

This essay was first published in Brian Dickey (ed), *William Shakespeare's Adelaide 1860-1930*, Adelaide, Association of Professional Historians, 1992, pp.27-41, and is reprinted here with minor changes.

The original volume aimed to examine a variety of aspects of the life of the City of Adelaide during the years when William Shakespeare was an inspector on the staff of the City Corporation.

This essay was based on a history of Faulding commissioned to mark the 150th anniversary of the founding of the business in 1845. The history of the business was published in 1995 under the title, *The Faulding Formula: a History of FH Faulding & Co Ltd*.

Storekeepers or Health Professionals

O true apothecary! Thy drugs are quick Romeo & Juliet V iii 119

Peter Donovan

William Shakespeare's Adelaide was characterised by an increasing refinement as the city and its inhabitants took on the trappings of a thriving metropolis. Those city dwellers blessed with financial success or positions of authority sought respectability, social leadership and a measure of exclusiveness which they fostered through institutions such as the Adelaide Club, established in 1863, and attendance at St Peter's College.¹

At the same time, others sought positions of authority, influence and a measure of exclusiveness through occupations that they hoped to change into professions. Lawyers and clerics had long been considered members of elite professions, and others sought a similar exclusiveness. Architects lobbied for the recognition of the professional nature of their vocation², and so too, did many in the nascent health professions. The medical practitioners had better fortune than the architects, but still, it was 1889 before doctors were required to be registered, and 1913 before the first legislation was enacted to regulate the work of dentists.³

Pharmacists belonged to another group, closely allied to others working in the health field, who sought legal recognition and protection from those they considered to be non-qualified practitioners. Just as medical practitioners sought to distance themselves from 'quacks', so the trained pharmacists sought to differentiate themselves from those they disparagingly described as storekeepers, in general, and 'grocers' in particular. Parallel with the pharmacists' concern to establish a distinct identity was that of the small number of manufacturing pharmacists who strove to distinguish themselves from manufacturing grocers.

None of the emergent professions received encouragement from those representatives of the community in parliament who argued that any legislation

would amount to restrictions on trade and free choice. Thus, the increasing regulation of their activities which led to the *de facto* recognition of the several health professions grew rather from the perceived need of governments to protect members of the public from dangerous situations and unscrupulous activities of charlatans, rather than any wish to encourage a restriction of free enterprise or the growth of exclusive professions.

The story of the emergent pharmacy profession can be focussed almost exclusively on William Shakespeare's Adelaide because success in retail pharmacy has always been dependent upon a critical mass of population, and the greatest number of colonial pharmacists practised in Adelaide or the larger towns. The Pharmaceutical Society, which championed the campaign for professional status, was formed in Adelaide and here it carried on the campaign for registration. Here, too, at the hub of the colony's transport and trade network, the pharmaceutical wholesalers established their factories and warehouses. Indeed, much of the story can be focussed on two companies, Bickfords and Faulding, which helped establish both retail and wholesale pharmacy in South Australia.

The self image

The struggle by pharmacists for legal recognition in South Australia represented a local example of the long struggle for recognition of an increasing number of health professionals. The development of modern pharmacy in Britain, from which that of Australia derived, had been a tortuous thing involving the struggle of grocers, apothecaries, physicians, chemists and druggists, all of whom contended for recognition against encroachments from the others. King James I marked the distinction between apothecaries and grocers in 1617 when he gave the former the exclusive right to dispense physicians' prescriptions. However, the apothecaries continued to push for a greater share of the physicians' work, even to the extent of visiting the sick and themselves prescribing medicines. In 1815 the Apothecaries' Act gave the Apothecaries' Society the right to license their members to practice medicine in England and Wales.⁴

While apothecaries sought closer identification with the physicians, druggists and chemists remained identified with grocers: the druggists as wholesalers of raw and unprepared drugs and the chemists as preparers of chemical and mineral drugs requiring the use of fire. As the apothecaries abandoned the preparation of medicines, the chemists and druggists moved to fill the void and by the early nineteenth century practically had a monopoly on the preparation and sale of all drugs and medicines. In order to protect this position they formed the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain in 1841, a year after William Bickford opened the first retail pharmacy in Adelaide. That same year the apothecaries changed their designation to that of general practitioners of medicine.

Early retail pharmacy in Adelaide

William Shakespeare arrived in South Australia with his parents in 1849 at a time when the colony's pharmacists were concentrated in Adelaide. There were few country towns of much significance and in them demands for patent medicines was satisfied by general storekeepers.

William Bickford, who had worked as a veterinary surgeon before migrating to Adelaide, became South Australia's first pharmacist. He arrived in the colony on 15 February 1839 and before the year was out, established himself as a pharmacist in premises in Hindley Street. An advertisement in the *South*

Australian Register on 5 September 1840 proclaimed that he had for sale, 'Drugs, Chemicals, Snuffs, Cigars, India curry powder, Pickles and sauces, Linseed oil and turpentine, A good selection of perfumery, Genuine horse and cattle medicines ...' Bickford died in 1850, but his wife, Ann Margaret, continued the business by engaging a qualified chemist named Hutton to look after the compounding and dispensing of medicines while she attended to its commercial side. The business flourished under this remarkable woman, and in 1863 with her two sons as partners, the business became Bickford & Sons.⁵

William Paxton, another early pharmacist, established his 'Apothecaries Hall' in Hindley Street, though he was later to find considerable wealth as a shareholder and director of the South Australian Mining Association, which gained access to the rich copper lode at Burra in 1845, and later still as a pastoralist. Francis Hardy Faulding who migrated to Sydney as a ship's surgeon proceeded almost immediately to Adelaide where he arrived on 19 May 1842: he opened his pharmacy at 5 Rundle Street three years later.

When Bickford opened his dispensary, pharmacists required few particular skills so long as they had a book of formulations: almost another twenty years passed before the first British Pharmacopoea was published in 1864, and an additional three years before Lister's article appeared in the *Lancet* in 1867 which helped to change attitudes and ideas about infection and disease. Modern chemotherapy is little more than a century old if Pasteur is considered a pioneer: it is little more than fifty years old if the discovery of antibiotics is taken as a benchmark. The drugs in use in Shakespeare's day were modest preparations that were based upon simple, naturally occurring compounds. The pharmacies differed little from grocers. When announcing the opening of his business, in May 1845, Faulding offered to compound and dispense prescriptions and family recipes, to provide sheep and cattle medicines, along with perfumes, spices and 'other sundries'. He also offered to provide ship and other medicine chests.⁶

The practice of pharmacy was not yet a clearly defined profession when William Shakespeare became Inspector of Weights and Measures and a measure of confusion remained throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Shakespeare could have been aware of this as he visited pharmacists' premises in the city to ensure the accuracy of their scales against his proof set of weights. Early pharmacist, James Young, who first worked in country areas in a form of apprenticeship, recalled some of the practices current in the 1870s:

Chemists in the province were few, and almost all of British nationality. The larger number comprised locally trained men. A few seemed to have merely blown in. The training comprised those who had been in the wholesale and some apprenticed. Some *were* sons of chemists, others sons of doctors ...

Chemists ... prescribed, bandaged and extracted teeth. But that not being enough to support a pharmacy, there was recourse to auxiliary business - books and periodicals, confectionery, stationery, pipes, tobacco and snuff. With these one could make a living and still hold public respect as 'The Chemist'. In Adelaide conditions were about the same: less veterinary and dentistry work and more doctor's prescriptions, but also less practical pharmacy, the latter probably owing to the propinquity of the wholesale.⁷

Along with confusion about their role, there was minimal regulation of chemists. The Poisons Act of 1862 which called for little more than proper

labelling of listed poisons, was the first piece of South Australian legislation to regulate chemists' conduct. For all that, discussion on the proposed poisons legislation of 1862 prompted what may have been one of the first meetings of pharmacists in South Australia, in the face of what was expected to be tough legislation. C S Hill, writing in 1894, recalled the occasion:

The Parliament of the day ... would, if left to themselves have made it difficult to have purchased ought else than Epsom salts at a drug shop, and the meetings of chemists' held in Faulding's store in Clarence Place, with the late Mr. Cain as chairman, were for the purpose of *moderating* the zeal of the legislature and petitioning to be allowed to sell *something* without a witness. Had they but suggested that the scheduled poisons should only be sold by recognised (or registered) chemists, what a world of trouble would be saved to us.⁸

The Bill had been introduced in 1861, but thrown out. The opposition to it was rather confused, but generally concerned with the restrictions on trade that might be introduced. This opposition seemed of little consequence during the intervening twelve months when a child died after taking poison that had been sold in an open and unlabelled cup.⁹ Even under the new law, the restrictions on chemists were minimal. The Act named only four poisons, and simply insisted upon the use of appropriate labelling and prohibited sales of these poisons to persons younger than seventeen years old.

Early manufacturing and wholesaling

The number of pharmacies in Adelaide grew along with the population of the city. In the 1870s, J H Young recalled, in addition to several retailers, there were then three wholesalers in Adelaide - Bickford & Sons and Goddard & Co. in Hindley Street, with Faulding & Co. in Rundle Street -though he also noted that 'A little dabbling in this trade [ie making up drugs] was indulged in by every [retail] chemist'¹⁰

Despite Young's throwaway claims, this distinction between retail and manufacturing pharmacists clarified during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was led by two of the colony's pioneer pharmacists. Faulding & Co. became the first wholesale pharmacist in South Australia. New premises were purchased for this purpose in Clarence Place behind the Rundle Street store in 1845. Five years later Faulding had developed a number of proprietary lines, including 'Faulding's anti-billions aperient pills', pectoral pills and 'Faulding's celebrated ointment for ring worm'.¹¹ Seven years later his business was colony wide, distributing more than drugs and preparations devised by Faulding:

Surgeons, Druggists, and Country Storekeepers supplied from one of the largest and best assorted stocks in the Colonies with Genuine Drugs and Chemicals, Patent Medicines, Surgeons Instruments, Stoppered Bottles, Fixtures, and Druggist Sundries of every description.¹²

Faulding also supplied leeches caught in the Torrens which were used for blood-letting.

All pharmacists compounded scripts and most ordered their stocks from suppliers in England. The auctioning of speculative cargoes from time to time also gave many pharmacists the opportunity to obtain ingredients from which to compound simple remedies. Bickford & Sons turned to manufacturing and wholesaling in 1862 when William began travelling through country South Australia

selling the firm's cordials. The wholesale side of Bickford & Sons became increasingly important and eventually the retail side was relinquished. Bickfords moved into new premises on the corner of Currie and Leigh Streets in 1870, when there were five indoor staff.

Faulding's business also expanded greatly. On 18 March 1861 Faulding took Luther Scammell into partnership. Like his partner, Scammell had trained as a surgeon in England, but after his arrival in Adelaide on 17 September 1849 established himself as a retail pharmacist. After Faulding died in 1868, Scammell, who had earlier assumed day-to-day responsibility for the firm, encouraged its expansion. Success demanded that it move into a new warehouse built on the corner of Clarence Place and King William Street in 1874, while manufacturing continued in the Clarence Place building.

Faulding also concentrated on the manufacturing and wholesaling side of the operation, though more by necessity than choice. Although in the latter 1880s the firm had as many as eight retail shops, three of them in the city, by 1888 all of the business was virtually owned by the Bank of Adelaide. This was a result of the disastrous speculations of Luther Scammell, particularly in the pastoral property Ediacara, near Lake Torrens, which suffered because of prolonged drought. After trying unsuccessfully to dispose of the enterprise to Melbourne interests, the Bank agreed that the eldest Scammell sons might purchase the manufacturing and wholesale side of the business, but insisted that the retail shops be sold. The younger Scammells assumed control of the business on 1 January 1889, but retained the Faulding name.

The Pharmaceutical Society

Until the latter years of the nineteenth century, few pharmacists in South Australia could be considered professionals to the extent that they could claim to have studied pharmacy. These few had gained their qualifications in England. William Main, one of the pioneer pharmacists had studied pharmacy in England and gained his certificate in 1846 before migrating to Adelaide in 1849 and establishing a business in King William Street.

A few sons of colonials were sent to England for training. Harry Bickford went to London in 1859 and studied for three years before qualifying as a pharmacist. The two younger Scammells were sent to London in 1876. Both passed the examinations of the Pharmaceutical Society and Luther Robert Scammell later became a Fellow of the Chemical Society of London. The brothers returned to the Adelaide business in 1879. Other colonials practised a form of apprenticeship. James John Henry Young first worked for a pharmacist in his hometown of Burra. He then undertook training in Adelaide, and worked for two years as a dispenser in the Adelaide Hospital before he returned to the country to practise on his own account.

Because there were so few professional pharmacists in South Australia, pharmacy remained a challenge during the 1880s. As James Young recalled:

There were more people and a more diversified taste. There was not a greater distribution of money generally, but more attractive trade for such as there was. In pharmacy itself, besides that great alteration of aspect caused by tablets and other concentrated forms of dosage, and increased imports from England, there were also French and German, while large volumes poured in from America. It began, I think, with McKesson and Robbins, then Parke Davis, Stearns, and Whitall, Tatum and Co. Some English and American firms opened agencies in Sydney, which then, and up to Federation, was a free

trade port.

This increased exposure to international influences and the growing number of new patent medicines made it imperative for pharmacists to remain abreast of contemporary developments and to lobby for a measure of protection. Young referred to the 1880s:

It can be said that pharmacy began to suffer in this decade, not a blow, but a permanent injury. Wholesale grocery, a trade fostered by the chemists in early days, now became independent of them. They made their own supplies, and with the much-increased list of patents and proprietories they pushed their wares into general stores.¹³

In response to the threats to their calling during the latter years of the nineteenth century, and following the lead of colleagues in other colonies, South Australia's pharmacists agreed to form themselves into a professional association. The collapse of the economic boom in South Australia in the mid-1880s increased competition from grocers and other storekeepers and underscored the need to organise and to press for professional recognition, though it appears that the precise timing of the initiative was determined more by the need to send delegates to a proposed intercolonial pharmaceutical conference.¹⁴

There were already pharmaceutical societies in Victoria (1857), New South Wales (1876) and Queensland (1880), when the South Australian pharmacists finally decided to establish their own association. The idea had been raised in 1858, soon after the foundation of the Victorian society. However, the benefits of such an organisation were then not obvious and it was August 1885 before William Main convened a general meeting to discuss issues considered important to pharmacists. These included the prices of medicines, education for pharmacists and the coming conference. As a first step those attending the meeting agreed to found the Pharmaceutical Society of South Australia. W.H. Harrison, a Rundle Street retail pharmacist, was chosen as the first president with Main as the secretary and registrar. The first of the objects of the Society was to 'unite the Chemists and Druggists into one recognised and independent body, to protect their general interests and to advance the science and art of Pharmacy'. Those professing to be pharmacists welcomed the new society and within twelve months it claimed 105 members.

The society was primarily for retail pharmacists, but Faulding, now firmly established as a wholesaler, gave it great support through Luther Robert Scammell, one of the few qualified pharmacists in South Australia. Indeed, in March 1886, Scammell and Charles Fryer were appointed to a board of examiners to help ensure that prospective members met a minimum standard. Later that same year the first intercolonial conference of pharmaceutical societies was held in Melbourne. Luther Robert Scammell was one of the two South Australian delegates, while the other, W.H. Sowter, the society's auditor, was a Faulding employee.

Pharmacy Act

Once the society was established the members moved to have the professional standing of pharmacists recognised by lobbying government. In November 1888 they presented the government with a petition signed by eighty 'members of the medical profession and dealers in chemicals and drugs' calling for the appointment of a board to register pharmacists.

A Bill, largely drawn up by the society and based on the Victorian Act, was introduced into the South Australian parliament on 7 November 1888, 'to establish a Pharmacy Board, and to amend the law relating to the sale of poisons'.

There was no opposition to the notion of providing greater controls on those preparing and dispensing prescriptions, but there was some concern about the effect on storekeepers who sold patent medicines: the Bill did not proceed and was discharged on 5 December. A similar bill was introduced three years later on 6 June 1891. William Copley, Commissioner of Crown Lands, who introduced the new Bill, made the point that 'It only provided that a man who pretended to be a chemist should have some qualification before practising as a dispenser. It did not interfere with any other branch of trade, because storekeepers and tradespeople who sold various kinds of medicines of a patent character-and a simple nature did not act as dispensing chemists ...'¹⁵ Speaking in support of the Bill, Dr Sylvanus Magarey observed that, 'We have a number of intelligent men in the colony acting as chemists, but there were some amongst them who were without the training necessary to render them competent to pursue their calling'.¹⁶ Like its predecessor there was no opposition to the essential principle of the Bill though some members quibbled about the need to have a board of seven. Friedrich Krichauff observed in the Legislative Council that 'There was hardly more than seven qualified chemists in Adelaide'. The Bill received royal assent on 20 October 1891. Nevertheless pharmacists continued to retail a broad range of goods and in this respect differed little from many other storekeepers: but they had gained the exclusive right to compound and dispense doctors' prescriptions.

Manufacturing chemists

While the role of retail pharmacists changed little during the decades succeeding the 1891 Act, that of the manufacturing pharmacists continued to evolve and, as it became increasingly specialised, it ensured that the retailers would retain vestiges of the grocer or shopkeeper image that they had tried so hard to shed.

Throughout the nineteenth century the success of the colony's manufacturing chemist Bickford & Sons was largely founded on that of its cordials, though it later became renowned for its coffee essence. Faulding & Co., on the other hand, became renowned for its Solyptol range of products. Both manufactured pills and simple remedies as well as a large range of grocery items such as baking and curry powders. In all of these there was fierce competition between the two companies.

Faulding & Co. pioneered the distillation of eucalyptus oil in South Australia in 1887 when the firm erected a plant on the Punyelroo property of Ernest Arthur Scammell on the River Murray about five kilometres downstream from Swan Reach. Under the agreement of 1 June 1887, Ernest provided the site for the plant, which Faulding was to supply, and he also received a salary of 30s per week.

Ernest was soon hard-pressed to meet Luther Scammell's incessant demands for oil, particularly in the face of competition from Bickfords. Luther Scammell outlined the problem in a letter to Ernest:

Saturday's Register contained a long advertisement of Bickford's Eucalyptus Oil, which they announce they are manufacturing in large quantities and have large monthly orders from England for. Of course, it is a lie, but it is curious that sometime back they got

two wine bottles of E. Oil from us, which they requested we should close with our label & we imagine that was got to send to H.B. who was in England ... This added to the report of a shipment of 28 cases by Cummings to London makes me think it would be a good thing for you to go down to Kangaroo Island & see what they are doing & how they work it.¹⁷

Ernest continued to supply oil to the firm until about 1896 when he quit the property. Soon afterwards farmers on Kangaroo Island began to distil the oil and the firm received most of its supplies from there.

This eucalyptus oil became important to Faulding. The primary derivative, eucalyptol, formed the basis of another product, the antiseptic, which was marketed as Solypsol. The firm first made this in the late-1880s in the small laboratory adjoining the Clarence Place warehouse. Luther Robert who first produced the antiseptic coined the name from the contraction of 'soluble eucalyptus oil'.

The products of both manufacturing chemists were simple. Their manufacture required little more skill than the ability to read and mix the formulations of the head chemist. In 1884 Faulding employed twenty-eight men and six girls in its Adelaide factory and warehouse. The girls were used in the finishing department in labelling and packing of items: their wages ranged from 12s 6d to 10s per week.¹⁸ In 1899 the girls worked 44.5 hours each week between 8:30 am and 5:30 pm while the men worked a 47.5 hour week between 8:00 am and 5:30 pm.¹⁹ By this time pill-making had become an important part of the Faulding factory. A catalogue of October 1900 affirmed that 'This branch of our Australian Business has increased to such an extent that we have made arrangements to manufacture on an elaborate scale, and our Pill Department is now under the management of one of the most expert and reliable pill-makers in the colonies'.

Alfred Franklin Scammell, the eldest son of Luther Robert, joined the firm on 5 March 1905; his younger brother, Robert Grey Scammell, followed him into the business in December 1907. Like all new lads, Alfred learned the business from the bottom, washing bottles in the bottle store, under the supervision of E F Lipsham. He later recalled that his father 'had great horror of anyone saying his children had been given privileges', an attitude that he inherited.

Alfred went on to describe the simple organisation and operation of the Adelaide warehouse at that time:

Next door [to the bottle store] was the printing dept., next along the lane the analytical lab. and manufacturing, and in the centre of the building old Jack Wall ground and sifted the many powders which the business required then. Upstairs was filling and finishing ... Trap doors in the floors through which a continuous rope with a hook ran over a wheel in the roof acted as elevator and brought jars or other containers from the cellar or ground floor to the filling floor ... The pill dept. where, before the days of compressed tablets, pills were made by hand - dried - then coated ... was up a very narrow wooden stairway ...

Herbert Grabia was a lad with me in Pendlebury's Finishing Dept. Herbert and I filled all the bottles required by the Company in Australia, except the galenicals and drugs which were in King Wm. St. cellar, Eucalyptus Oil, Milk Emulsion, Essences and a host of other lines in quantities which to us looked enormous, but not by present day comparisons. Even then we were always trying to improve speed and quality of work and I remember how, instead (of driving in the waxed corks in Emulsion bottles, we used a large

leather glove with which we held three or four bottles and with a wooden lever which was put under the window sill pushed all the corks in together ...

I was moved to the cellar in King Wm. St., known as the Wet Room. ... country orders [were] carried in cases up [the] backstairs across the lane to Bush in the packing dept. Suburban and town orders up steep steps - single bottles for town sales [were] thrown up to Johnny Rosenthal ... We packed each item as needed - a bottle from under the bench - a winchester from the adjacent fixture - fill the bottle - replace winchester and cork it - open cork drawer and get cork for small bottle - then label drawer to get right one - damp label, often by licking it - fix it - wipe the bottle.

Herbert Grabia who started as a young lad at Faulding in 1907 recalled that 'We had a one horse trolley for delivering wholesale and suburban orders, driven by Mr McMahon. The Shipping carrier was a Mr Bailey of Kilkenny, who transported goods to and fro from Port Adelaide to Adelaide.'²⁰ Country orders to the far west of South Australia went by coastal vessel, others were dispatched by train.

The rivalry between the two local manufacturers was often intense and was not confined to the production of eucalyptus oil. In 1902 the rivalry extended as far as the High Court, because of Bickfords' promotion of a 'Milk Emulsion', contrary to Faulding's contention that it was already one of its registered brand-names. Earlier Faulding had sought to register the names 'Milk Emulsion' and 'Milkemulcene' as trade marks in each state, only to have Bickfords oppose the application.²¹ In the event, the matter was settled out of court with Bickfords agreeing to 'discontinue the use of the phrase 'Milk Emulsion' as applied to a preparation of Cod Liver Oil'.

The competition between Bickfords and Faulding also further flourished beyond the colony. Faulding sought advantages in Western Australia in 1892 and an office in Sydney in 1899 for the sale of the firm's own preparations. Bickfords also commenced operations in Western Australia in the 1890s, though in 1902 its Western Australian operations were merged with those of the Melbourne firm, Felton Grimwade, to form Felton Grimwade & Bickford Ltd.

Outgrowing the city

As the range of manufactured products grew so, too, did the need for new premises. Like many manufacturers who had long established premises in the city, Faulding was forced beyond the parklands in the early years of the twentieth century. The cramped conditions in the city provided little chance for expansion and for the development of new, more noxious manufacturing practices. Faulding acquired a property at Thebarton in 1910, and in an old building there continued the distillation of Eucalyptus oil. The demands of the war, and particularly the need to manufacture Epsom salts to replace the loss of German imports, prompted the construction of the first new buildings on the Torrenside property. The production of the Epsom salts marked a radical departure for Faulding in so far as it represented the firm's first endeavour to venture into the production of chemicals for industry, and provided a new avenue for growth in the future. Faulding constructed a new warehouse in James Place in 1924, and consolidated manufacturing in enlarged premises at Thebarton. The company embarked upon the manufacture of penicillin in 1943, when the drug was still being developed. This decision led Faulding to manufacture modern drugs, and since that time it has

abandoned many of the old grocery lines and industrial chemicals that were once the backbone of its manufacturing operations.

The demands of pharmaceutical manufacturing and the need for modern warehouse facilities encouraged Faulding to consolidate its operations at Thebarton; the company finally left the city in 1972. Bickfords had left the city in early 1957, when the firm concentrated its warehousing and manufacturing operations on one site at West Croydon.

Changes within pharmaceutical manufacturing, reflected in the success of Bickfords and Faulding, meant that retail pharmacists failed to shed the image of exclusive grocers even though their position in the community was assured by law. Drug manufacture increasingly became the preserve of large companies, with the revolution in drug therapy following the development of the sulpha drugs and penicillin in the 1940s. The development and manufacture of these drugs required capital and conditions that individual pharmacists could not hope to duplicate. Because of this, retail pharmacists have become dispensers of drugs already prepared by the large manufacturers and retailers of a wide range of other goods to remain profitable. The retail pharmacists, unlike their manufacturing colleagues, have remained in the city, though no longer visited by William Shakespeare with his bundle of check weights.

¹ Dirk Van Dissel, 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1850-1920', in Eric Richards (ed) *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History* Adelaide 1986, 333-70

² The first meeting to establish the South Australian Institute of Architects was held on 26 July 1886. The new Institute lobbied parliament for an act to provide for the registration of architects, and a bill was introduced in 1889. However, the bill lapsed and it was December 1939 before the Architects Registration Act was finally passed. Michael Page *Sculptors in Space: South Australian Architects, 1836-1986* Adelaide 1986

³ Kevin White 'Medical Professionalism in Nineteenth Century South Australia' *JHSSA* 15, 1987, 130-42

⁴ Gregory Haines *Pharmacy in Australia: The National Experience* North Sydney 1988, 1-12

⁵ John FT Grimwade *A Short History of Drug Houses of Australia Ltd to 1968* Melbourne 1974, 10

⁶ *Register* 21 May 1845

⁷ JH Young 'Early Pharmacy in South Australia: An Excursion', *Australasian Journal of Pharmacy* 30 May 1935, 510

⁸ CS Hill 'Early History of Pharmacy in South Australia', *The Chemist and Druggist of Australasia* 39 No 1, 9 Jan. 1924, 16

⁹ *South Australian Parliamentary Debates (SAPD)*, 15 May 1862 col. 59

¹⁰ Young, 29 June 1935, 612. He names Main and Geyer, Bickfords, Goddard and McKechnie in Hindley Street, four more in Rundle Street and three more in King William Street

¹¹ *Stevens Almanac of 1850*

¹² *Almanac of 1857*

¹³ Young, 29 June 1935, 614

¹⁴ Haines 93-6

¹⁵ *SAPD* 1891,146

¹⁶ *SAPD* 1891, 147

¹⁷ 119/12/1 ML SA

¹⁸ Faulding Salary Book dated 23 Feb. 1884, Faulding Archives, in possession of FH Faulding & Co. Much detail in this chapter is drawn from these records

¹⁹ Register of Factories 64/6

²⁰ Letter of Herbert Grabia to AF Scammell 31 July 1974, collection of PF Scammell

²¹ Adelaide Supreme Court Case 228 of 1902