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Dufilho, Grandchamps, or Peyroux? The Development of Professional Pharmacy in Colonial
and Early National American Louisiana

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
In History
With a concentration in Public History

By
Laurel "Lauri" A. Dorrance
B. S. University of Nebraska at Omaha, 2001

May, 2011

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Acknowledgments

As I sit here a few days before I defend my work, I realize I am grateful for many things and am blessed in many ways. My time at the University of New Orleans, though grueling, turned out to be the academic experience I have dreamed of. When I entered the program, I thought I was merely collecting the proper degree in order to find work in the field of history upon graduation. It turned out to be so much more—I had excellent professors who encouraged me to experiment and learn all I can, I made many friends whom I am proud to call my colleagues and I completed work that will be of use to others.

But I didn't do this alone. In the fall of 1996, I began my academic career, entering the University of Nebraska at Omaha's history program. With the encouragement of my friends, Val Fowler, Ernie Vining and Ramon Ybarra, and under the mentorship of Dr. Marian Nelsen, I graduated in the spring of 2001 with a BS degree in history, Cum Laude. After graduation, in July of 2001, I visited New Orleans and fell in love with the city. I decided at that time to move to New Orleans and attend graduate school there, though it took me three years to organize the venture. I arrived in New Orleans September 9, 2004.

I had intended to be in a MA history program by 2006, but these plans had to be pushed back because of hurricane Katrina. By the spring of 2007, I was ready to launch my plans to apply for the MA program in history with a concentration in public history at the University of New Orleans after meeting graduate advisor, Dr. Molly Mitchell. Without the help of the Tribe, particularly Dudley Batchelor, Sherry Snyder, Esther Norton, and Kathy Berard, my road to graduate school would have been much rockier. I also wish to thank Mark Cave of the Historic New Orleans Collection, whom I met in the aftermath of Katrina and whose kind encouragement

helped me stay focused on my goals. As well, I'd like to thank Steve Thomas of More Fun Comic Shop (New Orleans, LA), whose willingness to participate in the UNO-Oak Street Festival history panel helped create a small body of work that has been and will continue to be enjoyed by many.

My professors at the university deserve my thanks and gratitude. Without their patience, my academic experience at the University of New Orleans would have been the poorer. It is professors like these that permit a beginner to have a chance to discover, explore and hone their skills as a historian. Many thanks to my thesis committee, Drs. Connie Atkinson, Gunter J. Bischof and Al Kennedy. I'd like to express my appreciation of the two graduate advisors with whom I worked with—Drs. Molly Mitchell and James Mokhiber. Last but not least, I wish to thank Dr. Michael Mizell-Nelson, who introduced me to the practice of public history.

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In closing, all I can say is that each and every one of you, mentioned and unmentioned, totally rock, and I'm glad to have known and worked with you all. As Spock of Star Trek says, "Live long and prosper."—Laurel A. Dorrance, April 10, 2011.

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Abstract

This paper will examine the hidden history of the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum and investigate the claims regarding the first licensed pharmacist in the United States. Drawing from legislative, church, medical, legal and institutional records, this study argues that colonial control, such as regulations governing medical practice and licensing requirements, established by continental powers in their overseas colonies, tended to recreate traditions and laws found in the home countries. For instance, the more rigorous licensing requirements for medical professionals, as practiced in France and Spain, were also the custom in Louisiana. However, when Louisiana became part of the United States, these regulations were relaxed, reflecting the *laissez-faire* policy of English laws and custom. This work challenges the bias often found in the presentation of American historical experience that makes claims for English colonial traditions informing the entire American experience.

Keywords: Pharmacy, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., François Grandchamps, 19th Century, Colonial, Early National, Examination, Museum, New Orleans, Louisiana, United States, David L. Cowen, Licensing, Legislation

Introduction

In the French Quarter of New Orleans at 500 Chartres Street is located a famous tourist attraction, the Napoleon House. A few doors down is the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum, situated at 514-516 Chartres Street. The museum is housed in a Creole townhouse built in 1822 or 1823 by Louis J. Dufilho, Jr.,¹ who is honored by the museum and the Louisiana State Board of Pharmacy as the first licensed pharmacist in the United States—a claim examined in this paper. For many years, Dufilho, Jr.'s, house had popularly, but mistakenly, been known as “Napoleon House.” The earliest mention in print of this erroneous association dates to 1895, when Henry C. Castellanos wrote that the house had been built by “. . . enthusiastic Frenchmen as the future residence for Napoleon Bonaparte, then confined to St. Helena, whom they had sworn to rescue by a *coup de main* from his prison island. . .”² It was not until the late 1930s, when an interest in the factual history of architecture in the Vieux Carré was at its height, that this error could be corrected. Once corrected, each house could reclaim its rightful identity and history--one a house built by Mayor Girod to shelter Napoleon and the other the site of a *pharmacie*, with a secret, forgotten history of its own.

This paper will examine the hidden history of the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum and investigate the claims regarding the first licensed pharmacist in the United States. This study argues that governmental controls, such as regulations governing medical practice and licensing requirements, established by continental powers in their overseas colonies, tended to recreate the same traditions and laws found in the home countries. Further, America's uneven medical and

¹ Friends of Historical Pharmacy, “Building Architecture & History,” New Orleans Pharmacy Museum, <<http://www.pharmacymuseum.org/building.html>> (accessed February 9, 2011).

² Henry C. Castellanos, *New Orleans As It Was: Episodes of Louisiana Life* (New Orleans, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 1961), 148.

pharmaceutical development reflects those colonial differences and challenges the usual Northeastern (English Colonial) slant in the presentation of American history that upholds the idea that English colonial tradition informs the entire American historical experience. In conducting this examination, prodigious research from local and international archives and libraries ranging from sources drawn from legislation, church records, medical records, court records, and materials dating from the American colonial and Early National periods has been utilized. This research also builds on the groundbreaking work by David L. Cowen in the early 1940s, who first investigated these questions at that time.

Simplified claims by tourist sites as to the “firsts” and “earliest” housed within them are common, and the Pharmacy Museum is no exception, but an investigation into the claims of the Pharmacy Museum brings to light a near-forgotten-but-absorbing history of the development of medicine in colonial Louisiana and provides additional information about medical licensing during the Early National Period as Louisiana shifted from French colonial territory status to American statehood. This forgotten history suggests that during Louisiana’s transition to statehood, two separate medical traditions, one French-Spanish, the other English, came into direct contact with one another and influenced each other. This revealed history divulges the names of other pharmacists whose credentials dispute Dufilho Jr.’s, title as “America’s First Pharmacist.”

Legally, Who’s On First?

When considering who is the rightful claimant to the title of the “First Licensed Pharmacist in the United States,” an examination of legislation and the differing educational backgrounds of the two men in direct competition with one another, François Grandchamps and

Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., sheds light on this debate. An examination of legislation, in particular, is useful as legislation outlines the requirements for licensing pharmacists of the period.

Ed Reed, in his *Wet Graves, Hoodoo Men and Sharp Cats: The History of Pharmacy in Louisiana from the Very Beginning*, initially states that in 1816, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr. became the first license holder in the United States. However, a few pages later, Reed groups the men together as the first license holders.³ *Kremer and Urdang's History of Pharmacy* states that François Grandchamps and Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., received the first licenses granted to pharmacists “within a political jurisdiction of the United States.”⁴ *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, edited by John Duffy, does not name the first person to hold a license in pharmacy during this period,⁵ but in the notes compiled by Matas in preparation for the writing of this work, it is stated,

“On the date of the first meeting [*of the Comité Médical—author's italics*], April 29th, the first license or certificate was issued to M. Mel Halphen, and on May 11th, the first certificate as apothecary, to Louis Joseph Dufilho.”⁶

In his writings about Louisiana pharmacy, Dr. David L. Cowen, professor emeritus of Rutgers University and a leading figure in the history of pharmacy, always considered Grandchamps and Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., as the first license holders.⁷

³ Ed Reed, *Wet Graves, Hoodoo Men and Sharp Cats: The History of Pharmacy in Louisiana From the Very Beginning* (New Orleans, LA: Louisiana Board of Pharmacy, 1989), 16, 34.

⁴ Edward Kremers and George Urdang, *Kremers and Urdang's History of Pharmacy*, 4th ed. (Madison, WI: American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1986), 184.

⁵ Rudolph Matas, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Vol. 1, ed. John Duffy (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), 335.

⁶ Rudolph Matas Papers, Manuscript Collection 868, Folder 12 (1810-1819), Box 39, LA Research Collection, Tulane University Libraries.

⁷ David Laurence Cowen, “A Roster of the Licensed Apothecaries of Louisiana, 1816-1847,” *Journal of the New Orleans College of Pharmacy* 8 (1943): 3; Idem, “French Pharmacy in Louisiana in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries,”

To discover who holds the first United States-issued license to practice pharmacy, a survey of the various laws and regulations passed during the relevant period, 1804-1816, may help reveal who the rightful claimant could be. To better understand the laws that were passed at that time, a consideration of the various colonial traditions that acted as a foundation for further developments is in order.

Colonial Traditions and European Influences

As Louisiana Territory was a French (and later Spanish) territory, its tradition in pharmacy was shaped by the “mother country,” much like English territories were shaped by English traditions in pharmacy. During the 12th Century, France passed regulations that implicitly recognized pharmacy as a separate branch of medicine with professionalization and educational efforts following. *Kremers and Urdang’s History of Pharmacy* implies that as early as 1180 CE in Montpellier, an *especiador* (preparer of drugs) was required to undergo examination before taking the professional oath of the *especiador*.⁸

In Spain, pharmacy received recognition as a separate field of medicine as early as the 13th Century. Efforts to legislate pharmacy practice and pharmaceutical educations quickly followed. In 1292, the first legislative recognition of pharmacy as a separate branch of medicine is found in decrees passed by James the Conqueror in the territories of Aragon and Catalonia. Medical practitioners who wished to practice pharmacy had to submit to an examination conducted by a panel of royal examiners, who assessed the applicant’s knowledge of pharmacy.⁹

Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie 42 (1975): 24.

⁸ Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 67.

⁹ Edward Kremers and George Urdang, “The Development in Spain,” in *Kremers and Urdang’s History of Pharmacy*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1951), 98.

The situation in England was a bit more fluid. No single class of practitioner dealt exclusively in pharmacy until 1815, with the passage of the Apothecaries Act, which allowed for the establishment of professional standards and formal education. An amendment to the Apothecaries Act clearly delineated chemists and druggists (who strictly practiced pharmacy) from surgeons, doctors and apothecaries. Apothecaries in England initially acted as pharmacists but by the 1500s had slowly evolved into minor medical practitioners. Apothecaries occupied this anomalous position in England and with colonization in North America, the practice carried over into England's colonies with apothecaries providing pharmaceutical goods as well as acting as minor medical practitioners.¹⁰

From these beginnings, a dual-track system of education in pharmacy developed on the continent and perpetuated itself in North America. The "traditional track" included those who learned the trade via apprenticeship with an established pharmacist, while the "modern track" emphasized a formal education and an internship served under an experienced pharmacist. Licensing requirements in the United States allowed for both tracks to co-exist throughout the 1800s across the country. In France, apprenticeship was the most common means of learning the trade though attempts at education were made throughout the 1700s. This situation changed with the 1777 establishment of *Collège de Pharmacie*, when pharmaceutical education became institutionalized and a requirement for licensing, though novice pharmacists were also required to spend three years in an internship.¹¹

Throughout the 18th century, a similar situation developed in Spain. While various courses on pharmacy were available during the 1700s, such as the program at the College of

¹⁰ Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 100, 103-05.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 68-77. I use the term "internship" rather than apprenticeship because internships are undertaken as part of academic study, while apprenticeships do not necessarily include formal education.

Pharmacists of Madrid, the traditional track of education via apprenticeship dominated until 1799. At this time, the College of Madrid began to require class attendance by apprentices. The College of Madrid pharmacy program required applicants to possess a Bachelor of Arts degree, which included the mastery of Latin, logic and mathematics. Upon admission to the pharmacy program, students studied natural history, chemistry and pharmacy for three years followed by a two-year internship in an established pharmacy or in the school's laboratory.¹²

England lagged behind the continent in requiring formal education as part of the licensing process. A 1543 Parliamentary Act allowed for practitioners to prescribe according to their "cunning, experience and knowledge," though they were limited to treating external problems while the only "drinks" these practitioners could prepare treated "stone, strangury, or auges."¹³ In 1617, King James I established a London guild of apothecaries, which distinguished the apothecary from grocers and excluded "grocers or other persons" from selling, compounding and administering medicines. These English apothecaries evolved into general medical practitioners.¹⁴ Individuals who exclusively practiced pharmacy did not receive recognition until 1842, when the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain first organized. In the following year, 1843, the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain published their charter that called for the establishment for a consistent, university education.¹⁵

With the 1718 establishment of *Nouvelle Orléans* by the French, came laws and regulations governing medical practice. In 1723, five years after the founding of the city of New Orleans, the Superior Council of Louisiana Colony mandated that medical practitioners were

¹² Kremers & Urdang, "The Development in Spain," 100-01, 107-08.

¹³ *The Statutes at Large, of England and of Great Britain: From Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms Great Britain and Ireland In Twenty Volumes*, "An Act that Persons, being no common Surgeons, may administer outward Medicines," 3 (1840): 395-96.

¹⁴ Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 107-08.

required to possess an official appointment or submit to an examination by the chief surgeons of the colony in order to practice. This edict proved impossible to enforce due to the dearth of manpower in the territory and lack of centralized authority. A second attempt at regulation came in 1743 when the Superior Council required all doctors, surgeons and midwives to undergo examination and receive the approval of the King's physicians and surgeon majors in order to practice. This measure met with a degree of success.¹⁶ While these ordinances did not specify pharmacists or pharmaceutical practice, their passage does illustrate that France's long tradition of medical regulation was being successfully transferred to the new territory.

Louisiana under Spanish Control, 1763-1803

In 1763, when the Louisiana Colony passed into the hands of the Spanish, the Cabildo¹⁷ took over the colony's administrative duties, including the passage of regulations and laws. Legal statutes about medicine and medical practice expanded to specifically include practitioners of pharmacy. On November 25, 1769, Governor Alexander O'Reilly, operating under the Laws of the Indies (the Spanish body of laws used to govern colonies within the new world), accepted a pharmacy code written by Dr. François LeBeau, the royal physician. On January 12, 1770, the Cabildo approved the Pharmacy Code, which included provisions such as a poison law, a policy for discarding adulterated or spoiled drugs and requirements to price drugs at a "reasonable" rate. The Code did not have provisions for the examination or licensing of pharmacists.

At this time, pharmacist Jean Peyroux requested permission to open an apothecary shop in the city of New Orleans. Royal Physician LaBeau examined Peyroux. In the fall of 1769, Peyroux, who did not have a diploma of any kind and learned the trade via the traditional track

¹⁶ Reed, *Wet Graves*, 10.

¹⁷ The Cabildo acted as the seat of the Spanish colonial government in New Orleans with members of the Cabildo functioning as a city council.

of education (apprenticeship),¹⁸ received a provisional license to open his shop and practice the profession of pharmacy. Peyroux's license received confirmation from the Cabildo on January 12, 1770, when the Pharmacy Code itself passed into law. With Jean Peyroux, a process of licensing was established, which required the applicant to request permission of city officials to take the medical exam in order to practice. Upon receiving permission to undergo an exam with an appointed medical official and passing the exam, a license is issued by the civic government to the successful applicant.

These licensing requirements did not change during the era of Spanish control of Louisiana as can be seen by the licensing papers issued in 1803 to Louis Dufilho, elder brother of Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr. On May 4, 1803, Louis Dufilho requested the permission of city officials to practice as a *pharmacien*, which was followed by his examination on June 20th. At that time, Pedro Pedesclaux, Secretary of the Cabildo, issued Louis Dufilho a license to practice as a "*pharmacien*." This license was confirmed by city officials on July 15, 1803. This procedure is identical to that followed by Jean Peyroux.¹⁹

In a second decree by Governor O'Reilly dated February 12, 1770, the Governor went one step further when he explicitly recognized pharmacy as a separate branch of medicine, though the bulk of the decree concerned the activities of surgeons. In this landmark decree, O'Reilly states that medicine is made of three separate but complimentary branches—medicine proper, surgery and pharmacy—the first recognition of its kind made by any official on North

¹⁸ Rudolph Matas Papers (RMP), Manuscript Collection 868 (MC 868), Folder 7 (1760-1769), Box 39, LA Research Collection, Tulane University Libraries. [No page numbers.]

¹⁹ Louis A. Wilson, "Early Louisiana Pharmacists: The Peyroux's and The Dufilho's," 9-10. I received these materials, which are largely a compilation of primary documents and translations of these and other primary documents, from Mrs. Liz Sherman of the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum by mail dated February 25, 2011. In the licensing paperwork dated June 28, 1803, for "Luis" Dufilho, (p. 9), the title issued to Louis was "*pharmacien*," though the confirmation (dated July 15, 1803, p. 10) referred to Louis as a "druggist."

American soil.²⁰ O'Reilly states, "In all civilized states each has its field, protected by laws and regulations which prevent the encroachment of one upon the other—a source of much confusion."²¹

Six years after Louisiana's Pharmacy Code, drafted under Spanish colonial law, the Revolutionary War commenced in the thirteen English colonies. Apothecaries in the English colonies practiced as minor medical practitioners rather than exclusively as pharmacists, a practice imported from England. Doctors, surgeons, chemists, druggists and general stores also compounded, prescribed or sold pharmaceuticals.²² In the edicts the Continental Congress issued to the military medical corps during the American Revolution, pharmacy received recognition as a separate branch of medicine. In 1777, the Second Continental Congress passed a resolution that delineated the duties of the pharmacist and restricted those practitioners to the field of pharmacy only. Like O'Reilly, the United States military and the Pennsylvania Hospital (established in 1751), recognized pharmacy as a separate branch of medicine.²³

Attempts at legislating examinations in the United States, excepting Louisiana, did not transpire for more than fifty years after Governor O'Reilly's 1770 proclamation in Louisiana. In 1832, the State of New York passed a statute requiring practitioners of pharmacy to undergo examination or provide a diploma from a school of pharmacy in order to practice.²⁴ Unlike some Louisiana territorial laws, the dual-track system of education (traditional track via apprenticeship

²⁰ Reed, *Wet Graves*, 12-14; David L. Cowen, "French Pharmacy in Louisiana in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," 22-23; Idem, "Louisiana, Pioneer in the Regulation of Pharmacy." *Louisiana Historical Society* 26 (1943): 330-31.

²¹ Douglas C. McMurtrie, "A Louisiana Decree of 1770 Relative to the Practice of Medicine and Pharmacy," *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, vol. 86 (July 1933): 9.

²² Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th Ed, 152-58.

²³ *Ibid.*, 160, 164.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

and modern track which emphasized an academic program) still received recognition in the larger United States.

As can be seen, the French and Spanish medical traditions in Louisiana grew out of medical practices transferred from continental Europe, including a clear division of the different branches of medical fields, licensing regulations and attempts to formalize medical education. In Louisiana, this was the direct result of government interventions. In the formerly English colonies, initiatives for licensing, regulation and education sprang from individuals and institutions, such as the Pennsylvania Hospital. The only American government decrees concerning pharmacy affected military medicine in a time of war and did not apply to the general population. “It is but natural that the laws mirror English custom and spirit,”²⁵ and the philosophy of *laissez faire*, which prohibited government involvement in economic activity, informed the laws of English colonial America.²⁶

1804 New Orleans City Ordinance and the Traditional Track of Education

From 1800 to 1812, the Louisiana territory existed in a state of flux, moving from territorial status to statehood. During 1800-1803, the territory actually passed through the hands of three colonial overlords (Spain, France and the United States) in quick succession. In 1803, the region became part of the United States territory proper with the Louisiana Purchase. In 1812, a portion of Louisiana Territory became the State of Louisiana.

On July 9, 1804, Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne signed a New Orleans city ordinance directing medical practitioners and pharmacists to register their diplomas with the city and those lacking a diploma to undergo an examination before a health committee composed of three physicians and two city council members. This ordinance recognized the dual-track system

²⁵ Ibid., 158.

²⁶ Ibid., 100, 102.

of instruction via the traditional track and the modern track. The formation of a medical committee occurred within days of the passage of the ordinance.²⁷ The ordinance identified pharmacists rather than apothecaries or *pharmacien*, demonstrating that an American medical tradition had entered the area with the Louisiana Purchase, identifying those who healed using medicine as pharmacists rather than the more continental-oriented British apothecary or French *pharmacien*.

The website of the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum implies that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., received his license to practice in 1816 under the 1804 provisions established by Governor Claiborne. The webpage titled “The History of Louis J. Dufilho, Jr.,” states that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr.’s “most significant contribution to the history and integrity of the field of pharmacy took place in New Orleans in 1816.” The page then goes on to discuss the 1804 licensing provisions established by Governor Claiborne. After this short discussion, the piece closes with, “Louis J. Dufilho, Jr. was the first person to pass the licensing examination, therefore making his pharmacy the first United States apothecary shop to be conducted on the basis of proven accuracy.”²⁹ One is left with the impression that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., received a license in 1816 under the 1804 legal provisions.

This would have been impossible. Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., born in 1788,³⁰ made this *pharmacien* only sixteen years of age at the time of the 1804 licensing requirements and he could not have had the necessary training and knowledge to receive a license in 1804 Louisiana. Though Louisiana did not yet require a university education as part of its licensing regulations in

²⁷ Matas, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Vol. 1, 326.

²⁹ Friends of Historical Pharmacy, “The History of Louis J. Dufilho, Jr.,” New Orleans Pharmacy Museum, <<http://www.pharmacymuseum.org/history.html>> (accessed October 20, 2009).

³⁰ Stephan Houin, “The Dufilho Family in Louisiana,” Tulane University School of Architecture, “514-516 Chartres Street,” *Vieux Carré Survey*, vol. 27, New Orleans, LA: 1966. The Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, New Orleans, LA.

1804, the dual-track system of education (traditional track via apprenticeship and modern track via class work and an internship) continued to thrive with apprenticeship still accepted as a viable and legitimate means of education.

Apprenticeship was an arduous process lasting many years that relied on a proficiency in Latin as the majority of medical literature at this time was written in Latin. Examination of the various terms of apprenticeship in different territories indicates that at the age of 16, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., would not have had time to complete a multi-year apprenticeship sufficient to prepare him to pass a lengthy, oral examination.

In 17th and 18th Century France, requirements for applicants included working for four to ten years as an apprentice and clerk before being allowed to take the examination, which included the preparation of a masterwork.³¹ As well, French pharmacists, known as “*apothicaire*,” began to self-identify as “*pharmacien*.” It is speculated that this shift in terminology reflected the desire of these new professionals to escape the negative image that satirists such as Molière, who portrayed the *apothecaire* as a notorious figure known for charging outrageous prices for prescriptions.³² Spanish regulations called for apprenticeships lasting from four to eight years before an applicant could apply for examination.³³ In England in

³¹ Masterwork: Complex preparations, such as *theriac* (an antidote to poison consisting of about 70 drugs pulverized and reduced with honey to a paste) that were submitted to the requisite guild as evidence of attaining a “master’s” level of competence. Dr. Greg Higby, e-mail message to the author, March 2, 2011; Dictionary.com-Medical Dictionary, “Theriaca,” Dictionary.com, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/theriaca> (accessed March 22, 2011).

³² Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th Ed., 70-71; I will be using this term, *pharmacien*, in order to better differentiate Louisianan and New Orleanian pharmacists from the English-based apothecaries, who acted as minor medical practitioners as well as pharmacists.

³³ Kremers and Urdang, *History*, 2nd ed., 107.

1617, the London Society of Apothecaries established a term of apprenticeship for apothecaries lasting seven years.³⁴

An examination of indenture records of the English colonies of North America reveal apprenticeships ranging in length from three to seven years.³⁵ In Louisiana, these apprenticeship agreements could possibly be found in various notary books as apprenticeships were among the legal transactions notaries recorded. Peyroux, the first *pharmacien* to be licensed in Spanish colonial Louisiana, lacked a university degree.³⁶ Too, an example of apprenticeship is found in the *Louisiana Gazette*. On June 25, 1810, James Heap advertised for an “apprentice to the drug business. A lad about ten years of age, of good moral habits—one that speaks French and English would be preferred.”³⁷

While territorial regulations were more relaxed to accommodate the pioneering efforts of a young nation, it still would not have been possible for Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., to have received a license in 1804. The July 9, 1804, New Orleans city ordinance called for practitioners of medicine, surgery and pharmacy to present their diplomas for registration with the municipal body. The ordinance required those lacking a diploma to submit to an examination before a panel of three physicians and two council members. On August 8, 1804, an amendment to the ordinance added the provision that diploma holders were also to be “interviewed” by two physicians.³⁸ According to Stephen Houin, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., received his diploma in pharmacy in 1816 from the School of Pharmacy in Paris, so he would have been unable to present a

³⁴ Glenn Sonnedecker, “American Pharmaceutical Education Before 1900,” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1952), 14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-23.

³⁶ Reed, *Wet Graves*, 12; RMP, MC 868, Folder 7 (1760-1769), Box 39.

³⁷ Advertisement, “Wanted: An Apprentice to the Drug Business,” *Louisiana Gazette*, June 25, 1810.

³⁸ Matas, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Vol. 1, 327.

diploma to the city fathers in 1804 and it is unlikely that he had the necessary experience to pass an oral examination.³⁹

As his father, *pharmacien* Jean Dufilho, had arrived in New Orleans sometime during 1800-1803, it seems probable that the 1804 license mentioned by the New Orleans Pharmacy Museum website in reference to Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., actually belonged to Louis Joseph's father, Jean Dufilho.

The passage of the 1804 ordinance caused contention within the medical community of New Orleans. According to Matas' *History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Dr. Flood refused to comply with the new regulations as he had undergone a similar process a mere three years before, presumably under the code first established by the Cabildo in the 1770s. Another physician, Dr. Blanquet, also refused. Blanquet had received an appointment to practice as the physician to Charity Hospital and he may have felt that having an official appointment made further licensing unnecessary. Enforcement of the ordinance faltered. Initially, Governor Claiborne delegated the implementation of the ordinance to the Committee of Health. However, in December of 1804, the Committee of Health requested assistance from the City Council with the enforcement of licensing provisions as the committee proved unable to enforce these provisions themselves. Nothing more is heard from this committee.⁴⁰

1808 Territorial Act Concerning Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries

In 1808 came a further effort to regulate medical practice, when the legislature of the Territory of Orleans passed the Act of 1808 Concerning Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries. This act followed French practice in only recognizing new practitioners that trained via the modern track of education. The 1808 act did not recognize new apothecaries who trained by

³⁹ Houin, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana," *Vieux Carré Survey*.

⁴⁰ Matas, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Vol. 1, 329-30.

way of the traditional track of apprenticeship. This 1808 Act was, in some respects, a tougher law than the 1804 city ordinance. The act entailed new medical practitioners to provide the mayor of New Orleans with proof of a diploma from his university or school along with a request to practice. Once an applicant's credentials had been established by the mayor, the applicant submitted to a public examination conducted by four physicians or surgeons appointed by the mayor. Upon successfully passing the examination, the applicant received a certificate of admission signed by the four examiners and the mayor. Unfortunately, the 1808 Act did not establish any kind of repository for an official record of license holders.⁴¹

Section Four of the Act, which outlined examination requirements, though tougher than the 1804 act, allowed practitioners “who were residing in the territory of Orleans prior to the passage of said act,”⁴² to practice, regardless of the training or certification possessed by these individuals. However, the 1808 law did not state how a health worker practicing in the area prior to the Act's passage would have registered that fact with the authorities. The 1808 Act also led to contention in the medical community. The April 4, 1808, issue of the *Courrier de la Louisiane* featured a letter by Dr. C. Gros to Dr. Robin, one of the sponsors of the bill. In reference to Section Four of the 1808 Act, Gros states, “You [*Dr. Robin*] have, to use a trite expression, shut the wolf in the sheep fold.”⁴³

The 1808 Act did not provide for any type of enforcement of the Act's provisions. Under the regulations of the Act, only practitioners licensed under the requirements of the 1808 Act were permitted to apply through the courts for remuneration. On top of this, the clear division of

⁴¹ Territory of Orleans, An Act Concerning Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries, *Louisiana Gazette*, April 11, 1808; Text of 1808 Act Concerning Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries taken from Reed, *Wet Graves*, 157-58; Cowen, “Louisiana, Pioneer in the Regulation of Pharmacy,” 331-33.

⁴² Reed, *Wet Graves*, 157.

⁴³ Matas, *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana*, Vol. 1, 333-34.

the branches of medicine into medicine proper, surgery and pharmacy as established by Governor O'Reilly did not carry over into the 1808 Act. Doctors and surgeons could legitimately administer and sell remedies at a rate of 300% more than an apothecary.⁴⁴

These new Acts regulating the various practitioners of medicine were necessary in New Orleans due to the sudden explosion in population. Subsequent to the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, American citizens from the eastern coastal and northern states arrived in New Orleans on the waves of western expansion. As well, since 1791, New Orleans had also been a port of call for those fleeing the revolutionary upheavals and wars in the Caribbean and Europe. New laws were needed to separate the wheat (legitimate medical practitioners) from the chaff (quacks and charlatans).

The Two Contenders

Sometime during 1800-1803, the Dufilho family came to New Orleans from Mirande, France. Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., would have been somewhere between the ages of 12 and 15 when he arrived in New Orleans. Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., was accompanied by his father, Jean Dufilho, a *pharmacien*, his older brother, Louis Dufilho, also a *pharmacien*, and possibly by his mother, Jean Marie Bonnet, also a native of Mirande, France.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Reed, *Wet Graves*, 157-58.

⁴⁵ Confusion can well reign when discussing the males of the Dufilho family. Jean Dufilho, the father of Louis Dufilho and Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., also went by the name *J. Dufilho*. Louis Dufilho, the elder son of Jean Dufilho and elder brother of Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., would go by *L. Dufilho* and *Luis Dufilho*. Jean Dufilho's younger son, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., was known as *J. Dufilho*, *L. Dufilho*, and *L. J. Dufilho*. All three men practiced pharmacy in Louisiana. There is reason to believe that there was a third son, H. Dufilho, but little is known of this gentleman, not even his Christian name. Refer to Houin, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana," *Vieux Carré Survey*.

Simplified Family Tree of the Dufilho Family

Jean Dufilho (Father—Date of birth unknown.)

Louis Dufilho (b. 1778)

Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr (b. 1788)

In France, accounts record the presence of a family of *pharmacien* from Mirande, France, called Dufilho, who studied in Paris. In 1787, a Joseph Dufilho, son of Master *Pharmacien* Jean Dufilho of Mirande, France, enrolled for classes in the Paris College of Pharmacy. This Joseph Dufilho was born circa 1760, being 26 years old when he received a certificate from *Monsieur* Sagot stating that Joseph Dufilho stayed with *Monsieur* Sagot for a period of seven months. Presumably this stay related to Joseph Dufilho's education. In 1796, another Joseph Dufilho (born c. 1766), underwent examination by the Paris College of Pharmacy. While the information is far from complete, this Joseph Dufilho passed the initial part of the examination process, which probably covered aspects of *materia medica*, the study of the origin, preparation, dosage and administration of medicinal drugs. In a pharmacy school enrollment register dated 1803-1805, Augustine Dufilho is recorded as residing at the home of *Monsieur* Dufilho⁴⁶

More study of the records is needed in order to clarify family relationships. The similarity, even the repetitiousness of the names Joseph and (to a lesser degree) Jean and Augustine, strongly argues some kind of family connection. In 1807, Louis Dufilho of New Orleans had a child named Augusto, who died in 1810 at the age of three years.⁴⁷ On April 8, 1829, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr. buried his five-year old son, Auguste, out of St. Louis

⁴⁶ Dr. Olivier Lafont, e-mail message to the author, April 22, 2010.

⁴⁷ Charles E. Nolan, ed., *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Diocese of New Orleans*, vol. 10, 1810-1812 (New Orleans, LA: Archives of the Archdiocese, 1995), 156.

Cathedral.⁴⁸ Further research could reveal that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., continued a tradition in pharmacy that possibly goes back three or four generations.

When we turn to the case of François Grandchamps, a native of Maine, France,⁴⁹ his provenance is recorded in an advertisement from the *Courrier de la Louisiane*, dated October 14, 1811, where Grandchamps outlines his movements from 1791 to the opening of his shop in New Orleans in 1811.⁵⁰

FRANCIS GRANDCHAMPS,
FORMERLY apothecary & drug-
gist of St. Domingo, by a patent
from the government obtained in 1791,
having exercised that profession in St.
Yago de Cuba, under the authorisation
of the faculty of medicine of Havana.
and by permission of the captain-ge-
neral of the island, and for nearly two
years in Baltimore, has established
himself in this place. He has the ho-
nor to inform the public in general and
his friends in particular, that he has o-
pened a Drug Store in this city, cor-
ner of Royal & St. Peter streets, in the
house formerly belonging to Mr. Pe-
desclaux, where he has for sale a ge-
neral assortment of Fresh Drugs of
the best quality, by wholesale or retail,
as also all kinds of Patent Medicines,
Surgeons' Instruments, &c. at mode-
rate prices and on easy terms. He will
also put up medicines for the country
when demanded, and by his care in
executing their orders, he hopes to me-
rit the confidence of those who em-
ploy him. October 4.

“Francis Grandchamps,” *Courrier de la Louisiane*, October 14, 1811.

Grandchamps first received a government patent to practice pharmacy in the French colonial territory of St. Domingue in 1791.⁵¹ Since France required a college education as part of its licensing, a cautious assumption could be made that Grandchamps enjoyed some education

⁴⁸ Nolan, *Sacramental Record*, vol. 18, 1828-1829, 132.

⁴⁹ Nolan, *Sacramental Record*, vol. 14, 1820-1821, 185.

⁵⁰ Advertisement, “Francis Grandchamps,” *Courrier de la Louisiane*, October 14, 1811.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

along with the necessary internship, which would permit him to pass a licensing examination and receive a government patent.

From 1791 to 1793, ninety percent of the white population of St. Domingue fled as a result of the slave revolts there. Spikes in migration occurred in 1793, when the British invaded St. Domingue, and in 1798, when Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leader of the slave revolts, drove out the British, becoming the defacto ruler of the territory. Emigration continued until 1803, when General Dessalines finally expelled the last of the French forces from St. Domingue. In 1803, a final wave of refugees left St. Domingue when General Dessalines took over the territory and declared an anti-white policy, slaughtering any white person caught on the island. Many refugees fled to Cuba during the 1798 and 1803 emigrations waves, François Grandchamps among them.⁵²

Grandchamps moved to St. Yago de Cuba, a Spanish colonial territory, where he married Louise Conain, a widow with no children.⁵³ Louise Conain had been born in St. Marc, in St. Domingue, to Leonard Conain, royal physician and surgeon, and Louise Marie Martin.⁵⁴ While in Cuba, Grandchamps and his wife had a daughter by the name of Maria Chloe.⁵⁵

⁵² John E. Baur, "The International Repercussions of the Haitian Revolution," *The Americas* 26 (1970): 395-96; Bob Corbett, "The Haitian Revolution, Part II," in Bob Corbett's Home Page, <<http://www.webster.edu/~Corbetre/haiti/history/revolution/revolution2.html>> (accessed April 29, 2010); Bob Corbett, "The Haitian Revolution, Part III," in Bob Corbett's Home Page, <<http://www.webster.edu/~Corbetre/haiti/history/revolution/revolution3.html>> (accessed April 29, 2010); Thomas Fiehrer, "Saint-Domingue/Haiti: Louisiana's Caribbean Connection," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 30 (1989): 427, 429-301, 434; Paul Lachance, "The 1809 Immigration of Saint Domingue Refugees to New Orleans: Reception, Integration and Impact," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29 (1988): 110-11.

⁵³ *Grandchamps v. Mrs. Delpauch*, 1549-1842, Louisiana Probate Court Index, 1823-1845, (New Orleans, LA: City Archives—New Orleans Public Library.)

⁵⁴ Nolan, *Sacramental Records*, vol. 14, 185.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 17, 178.

After receiving permission from Cuba's Captain-General, Grandchamps practiced pharmacy in St. Yago de Cuba under the authority of the Faculty of Medicine of Havana.⁵⁶ Members of the Faculty of Medicine of Havana established an organization governing medicine, the *Protomedicato*. The *Protomedicato* recognized three methods of licensing. Ideally, applicants presented a diploma from a school recognized by the *Protomedicato* and passed an examination given by this organization. Applicants could also receive a license without a diploma if they passed the examination. A third method allowed for applicants who had received royal permission to practice. The "Royal" applicant merely had to present his credentials to the *Protomedicato*, with no examination necessary.⁵⁷ The advertisement announcing Grandchamps' practice does not clarify under what conditions he received his licensing.

In 1809, the Spanish colony of Cuba expelled all French citizens in response to the invasion of Spain by Napoleon.⁵⁸ While it cannot be said why Grandchamps chose Baltimore, Maryland on the Atlantic coast as his destination, it would have had many attractions for him. Established in 1729, Baltimore reflected the exuberance of youth. The American Revolution spurred the growth of Baltimore from sleepy hamlet to bustling port city. Grandchamps and his family would have met a warm welcome from the French community already resident in the city. This community has its roots in a group of "French Neutrals," who arrived in Baltimore in 1755 after being expelled from Nova Scotia by the British after the Seven Years War. This community tended to settle along St. Charles Street, causing the area to be referred to by locals

⁵⁶ *Courrier* Advertisement, "Francis Grandchamps."

⁵⁷ Dr. Washington Rosell Puig, "Real Tribunal del Protomedicato de la Habana," *Revistas*, vol. 20, no. 2 (2006): <http://bvs.sld.cu/revistas/ems/vol20_2_06/ems09206.html> (accessed March 17, 2010); Dr. Sandra Fabregas Troche, e-mail message to author, April 1, 2010.

⁵⁸ Nathalie Dessens, "The Saint-Domingue Refugees and the Preservation of Gallic Culture in Early American New Orleans," *French Colonial History* 8 (2007): 56; Fiehrer, 437.

as “French Town.” They also established the first Roman Catholic chapel in the city, opening St. Peter’s Church in 1770.⁵⁹

The 1793 emigration movement, inspired by the burning of Cap Français, Haiti converged on the Atlantic coast. On July 9, 1793, Baltimore received fifty-three ships from St. Domingue carrying 1,000 whites and 500 blacks.⁶⁰ The city welcomed these people warmly, donating over \$10,000 for the refugees’ relief.⁶¹ Many of these people made Baltimore their home, expanding the pre-existing French community.

When Grandchamps arrived with his wife and child in 1809, this now large French community stood ready to assist him in his time of need. Whether by his own means, aid from the city, or assistance from other members of the St. Domingue and medical communities, he settled at 74 High Street in the Old Town, an upscale address.⁶² Grandchamps would have found particular pleasure in the lively medical community, still in its early, formative years when he arrived. Baltimore’s first hospital (the future John Hopkins Hospital), established in 1795, was

⁵⁹ Clayton Colman Hall, “Baltimore Town, 1730-1797,” in *Baltimore: Its History and Its People*, ed. Clayton Colman Hall (New York City: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1912), 3-14. The people of Baltimore referred to these individuals as “French Neutrals,” to indicate descent as well as non-combatant status. They were a group of French citizens from the Arcadia region (known today as Nova Scotia) who, in 1755, when forced to choose between swearing loyalty to the English crown or leaving the area, chose to leave. This exodus is referred to as *Le Grand Derangement*. Some of these émigrés arrived in Louisiana around this same time, but were locally called *Acadians*, a term that later evolved into *Cajuns*.

⁶⁰ Hall, 52. This history, written in 1912, is heavily influenced by the boosterism spirit of the period and does not go into any discussion of slavery, the slave community or those of African descent. This mention is virtually the only mention of these topics in this book. Too, New Orleans, accustomed to a tri-caste organization of society that recognized Free People of Color (FPC) as distinct from slaves, differed from Anglo-Saxon Baltimore, with its biracial social system. Unlike the 1809-1810 influx recorded in New Orleans, which carefully documented white, FPC and slave refugees, Baltimore’s count of 500 blacks probably included a mix of FPC and slaves.

⁶¹ Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti’s Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 43.

⁶² William Fry, *The Baltimore Directory for 1810* (Baltimore, MD: G. Dobbin and Murphy, printers, 1810), 82.

followed by the organization of medical education in 1806. At this time, Drs. Davidge, Cocke and Shaw, having petitioned the state legislature for the funds for a school, saw to the breaking of ground for the University of Maryland. Initial course offerings included anatomy, physiology, chemistry, theory and *materia medica*. In 1807, the city also opened a city dispensary, which offered free treatment and vaccines for the poor.⁶³

Grandchamps opened a “drug and medicine store” at 64 Market Street, the city’s premier shopping district. In order to publicize his shop, Grandchamps placed a “Grand Opening” advertisement in the Baltimore *Federal Gazette*.⁶⁴ This advertisement, while not necessarily outlining his actual movements, makes mention of his “long experience” and “the confidence with which he has been honored in the Islands of St. Domingo and Cuba.” More than mere puffery, the mention of “St. Domingo” and “Cuba” in the advertisement by Grandchamps helped identify him to the refugee community at large, allowing Grandchamps a chance to reunite with old acquaintances, colleagues and friends, and giving the French community a chance to come forward and patronize his shop in an act of emigrant solidarity.

In 1811, Grandchamps transplanted his family a third (and final) time to New Orleans. Perhaps Grandchamps appreciated the Creole culture of New Orleans, so similar to what he knew in the Caribbean,⁶⁵ or perhaps the large population of fellow refugees in New Orleans appealed to him. Another possibility could be the rumors of renewed hostilities by England against the United States then current in the former English colonies along the Atlantic coast. In 1809, a final wave of refugees from the Caribbean arrived in New Orleans and numbered over

⁶³ Hall, 89.

⁶⁴ Advertisement, “Francis Grandchamps, Apothecary & Chymist,” *Federal Gazette*, May 22, 1810.

⁶⁵ Fiehrer, 433, 436.

10,000, which doubled the population of New Orleans almost overnight, according to Lachance.⁶⁶

After Grandchamps' arrival, on May 2, 1811, Grandchamps and Dr. Yves Lemmonier purchased at auction a property on the corner of Royal and St. Peter (modern address—636-640 Royal Street and 634-638 St. Peter Street) in the French Quarter. Grandchamps occupied the *entresol* (mezzanine), his pharmacy shop, the Royal Street shop, a third-story room (where his clerk worked), and two store rooms, while Dr. Lemmonier claimed the two upper stories of the property (excepting Grandchamps' clerk's room), two shops on St. Peter, the cellar and a store room located on the *entresol*.⁶⁷ Within five months, in October of 1811, Grandchamps opened his doors to the public, advertising both wholesale and retail drugs, patent medicines, surgical instruments and the “putting up” of medicines for rural customers. He offered these items “at moderate prices and on easy terms.”⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Lachance, “The 1809 Immigration,” 110.

⁶⁷ Tulane University School of Architecture, “636-640 Royal Street/634-638 St. Peter Street,” vol. 42 of the *Vieux Carré Survey*, New Orleans, LA: 1966, The Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, New Orleans, LA; Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Old New Orleans: A History of the Vieux Carré, Its Ancient and Historical Buildings* (1936, repr. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 204-05.

⁶⁸ *Courrier* Advertisement, “Francis Grandchamps.”



Engraving by Frances Jones, 1895. "First Four-Story Building," from Grace King's book, *New Orleans: The Place and The People*, 1895. View of Pedesclaux and Lemonnier House on St. Peter Street. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FBFisrtFourStoryBldg.jpeg>.

In 1822, Grandchamps gave up his share of ownership in the building, selling his interest to Dr. Lemonnier in order to satisfy creditors. The year before, in 1821, Grandchamps purchased the property located at 501 Royal for \$14,000. He removed to this address after the sale of 636-640 Royal Street, running a pharmacy there until his death in 1842. This coincidentally made Grandchamps a near neighbor to Dufilho, being only a block away from the *Pharmacie Dufilho*.⁶⁹

While Grandchamps set up shop, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., went away to school in Paris, graduating in 1816.⁷⁰ Dufilho attended the School of Pharmacy of Paris, established in 1803. The School of Pharmacy offered a six-year course of study. To graduate in 1816, Dufilho would have begun school about 1810, making him about 22 years old when he went to Paris.

⁶⁹ Arthur, 58-59, 91-93.

⁷⁰ Charles L. Bradley, "A History of the Dufilho Family and their Relation to Pharmacy," (bachelor of science thesis, Loyola University, 1948), 3; Houin, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana," *Vieux Carré Survey*, vol. 27.

The majority of medical texts, written in Latin, required a working knowledge of the language.

Dufilho spent the first three years (1810-1813) fulfilling his academic requirements.

In his first year, he studied botany and pharmacognosy (the study of crude drugs, natural drugs, medicinal herbs and other plants). Once Dufilho had mastered these basics, he moved on to lessons in pharmacy itself during his second year, followed by a course of chemistry during his third year. Upon completion of his class work, Louis Joseph Dufilho Jr., served a three-year internship under an approved *pharmacien*, and fulfilled the requirements for graduation in 1816. As a *Monsieur* Dufilho is known to have resided in Paris at this time, it is conceivable that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., stayed with him during his course of study.⁷¹

Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., returned to New Orleans from Paris, where he joined his older brother, Louis Dufilho, in his practice. The brothers' shop, located at 63 Chartres Street, stood next door to the New Exchange Coffee House. Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., later moved his business and residence to 158 Chartres Street, the site of today's New Orleans Pharmacy Museum (514-516 Chartres Street).⁷²

At some undetermined point, Louis Joseph Jr.'s brother, Louis Dufilho, retired from the practice of pharmacy to become a sugar planter. According to Houin, many Creole gentlemen of the time would enter the fields of medicine, law or banking in order to earn the funds to purchase land and become sugar planters, the most prestigious occupation to which a Creole could aspire. Louis achieved this goal, having two large properties, one north of the city measuring six arpents wide and forty arpents deep, and one south of the city of about the same dimensions, staffed with thirty-one slaves, by the time of his death. In 1823, Louis Dufilho died in the home of his

⁷¹ Dr. Olivier Lafont, email message to author, March 22, 2010.

⁷² Tulane School of Architecture, "Chain of Title--514-516 Chartres Street," *Vieux Carré Survey*, vol. 25, New Orleans, LA: 1966. The Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, New Orleans, LA; Houin, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana," *Vieux Carré Survey*.

brother, Louis Joseph Jr., at the age of 45, leaving his brother the executor of an estate worth \$45,037.25. According to the will, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., could act as a tutor for his brother's minor children upon the request of Louis' widow, Delphine Bozonier Marmillion.⁷³

While Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., attended school in Paris, Louisiana achieved statehood and introduced new pharmacy regulations. After returning from France, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., set in motion the newly implemented process to receive a license to practice.

1816 Louisiana State Act Concerning Medical Licensing

In 1816, the same year that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., returned to New Orleans, the new State of Louisiana passed the first state legislation regarding medical practice. This new act, "An Act Prescribing the Formalities to be Observed in Order to Obtain the Right of Practicing Physic or the Profession of Apothecary Within the State of Louisiana, and for Other Purposes" restructured the examination and licensing process. This act demonstrates the inroads that the processes of Americanization had in the community in that traditional track of education via apprenticeship again received legal recognition, which had been previously denied by the 1808 Act.

The new legislation, introduced by Dr. Louis Fortin, the House Representative from Acadia Parish, received its first reading in the Louisiana House of Representatives on January 25, 1816. The Act had been initially titled "Act to Prescribe the Formalities to be Met to be Entitled to Exercise the Healing Art or Profession of Pharmacist in the State of Louisiana, and for Other Objects."⁷⁴ On January 31, 1816, after being read three times and assorted

⁷³ Stephen M. Houin, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana," *New Orleans Genesis* 25 (1986): 2; Idem, "The Dufilho Family in Louisiana."

⁷⁴ L'Etat de la Louisiane Chambre des Representans. *Journal de la des Representans, 1816, La Seconde Session de la Seconde Legislature de L'Etat de la Louisiane, Nouvelle Orleans, LA: P. K. Wagner, 1816, 32, 36, 37, 45, 46.*

amendments added, the bill, with its original title, passed the House and went to the Louisiana Senate for concurrence, where the bill received its first reading in the state senate.⁷⁵

On February 6, 1816, after motions to reject or amend the first section of the Act, which discussed examination and licensing, the Senate sent the bill into a special committee composed of Mr. Mazureau (New Orleans), Mr. Terry (St. Helena and St. Tammany) and Mr. Hughes (Oachitta).⁷⁶ These discussions and the conclusions reached were not recorded. On March 8, 1816, the most notable change to the bill resided in the bill's title, now known as "An Act Prescribing the Formalities to be Observed in Order to Obtain the Right of Practicing Physic or the Profession of Apothecary within the State of Louisiana, and for Other Purposes." The Senate sent the bill back to the House of Representatives with the request that the bill pass as amended.⁷⁷

The House of Representatives read the amended bill with the new amendments taken into account and tacked on the word "gratis" at the end of the fourth section, which discussed enforcement of the bill. Illegal medical practitioners were liable for fines up to \$200 or jail time not to exceed one year. The bill exempted rural inhabitants or planters, who frequently supplied medicine to neighbors, from punishment as illegal practitioners. The House, with its addition of the word "gratis," wanted to prevent rural residents from charging neighbors for medicine. Legislators reasoned that if rural residents did not receive money for the medicines they distributed, they could not be held liable for criminal violations of the law. The Senate rejected

⁷⁵ State of Louisiana Senate, *Journal of the Senate, 1816*, Second Session of the Second Legislature of the State of Louisiana, New Orleans, LA: P. K. Wagner, 1816, 27.

⁷⁶ On March 31, 1807, Governor Claiborne partitioned the territory of Orleans into 19 sub-districts, Oachitta among them. In 1838, Oachitta underwent further division with the creation of Caldwell and Madison parishes. The spelling of the parish in this paper comes from the 1816 Senate journal. At a later date, the spelling modernized and the parish name is now rendered as "Ouachita" Parish.

⁷⁷ State of Louisiana Senate, *Journal of the Senate, 1816*, 27, 29, 30, 48.

this particular amendment and removed the word “gratis” from the final version. On March 11, 1816, the bill, sent back to the House for concurrence, received this concurrence.⁷⁸

Five days later, the House of Representatives examined and enrolled the bill, returning it to the Senate forthwith. The Senate then reexamined and enrolled the bill, sending it to Governor William C. C. Claiborne for his signature, who endorsed it the same day.⁷⁹

Unlike the French-inspired 1808 Act, which required a different examination committee for each qualified applicant, the more Americanized 1816 Act legislated the formation of a permanent medical board (called the *Comité Médical*) to be located in New Orleans that would conduct exams and issues licenses. The board consisted of four physicians and one apothecary, with the members appointed by Governor William C. C. Claiborne.⁸⁰

In 1816, Governor Claiborne appointed Grandchamps the first official apothecary of the New Orleans’ *Comité Médical*, which had the power to examine and approve applicants. It seems unlikely that Grandchamps would have been appointed had he not been in good standing with authorities. Grandchamps must have applied for permission to practice under the statutes of the 1808 Act, which required applicants to present a diploma; therefore, François Grandchamps held a diploma of some type.

This *Comité* first convened on April 29, 1816. The committee members voted in Dr. Trabuc as president and François Grandchamps as treasurer and secretary. Grandchamps’ duties included purchasing supplies for the *Comité* as well as arranging for an official seal to be made,

⁷⁸ L’Etat de la Louisiane Chambre des Representans, *Journal de la des Representans, 1816*, 91; State of Louisiana Senate, *Journal of the Senate, 1816*, 50.

⁷⁹ L’Etat de la Louisiane Chambre des Representans, *Journal de la des Representans, 1816*, 105-06; State of Louisiana Senate, *Journal of the Senate, 1816*, 61.

⁸⁰ Second Session of the Second Legislature of the State of Louisiana, *Act of 1816 Prescribing the Formalities to be Observed in Order to Obtain the Right of Practicing Physic or the Profession of Apothecary Within the State of Louisiana and for Other Purposes*, New Orleans, LA, 1816.

which would be imprinted on the licenses granted by the *Comité*. The *Comité* also determined that applicants should be 21 years old and to provide their baptismal records as proof of age.⁸¹ According to the procedure outlined in the 1816 Act, interested applicants would petition the mayor of New Orleans, stating “. . . his intention and the wish to comply with the formalities prescribed by law,” at which time the mayor would request the *Comité Médical* to assemble. Ideally, the board would meet every two weeks and examine applicants under the supervision of the Mayor and two aldermen. To pass, an applicant needed a simple majority vote of board members.⁸²

Unlike the 1808 territorial act, the 1816 licensing act did not require a diploma. Louisiana again recognized the dual-track system of education in medical practice in addition to recognizing the separate fields of pharmacist and physician. Once the *Comité* issued a license and it had been certified by the mayor, the license required registration with the parish clerk’s office.⁸³ A document created by the *Comité Médical* itself, *Registre du Comité de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1816-1854*, also recorded the names of license holders.⁸⁴

The 1816 Act repealed the 1808 Act, yet grandfathered in holders of licenses granted under the 1808 Act, permitting them to continue to practice so long as their certificate had been registered with the parish clerk’s office.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Comité Médical de la Nouvelle-Orléans, Registre du Comité de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1816-1854*, New Orleans, LA: Rudolph Matas Medical Library of Tulane University, 1996. Special thanks to Dr. James Mokhiber of the University of New Orleans for translating portions of this document.

⁸² Second Session of the Second Legislature of the State of Louisiana, *Act of 1816 Prescribing the Formalities to be Observed in Order to Obtain the Right of Practicing Physic or the Profession of Apothecary within the State of Louisiana and for Other Purposes*, New Orleans, LA: 1816.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Comité Médical, Registre du Comité de la Nouvelle-Orléans.*

⁸⁵ Second Session of the Second Legislature of the State of Louisiana, *Act of 1816.*

In *Wet Grave, Hoodoo Men and Sharp Cats*, Reed speculates that François Grandchamps received his license in 1816 along with Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr.⁸⁶ David Cowen, in his multiple articles on the subject of Louisiana pharmacy, also declares both men as the first recipients of a pharmacy license issued by a state government in the United States.⁸⁷ *Kremer and Urdang's History of Pharmacy* likewise credits both men without stating who came first.⁸⁸

Had Grandchamps been licensed in 1816, Grandchamps' license would have been recorded in the *Registre du Comité Médical de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1816-1854*. As this was not the case, this study argues that François Grandchamps received his license to practice under the provisions of the 1808 Act. Grandchamps, being a newcomer to the area in 1811, could not have been grandfathered in as a previous practitioner under the requirements in the 1808 Act. Therefore, Grandchamps would have had to acquire a new license. According to the letter of the 1808 law, Grandchamps, after presenting his diploma to the mayor, submitted to an examination after his arrival to the area in 1811.

In 1816, François Grandchamps, 49 years old and in practice since 1791, held a school or university diploma along with licenses to practice from the French, Spanish and American governments. Grandchamps was well-qualified to direct the oral examination of Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr.

In May 1816, Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., applied for his license to practice. While Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., aged 28, held a diploma from the School of Pharmacy of Paris, he did not

⁸⁶ Reed, *Wet Graves*, 34.

⁸⁷ David Laurence Cowen, "Roster of the Licensed Apothecaries of Louisiana, 1816-1847," 3; Idem, "French Pharmacy in Louisiana in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries," 24.

⁸⁸ Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 184.

have to present his credentials at this time, just pass the examination. He passed the exam, and on May 11, 1816, Dufilho received his United States-issued pharmacy license.⁸⁹

Conclusions

A number of conclusions may be drawn from this study of pharmacy education and legislation. First, Louisiana led the United States in establishing laws governing medical practice and pharmacy. The edict passed by Governor O'Reilly in 1770 was the first official legislation in North America that recognized pharmacy as a separate and distinct field of medical practice. The United States did not follow suit until the 1800s, though the Second Continental Congress made this distinction in 1777 in orders issued to the military medical corps. Most likely, the United States lagged behind Louisiana in recognizing this distinction due to the importation of English practices in the North, where an apothecary acted as both a pharmacist and a minor medical practitioner.

Louisiana also led the United States in efforts at licensing. Louisiana's 1804 city ordinance, its 1808 Act and the 1816 Act preceded, by decades, similar efforts in the northern United States though in 1817, South Carolina passed legislation comparable to Louisiana's with Georgia doing the same in 1825.⁹⁰ The Act of 1808 in particular deserves recognition because it was the first bill to reject apprenticeship (the traditional track of the dual-track educational system) as a qualification for licensing and instead, fully embrace a college education (the modern track) as being the only qualifier for examination.⁹¹ Only in 1904 in New York, did a pharmacy school diploma become a required part of licensing, which marked the beginning of

⁸⁹ Comité Médical de la Nouvelle-Orléans, *Registre du Comité de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1816-1854*.

⁹⁰ David L. Cowen, "Louisiana, Pioneer in the Regulation of Pharmacy," 332; Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 190.

⁹¹ Section One, Act of 1808 taken from Reed, *Wet Graves*, 157-58.

the end of a dual-track system of pharmacy education in America.⁹² It appears that when it came to the professionalization of the field of pharmacy, Louisiana led the country by nearly 100 years.

When considering who should hold the title of the “First Pharmacist,” semantics must be taken into account. If one views the issue as a question of who received the first license to practice as a pharmacist in North America, the credit would go to Jean Peyroux.⁹³

If one looks at it as a matter of who received the first license under regulations established by a state government, François Grandchamps, appointed in 1816 to the *Comité Médical* by Louisiana Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne, could be implicitly recognized as the first legitimate, licensed pharmacist. Some could even argue that Grandchamps became the first recognized pharmaceutical practitioner in the United States under the stipulations of the 1816 Act.

Seeing that Louis Joseph Dufilho, Jr., received his license on May 11, 1816, he is explicitly recognized as the first pharmacist to receive a United States-issued license to practice.⁹⁴

⁹² Dr. Greg Higby, Executive Director of the American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, e-mail message to author, April 12, 2010.

⁹³ Kremers & Urdang, *History*, 4th ed., 149; Cowen, “French Pharmacy in Louisiana in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries,” 22.

⁹⁴ Comité Médical de la Nouvelle-Orléans, *Registre du Comité de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1816-1854*.

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Vita

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