthony Daffy's shop. The identity of the account book escaped notice by the original cataloguer because the first 7 folios are out of place, and the title 'Anthony Daffy his Dept Book January the 1 1677' is on what is now fol. 8. The account book is roughly 40cm × 20cm in size, and consists of paper pages bound in a marbled paper cover. It contains 154 folios, not all of which are used. Grassby recognized the author, but appears not to have considered the book at any length: Richard Grassby, *The business community of seventeenth-century England*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 430.

Anthony Daffy

Anthony Daffy was born some time in the mid-1620s, probably in London, where his father, also called Anthony, was working as a coachman in 1637. At that time, the family lived in the sprawling parish of St Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, on the western edge of the city near Westminster, where work for Anthony senior would have been most abundant. Daffy appears to have had at least one sister, Elizabeth, born in 1632 in St Martin's, to Anthony senior and his then wife Ann.[7] Nothing is known of Anthony Daffy's early life until the summer of 1637, when he was bound apprentice for nine years to Edward Seabrooke, a member of the Cordwainers' Company, the London guild of shoemakers.[8] Nine years was a relatively long term—most Cordwainers' apprentices served seven or eight years, and this suggests that Daffy was probably young, perhaps around fifteen, and poor, as we would also expect from his father's occupation. Daffy completed his term, something only around half of apprentices managed, and was made a freeman of the Company, and a citizen of London, in 1647–8, paying the standard fee to the Cordwainers of a white spoon and 7d, along with administrative fees of 3s 4d.

By his own account, Daffy worked at first as a shoemaker, and it is unclear how and when the Elixir business became his main concern. The Elixir was not, as he admitted, his own invention, although he did claim to have much improved and amended the original recipe.[9] In fact, like a number of other proprietary medicines, the Elixir was not the creation of a medical practitioner at all.[10] Instead, it was apparently invented by a clergyman, Thomas Daffy (1616/17–1680), who may have produced his cure to make an income after being ejected from his living in Harby, Leicestershire, by Parliamentary visitors in 1648.[11] That a clergyman should have invented a proprietary medicine should not be seen as unusual. The early modern cleric was frequently expected to take as much care for his parishioners' health as he was for their souls. Although we do not know the exact details of the relationship, Anthony Daffy was a kinsman of Thomas.[12] Both Thomas and his son, the Nottingham apothecary Daniel Daffy (1649–*c.*1679), appear in Anthony's Account Book, the latter described as his "Cousen danyell" and the recipient of numerous boxes of

[7] International Genealogical Index (hereafter IGI), 24 Nov. 1632. The occupation of Anthony senior is given in Anthony junior's apprenticeship minute, see note 8. With no record of Anthony junior's birth, it is possible that Ann and his father may have married subsequently. It is plausible that Anthony was related to the Elizabeth Daffe, aged twenty, then of Stepney, Middlesex, who received a licence to marry the surgeon Humphrey Dyke, of Stepney, Middlesex, on 21 Aug. 1662. At this time her unnamed father was still alive, however the discrepancy in age between Anthony's sister and this woman makes it unlikely they were the same person: George J Armytage (ed.), *Allegations for marriage licences issued by the Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1660 to 1668*, Harleian Society, London, 1892, vol. 33, p. 41.

[8] Guildhall Library, London (hereafter GL), MS 7351/2. Seabrooke may have been married to a relation of Anthony, having wed an "Alice Dafree" in 1633: GL, MS 4093/1.

[9] Anthony Daffy, *Daffy's original Elixir Salutis, vindicated against all counterfeits*, [1675?], pp. 2–3.

[10] Other examples include "Kent's Powder", the creation of Elizabeth Grey, Duchess of Kent: Charles Webster, *The great instauration: science, medicine and reform, 1626–1660*, London, Duckworth, 1975, p. 255.

[11] *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 (hereafter *ODNB*), vol. 14, pp. 892–3; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 8 vols, Oxford University Press, 1888–1891, vol. 1, p. 366. It should be noted that the only source for the Elixir being Thomas Daffy's invention is his daughter Katharine's own advertisements for her Elixir. Anthony Daffy did admit the recipe was not originally of his own making, but never identified the inventor.

[12] *ODNB*, vol. 1, p. 893.

apothecary's necessaries—jars, glasses, boxes, pipkins, lances and drugs which Anthony bought on his account—although he was apparently a rival producer of the Elixir [113A].[13]

We do not know when the original recipe for the medicine was first passed to Anthony Daffy. His own few comments only cloud the question. He seems, if anything, to have sought to distance the Elixir from Thomas Daffy. One of the very few testimonials to be removed from the pamphlet he issued advertising the medicine was that recording the cure from the stone and gravel of "Mrs. Katherine, the Wife of Mr. Tho. Daffey of Redmill in the County of Leicester"; similarly, it is hard to credit Anthony's claim in 1675 that he had been preparing the Elixir for twenty years, but this may well have been an exaggeration as it formed part of his sales pitch.[14] Although Thomas and Anthony were related, the Elixir was possibly transferred under some form of contract or in part payment for a debt. The Account Book contains notes of various sums repaid by Thomas, and further loans from Anthony to him [96A]. Anthony's relationship with Thomas and his family does not seem to have been particularly close. Although he had relied on Anthony's assistance in London, when Thomas's son Daniel died in 1679 he did not consider Anthony close enough to leave him a bequest, reserving those for his father, brother and sister.[15] It should be noted that Anthony Daffy's was not a unique transition. One of the most famous medical practitioners of the first half of the seventeenth century, William Trigg, had also started his career as a shoemaker.[16] Trigg's secret remedies were, appropriately enough, also sold as proprietary medicines in the later seventeenth century.[17]

By 1654 Daffy had settled in the parish of St Antholin's, in the City of London, and achieved sufficient respectability to become one of the members of the parish vestry.[18] That year he moved into one of the new shops that had been built in the churchyard of St Antholin's on Budge Row only a year earlier, paying the relatively low annual rent of £2.[19] By this point he is likely to have married, but almost nothing beyond her existence is known of Daffy's first wife, with whom he had his eldest son, Elias, and possibly a daughter, Dorcas, who died in the 1680s, soon after Anthony's own death.[20] Late in 1660 his first wife died, and was buried in the churchyard of St Antholin's, near to her husband's shop.[21] Daffy did not mourn her for long, and on 1 January 1660/1 he married Ellen Harwood, daughter of Moses and Jane Harwood, in his parish

[13] Daniel's sister Katharine later wrote that: "My own brother, Mr. Daniel Daffy, formerly Apothecary in Nottingham made this Elixir from the same receipt, and sold it there during his life": Katharine Daffy, *Daffy's famous Elixir Salutis* [London?, 1707?]. Broadsheet in British Library (hereafter BL), Harley MSS 5931(226). The date is conjectured by the cataloguer on the position of the sheet in the volume.

[14] Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis: the choise drink of health*, London, T Milbourn, 1673, p. 4; Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis: the choice drink of health*, London, W G, 1675, p. 2.

[15] Nottingham Record Office, PPNW, sub. 'Daffy'. Proved 29 March 1680.

[16] Margaret Pelling, *Medical conflicts in early modern London: patronage, physicians, and irregular practitioners 1550–1640*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 149–50.

[17] Eugenius Philanthropos, *Dr. Trigg's secrets, arcana's & panacea's*, London, R D for Dixy Page, 1665, sig. *2v; Richard Barker, *Consilium anti-pestilentiale: or, seasonable advice, concerning ... medicines, both for the preservation from, and cure of, this present plague*, London, 1665, sig. B4r.

[18] GL, MS 494/1, fol. 27.

[19] GL, MS 1046/1, fols. 221v, 224v, 226v, 230v, 233v, 236v, 239v, 242v.

[20] There is some possibility his first wife's surname was Halford, given Daffy's relationship with two men named John Halford, one of whom he describes as his "brother in law" [95A] and the other as his"sonn" or "sonn in law" [117A, 162A]. More likely, Dorcas or another unnamed daughter married Halford.

[21] GL, MS 1046/1, fol. 243v.

church.[22] They had at least five children: Joseph in 1662, Thomas in 1666/7, Mary in 1672, Daniel in 1676, and Martha in 1677.[23] Of Daffy's seven children, only Elias, Mary and Martha are known to have survived him to adulthood.

The workings of parish life in the small central parishes of seventeenth-century London demanded the involvement, as well as the tax payments, of those with the moderate levels of wealth and stability that Daffy already possessed in the 1650s. Some of the many parish offices could be escaped on payment of a fine: Daffy, for example, avoided taking on the burdensome job of constable in 1661 by this route, paying the considerable sum of £5 for the privilege. Not all offices could be so easily avoided, however, and in April of the plague year of 1665 Daffy was chosen to be one of the parish churchwardens and collectors for the poor, a very responsible, and possibly dangerous, job at such a time. Daffy's term as churchwarden ended in chaos, however. Whether through some matter related to the epidemic, the fire of the next year—both of which placed heavy demands on churchwardens—or some other issue entirely, his relationship with his parish broke down catastrophically. Daffy seems to have refused to pass on to his successors the churchwardens' account book and the "poor's book", in which money for the poor was listed. Indeed, he apparently kept for himself various amounts of parish money, including an annuity that had been set up to pay for morning lectures in the parish. Eventually, the parish was pushed to prosecute him before the committee of Charitable Uses, and had him arrested. It was not until 1674/5 that they received the books and £70 of parish revenue from him, under an agreement secured by arbitrators.[24]

Well before the end of this dispute, Daffy had prudently moved away from his old parish. In 1673, when we first find him advertising his Elixir, he was living in Cock Court, off Fleet Lane, but by the next year he had moved to a substantial house in Prujean's Court, by the Ship Tavern, in the Old Bailey. Standing just outside the old city walls near to Ludgate Hill, Prujean's Court was in the parish of St Martin Ludgate. There, Daffy played almost no part in his new parish's life beyond paying the requisite fines to avoid local offices. Only in 1684 did he even join the local vestry.[25] However, the few mentions of him in the parish records suggest that by the time he moved there he had successfully completed his transformation from shoemaker to "Doctor Daffy", indicating that it was not only on the title-pages of his Elixir pamphlets that he styled himself "student in medicine".

While Daffy had been establishing his identity as a doctor and medical entrepreneur, he had maintained his involvement in the Cordwainers' Company. Daffy rose steadily through its ranks. He was a liveryman by 1664, and served as one of the wardens in 1668. In August 1675 he made the big step to becoming an assistant, a member of the Company's ruling court. With greater status came additional duties as warden in 1678 and 1680, and eventually the greatest prize a company could offer its members, the mastership, which he held in 1682–3. During Daffy's year as master of the Company nothing of great significance occurred, perhaps fortunately considering the events of 1665/6 in his parish. He was engaged in the usual slow round of approving new liverymen, dealing with freemen in debt to the company, and other mundane matters, such as appointing a cook to the company

[22] IGI; NA, C 10/107/48.
[23] IGI.
[24] GL, MS 1046/1, fols. 266r–266v, MS 494/1, fols. 121–125.
[25] GL, MS1311/1, fol. 203.

and dismissing the Lord Mayor's officer whom the company had employed to summon refractory members. The only event of note that year was the protest he led to the Commissioners of Customs against a licence to export leather abroad sought by a group of projectors.[26]

Anthony Daffy died intestate on 2 February 1684/5.[27] From the poor inheritance of a coachman's son, he had amassed a comfortable estate which extended even to a coach and chariot of his own. As Elias Ashmole commented when he noted down a copy of Daffy's recipe: it was a medicine "w[i]th w[hi]ch hee gained much p[ro]fitt".[28] The focus of his life was his comfortable house in Prujean's Court. This was a narrow and tall four-storey building with front and back rooms on every floor of the kind common in the city. As the posthumous inventory of his possessions shows, the only place that Daffy's business obviously intruded was the cellar, where a still and a surprisingly small quantity of Elixir, valued at only £50, were kept. In the rooms upstairs the family had a wealth of expensive furniture and the small luxuries—clocks, looking glasses, imported rugs, silk curtains, small statuettes, wall hangings and prints—that were becoming the mark of urban civility. They were also well supplied with plate, worth £82, and had £100 in cash, underlining the wealth of the household. As well as his London house, Daffy had invested in a country house and farm, Thundersley Lodge in Essex, where he kept various horses and cows, worth £257—notably more than his stock of Elixir. His domestic goods in London and Thundersley were together worth £227.[29]

The gross value of Daffy's estate, including debts due to him, not all of which were received, was £1,923, and much of this was owed to others, as we will see. This put Daffy among the lower echelons of London's business community, fitting into Richard Grassby's bottom bracket of individuals with estates between £500 and £5,000 along with around 7,300 other Londoners. Similarly, Peter Earle's study of London orphans' inventories found that members of the city's middling sort possessed an average of £5,283 in gross assets. This figure is somewhat distorted by the wealth of major merchants, but people pursuing similar trades to Daffy had on average somewhat larger estates: manufacturers averaged £3,773 and apothecaries £2,012. However, estimating wealth from inventories is notoriously fraught. The omission of freehold real property makes it particularly difficult, and the personalty represented only a portion of the estate. In Daffy's case, the house and land he settled on his eldest son Elias, seem to have been reasonably substantial. By contrast, Daffy's gross assets according to the inventory were relatively moderate, and some of the figures, such as the value of the Elixir in his possession, seem somewhat suspect. Another measure of his success is apparent in the education he had given to Elias. Where Anthony Daffy's claims to medical skill had no foundation in formal training, Elias had been educated in London, Hertford and Saumur, before studying medicine at Cambridge, taking his MB in 1687. It is ironic that Elias entered Caius College,

[26] GL, MS 7354/2.
[27] NA, C 33/273, fol. 93v.
[28] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmole MS 1463, fol. 23.
[29] Slightly different inventories of Daffy's possessions are in: C 9/124/53; Corporation of London Record Office (hereafter CLRO), Orphans' inventories, 2025. The Account Book records Daffy buying cows for Thundersley [7B].

established by John Caius, one of the leading members of the College of Physicians and tenacious opponent of empirics such as his father.[30]

Daffy's death must have come suddenly for him to have left his affairs without the ordering of a will. His burial was a costly and showy affair suitable to the position of a reasonably successful businessman and prominent citizen, which taxed his estate at £135 8s 2d. Thereafter, the fortunes of his estate became less happy. By law, because Daffy had died intestate with underage children, Mary and Martha, his estate fell under the purview of the Orphans' Court of London, who were responsible for ensuring that orphan children received their due portion. When his widow, Ellen Daffy, exhibited her accounts as executor to the Court, however, it seemed that there was little left for the children. Although his possessions speak of his solid income and his total estate was, in theory, worth £1,923, debts formed a major part of his estate, as they did for all businessmen. By the time the inventory was made, £583 had been received from debtors, while £622 was still outstanding. Against this, Daffy himself owed £1,101, which substantially exceeded the £935 his executor Ellen had in her hands after paying for his funeral and other expenses. As the Court noted: "nothing as yet remayneth for them Orphans till the debts are received". Fortunately for Ellen, they noted that "the widow is provided for already by other settlements".[31]

Anthony Daffy's intestate and indebted death was the starting point for a tortuous chain of legal and personal events that all turned on the question of who had the right to make the Elixir. He had, his wife and children later claimed, intended to pass the recipe of the Elixir on to his two young daughters, Mary and Martha, to provide them with an income. His estate was left to his son Elias, then still at Cambridge. Such dynastic schemes are a common feature of the histories of proprietary medicines: Patrick Anderson left his Scots Pill to his daughters, while the childless Lionel Lockyer left his pill to his nephew, John Watts.[32] Proprietary medicines seem, in fact, to have been particularly viable businesses for women, combining their traditional role in healthcare with a kind of trade that might be run at a distance.[33] In this case, because Mary and Martha were still young (the eldest was only twelve), Daffy had reportedly entrusted his wife Ellen with the recipe for the Elixir, making her promise to pass it on to his daughters when they were old enough to use it themselves. This arrangement would, clearly, have more than compensated them for the lack of a direct inheritance. However, it was disrupted after only a few months—if it had ever properly existed in the first place—when Ellen married Charles Trubshaw in July 1685. Trubshaw was a young man of twenty-three from Birmingham, who had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1683 had entered Gray's Inn, not far

[30] Grassby, op. cit., note 6 above, pp. 245–9. Figures on London wealth from Peter Earle, *The making of the English middle class: business, society and family life in London, 1660–1730*, London, Methuen, 1989, p. 121; John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, ... Part II, From 1752 to 1900*, 2 pts in 10 vols, Cambridge University Press, 1922–1954, Pt 1, vol. 2, p. 2.

[31] CLRO, Common Serjeants Book 4, fol. 239.

[32] National Library of Scotland, MS 6295, 'Dr Anderson, Certificate Relating to his Pills'; William A Jackson, 'Grana angelica: Patrick Anderson and the true Scots pills', *Pharmaceutical Historian*, 1987, **17** (4): pp. 2–5, on p. 2; J K Crellin and J R Scott, 'Lionel Lockyer and his pills', in *Proceedings of the XXIII international congress of the history of medicine, London, 2–9 September 1972*, London, Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1974, pp. 1182–6, p. 1184.

[33] See Amanda Vickery, *The gentleman's daughter: women's lives in Georgian England*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 154–5.

from the Daffy family home.[34] Once married, Trubshaw quickly asserted his authority over his new wife's estate, seizing and searching Ellen's accounts and papers. There he found various documents, including the recipe for the Elixir. Claiming it as his conjugal right, he began to make and keep the profits from sales of the Elixir for himself. He also appropriated various pearl necklaces, diamond rings, plate, money, and bonds worth £500 each (these had been raised posthumously from Elixir profits, again apparently on Anthony's instructions) which the daughters claimed as part of their inheritance. Trubshaw refused to give any account of these goods, or make any allowance for the education and maintenance of Daffy's two daughters. In this effort to retain Mary and Martha's inheritance, he was assisted by one John Wyne and apparently by Elias Daffy, their brother, although Elias's role was unclear, as will be seen.

This account of events comes from Mary and Martha's complaint against Charles Trubshaw and Ellen, in a suit they instituted in the Court of Chancery in 1688, only three years after their father's death.[35] From this, it is clear that Ellen and Charles's marriage had soured rapidly. Although technically a defendant because of her marriage, Ellen's response to their charges—only given after the Court had overruled Charles's objection to her giving evidence—admitted everything.[36] Indeed, she claimed that:

> because the Deft [Ellen] would not teach him [Charles] the Art of makeing the aforesaid Elixir ye sd Charles Trubshaw turned her and her children out of ~~doores~~ his house & hath ever since separated himselfe & will not allow ym a fitting allowance for their support.[37]

With the recipe in Trubshaw's hands, Ellen's resistance to revealing the method was futile. Having ejected her from her home and possessions, Trubshaw next obtained a warrant to seize the bonds and plate from her.

Trubshaw simply denied most of Ellen's claims in his response. He dismissed her assertion that the Elixir had been given to her in trust, arguing that it was not a "thing transferable in Law". The profits were the property of her new husband, and the suit was "instigated and promoted by the prejudice and malice of Ellen".[38] As for the rest of the property, he admitted having the jewellery and offered to transfer it, along with Mary and Martha's share of Anthony's personal estate, but he accused Ellen of having sealed the bonds illicitly after her marriage to him, when she had no power to do so. This suit was one of several initiated by the sisters against Trubshaw and their mother over their inheritance, which were dealt with together. Another centred on shares in two ships, worth £200, which, like the Elixir, Trubshaw was accused of having appropriated.[39] A third was a dispute over

[34] Venn, op. cit., note 30 above, Pt 1, vol. 4, p. 268.

[35] The suit was particularly complex, and two others were dealt with alongside it (see below). At least one other suit was launched by the Daffy sisters against John Wyne on the same issue (accusing Wyne of aiding Trubshaw in seizing their estate). The bill of complaint and answer of Ellen and Charles Trubshaw from May 1688 are in: NA, C 9/124/53; the proceedings can be traced in: NA, C 33/271, fols. 180v–81r, 189r, 249v–50r, 347v, 631v, 687r; C 33/273, fols. 30r, 93v–96v; C 33/277, fols. 578v–79r; C 33/279, fols. 159v, 878v, 880r, 883v, 882r, 886v, 243v, 876v, 837r; C 33/281, fols. 845r, 847v, 849r, 850v. A further suit by the Daffy sisters against Trubshaw was entered in 1697 alleging that Trubshaw had received more of the debts due to their father than they had previously known: NA, C 5/155/53, C 33/291, fols. 151r–51v.

[36] NA, C 33/271, fols. 249v–250r.

[37] NA, C 33/273, fol. 94v.

[38] NA, C 9/124/53, fol. 2.

[39] Daniel Parsons, Mary Daffy, Martha Daffy *v.* Charles Trubshaw: NA, C33/273, fol. 30r. Daniel Parsons also appears to have accepted returned bottles for Anthony Daffy, see 114B.

a bill of exchange in payment for Elixir received by one of Daffy's intermediaries, Benjamin May in Amsterdam [157B], which Trubshaw had seized and taken to law; Ellen, however, had already received the money on behalf of her daughters, on May's direction.[40] Again, Trubshaw's answer rested on his rights as her husband, and he disputed Ellen's ability to act independently, as well as challenging some of her assertions of fact. Throughout, Elias's role in this affair remains unclear. He never appeared in Court or gave a deposition, although accused alongside Trubshaw and Ellen. It is feasible that his accusation was, like that of Ellen, a necessary evil in an attempt to relieve Trubshaw of as much of Anthony Daffy's estate as possible. He later claimed to have passed his share to the two girls, which might fit such an interpretation. However, descriptions of his earlier role are less positive: he was accused of having received a portion of Anthony's estate from Trubshaw in order to conceal it. One may also speculate that he and Trubshaw may have had a previous association at Cambridge.[41]

The Court referred the matter to the consideration of one of its judges, Sir Miles Cooke, who was to have an account of the estate and consider the claims of each party. Trubshaw appears to have won the argument over the second and third suits, and the division of the estate ordered in 1689 by Cooke on viewing the accounts allowed Mary and Martha only £178 and the jewels, which were to be divided between them. Yet even this escaped them: ten years later, in 1697, they instituted a further claim asserting that they had received nothing from Trubshaw, who had by then, they claimed, also received further moneys owing to Anthony Daffy's estate.[42] Ultimately, the law suits seem to have ended poorly for Anthony's daughters, consuming much of the wealth they did possess. Certainly, Trubshaw did not stop producing the Elixir.

Early in her marriage to Trubshaw, Ellen Daffy had moved with him to Salisbury Court, which ran off Fleet Street, in the nearby parish of St Bride. In 1688, even as the law suits began, she and Trubsaw seem to have still been living together. As their relationship broke down, Trubshaw ejected Ellen from his house, but she did not move far. Each lived in separate houses in the same small court. In 1693, Ellen was living in the house known as Dr Brown's, notable for the large golden ball over the gate, and running a rival Elixir business from there.[43] Two years later, in 1695, Ellen, now described again as Daffy rather than Trubshaw, was living with her daughters Mary and Martha and a single maid. Charles Trubshaw now shared his house with his sister Katherine, two maids, and another woman, named in the tax listing as "Grace Groat". Interestingly, that year both Ellen and Charles were assessed as having estates worth less than £600, or £50 per annum; the estate of Anthony's son Elias Daffy, by contrast, was worth more than the £600 higher tax watershed.[44]

Trubshaw's fortunes increased substantially thereafter. At the time of his death late in 1715, his substantial wealth—in which he explicitly included "elixir" and "drugs"—is

[40] Richard Thompson, Mary Daffy, Martha Daffy *v.* Charles Trubshaw: NA, C33/273, fol. 30r.

[41] NA, C 33/277, fols. 578v–579r.

[42] NA, C 5/155/53; C 33/291, fols. 151r–v.

[43] Ellen Daffy, *Daffy's original and famous Elixir Salutis*, London, T Milbourn, 1693.

[44] CLRO, MS Marriage Assessments, 104, fols. 110, 116. Ellen and Eleanor seem to be used interchangeably here, and Ellen describes herself as "Elleanor" in the her 1693 pamphlet: op. cit., note 43 above.

indicated by the size of the bequests he left to his family: his sister Katherine received £2,500, another sister, Mary Withers, received an annuity of £10 a year, and her son Joseph got £100. The Daffys received nothing. Indeed, the bulk of his estate he left to "his wife" Grace Trubshaw. Charles Trubshaw and "Grace Oveatt", plausibly the "Grace Groat" living in his house in 1695, had married only shortly before, on 12 March 1714/15. Trubshaw was described as a widower in the marriage entry in the parish register, but it is not at all clear that this was actually the case.[45] Pamphlets advertising Elixir for sale by Charles Trubshaw which were published in 1717 and 1719 do imply that Ellen had died by then, but they cannot be taken as straightforward proof of death, if only because they neglect to mention that Charles was himself dead by this time: it was, it seems, his second wife Grace Trubshaw who was issuing them under his name from their house in Salisbury Court.[46] The assertion that Ellen had died may have been a business strategy more symptomatic of the division between the families than her actual mortality. Certainly, tax records and other sources seem to suggest that Ellen Daffy was still alive and in residence in Salisbury Court in 1724, although she would have been very old by then.[47] We can only speculate about the exact details of what was happening here. It may be that Trubshaw's failing health had pushed him to bigamously formalize a longer-standing relationship so that he could at least attempt to bequeath his estate to Grace, despite the chance that Ellen might challenge this, a measure which could explain the marriage taking place in the parish of St Benet Paul's Wharf rather than St Bride's. Alternatively, Ellen Daffy's heirs may have perpetuated her name for some reason, perhaps to maintain the business, albeit that this seems less likely given that these are tax records; or there may have been another Ellen Daffy, though none of the family's children appears to have been given that name.

Trubshaw had expressed the hope in his will that his widow Grace and sister Katherine could continue living together as they had done until then.[48] His wishes seem to have been fulfilled, for in her own will Katherine likewise left nearly all her estate to her "dearly beloved sister-in-law" Grace, excepting only £10 for her sister Mary's mourning clothes. Katherine's only other wish reveals the closeness between her and Charles: that she should be buried in the same place as him in Beckley, Kent.[49] Under Grace Trubshaw's control, the business seems to have operated as before. Surviving receipts show that Grace

[45] Willoughby A Littledale (ed.), *The registers of St Benet and St Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, vol. 2, *Marriages, St Benet, 1619–1730*, London, 1902–12, p. 131. Grace's surname is Oveatt in the original MS register: GL. Trubshaw certainly did not obtain a divorce by Act of Parliament. On the difficulties of divorce in early modern England, see Lawrence Stone, *Road to divorce: England 1530–1987*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990.

[46] Charles Trubshaw, *Elixir Salutis*, London, 1717; C Trubshaw, *Elixir Salutis*, London, 1719. An edition of the former is in the library of Worcester College, Oxford, and of the latter in the Wellcome Library, London.

[47] GL, MS 3425/ 2, fols. 7, 9. Chancellor suggests that Ellen did not die until 1732, but he may be mistaking her for Elizabeth Daffy, her daughter-in-law, who died that year: E Beresford Chancellor, *The annals of Fleet Street: its traditions and associations*, London, Chapman & Hall, 1912, p. 57. No burial for Ellen has been discovered in the registers of St Bride's or St Martin Ludgate, and no will appears to survive in the London or Archbishop of Canterbury's Courts.

[48] NA, PROB 11/550; Charles Trubshaw drew up his will on 30 July 1715, and probate was granted 31 Jan. 1715/16.

[49] NA, PROB 11/664, proved 27 Mar. 1734. Beckley is now in East Sussex, on the border with Kent.

continued to supply agents in the provinces in the mid-1720s.[50] In 1724, she was still living in one of the most expensive houses in the Court, paying £45 rent, rather more than the £30 rent Ellen Daffy was apparently paying at the time.[51]

Trubshaw's usurpation of the Elixir business did not prevent Daffy's daughters eventually producing it themselves. By the time of her death in 1705, Mary Daffy had an established Elixir business of her own, as her father had apparently hoped. As she carefully specified, all her money and possessions, including her stock in trade of "Elixir ready made, druggs, bottles, glasses, vessels, and all other utensils and things whatsoever of or belonging to the Trade of making and selling Elixir" were left to her mother's use for her lifetime, and thereafter to her brother Elias's five children, Elizabeth, William, Susannah, Anthony, and Elias. The impact of the strife within the family is clear in the firm statement that they were for Ellen's "owne proper and particular separate use and not to be made use of by the said Charles Trubshaw or any other husband that my said mother shall happen to have"; one might reasonably suspect that these disputes also help explain Mary's own single state. Although Mary still held out the hope that money and jewels might come to her estate from Charles through the suit still pressing at Chancery, she was no longer as destitute as had been suggested at times in the 1690s. Indeed, in addition to her goods and business, she had a gold watch, a fine wrought bed, and a tenement in Brentwood, Essex, the last of which she gave to her sister Martha, her companion in so much trouble.[52]

The fortunes of Anthony's son Elias, rooted in the property and land left by his father, were less troubled than those of his daughters. Elias seems to have come down to London from Cambridge soon after his father's death. He married Elizabeth Seyliard in 1686, and they had at least eight children. For a time, Elias and his growing family remained in St Martin Ludgate, living in Prujean's Court at least until 1694.[53] He appears to have done well, and by 1695, as we have seen, he qualified for the highest rate in the marriage assessment tax of that year, implying an estate of over £600 or land worth over £50 a year. Elias's stock seems to have continued to rise until his death, which appears to have occurred between 1705 and 1709.[54] By the time his widow Elizabeth died in 1732, she had a considerable estate to bequeath. In part, this was in land. Estates at Hadlow and Brenchley (?Breuchley), Kent, valuable enough to have been mortgaged in the past for £1,000, which were left to her son William.[55] Despite Elias's broader medical practice, the engine for the family's wealth continued to be the Elixir. At some point after 1704, the

[50] Receipts for payments for Daffy's Elixir by Elizabeth Alsop to Grace Trubshaw: Staffordshire Record Office, D1798/H.M. Drakeford/122.

[51] Charles Trubshaw was alive in 1703, when he paid a fine to avoid the office of constable: GL, MS 6554/2.

[52] NA, PROB 11/486. Will composed 12 April 1705; probate granted 19 Feb. 1705/6. Mary was buried on 14 Nov. 1705, somewhere other than St Bride's: GL, MS 6540/3.

[53] 'Four Shillings in the Pound Aid 1693/4, City of London, Faringdon Ward Without, St Martin Precinct, Pridgeons Court', Centre for Metropolitan History. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=20208; accessed: 9 June 2005.

[54] Elias was alive when his sister Mary composed her will in 1705, but when John Harrison sought to rebut an attack on his Elixir business in 1709, it was Elias' wife Elizabeth not Elias he targeted: John Harrison, *Advertisement. For asmuch as Mrs. Elizabeth Daffy has lately published an advertisement, containing invidious reflections upon me, in relation to my Elixir Salutis*, [London], 1709. British Library, MS Harley 5931(121).

[55] GL, MS 1904.

family had moved from Prujean's Court to the parish of St Bride where Ellen and Mary lived, and it seems possible that after her death Mary's business was amalgamated with Elias's to form a single venture. Indeed, fragmentation between children was the opposite of Elizabeth's intention in passing on her Elixir business. In this Elizabeth was precise, stating explicitly that her son Anthony was to have "sole right Management and profit that shall or may after my death arise from or by the sale or preparation of the Elixir publickly called or known by the name of Daffy Elixir Salutis, together with the stock of elixir in my Cellar and also all my book debts"; Anthony was to have the house as well—the address being vital to the business. Beyond this, Elizabeth was rich enough to leave two other bequests of £1,000 and £1,200 to her granddaughter and niece respectively. The only other of her children who seems to have survived her was Susannah, now married to Thomas Cave, who had their debts to her cancelled, but received no large bequest for themselves or their daughter, Elizabeth Maria.[56] The fate of the Daffy family is hard to follow after Elizabeth's death. Elias's son Anthony continued the business, being described as "preparer of Daffy's Elixir" in his obituary, but by the time he died in August 1750 he felt no need to be so precise in disposing of his affairs, simply leaving everything to his wife Mary.[57] His widow did not survive him by many years, and died in 1758; they seem to have been childless, and all the remaining estate went to her sister Ann Acton.[58]

The Elixir Business

Daffy's Account Book offers us a unique insight into the operation of a proprietary medicine business at the very beginning of the expansion in English commercial manufacturing that occurred in the late seventeenth century. It is important to emphasize at the outset that it deals with only a single aspect of his business: the Elixir trade beyond London. We have no evidence of Daffy's day-to-day medical practice, his own direct trade in the Elixir—he made it abundantly clear in his advertisements that he could be found at home for business "from Six to Twelve in the Forenoon, and from One to Four in the Afternoon"—and nothing more than the lists of agents to suggest the scale of his business in and around London.[59] All the calculations below therefore need to be considered in light of the additional unknown amounts of Elixir distributed through these other areas. What the Account Book does record in exacting detail are shipments of Elixir sent outside London, the debts of the recipients, and the payments received from them, together with various miscellaneous memoranda relating to the business. The earliest entry in the book is dated 9 March 1673/4 [8A]; the last, probably entered by Ellen, dates from 15 March 1686

[56] NA, PROB 11/653. Will composed 5 July 1732; probate granted 1 Sept. 1732.

[57] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1750, **20**: 477; NA, PROB 11/782. Will composed 17 Sept. 1750; probate granted 8 Oct. 1750. Elias and Elizabeth were still in St Martin Ludgate in August 1704, when their son Elias was born: GL, MS 3713.

[58] NA, PROB 11/839. Will composed 28 Nov. 1750; probate granted 3 July 1758.

[59] Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis*, London, 1674, p. 8. Not all patent medicine sellers were so receptive to their customers: Lionel Lockyer of Southwark, inventor of Lockyer's pills, declared in 1664 that he was "a Man full of business, & know how to spend my time better then to answer 20 or 30 letters in a week, but for the future, I intend not to answer any Letter that shall be sent unto me upon the account of my Pills, Namely how to take them"; Lionel Lockyer, *An advertisement concerning those most excellent pills called Pililae radiis solis extractae*, London, 1665.

[134A], two years after the book had ceased to be used for most agents. The majority of entries in the Account Book end in 1683 or 1684. At that point, for a short period before his death, Anthony began to use a new account book that no longer survives. Thus, at either end of the period it covers, the Account Book overlaps with other, now lost, volumes. Accounts were entered in this book as the previous book filled up, and then in turn began to be moved on to a replacement volume in late 1683. Besides the account, Daffy also often refers to letters he received from agents, now lost, in which outstanding balances, damaged goods and other such matters were discussed; it is likely that he also kept other rough account books and journals. His extensive sales within London (whether wholesale or retail), evidenced by the long list of stockists in the capital which appear in his handbills advertising the Elixir, were presumably contained in a separate volume or volumes which again do not seem to survive, or were perhaps dealt with less formally.

An account book of this kind seems on first appearance to be among the most reticent of historical sources. It is terse and repetitive, standing as a dry and dusty contrast to the discursive richness of contemporary merchants' letters, let alone the rambunctious assertions of proprietary medicine advertisements. It should not, however, be dismissed too quickly. The most obvious features of the account, the volume, value and rates of interchange, may be easily abstracted and analysed, yet the Account Book rewards closer inspection. Where merchants' letters generally allow us to probe the depths of a few well-established mercantile relationships, accounts offer us a perspective across the breadth of an enterprise.[60] The account records with as much felicity both those commercial encounters that lasted no longer than the time it took to exchange a shipment of Elixir for payment, and those that lasted for years. It therefore provides a balanced sense of the everyday grind of trade, of its pace and variety, and of the range of relationships—brief as well as long—that tradesmen engaged in. Much of the best recent work on early modern commerce has drawn attention to the significance of ties of credit that link individuals into networks of mutual interdependence. Daffy's Account Book shows some of the same concerns, but it also underlines the frailty of many such exchanges. As we will see, the Account Book also reveals other elements of the practice of business, for it constitutes a distinctive form of text which reveals throughout the marks of its use and creation.

Each of the agents outside London to whom Daffy supplied Elixir has an entry in the Account Book, mostly over two facing pages headed with the agent's name, address and occasionally his or her occupation. Initially in alphabetical order, the accounts for his most important customers sometimes run over onto additional pages at the rear of the book. The format follows common contemporary accounting practice: on the left-hand page are lists of Elixir delivered on account to his agents as "debitors"; on the right-hand page are sums received (sometimes crossed through to indicate the balance had been paid in full) from the same person, as "creditor". Compiling business accounts is a skilled process, and the formula and techniques employed were only gradually being absorbed into the habits

[60] A number of excellent studies of merchants' letters have appeared in recent years: Simon D Smith (ed.), *An exact and industrious tradesman: the letter book of Joseph Symson of Kendal, 1711–1720*, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 34, Oxford, published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2002; Henry Roseveare (ed.), *Markets and merchants of the late seventeenth century: the Marescoe–David letters, 1668–1680*, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 12, Oxford, published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1987.

of early modern business.[61] Daffy's Account Book reflects a stage in the development of book-keeping, in its avoidance of abbreviation, its incorporation of additional information, such as memoranda relating to a particular agent, the name of ships used and such like, and in its lack of annual balances, or regular balances for agents: the account was principally concerned with recording payment, not depicting a financial position.[62] Indeed, Daffy's accounting could come close to breaking down in his busiest accounts, with evident confusion developing over which consignments had been paid for or were outstanding. The lack of a robust formal language of accounting is most apparent in the memoranda that Daffy included in a number of the larger accounts, in which the logic of costs and receipts is noted as if spoken aloud.

Daffy's trade in the Elixir operated on a large scale. As can be seen from Table 1, over the eleven-year period covered by the book he sent over 65,000 half pints—4,000 gallons—of the Elixir to various agents throughout England, the British Isles, Europe and beyond in over 1,000 separate consignments. For the years which the Account Book covers most fully, 1678 to 1683, an average of over 9,000 half pints a year were dispatched. If we consider the cash value of Daffy's trade, we find that it was equally impressive. He sold the majority of the Elixir at 2s 6d for a half-pint bottle wholesale, the same price that it was retailed for in London, and sometimes raised the price to 3s. The Elixir was therefore pitched toward the upper end of the price range of contemporary proprietary medicines. It cost, for example, more than Clarke's Spirit of Scurvy Grass (1s a bottle), but sold for the same price as Charles Peter's Cordial Tincture and Percy's Cordial.[63] The total face value of the Elixir which Daffy dispatched in these years, excluding balances paid for earlier accounts, was over £8,000. From 1678 to 1683, he was sending out from London an average of over £1,000 worth of Elixir each year, with consignments leaving year-round and only a minor lull from December to February. This compares favourably with the scale of the London publisher Francis Newbery's trade in Dr James' Fever Powders, one of the most popular eighteenth-century proprietary medicines, almost a century later: in 1768/9 Newbery sold packages worth £822, and in 1775 he sold £1,600 worth.[64] Daffy inevitably received payments for the Elixir less frequently than packages were dispatched. None the less, when the entire Account Book is balanced the figures look healthy. Daffy recorded the dispatch of Elixir worth £8,543, and the receipt of £6,735 in payments (including balances outstanding from the previous Account Book), or 78.8 per cent of the face value of the Elixir.

A significant proportion of Daffy's receipts were profit. With their high ratio of weight to value, drugs had always been worth shipping, but proprietary medicines offered a new level of return. Although Daffy asserted in public that his Elixir was "a costly preparation", this

[61] Advice books for merchants were increasingly popular, see, for example, Stephen Monteage, *Debtor and creditor made easie*, 2nd ed., London, printed by John Richardson for Ben Billingsley, 1682.

[62] On accounting practice, see Grassby, op. cit., note 6 above, pp. 184–9.

[63] Advertisement for Henry Clarke's, 'Spirits of Scurvy Grass Compound', Wellcome Library, EPB/Ephemera, BF 39(b); Charles Peter, *The cordial tincture, prepared by Charles Peter chyrugeon at his bathing-house in St. Martins-Lane near Long Acre*, London, 1686; John Percy, *An advertisement of concern to the city and nation*, London [*c.*1670], Bodleian Library, C 12.6 (13) Linc.

[64] T A B Corley, 'Nostrums and nostrum-mongers: the growth of the UK patent medicine industry, 1635–1914' (unpublished paper).

Table 1
Annual Balances, 1674–1684

	Debit				Credit
Year	Half-pints Dispatched	Wholesale value of Elixir (£)	Other commodities shipped (£)	Total (£)	Payments received (£)
1674	220	27.50	0.00	27.50	0.00
1675	528	66.00	0.00	66.00	2.00
1676	2,582	322.75	0.00	322.75	9.50
1677	7,112	888.96	1.19	890.15	468.40
1678	9,172	1,146.45	2.30	1,148.75	799.13
1679	7,143	892.83	192.37	1,085.20	855.45
1680	9,744	1,217.96	25.02	1,242.98	1,144.55
1681	9,947	1,243.33	14.21	1,257.53	1,010.95
1682	10,281	1,285.10	18.68	1,303.78	1,093.66
1683	8,365	1,045.58	0.90	1,046.48	992.30
1684	108	13.50	0.00	13.50	156.35
(Undated)					(203.10)[a]
Total	65,200	8,149.95	254.67	8,404.62	6,735.38
Mean[b]	8,823	1,102.89	36.38	1,139.27	909.20
(1677–83)	(2,519)	(314.82)	(65.56)	(318.22)	(382.52)

[a]Several payments lack clear dates, or are recorded as received after 1684.
[b]The standard deviation is given in brackets beneath the arithmetic mean.

does not seem to have been the case.[65] A very rough estimate of the costs of raw ingredients for the Elixir indicates that these would have come to around 6d per half pint, justifying some of the assertions about excess profit levelled at proprietary medicines.[66] Labour costs are impossible to estimate, but the production of the Elixir was not lengthy or labour-intensive. Beyond the Elixir itself, Daffy's main expenses were in glass bottles, transport, and printing of advertisements and the pamphlets of directions that were given away with every bottle; he included the cost of transport and letters in the price he charged agents for the Elixir, and books were included whether the Elixir was shipped to England or further

[65]Daffy, op. cit., note 9 above, p. 2.
[66]The recipe used here is Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole, 1463, fol. 23. On recipes and production, see below. Reassuringly, an early eighteenth-century price estimate for 2 quarts of Elixir made using a rather different, probably more expensive, recipe gives a figure of just over 7d per half pint: George Weddell (ed.), *Arcana Fairfaxiana manuscripta*, Newcastle on Tyne, Mawson, Swan & Morgan, 1890, p. 166. The drug prices used in our estimate are, inevitably, very rough figures, and have by necessity been drawn from different dates, although most come from the mid-1670s. Prices changed regularly, and the price Daffy paid for bulk supply may have been quite different to those employed here. These figures are therefore likely to be overestimates. Price sources: Gideon Harvey, *The family physician, and the house apothecary*, London, T Rooks, 1676; John Houghton, *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, (29 Dec. 1693), **4**, no. 74; NA, PROB 4/17465 (1666). For an attack on the price and content of Lockyer's Pills, see William Johnson, *Agyrto-Mastix, or some brief animadversions upon two late treatises*, London, H Brome, 1665, p. 128.

abroad.[67] For the glass bottles we can establish the price he paid in early 1679, when he bought these from a Mr Willcox, one of the increasing number of glass manufacturers based in Bristol [121A].[68] Even coming from Bristol, Willcox's bottles had been cheap: at the bulk price of 18 shillings for 14 dozen they cost just a penny and a quarter each [121B].[69] Unfortunately, there is no price indicated for the printing costs he incurred for the production of his books of directions and advertising pamphlets. Transport costs were only a small burden in the shipping of such a high value product. Daffy rarely disaggregated charges for carriage or customs, yet they do survive on a few occasions.[70] It is possible that the few figures we have are unrepresentative, but in the absence of other estimates we might take 5 per cent of the value as a rough, and likely too high, figure for his costs of carriage. The production and distribution of a standard box of 12 half pints of Elixir worth 30s might therefore cost around 6s for ingredients, 1s 3½d for bottles, and 1s 6d for carriage, or 8s 9½d in total. Whatever printing and labour costs were involved must have been easily accommodated from the 21s or so of surplus that this left Daffy with. These are, it must be emphasized, very crude estimates, but they do suggest an order of magnitude for the profits that could be made in the proprietary medicine trade.

Daffy's Elixir was, therefore, the foundation for a business that must have brought sizeable rewards to its manufacturer. It was also a national and international success. The majority of Daffy's agents were in England, but many were also in Scotland, Ireland or other countries. Beyond England, by the mid-1680s, Daffy's thirty-eight overseas agents were spread across the globe, throughout the English colonies and major trading posts, and across Western Europe and beyond. The main recipients of his Elixir were in Scotland, France, Holland, Ireland and New England. Some of these, particularly John and Elizabeth Ainsworth, based in Amsterdam, and the Edinburgh merchant William Blackwood junior, each received huge volumes of Elixir. The Ainsworths were Daffy's most important clients, purchasing more than £2,000 worth of Elixir over the period covered by the Account Book. Blackwood, who was responsible for 8 per cent of the total customs value of Edinburgh's imports in 1690, took over £800 worth; Daffy seems to have given Blackwood a monopoly on the Elixir in Scotland.[71]

This extensive network outside England was, in large part, a product of Daffy's efforts during the period covered by the Account Book. This reflects both Daffy's energy and the

[67] Even in the Netherlands, printed books went with shipments: 153A.

[68] On the Bristol glass trade, see David Hussey, *Coastal and river trade in pre-industrial England: Bristol and its region, 1680–1730*, University of Exeter Press, 2000, pp. 76–7.

[69] Willcox's price seems reasonable, although the painstaking list of every cost Daffy incurred in sending the remaining bottles he held to William Jordan suggests that his arrangement with Willcox had ended abruptly and unpleasantly. In 1692, glass bottles were priced at 2s 6d per dozen in Houghton, op. cit., note 66 above, 7 July 1693, **3**, no. 49. Where, and at what price, Daffy obtained his bottles after this date is largely unclear, although after his death Ellen paid off a debt for bottles to one William Woodward.

[70] To ship a chest of 24 half pints to Gloucester cost 3s 6d [82A], only 6 per cent of the £3 it was worth; it was even feasible to send some Elixir by coach [87A]. Even in international shipments, carriage might be a small burden. Sending thirteen dozen half pints to Nantes in France cost Daffy a mere 15s [109A], barely 2.6 per cent of the £29 they were worth. Much more expensive was the 6s he paid Mrs Simmons for the freight and customs of one box of a dozen, worth only 30s, that she had sent from Dover to France [64B]. A shipment to Dublin worth £15 cost 4s for carriage (1.3 per cent of its value), but the collective charges and customs for a series of shipments worth £112 10s came to £17 9s 10d (4.9 per cent) [72B].

[71] See Helen M Dingwall, *Late seventeenth-century Edinburgh: a demographic study*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1994, pp. 173–5.

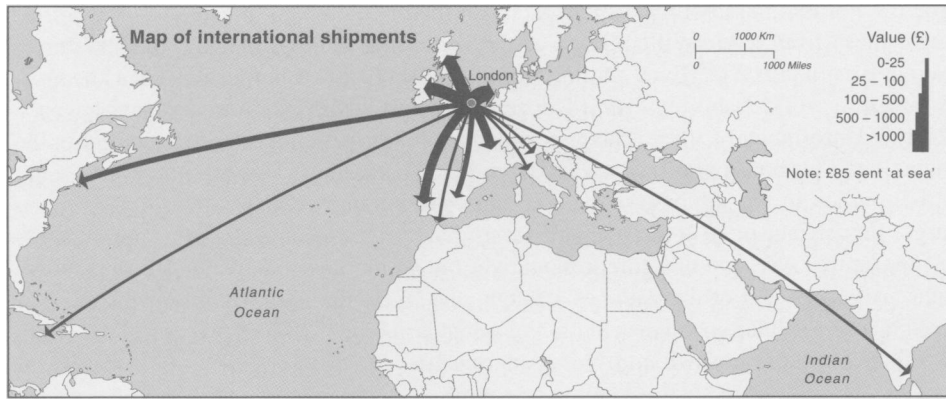


Table 2
Anthony Daffy's trade beyond England

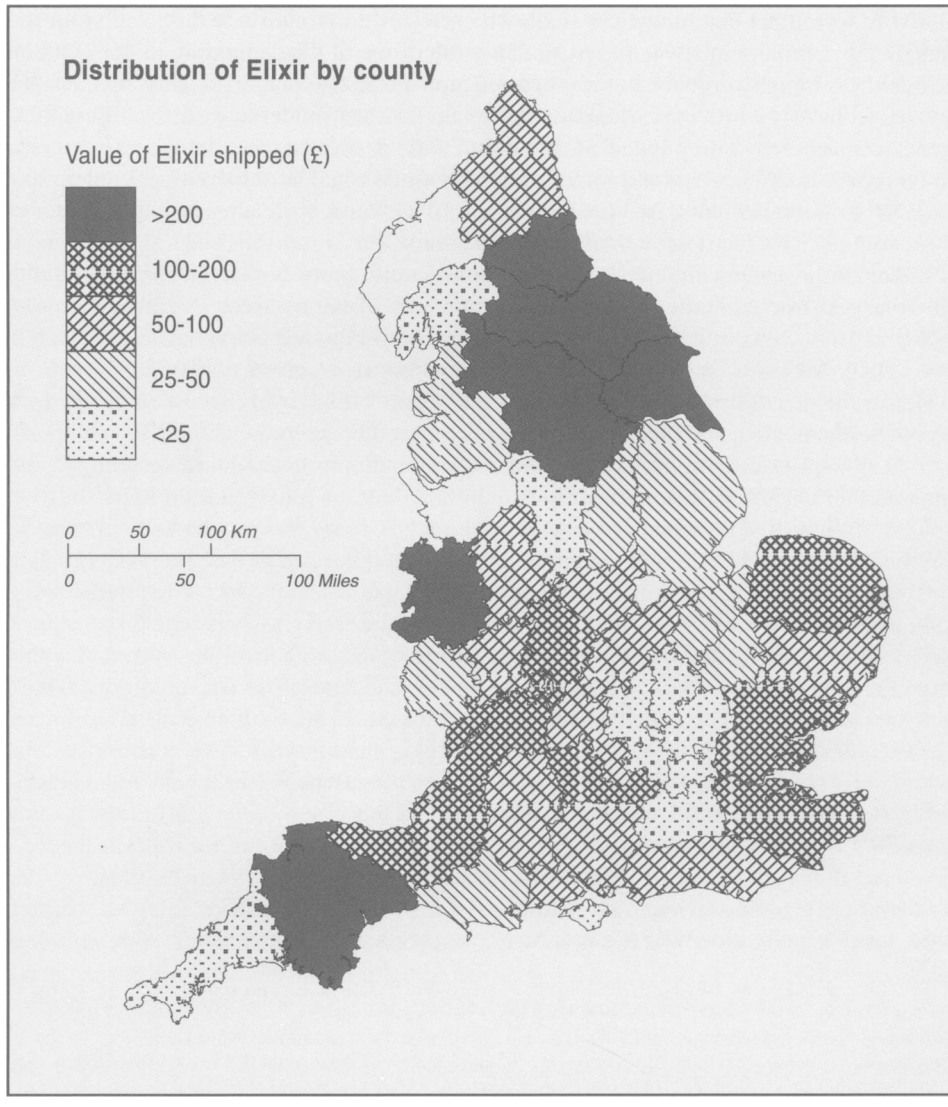
	Debits[a]				Credits	
	Beyond England				Beyond England	
Year	Wholesale value of Elixir (£)	Other commodities shipped (£)	Total (£)	% of total dispatched[b]	Payments received (£)	% of total received[b]
1674	0	0	0	0	0	0
1675	0	0	0	0	0	0
1676	115.50	0	115.50	35.79	0	0
1677	480.51	0	480.51	54.05	169.25	36.13
1678	733.20	2.00	735.20	64.13	350.77	43.89
1679	551.70	127.56	679.26	76.08	431.49	50.44
1680	718.55	22.97	741.52	60.88	700.51	61.20
1681	738.55	13.41	751.96	60.48	513.22	50.77
1682	817.90	17.78	835.68	65.03	704.63	64.43
1683	624.95	0	624.95	59.77	618.95	62.38
1684	0	0	0	0	43.18	27.61
n.d.					45.00	22.16
Total	4,780.86	183.71	4,964.58	60.92	3,576.98	53.20
Mean 1677–83	666.48	26.24	692.73	62.92	498.40	52.75
	(118.86)	(45.60)	(113.97)	(6.80)	(196.95)	(10.52)

[a] Figures include volume dispatched with merchants "at sea" as well as all consignments to agents based outside England.
[b] For annual totals, see Table 1.

relatively fortuitous conditions for trade which followed Britain's withdrawal from the wars on the continent in 1674, and particularly the lifting of the depression in 1677. When the book was initially drawn up, it was ordered alphabetically. The first eighty-seven pages thus run from Ainsworth in Amsterdam to Captain Edward Wilder in Reading. Thereafter, agents were entered as they appeared, and it is in these pages that most of the foreign agents are recorded. Daffy was not without a foreign presence when he started this Account: his two most important agents, the Ainsworths and Blackwood, were already in place. But in 1674, with its main focus in the British Isles, and only the Ainsworths and a single agent in New England overseas, the network was a significantly more conservative one than that which he constructed in the next few years. The bulk of the overseas expansion came in 1678 and 1679, when nine and six new agents, respectively, were first sent Elixir. At this time, Daffy seems to have made a concerted effort to create a market in France, in particular, which following the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678) was newly at peace with the Netherlands after six years of war. He established contacts with five French agents in 1679 alone, an effort reflected in the unusually high proportion of Elixir shipped beyond England that year. Thereafter, Daffy seems to have returned his attention to his English network, to which seventeen agents were added in 1680, up from seven and eight in the previous two years. This retrenchment was, perhaps, a reflection of the somewhat bruising costs that several of his continental agents had inflicted on him, and the relatively small volumes these newer foreign agents were taking. Despite Daffy's efforts, the proportion of Elixir he was shipping beyond England did not grow significantly over this period, as Table 2 shows. In addition to these permanent dealers abroad, the Elixir was regularly sent on merchant voyages to be sold wherever a market was to be found. Some of these foreign traders sold the preparation on Daffy's behalf, rather than on their own account [115A]. The terms of these arrangements are specified in only one case, where Daffy notes that he had agreed with Captain William Ketch that he would have the moiety, or half, of whatever "they are sould for abov 3s per ½ pinte" [146A]. Between them, foreign dealers and merchant ventures consumed almost half of the Elixir dispatched from London.

Within England, the extensive availability of the Elixir is clear from both the Account Book and the pamphlets Daffy published. The Account lists 132 agents spread across nearly every county. Of course, not all areas were sent the same amount of Elixir: amounts varied from £4 10s worth dispatched to Huntingdonshire, to £390 worth sent to Yorkshire. Yet the extent of coverage is none the less impressive. To achieve this Daffy appears to have pursued a careful policy, consciously recruiting agents in areas where he was weak and avoiding doubling up agents in towns where he already had a representative. Indeed, he seems to have effectively allowed his agents local and regional monopolies of the Elixir. In only one case, Yarmouth, did Daffy supply the medicine to two agents based in the same town at the same time, and then only briefly, with the new agent William Dean receiving just one shipment.[72] Over a quarter of agents were the sole dealers being supplied by Daffy in their county. That said, the Elixir might not be the only proprietary medicine they sold: the Newbury bookseller Church Simmons also retailed Peter's Cordial Tincture, for example.

[72] Dean was unusual in receiving a very large initial shipment of 60 half pints [129A]. Bowar, the other Yarmouth agent, had paid some money to Mr Dean earlier in 1677 [6B], suggesting that there may have been a more complicated relationship between Daffy and Dean than the account book reveals.



The English distribution network for the Elixir included agents from a wide array of different trades and occupations. By far the most numerous were merchants (21) and booksellers (19). Grocers (6), coffee-sellers (7), shoe-makers (4), ship's commanders (5), and distillers (3) also stand out as reasonably common occupations among Daffy's agents. Medical practitioners are notable by their absence. Two surgeons, Robert Torr of Dorset and John Mead of Essex, both purchased small amounts of Elixir, but no physician or apothecary appears to have sold any of Daffy's remedy, suggesting that this part of the proprietary medicine trade, at least, existed quite separately from the regular medical world. The involvement of merchants and grocers in Daffy's network of agents is

unremarkable, given that medicines frequently featured in the businesses of both groups. Similarly, the prominent role played by booksellers was a characteristic of the trade in proprietary medicines, rooted in the importance of print advertising to the trade and the similarities between medicines and books as commodities: both were small, high-value, homogenous goods distributed from London.[73] Mixes of medicine, book, and grocery selling were common. For example, John Greenwood, whom Daffy calls a bookseller, was described by an acquaintance in Lancaster as a "grocer and apothecary", and appears in the Lancashire Quarter Sessions records as "apothecary".[74]

Settled local businessmen such as Greenwood could expect considerable book credit from Daffy. However, at the other end of the economic spectrum were several agents who seem to have received Elixir on stricter terms, with their accounts being balanced between every batch. Mr Clark, a cutler in Windsor, for example, received twenty-four identical consignments of a dozen half pints of the Elixir.[75] Every time, Daffy recorded that he had paid for his last batch, and then sent a replacement on the next day [91A]. This pattern of pay and receipt raises the possibility that Clark operated as a chapman, stocking up in London and then wandering through the country selling his goods, a traditional form of medicine selling that continued to persist, as Jonathan Barry has emphasized.[76]

Within London, Daffy's various pamphlet publications suggest that his business was also expanding rapidly. Daffy's first known pamphlet, published in 1673, was aimed solely at the metropolitan market. It directs the interested reader to eleven Elixir sellers in and around the capital, from Aldgate in the east to Westminster Hall in the west, and south across the river to Southwark. In the two years before the next edition of the pamphlet was published in 1675, Daffy's London network tripled in size to thirty-three dealers. As seems to be the case with provincial agents, it was his earliest relationships that were strongest. In London, all his 1673 agents appeared again, except two, Benedict Barnham and Thomas Booth, that he "expunged" as "never more to have his Elixir"; their offences are not stated, but links to rivals or counterfeiters may be the best explanations for Daffy's anger.[77] The occupations of Daffy's metropolitan agents differed somewhat from those of his provincial agents. Booksellers and stationers still played a significant role, but coffee-house keepers and shoemakers outnumbered grocers, while merchants were missing

[73] See, for example, Robert Bateman's "Spirit of Scurvey-Grass". The largest occupational grouping of his 42 agents was eleven booksellers: Robert Bateman, *Eminent cures lately perform'd in several diseases, by Batemans spirits of scurvey-grass*, London, [*c.* 1681]; Marjorie Plant, *The English book trade: an economic history of the making and sale of books*, 3rd ed., London, George Allen & Unwin, 1974, p. 96; John Alden, 'Pills and publishing: some notes on the English book trade, 1660–1715', *The Library*, 5th series, 1952, **7**: 21–37.

[74] J D Marshall (ed.), *The autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665–1752*, Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society, 1967, p. 145; A2A: Lancashire Record Office, Lancashire Quarter Sessions, petitions for Lancaster, Midsummer 1665, ref. QSP/273/3.

[75] A similar pattern is apparent for Birtchit, Mary Groves, and Saddington: 10, 24A, 75B.

[76] Jonathan Barry, 'Publicity and the public good: presenting medicine in eighteenth-century Bristol', in Bynum and Porter (eds), op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 29–39. See also Richard C Sawyer, 'Patients, healers, and disease in the Southeast Midlands, 1597–1634', PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1986, p. 164. On chapmen more generally, see Margaret Spufford, *The great reclothing of rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*, London, Hambledon Press, 1984.

[77] Harriet Sampson records how in 1668 the London chemist and Quaker Albertus Otto Faber refused to send further stock of his proprietary cordial to his Lincoln agent, John Mills, after Mills had bought medicines from another supplier. Harriet Sampson, 'Dr Faber and his celebrated cordial', *Isis*, 1943, **34** (6): 472–96, pp. 484–5.

altogether. How this network was developed is unknown, but it is striking that several of Daffy's agents were close colleagues in the Cordwainers' Company. The three city shoemakers in the 1673 and 1675 pamphlets were all fellow liverymen of his at the time, and each in turn joined Daffy on the Court of Assistants of the Company.[78]

The construction of this extensive distribution network demanded luck, courage and entrepreneurial vigour. Establishing new agents was clearly one of Anthony Daffy's major concerns, and it was also the part of the business that carried most risk. The consequences of engaging in a relatively novel manufacturing business in which the product was unproven in most markets are apparent in the terms of trade within which Daffy operated. These were similar to those adopted by many producers of more differentiated goods, and worked largely in the favour of his agents.[79] He invariably sent out consignments of Elixir on trust: payment was never given in advance and sometimes he waited two or three years before receiving any returns. Any unsold bottles could be returned, freeing agents from risk if they failed to find a market, although the practical difficulties and costs of transport meant that few took advantage of this option.[80] For Daffy, the easiest of recruits were agents based in England. These were often recommended by a third party, and they could also be pursued at law should they default on payment, although it is clear that other possibilities, including partial abatement of debts, were explored first.[81] No such recourse was open if agents abroad defaulted: both distance and the near impossibility of legal action conspired against repayment. The risks are apparent in the relative levels of default he experienced. Foreign non-payment was much more common, and receipts from abroad were in general disproportionately low, as is apparent in Table 2. Indeed, 24 of the 38 foreign agents to whom he sent batches of the Elixir had paid nothing by the end of 1683, compared with 27 of 124 home agents. Such foreign defaulters were also more costly to Daffy: initial consignments to destinations abroad were much larger than those sent into provincial England, averaging over £12 compared with under £5 for the provinces, reflecting the need to transport in greater bulk where supply was more difficult and slower.

Unsurprisingly, information about the trustworthiness of potential agents that Daffy could garner from his contacts in London's mercantile community and abroad loomed large in his calculations. The extended lines of credit that were an innate part of his business put a premium on any information or ties that might reduce the risk of default by agents. It is no accident that the source of the recommendation or introduction that put him in touch with them is the only additional detail that he added to agents' names and addresses in his accounts. These notes of who recommended a potential customer implicitly emphasized their role as guarantor for the character of the new agent. It seems that Daffy generally relied on a relatively limited pool of referees. The largest number of introductions, six of thirty-eight, came from his "son-in-law" John Halford, a merchant factor who lived and worked in London. Most of the others came from individuals who acted for Daffy or helped

[78] John Bright, the Southwark shoemaker, does not appear to have been a member of the Company, but his base outside the city excused him from the need to be a freeman.

[79] For similar terms relating to the trial of Norwich toys and the sale of snakeroot, see Smith (ed.), op. cit., note 60 above, letters 168, 1129.

[80] Returns seem to have been made by Levarmore, Hogden and Wavell: 48B, 102A, 114B.

[81] Daffy makes several notes of abatements in debts for agents or their estates: 84B, 120B, 143B.

in various ways, such as Mr Denew, the merchant through whom the Ainsworths often sent funds from Amsterdam.

As Halford's involvement reminds us, kinship offered one possible basis through which a business could operate. However, it was inevitably limited in the size and extent of the network it provided.[82] The Elixir had of course come into Daffy's hands through a family connection, and his more immediate family helped in London, where John Halford acted on his behalf in the docks, as well as helping recommend foreign contacts. Daffy's son Elias's role is unclear, although he had some contact with his father's agents when he was at school in France, for Daffy sent him a cheese there in 1679, and had him receive money from Mr Bruce in Nantes in 1681 [130B]. The role played by Ellen and his other children is also uncertain. More distant family played a less significant part, though his brother-in-law, John Halford (father of the London merchant) was a regular customer in Worcestershire. Daffy often noted ties of kinship among his agents, and this served as one of the recommendations he relied upon in extending his network, and a mechanism through which payments could be transferred from distant regions to London. John Greenwood's son Augustine took over from him, for example, while Mrs Rand and Mr Smith both had payments made by children [25, 62, 65]. Kinship is, however, most obvious in the number of instances where widows continue their husbands' businesses, as occurred with the Ainsworths [2], the Holmsteds [35], and the Kimbars [44]. Elizabeth Lem [46] had similerly taken over from her deceased husband, prior to this Account Book. Several other accounts continued in the hands of successors to the businesses of the original agents. George May seems to take over from Abisha Brockas in Exeter [9], as Gaving Briant does in Cambridge, where Edward Challis seems possibly to have died [15].

Religion provided another means to develop commercial links. Although Daffy seems himself to have conformed, a number of his agents were dissenters, and this may have provided the connections that underlay at least part of his network. Much of this may, it is worth noting, have happened at one remove through the agency of John Halford, who could give Daffy an entry into the Quaker networks that were to prove so important in many successful trading concerns by providing business information and some assurance of honest conduct.[83] Halford's father and Daffy's brother-in-law, the wealthy Worcestershire lawyer John Halford senior, was a Quaker, and a friend of the movement's founder, George Fox. Indeed, Fox was staying at Halford's house in Armscote when he was arrested and imprisoned in Worcester gaol in 1673. It is suggestive of Halford's influence that Warwickshire and Worcestershire provide the largest number of agents for Daffy's Elixir—twelve in all. At least one of these agents, Edward Warner of Blockley [111], also recommended by Halford, appears to have been a Quaker. Essex is the next most represented region, with nine agents, and again a prominent Quaker family, the Vandewalls of Harwich [141], appears among them. A number of Daffy's other agents may also have been Quakers: Thomas English of Pontefract [20], George Hutchinson of Sheffield [32], and Samuel Barlow of Leeds [12], all in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Susannah Moone

[82] Margaret R Hunt, *The middling sort: commerce, gender, and the family in England, 1680–1780*, Berkeley, California University Press, 1996, pp. 22–45.

[83] Nuala Zahedieh, 'Making mercantilism work: London merchants and Atlantic trade in the seventeenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1999, 6th ser. 9, pp. 143–60, p. 156. See also Sampson, op. cit., note 77 above, pp. 484–6.

of Bristol [49]. A larger number were certainly dissenters of some kind: John Bromly in Chesterfield, John and Augustine Greenwood of Lancaster, Thomas Hurst of Horsham, Elizabeth Lem of Westchester, William Churchill of Dorchester, Thomas Feilder of Andover, and Edward Hope of Devizes. Some, such as Thomas English and Edward Hope, were quite prominent, and had properties licensed for dissenting worship.[84] More speculatively, we might note that Adam Martindale's patron Lord Delamer, whom Daffy may have been cultivating with gifts of Elixir, was a leading Presbyterian. Similarly, Daffy's contacts amongst London's Huguenot community assisted him in the sale of his Elixir to France. James Denew, Elias Dupuy, Isaac Jurin and Isaac Dellilers were all prominent London merchants of Huguenot origin whose names appear in the Account Book.

Personal connections were not always enough, particularly in the difficult task of penetrating more distant foreign markets. Daffy allowed chance to play a part here: the Elixir was regularly sent on merchant voyages to be sold wherever a market was found. He also made more focused efforts. Some of Daffy's existing foreign agents assisted him, acting as intermediaries and perhaps also as guarantors. Sewell in Ireland and the Ainsworths both sent parcels on to other agents. In addition, Daffy offered incentives to encourage people to try his Elixir and to build ties with his agents. On several occasions, he gave foreign agents free additional bottles as part of the first or second shipment he dispatched to them. These could serve to develop the trading relationship, as with the dozen he sent to Jenkin Thomas in Tangier "for a token" [110A]. Equally, they might be used as free samples to win over new customers. Alexander Constantine in Leghorn received an extra half-dozen bottles that, Daffy noted, "I order to be Given away to his frends" [123A]. Daffy also used a more targeted approach to win patronage for his medicine among prominent members of communities: he included "6 for a token to the Consall" in a shipment to Venice [127A], and sent two dozen to the "ministar of the English Congregation in Amstardam" [153B]. In this, Daffy's approach to his foreign agents was clearly different to that he took for his English distributors. He did give similar gifts to some provincial agents, but generally these were made only after they had taken three or four shipments, rather than at the start of the relationship. Interestingly, this policy of distributing gifts to potential patrons may have been a strategy he found ineffective or unnecessary in the long-term, as only one such gift is recorded after the close of 1679.[85]

For all Daffy's efforts to build his business network, it is quite clear that many of the relationships he initiated were not long-lasting. Indeed, the majority of Daffy's business ties were short-term, whether due to agents finding it difficult to sell the Elixir or for other reasons. Almost 60 per cent of the agents in the Account Book took less than five consignments of the Elixir from Daffy, with 38 per cent receiving only a single shipment. The brevity of many arrangements is underlined by a comparison of the names of agents in the Account Book with the list of provincial sources Daffy appended to the pamphlet he published in 1674, the year in which the earliest dates in the Account Book are noted. Despite the proximity in time and the likelihood that Daffy would have published only the names of agents who would probably continue to sell the Elixir (he did not name a specific

[84] G Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original records of early nonconformity under persecution and indulgence*, 3 vols, London, T Fisher Unwin, 1911–14, vol. 1, pp. 136, 620.

[85] Daffy sent additional bottles as gifts to three provincial agents in 1678, two in 1679 and one in 1680; he sent gifts to international agents once in 1677, and twice in 1678 and 1679 respectively.

agent for around a third of the places he listed), only three-quarters of agents in the pamphlet appear in the Account Book (48 of 63). The high level of wastage continued in the following years. In 1680, five years after the pamphlet was published, only 25 of the agents listed in 1674 received consignments from London; by 1683, the number had fallen yet further to just 13 survivors.

Yet, alongside the large number of people whose involvement in the Elixir trade was momentary, there was a small core of individuals who regularly bought quite large consignments over long periods. Once agents had successfully moved beyond the first few shipments they tended to continue to receive the medicine for relatively long periods. First among these leading agents were, of course, John and Elizabeth Ainsworth in Amsterdam, who took a fifth of all the Elixir that Daffy shipped from London during this period, in value just topping £2,000. The Ainsworths were exceptional in the scale of their involvement. Together they received more than double the volume of any other agent, and it seems likely that they operated as wholesalers for a network of retailers of the Elixir in the Netherlands. Although somewhat behind the Ainsworths in terms of the value of their business, the next tier of agents still had significant long-running and high value involvements in the Elixir business. Only the Edinburgh merchant William Blackwood and George Sewell in Dublin took over £500 worth of the Elixir, but another 9 bought more than £100 worth, while a further 17 agents received between £50 and £100 worth. None the less, if we look at the frequency with which Daffy sent consignments out to even his largest agents, we still find that shipments were generally irregular and widely spaced. Even the Ainsworths received more than two shipments in a single month on only one occasion, and they regularly experienced a two or three month break between receiving a consignment.

In these overseas trades, Daffy seems to have relied on merchant factors to deal with the practicalities of shipping and customs on his behalf once the consignments of Elixir had been prepared and packed under his care. John Halford's name appears a number of times in the London Port Books loading "Apothecarys wares" onto the ships named in Daffy's Account Book.[86] Daffy also used other factors. On 11 July 1677, for example, he sent goods to William Sanders in Barbados on board the *Active*, to Ainsworth in Amsterdam on board the *Friends Adventurer*, and to Blackwood in Edinburgh on board the *Adventurer*. All three consignments are registered as "Apothecarys wares" with a William Ball, not Daffy, recorded in the Port Book as merchant.[87] In the actual selection of shipping, Daffy followed the usual practice of employing whichever vessel was available on the route he needed. There is little indication of any substantial preference for a ship or captain: fifteen different captains took shipments to William Blackwood in Edinburgh between July 1676 and November 1683, and twenty-five carried the Elixir to John and Elizabeth Ainsworth in Amsterdam between January 1676/7 and February 1683/4. For the latter journey, only one captain appears to have been used on anything approaching a regular basis: Jacob Hendarix or Hendaricks, master of the *Goulden Floundar*.[88] At the other end of the line, Daffy often relied on major agents to arrange for Elixir to be sent on to locations not directly accessible

[86] For example, NA E190/76/1, fol. 198r.
[87] NA E190/72/1, fols. 157r–158r.
[88] Larger seventeenth-century merchants such as Charles Marescoe and Jacob David show a similar pattern: Roseveare (ed.), op. cit, note 60 above, p. 579.

from London, as we have seen. This method did have its risks. When Daffy sought to send a large consignment of 36 dozen half pints of Elixir worth £46 16s on a three stage journey from London to Saumer, via Elias Dupuij of Bordeaux and then Mr Bruce of Nantes, they never reached their final destination [109A].

A successful manufacturing and distribution business was more than a matter of assigning chests to a ship's captain or one of the carriers or coastal vessels which hauled commercial goods between London and provincial towns and villages. The effort and care with which he sought and cultivated agents has already been noted. But the exigencies of trade had a wider effect. Daffy had, most obviously, developed a product that was deliberately standardized in order to facilitate commerce, and which had specific characteristics that made it well suited to long-distance shipping, as we will see. His chests of Elixir were regular in size, each with 12, 24 or 48 bottles. He kept a careful eye on shipments abroad, making a note of the mark he had put on each chest in the margin of the account. Where chests went missing, Daffy sought to track down the point where his arrangements had broken down, and where bottles broke in transit, he repaid the loss to the agent. He adapted his product to its major markets by producing specific editions of his advertising pamphlet. A version was printed in Dutch for the Ainsworths, and another was made for Sewell in Dublin.[89] Daffy also helped his agents with a diverse range of tasks for which they needed a representative in London. Some of these were business related: he sent John Kimbar of Bristol 40 shillings worth of farthings, presumably to relieve a shortage of specie [44A]. Others were more unusual: Jeffrason of Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland seems to have shirts sent, for example, while Daffy repeatedly sends batches of viol and "fiddle" strings to Stobart in Durham, and oil, colour and brushes to Bromly of Hadleigh, Essex [40A, 70A, 7A].

Success on this scale bred trouble for proprietary medicine makers. Production was unregulated and counterfeit medicines flooded the market in the wake of any commercial triumph. Disputes about who was producing the original, authentic or best version of particular medicines were rife from the 1660s onwards, and Daffy was no exception. Counterfeit Elixir Salutis was already a problem for him by 1673, when he first went into print. Indeed, it seems likely that it was the threat from rival producers, particularly Thomas Hinde, that led him to issue his first pamphlet. Hinde was the subject of an aggrieved notice in all Daffy's pamphlets, in which he was accused of having "by *Subtle* suggestions and *crafty* insinuations" obtained the knowledge of "some (though but few) of the Ingredients . . . and published the same, as the Entire and perfect Elixir it self".[90] Daffy asserted that Hinde's crime was compounded by his ingratitude: he was a former patient who had been cured by the Elixir after the efforts of the physicians had failed. Hinde was not alone in challenging Daffy over the Elixir. In 1679, a Thomas Witherden of Bearstead in Kent published a pamphlet advertising his own "Elixir Salutis", which echoed Daffy's in many respects. Witherden's Elixir was, moreover, cheaper, at only 2s a bottle; Daffy openly attacked Witherden, along with another six "new upstart

[89] Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis: of den uytgelesen gesondheyts-drank . . . Van myn huys in Prujans Court, in den Oude Bayle, London*, London [n.d]. Copies survive in the US National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, and the New York Academy of Medicine Library, New York. Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis . . . at Mr George Savell's . . . in Golden-Lane, Dublin*, [n.d.]. A copy survives in Cashel Cathedral Library, Eire.

[90] Anthony Daffy, *Elixir Salutis*, London, T Milbourn, 1673, p. 2.

Counterfeiters . . . and Ape-like Imitators", in a vitriolic pamphlet published some time in the 1670s.[91] In 1680, Daffy even felt obliged to publish a newspaper advertisement informing his customers that he was not dead, as his rivals had been reporting.[92] Hinde's "unsufferable abuse to the People, and an apparent wrong to my self" had prompted Daffy to make use of safeguards against rivals. These might be quite labour intensive. His seal in red wax was affixed to each pamphlet and bottle in order that customers could be sure they were buying the real elixir. It was a problem that faced many proprietary medicine producers, whose ingenuity in designing devices to distinguish the authentic product from its imitations—sealing, tying with coloured threads, using specially shaped or, later, embossed bottles—was matched only by the speed with which they were copied.[93]

Although the Elixir was the foundation stone of his business, Daffy also sought to diversify his interests, as befitted the aspirant merchant-manufacturer. One aspect of this was his decision to invest in shipping. This was a common choice for many of the merchants of London, who were reminded with every shipment they arranged of the potential profits of this area. Daffy personally owned a share in at least one ship, *The William and Mary*, and was involved in building another, *The Arabella*, at the time of his death.[94] Daffy also participated in some of the short-term venture partnerships that were established for overseas trade. In this, he was not wholly successful. At the time of his death, he was being sued for outstanding debts of over £100 relating to a joint venture he had engaged in with John Playford, the publisher who also sold his Elixir [83aB], and one Anthony Chambers. The case was brought by the executor of the merchant Richard Trevisa who, in 1680, had procured several "great chests and other quantities of Lemons and other goods and merchandice" from Seville to London for Daffy and his co-defendants.[95]

It was not just lemons that caught Daffy's eye. The international network that he developed for his Elixir produced other potentially profitable opportunities of the kind that were becoming abundant in the international commerce of the period.[96] The great majority of the consignments of Elixir that he shipped were paid for by bills of exchange or cash settlements. But some of these transactions with overseas merchants gave him the opportunity to take payment in other kinds of goods for which he might find a market in London. Daffy's investments in these areas were never large; he remained one of the hundreds of small speculators who operated in the shadow of the greater merchants. For example in tobacco, one of the most popular commodities coming from the Americas, his efforts were tiny when set against the eleven million pounds weight of tobacco London merchants imported in 1676 alone. Daffy did receive a couple of shipments from his agents in Virginia, which he sold on to John Ainsworth and Benjamin May in Amsterdam and George Sewell in Dublin. However, this was a matter of six or eight hogsheads, two or three

[91] Thomas Witherden, *Elixir Salutis: or the great preservative of health called by some, the never-failing cordial of the world*, London, 1679; Daffy, op. cit. note 9 above.

[92] *The True News: or Mercurius Anglicus*, no. 32, 6–10 Mar. 1679/80. The notice was reprinted in no. 33, 10–13 Mar. 1679/80. It was in fact his cousin, Daniel Daffy, who had recently died (see note 15).

[93] Daffy, 1673, op. cit., note 14 above, p. 2; see Styles, op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 124–69.

[94] NA, C 33/273, fol. 95r.

[95] NA, C 9/426/120.

[96] Ralph Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1972, pp. 16–17.

thousand pounds weight of tobacco at most.[97] Daffy also ventured into sending out additional consignments of English produce and manufactures several times. To Samuel Lockly in Seville, for example, he sent firkins of butter, six hundredweights of Cheshire cheese, and gloves. Daffy also acted on behalf of some of his agents in their own affairs. He arranged consignments of pewter to William Sanders in Barbados, paying the charges, customs and freight for it, at the same time as he was receiving consignments of cotton, ginger and sugar from him, seemingly in exchange for the Elixir [94A]. He also occasionally sent ventures abroad in textiles, including Colchester bayes, cloth which came from the area near his country house, and made small efforts domestically to trade in butter, cheese, oats and malt. We lack figures for some of these ventures, which were kept partially off the books, but the goods he shipped out were worth only £85 or so, while his imports, although somewhat larger, were small compared to the Elixir.

After Anthony: The Elixir Trade from 1685 Onwards

After Daffy's death, the Elixir business he had founded continued. As we have seen, his widow Ellen, Charles Trubshaw, and Anthony's daughters Mary and Martha all disputed the ownership of the Elixir recipe. Each seems to have produced the remedy independently. Anthony's son Elias was also producing Elixir by 1700, basing himself at the old house in Prujean's Court that he had inherited. Elias was even competing with Charles Trubshaw for the substantial Dutch market for the Elixir.[98] Ellen's share of the business, at least, seems to have thrived. A 1693 pamphlet which she published—using much the same text as the 1675 edition, with the exception of the diatribe against Hinde—contains a guide to 121 agents in thirty-seven counties, exceeding the number that Daffy had claimed. Trubshaw's business and that of his widow Grace also appears to have been a success, as was discussed earlier. However, production of the Elixir slipped outside the bounds of Anthony's immediate heirs relatively quickly. Distant family played a part in this. The Elixir business found a new entrant in its inventor Thomas Daffy's daughter Katharine. She established her own network, primarily in London, in the early eighteenth century. In her pamphlet and newspaper advertisements, she asserted that her Elixir was the finest sold, prepared according to:

> the Original Receipt, which my father Mr. Thomas Daffy, late Rector of Redmile, in the Valley of Belvoir, having experience'd the Virtues of it, imparted to his Kinsman Mr. Anthony Daffy, who published the same to the Benefit of the Community, and his own great Advantage. This very Original Receipt is now in my possession, left to me by my Father aforesaid, under his own Hand.[99]

[97] In 1676 the London tobacco trade was divided between the 70 per cent of imports accounted for by sixty large enterprises, and the remaining 30 per cent that fell to 513 small firms and individuals, who averaged about 6400lb each annually: Jacob M Price, *Tobacco in Atlantic trade: the Chesapeake, London and Glasgow, 1675–1775*, Aldershot, Variorum, 1995, III.9–10; Frederick F Siegel, *The roots of southern distinctiveness: tobacco and society in Danville, Virginia, 1780–1865*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1987, p. 65.

[98] Elias Daffy issued a pamphlet for the Dutch market which ends with a "warning" against Elixir made by "Charles Trubschown" and "John Neuman": *Onderrigtingen gegeven van Dr Antony Daffy, Tot het gebruik van zyne ongevaarlyke, onschadelyke en voor veel menschen gelukkige cordialen drank, genaamt Elixir Salutis, welke na zyn dood gecontinueert is te maken, by zyne nagelatene wed. Elio Daffy*, [no place, no date]. A copy is in the Wellcome Library, London.

[99] Katharine Daffy, op. cit., note 13 above. Katharine published the same claim in *The Post Boy*, 15–17 Jan. 1707/8.

Katherine thus weakened the association of the Elixir with Anthony Daffy, as well as challenging his heirs' businesses.

As the eighteenth century progressed, the production of the Elixir in England became increasingly fragmented, with a number of different firms selling what each claimed was the genuine product. Apart from the counterfeiters Daffy faced when alive, the earliest producer outside the Daffy family who we know of appears to have been John Harrison, who by 1709 had had the good fortune to rent the old Daffy house in Prujean's Court. The association between the Elixir and that house was by that time unsubtly reinforced by a sign: "The Original and Famous Elixir Salutis" written in golden characters over the door fronting the gate into the court. Elias or his widow must have disposed of the house in the first years of the century, and Harrison soon had what he portrayed as a thriving Elixir business based there. Harrison was not, he claimed, without links to Anthony Daffy, however. He asserted that he had "known the Secret some time before the Death of his [Elias's] Father Dr. Anthony Daffy", it having been "communicated to me in the Year 1684, at the time I was going to travel beyond Sea, where in divers Countries, considerable Quantities of my Elixir has been taken by Persons of the greatest Rank, Quality and Note".[100] Typically for a proprietary medicine advertisement, Harrison's claim is implausible given Anthony's secrecy, and he receives no mention in the Account Book to substantiate it.

By the 1730s a number of London manufacturers can be identified: a London chemist, A Downing, was making the Elixir, still priced at 2s 6d a bottle, alongside his cheaper itch-water and Spirits of Scurvy-Grass; a Mr Bradshaw produced both Daffy's and Stoughton's Elixir at his "Elixir Warehouse" at the back of the Royal Exchange; while the York printer Thomas Gent thought that it was Mr Robert Staples who was "the celebrated disposer of Dr. Daffy's elixir".[101] Competition spurred yet further investment in devices to distinguish their products. For example, one of the main producers of the later eighteenth century, the printers Dicey & Co, embossed their bottles with the statement: "True Daffy's Elixir, Dicey & Co No 10 Bow Church Yard London. Unless the Name of DICEY & Co is in the Stamp Over the Cork the Medicine is Counterfeit". The Diceys were pluralists, also being major producers of Bateman's Drops, Lockyer's Drops and several other proprietary medicines. Their terms in this business were much the same as those Daffy had given, allowing payment on sale, not receipt, and giving shopkeepers the right to return unsold Elixir no matter how long they had kept it.[102] It seems that as production spread and the authenticity of the Elixir grew ever less certain, the price it sold for fell. By 1786, the Bristol printer William Pine was selling the Elixir for only 1s 8d.[103] Amidst this hubbub of manufacturing, the establishment Trubshaw and Ellen set up in Salisbury Court off Fleet Street seems to have survived. Salisbury Court was given as the source for the Elixir in the

[100] Harrison, op. cit., note 54 above.

[101] 16 Oct 1728: *Old Bailey proceedings online*, www.oldbaileyonline.org, accessed: 12 Dec. 2004. Another advertisement by Downing appeared on 13 May 1730; *Monsieur Belloste's Hospital Surgeon*, London, 1737; Joseph Hunter (ed.), *The life of Mr. Thomas Gent: printer, of York, written by himself*, London, T Thorpe, 1832, pt. 4.

[102] NA, C 12/28/25. Hill *v.* Dicey. Quoted in R C Simmons, 'Introduction', in R C Simmons (ed.), *The Dicey and Marshall catalogue*, http://www.bham.ac.uk/DiceyandMarshall/, accessed: 12 Dec. 2004.

[103] Mary E Fissell, *Patients, power, and the poor in eighteenth-century Bristol*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 45–7.

list of 202 proprietary medicines published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1748.[104] As late as 1794, a J Swinton still had a Daffy's Elixir Warehouse there.[105] The Elixir continued to be widely manufactured and sold throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, sometimes in the hands of ongoing business dynasties. In 1910, Sutton & Co., the successors to Dicey & Co., were still making the medicine.[106]

The international trade in the Elixir also continued to flourish in the eighteenth century. We know little about its fortunes in mainland Europe, but it was certainly prominent among the selection of proprietary medicines imported in large quantities into North America throughout the period. Advertisements for the Elixir were a regular feature in New England newspapers. Characteristic of the genre was the advertisement Charles Russell, who kept the "Galen's Head" in Charlestown, Massachusetts, placed in the *Boston News-Letter* on 26 November 1761. He had, he informed the readers, just received a consignment of drugs and medicines on the latest ships from London; among them were Bateman's and Stoughton's Drops, Lockyer's, Hooper's, and Anderson's Pills, British Oil, and Daffy's Elixir.[107] As Russell's advertisement suggests, the North American colonies do seem to have differed from England in lacking the division between retailers of proprietary medicines and other kinds of drug that we can observe from Daffy's lists of agents.[108] Thus, in 1762 Thomas Lloyd, a druggist in Virginia, kept a range of simples and proprietary medicines, stocking rhubarb, spirits of hartshorn, black brimstone and senna alongside fourteen boxes of Lockyer's Pills and a more meagre three bottles of Daffy's Elixir.[109] Not all such proprietary medicines were genuine imports, of course. With the widespread publication of recipes, local production must have accounted for a significant amount, even if the consumer may not have been aware of it: in the 1750s and 1760s, the apothecary in Williamsburg, for example, ordered sizable quantities of empty "Stoughton vials" and occasional lots of Daffy's Elixir bottles from London.[110]

What was the Elixir?

There is one obvious question yet to be addressed: what was the Elixir Salutis? As might be expected given the great secrecy that surrounded its production, there is no straightforward answer to this question. Daffy's enthusiasm in spreading the news of the applications of his Elixir was matched by his obsessive secrecy about its ingredients and mode of manufacture. Keeping this knowledge in his own hands was a vital element of his business strategy, as it was for all proprietary medicine manufacturers. As a consequence, no recipe in his own hand, nor that of Thomas Daffy, survives. Indeed, it is not clear that the Elixir

[104] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748, **18**: 348.

[105] *Kent's directory for the year 1794*, London, Richard & Henry Causton, 1794, sub. "Swinton".

[106] A C Wooton, *Chronicles of pharmacy*, 2 vols, London, Macmillan, 1910, vol. 2, p. 173.

[107] Young, op. cit., note 1, above, ch. 1; *Virginia Gazette*, 20 June 1745. For numerous other advertisements, see http://www.pastportal.com/cwdl_new/va_gazet/html/d/dabbs-dandridge.htm, accessed 12 Dec. 2004.

[108] See Norman Gevitz, '"Pray let the medicines be good": the New England apothecary in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Pharmacy in History*, 1999, **41**: 87–101.

[109] 18 Nov. 1762: Lyman Chalkley (compiler), *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish settlement in Virginia, 1745–1800*, 3 vols, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1966, vol. 1, p. 101.

[110] Young, op. cit., note 1 above, p. 14.

that Anthony Daffy sold was identical to the medicine that Thomas Daffy had produced. In one of his publications, Anthony asserted that he had

> by my own Experience and Reading, add[ed] a considerable number of Ingredients unto that Receipt, for making Elixir, (then tofore, by my worthy and honoured Friend confer'd upon mee) and did also much vary from the said Receipt, both in the Quantities and Qualities of those Ingredients in the said Receipt specified: And I do further affirm, that neither my said Friend, himself, (from whom, at first, I had the said Receipt) or any other man (my self only excepted) either doth, or at any time did know all the Ingredients, (much less, their quantities)...[111]

Again, this was a technique used by other proprietary medicine manufacturers to ensure the exclusivity of their product by asserting the originality and superiority of their recipe over that used by their copyists.[112]

Yet despite all the efforts of Daffy and his family to keep the recipe to themselves, it soon slipped out and began to circulate around the extensive networks through which medical knowledge, and particularly prescriptions, were diffused in early modern England. From manuscript, the recipe also found its way into an increasing number of the popular printed collections of recipes that were issued in large numbers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. By the early eighteenth century it even appeared in official publications, albeit sometimes in modest disguise: a recipe for "Elixir Salutis" with no mention of Daffy appeared, for example, in the College of Physicians' official *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* in 1724, and another was inserted into its Scottish equivalent, the *Pharmacopoeia Edinburgensis*.[113] A number of recipes for Daffy's Elixir have thus survived. However, they collectively reveal the influence of the second factor that prevents us from obtaining a reliable insight into the product that Anthony Daffy was selling. For the Elixir's ingredients were subject to the same process of conscious adaptation and variation—and unconscious scribal error in copying—that characterized the recording of all medicines of the day. As a result, we have not one, but several Elixirs.

That said, if we compare the recipes we can obtain a sense of what the Elixir was most likely to have been like. Some elements were common to all or almost all Elixir recipes. At its most basic level, every version was an infusion of various ingredients in some kind of distilled alcohol. The precise choice of medium varied over time between aqua vitae, proof spirits, and brandy, but in each case it is clear that the alcohol content of the final Elixir would have been high, guaranteeing a tonic effect for the patient at the very least. It was the preservative qualities of the distilled alcohol which made the Elixir such a good commodity for long-distance trade. This reliance on an alcohol base also simplified the method of production. Rather than requiring distillation, as many medicines did, Elixir recipes normally dictated that the ingredients should simply be left to infuse in the spirits for several days, generally between four and ten, with regular stirring several times a day. At the end of

[111] Daffy, op. cit., note 9 above, p. 2.

[112] See, for example, George Starkey, *George Starkey's pill vindicated from the unlearned alchymist and all other pretenders*, London, n.d., pp. 3–4.

[113] Royal College of Physicians of London, *Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis*, London, T Wood for R Knaplock *et al.*, 1724, p. 27; Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, *Pharmacopoeia Collegii Regii Medicorum Edinburgensis*, Edinburgh, J Paton, G Stewart & J Gillan, 1722, p. 53. An early published version of 'Elixir Salutis' appears in George Wilson, *A compleat course of chymistry*, London, 1699, p. 261.

this period, the Elixir could be simply strained and bottled. This made the medicine an easy project for home production, demanding little if any skill of the householder.

The essential simplicity of the Elixir recipes had obvious implications for Anthony Daffy's own production process. The manufacturing of the medicine could be carried on almost anywhere with little assistance, and thus little risk of the secret recipe being appropriated by an employee, even in the production of quite large quantities. It is interesting that this was a very similar process to that used for another successful proprietary medicine, Dr Stoughton's Elixir, in the early eighteenth century.[114] Although he owned a still, Daffy bought at least some of the base spirits for the Elixir from other sources: he owed £35 for spirits at his death.[115] It also had the advantage of requiring no more than a small investment of capital in apparatus, something reflected in the low value of the manufacturing stock listed in Daffy's posthumous household inventory. For the mass producer, the relatively short production time—some of the more complex compound medicines such as the plague and poison remedy Theriac required maturing over several months—had the further benefit of reducing the amount of circulating capital tied up at any one time and allowing speedy scaling of output to meet demand. Daffy could, in short, virtually produce to order, if he chose.

Less constant than the method and base liquid was the precise detail of the other ingredients. The recipes normally list between eight and ten ingredients, mostly drugs imported from Asia and southern Europe as was normal in contemporary pharmacy, although one has the unusual simplicity of a mere four constituents. One ingredient was present in all but one of the recipes: senna, sometimes the leaves, sometimes the pods, which has a well-known laxative effect. Indeed, Daffy's Elixir was, to some, synonymous with a simple tincture of senna, and it was under this or a similar name that several recipes were printed.[116] Beside senna and some variety of alcoholic spirit, however, no less than twenty-four different ingredients feature in at least one of the nineteen recipes compared here.[117] Amidst this range, one recipe does seems to have been the most common; it is also the one recorded, with only a variation in the weights, in the two earliest recipes that have been found to date, in the manuscripts compiled by Elias Ashmole and in another manuscript collection begun in 1683.[118]

According to this recipe, Daffy's Elixir should contain three ounces of senna, elecampane root, liquorice root, aniseed, coriander seed, guaiacum wood, and caraway seed, plus a

[114] Wellcome Library, MS 7723, fol. 12v.

[115] His supplier was Mr Edward Smith: NA, PROB 32/25/259–275.

[116] William Buchan, *Domestic medicine*, London, Strahan & Cadell, 1784, p. 755; 'Component parts of popular patent medicines', BL, MS Add. 34722, fol. 49r.

[117] Bodleian Library, Ashmole, MS 1463, fol. 23; Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, MS Elizabeth Eden, 1683, transcript kindly supplied by Layinka Swinburne; University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 624 (c. 1705); BL, MS Add. 27466, fol. 297 (Mary Doggett's recipe collection, 1682–); John Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia officinalis extemporanea: or a compleat English dispensatory*, London, A Bell, T Varman, *et al.*, 1718, p. 394; Royal College of Physicians of London, op. cit., note 113 above, p. 27; Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, op. cit., note 113 above, p. 53; Eliza Smith, *The compleat housewife*, London, J Pemberton, 1728, p. 299; Elizabeth Cleland, *A new and easy method of cookery*, Edinburgh, C Wright, 1759, p. 216; Peregrine Montague, *The family pocket-book*, London, George Paul, 1762, p. 136; Wellcome Library, MS 7723, fol. 13r (eighteenth century); Weddell (ed.), op. cit., note 66 above; Buchan, op. cit., note 116 above; *Lancet*, 1826, **i**: 24; General Medical Council, *The British Pharmacopoeia*, London, Spottiswoode, 1898; Henry Beasley, *The druggist's general receipt book*, London, Churchill, 1850 (Beasley gives four recipes).

[118] Bodleian Library, Ashmole, MS 1463, fol. 23; Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, MS Elizabeth Eden, 1683.

pound of stoned raisins. These ingredients were then infused in three quarts of aqua vitae.[119] It was an array of spices and drugs that must have compounded the laxative effect of the senna, while adding a sweetness and richness to the flavour of the drink, perhaps not dissimilar to a number of the distilled cordials, such as Benedictine and Chartreuse, that would later become popular as liqueurs rather than medicines. In addition to the two seventeenth-century manuscript recipe collections, this recipe—each time with different weights—was given by John Quincy in 1718, in the *Lancet* in 1826, as part of its series exposing the "composition of quack medicines", and in Henry Beasley's *Druggist's general receipt book* (1850), where it was described as the version used by the eighteenth-century manufacturers, Dicey & Co.[120]

Although this was the most common recipe, and may have been closest to the version on sale in the seventeenth century, several other competing recipes were in circulation. One, printed in a 1759 collection of cookery and household recipes, shared only the use of spirits, aniseed and caraway with the version just described. It relied instead on an array of different drugs: fennel seeds, hiera picra, snake root, aloes and orange peel.[121] By the mid-nineteenth century, the differences between recipes had grown. Alongside Dicey's version, Beasley printed another three recipes for the Elixir: one he attributed to Swinton, the other two were anonymous. Such a plethora of alternatives led to further confusions. In 1762, for example, Peregrine Montague suggested that the medicine, although "commonly called Daffy's Elixir", was actually the work of Dr Lower.[122] This gradual process of diffusion and variation to some extent also undermined the uniqueness of the Elixir and the value of its name. In his massively popular *Domestic medicine*, for example, William Buchan assured his readers in 1784 that the compound tincture of senna he described "answers all the purposes of the *Elixir Salutis*, and of *Daffy's Elixir*", not bothering to offer a recipe for the Elixir itself.[123] By 1812, the variety had become so great that the Patent Medicine Act employed the all-encompassing description of "Daffy's Elixir, by whomever made".[124]

The uses of the Elixir also varied and changed over time. In the 1670s, Anthony Daffy advised its use against an extensive, almost arbitrary-seeming range of ailments, as can be seen from the pamphlet printed below. As Andrew Wear has noted, he combined the traditional "cultural and theoretical signposts of seventeenth-century medicine", such as God, experience and temperament, with the promise of a powerful, universal nostrum.[125] Little attention was paid to the individualized therapeutic approach of Galenic medicine. Not only was the Elixir good for the gout, it was effective against the stone and gravel in

[119] The weights given here are those in Bodleian Library, Ashmole, MS 1463, fol. 23.

[120] Quincy, op. cit., note 117 above; *Lancet*, op. cit., note 117 above; Beasley, op. cit., note 117 above. A full bottle of Dicey's version of Daffy's Elixir was excavated in the 1940s. A chemical analysis of the contents suggested it was "an alcoholic extract of some drug or drugs with laxative properties, and one of these drugs was probably senna": I A Richmond and G Webster, 'Excavations in Goss Street, Chester, 1948–9', *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 1951, p. 36.

[121] Cleland, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 216.

[122] Montague, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 136.

[123] Buchan, op. cit., note 116 above, p. 755.

[124] *Statutes at large*, 1812.

[125] Andrew Wear, 'Medical practice in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England: continuity and union', in R French and A Wear (eds), *The medical revolution of the seventeenth century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 294–320, on p. 316.

the reins, ulceration in the kidneys or mouth of the bladder, languishing and melancholy, shortness of breath, colic, griping in the guts, the ptissic (phthisis, or pulmonary consumption), green-sickness, surfeits, scurvy and dropsy, coughs, wheezings, consumptions and agues, mother and spleen, fits of the mother, and rickets. Indeed, Daffy asserted that "There is not one Disease able to withstand, but is through God's blessing subject unto *my Drink's* innocent, powerful, and miraculous operation (God's appointed time for the *Patient's Dissolution* being not come)."[126] For many of these conditions, Daffy could even claim the testimonial of a patient successfully healed with the help of his medicine. So, Benjamin Hope of Camberwell in Surrey (who also appears in the Account Book [94A]) had been cured of the gout, while William Crawley of Luton had "voided above a Hundred Stones" with the help of the Elixir. Admittedly, no testimonials appeared attesting to its powers against greensickness or fits of the mother, but this probably reflected a concern that such embarrassing, sexually-related disorders should be kept from the public eye rather than a limit in the application of the Elixir.

The powers that Daffy attributed to the Elixir are somewhat greater than the compilers of later recipe collections generally claimed. None the less, the apparent efficacy of the Elixir continued to be recognized. Several of the popular printed recipe collections from the mid-eighteenth century took a modest view of its uses, recommending it for colic and little else; indeed, it was as a "Chollick" treatment that it was known to the Mordaunt family in Warwickshire in 1711.[127] Like all proprietary medicines, the Elixir had some harsh critics. In 1699 the physician Gideon Harvey warned against the dangers of it and "the like empirical Medicines ... since not a few have been thrown into mortal Diseases by the use of them."[128] Another critical opinion was expressed by John Quincy, who in 1718 considered it "but a very ordinary Medicine". Describing Daffy as "a poor Shoe-maker, or some such Mechanick", Quincy attributed its success to its combination of alcohol and laxative: "at the same time a Person is taking a Dose of Physick, he has all the Gratification of a Cordial Dram ... which is a sufficient Recommendation with common People".[129] Yet in many quarters there was still a sense that the Elixir was an "innocent" or "gentle" medicine which could be resorted to usefully in a variety of conditions. Even when authors attacked the evil of proprietary medicines and the arrant puffery that surrounded them, they often admitted that Daffy's Elixir "may in many instances be administered with advantage", as Hugh Smythson put it in 1781.[130] Despite his general hostility to the Elixir, Quincy took a broadly similar line, acknowledging that in a case of the colic "it is well enough fitted to break away Flatulencies, which often occasion such Pains". The simplicity of the Elixir was no doubt a further attraction. Not only was it taken in small doses—two or three spoonfuls before bed and in the morning were normally recommended—it did not demand burdensome adjustments in everyday regimen. Even its effects were

[126] Daffy, 1673, pp. 7–8, and 1675, p. 6, both cited in note 14 above.

[127] Montague, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 136; Cleland, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 204; F Spilsbury, *The friendly physician*, London, J Wilkie, 1773, p. 14; Elizabeth Hamilton, *The Mordaunts: an eighteenth-century family*, London, Heinemann, 1965, p. 79.

[128] Gideon Harvey, *The vanities of philosophy & physick*, London, A Roper, R Basset, W Turner, 1699, p. 38

[129] Quincy, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 394.

[130] Hugh Smythson, *Compleat family physician*, London, Harrison, 1781, p. 650.

reasonable: "it purges gently: you need not keep the house", while several recipe collections emphasize that it "requires not much Care in Diet".[131]

What the purchasers of Daffy's Elixir thought of such claims is hard to discern. However, the Elixir did receive resounding praise from some of those who used it, such as the dissenting clergyman Adam Martindale. In 1681, one of his daughters became severely ill with a cold, and despite the attentions of several physicians she grew ever sicker. As Martindale later recorded in his autobiography:

> That which seemed to doe her most good was Elixir Salutis, for it gave her much ease, (my Lord Delamer having bestowed upon her severall bottles that came immediately from Mr. Daffie himselfe) and it also made her cheerfull; but going forth and getting new cold, she went fast away. I am really perswaded that if she had taken it a little sooner in due quantities, and been carefull of herselfe, it might have saved her life. But it was not God's will.[132]

It is notable that in this case, the Elixir taken by Martindale's daughter had come directly from Daffy, as the gift of the clergyman's great patron and employer, Lord Delamer. It is an aside that suggests a residual concern for the authenticity of the Elixir, and may indicate that Daffy was distributing his medicine to the aristocracy in an attempt to garner further testimonials or patronage.[133]

The limited evidence which survives of the uses that others made of the Elixir suggests that many medical practitioners and laymen of all kinds put a similar faith in its worth. This extended to the very top of society. Sir Richard Jebb, the physician treating Hester Thrale's dying son in 1776 administered the Elixir during his last painful illness.[134] A little more than ten years earlier, Horace Walpole had described how the sick Duke of Cumberland had "found out that Daffy's Elixir agrees with [him], and does him good."[135] The Elixir also found its supporters in the face of some of the most dangerous diseases of the period. During the yellow fever epidemic that savaged Philadelphia in 1793, it was used as a prophylactic against the disease, along with more traditional preservatives such as vinegar and wormwood, which had been popular against plague in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[136] It seems that it was only in the nineteenth century that the uses of the Elixir became more restricted. The remedy, along with all other proprietary and patent medicines, came under sustained criticism from the medical profession from the 1820s onwards. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Elixir had begun to slip from being a cure for gout and the stone to a pacifier for infants. In this guise, it appears repeatedly in the writing of the period. Thackeray, for example, featured it being given to infants several times in his novels. Indeed, it is in *Vanity fair* that the growing hostility of the medical profession to the Elixir

[131] Quincy, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 394; Wellcome Library, MS 7723, fol. 13r; Smith, op. cit., note 117 above, p. 299; Ripley Castle, Yorkshire, MS Elizabeth Eden, 1683.

[132] R Parkinson (ed.), *The life of Adam Martindale, written by himself*, Chetham Society, **4**, Manchester, 1845, p. 208.

[133] In the *ODNB*, vol. 14, p. 893, this was assumed to be Thomas Daffy. Given that Anthony was the main producer at this time, it seems likely that it was he who supplied Delamere.

[134] Katharine C Balderston (ed.), *Thraliana: the diary of Mrs Hester Lynch Thrale (later Mrs Piozzi), 1776–1809*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1942, p. 319.

[135] 18 April 1765. *The letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, vol. 4, 1762–1766*, ed. P Cunningham, London, Henry G Bohn, 1861–66, p. 346.

[136] Henry D Biddle (ed.), *Extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Drinker, from 1759 to 1807, A.D.*, Philadelphia, J B Lippincott, 1889, entry for 28 Aug. 1793.

and its like is made most apparent. The Elixir plays a crucial part in the argument between Amelia and her mother. When Amelia catches her "surreptitiously administering" Daffy's Elixir to her infant son, she rebels and "flung the bottle crashing into the fire-place. 'I will *not* have baby poisoned, Mamma!' ... 'He shall not have any medicine but that which Mr. Pestler sends for him. He told me that Daffy's Elixir was poison.' "[137] As Amelia's comment suggests, such remedies were becoming increasingly controversial even in the nursery.[138]

Conclusion

Poison the Elixir was not. But it was certainly a commodity with a controversial and complex history, as Anthony Daffy's Account Book and the legal papers that survive with it make clear. They also reveal how in the late seventeenth century, Anthony Daffy succeeded in commercializing Daffy's Elixir, taking a family recipe and making it the basis of a thriving and expanding manufacturing and distribution business that covered much of Britain and reached far beyond its shores. To achieve this, he spent much time and effort in developing a business network that would sustain the trade in a number of different countries. The comfortable existence and civic prominence as master of the Cordwainers' Company that it brought him is a good measure of his success, even if the fate of his business after his death was less straightforward.

What does the Elixir Account Book tell us more generally about proprietary medicines and the business environment of late seventeenth-century England? Most obviously, Daffy's life was certainly not visibly marked by the marginal status that some have retrospectively assigned to proprietary medicine makers. As the scale of Daffy's distribution network underlines, proprietary medicines were one of the clearest manifestations of London's near monopoly of specialist service industries within England. Nearly every prominent proprietary medicine was produced in London and distributed from there across the country.[139] They also illustrate the growing confidence and success of the capital as a source of manufactured commodities for a broader international market at a time of expansion in trade. Daffy's export-orientation stands in contrast to the deference to imported medicines that was more general at the start of the century. The importance of personal connections, sustained by gifts and assistance, and the generous terms of trade

[137] William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity fair: a novel without a hero*, Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 486; William Makepeace Thackeray, *The works of William Makepeace Thackeray, with biographical introductions by his daughter, Anne Ritchie*, vol. 4, *The memoirs of Barry Lyndon, Esq., The Fitz-Boodle papers, Men's wives, Etc.*, London, Smith, Elder, 1899, p. 282. See also Pisistratus Caxton, [Edward Bulwer-Lytton], *What will he do with it?*, 2 vols, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1892, vol. 2, p. 115; Kirby Hare, 'That beast beauty', *The Idler Magazine*, 1893, **3**: 13.

[138] See John Bunnell Davis, *A cursory inquiry into some of the principal causes of mortality among children*, London, the author, 1817, 'caution V'.

[139] One of the few exceptions, appears to have been the Bristol-based chemical practitioner whose "elixir proprietatis" was sold by, among others, John Kimbar of Bristol, who also sold Daffy's Elixir: BL, Sloane 3773, fol. 63r. Samuel Hartlib also records in his *Ephemerides*, 24 January 1659, that an apothecary had paid £100 for the recipe of a medicine produced by a man in Marlborough, Wiltshire, "who hath perfectly cured stone Gout Feavers and Agues ... it may bee bought there (the powder or liquor) and is sent over all the Nation". The Hartlib Papers Online, The Humanities Research Institute Online Press (www.hrionline.ac.uk). "Ephemerides, Anni. 1659", 29/8/1A.

that Daffy offered to help his business expand are clear. In this, Daffy's enterprise underlines the significance of informal associations and the careful building of trust in early modern commerce. Given the close association between proprietary medicines and print that the survival of evidence has produced, it is also worth underlining that whilst Daffy's was a business that made great use of the press, it is not clear that the success of the Elixir was dependent upon it, as has been implied in some studies of proprietary medicines. Advertisements in this case appear to have come after the Elixir was already established.[140]

Daffy's Elixir was a popular and successful proprietary medicine, but it was far from unique. As Anthony Daffy's struggles with rivals and counterfeiters underline, his product succeeded in a crowded market. His enterprise probably sat towards the upper end of the spectrum in possessing such a substantial network, but others, such as Lionel Lockyer, appear to have attained similar, perhaps even greater, levels of success than Daffy. That the extensive supply network revealed here was almost certainly only one small fragment of a much larger sector suggests that proprietary medicines formed a more significant aspect of the medical world of the late seventeenth century than has generally been thought. The size, scale and structure of the proprietary medicine businesses that came before Daffy must remain an open question unless a similar source is discovered. Nevertheless, Anthony Daffy's Account Book reveals their importance in meeting the demands for medical commodities of a wide, international cross-section of society in the late seventeenth century.

[140] Porter, op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 44–7; L H Curth, 'The medical content of English almanacs, 1640–1700', PhD thesis, London University, 2001, pp. 240–6; Styles, op. cit., note 3 above, pp. 150–1. See also R B Walker, 'Advertising in London newspapers, 1650–1750', *Business History*, 1973, **15**: 112–30.