

PROMISING CURES

The Pursuit of Health in a 19th Century New England Community:
Lynn, Massachusetts

*A History of Endurance through
Sickness, Accidents, Science, and Quackery*



Volume 3: Deep-Century Promises

ANDREW V. RAPOZA

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First Edition, 2022

Published by Andrew V. Rapoza
Oak Ridge North, Texas
United States of America

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Rapoza, Andrew V. (Andrew Vincent)

Title: PROMISING CURES: The Pursuit of Health in a 19th Century New England Community: / Lynn, Massachusetts / A History of Endurance through / Sickness, Accidents, Science, and Quackery

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022916689

ISBN-13: 9798849979489 Hardcover

ISBN-13: 9798352068809 Softcover

Subjects: Apotropaic / Civil War / Endurance / FDA / Health History / Lydia Pinkham / Lynn, Massachusetts / Patent Medicines / Quackery

Volume 3: Deep-Century Promises



The *Promising Cures* Collection

Volume 1: Early-Century Questions

Volume 2: Mid-Century Choices

Volume 3: Deep-Century Promises

Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures

Table of Contents

Volume 3 – Deep-Century Promises

Chapter 8: 1870-1879 – <i>Heroine Addiction</i>	541
Stunted Growth – 546, Torpid Livers – 557, Panic Attack – 572, Sins of the Flesh – 581, Prolapsus Uteri – 591, Cane & Able – 604, School Rivalry – 624, Inhospitable Doctors – 629, Promising Cures – 637, Heroine Injections – 654, Lydia E. Pinkham & the Business of Women’s Health – 660, Mary Baker Eddy & the Science of Health – 700, Chapter 8 Notes – 726	
Chapter 9: 1880-1889 – <i>Ashen Complexion</i>	790
Facing Competition Head-On – 793, Life After Death – 802, Black Eyes – 813, Adjusting Focus – 864, Hearts of Gold – 891, Gilded Lynn: Silver Tongues & Tin Ears – 898, The Devouring Element – 917, Chapter 9 Notes – 930	
Volume 3 Index	969

Casket of Graphic Remains

CASKET: a small ornamental box or chest for holding jewels, letters, or other valuable objects (Google, 2018); also used in the Victorian era to describe an album or book containing treasured notes, poems, verses or other written and/or drawn items. In the same manner, this book holds treasured objects and memories, some of which are jewels indeed. All photographs are by the author and items pictured are from the author's collection, unless indicated otherwise.

Note that standard bottle collecting notation has been used in most descriptions of bottles, including certain bottle characteristics that help to date the age of a bottle. The earliest had open pontil or iron pontil marks, signs of bottles that were almost always handmade before the end of the Civil War. Blown in the Mold (BIM) was a crossover product using molds to blow the glass into to achieve embossing and designs, as well as various bottle shapes. Automatic Bottle Machine (ABM) is the most recent version of bottles, starting roughly at the beginning of the 20th century, with bottle production being completely or mostly controlled by automated equipment.

When stating wording on bottles or boxes, a single diagonal (/) indicates a line break and a double diagonal (//) indicates the separation of words on different sides of bottles and boxes.

VOLUME 3 – DEEP-CENTURY PROMISES

Chapter 8: 1870-1879 – *Heroine Addiction*

The Russell Triplets, May 1874.	545
Deadly Infant Ensemble.	545
Promising Cures of the 1870s.	547
Traveling Medicine Sellers in Lynn.	561
The Murderous Outrage of William Vannar.	584
Harvesting Cow Pox for the Human Smallpox Vaccine.	594
The Undertaker.	596
The Polluted Family Well, 1875.	601
Zanzibare Trade Card, about 1873.	646
Thurston's Line of Proprietary Medicines.	652
<i>Memento Mori</i> of Daniel Rogers Pinkham.	663
Pinkham Home in Wyoma, about 1875.	676
Pinkham House on Western Ave., about 1879.	676
The Price of Woman's Health.	684
Mary Baker Eddy with Child.	704

Chapter 9: 1880-1889 – *Ashen Complexion*

Promising Cures of the 1880s.	794
Collectible Victorian Advertising.	801
Daniel Pinkham's Grand Advertising Plan.	808
A Lady's Discreet Indiscretion.	816
A Conventional Physician's Cure for Tuberculosis: <i>M^cArthur's Syrup of the Hypophosphites</i> .	844

Fall from Grace: Arthur A. Waite.	847
Macalaster's <i>Obtunder</i> Box, about 1888.	876
An Enduring Lynn Medicine: <i>Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup</i> .	885
Nectar from the Echo Grove Mineral Spring.	893
<i>Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator</i> .	906
Ghost Town.	926
Survivor.	929

❧ Chapter 8: 1870-1879 ❧

Heroine Addiction

This is an age of quackery.

Lydia E. Pinkham, *Guide for Women*
Lynn, Mass., ca.1877

*I hope, before I leave this world, to see many women
educated for the responsible and truly noble
profession of Healing the Sick.*

Mary S. Gove, Letter to the Editor,
“Water-Cure in Lynn, Mass.” *New-York Tribune*
23 June 1846. (She died in 1884.)

Unremarkable. The Beans were just like any other next-door neighbors in Lynn. Benjamin Franklin Bean and Emma Maria Williams were both raised in typical Lynn shoemaker families.¹ They got married just after the Civil War ended and probably had few reasons to feel comfortable about the future beyond the flickering flame of hope that was fueled by their love. Benjamin, or “Frank” as he preferred, toiled as a musician, struggling like most Lynn workers to make a living.² The Beans moved around from apartment to apartment in downtown Lynn, staying close to the Lynn Lyceum and later the Music Hall, both of which hosted musical performances and theater productions where Frank was able to earn some money as part of the orchestra.³ He supplemented his income with stints in shoemaking and as a salesman at his brother’s furniture store, Bean & Johnson, on Market Street. Emma probably contributed to their income as well, working in one of the shoe factories, like so many of Lynn’s women had come to do. Through these several efforts, Frank and Emma became marginally ready to start a family. In three years they had their first child, a boy they named Walter Franklin Bean.⁴ Frank and Emma’s busy lives had accelerated by a factor of ten little fingers and ten little toes, but then on 10 September 1871, three years after their first baby, the Beans became more than just the family next door – Emma gave birth to identical triplets.⁵

Other families had twins about once in every thirty births, but triplets were lightning-rare: the Bean babies were a one-in-a-thousand miracle. The three tiny cherubs were given tiny names: Ada, Ida, and May.⁶ Papa and Mama Bean’s emotions were probably jumping between joy over the triple blessing and worry about how they were going to financially care for three more mouths to feed, but their immediate concern had to be for the newborns’ survival: from the moment each tiny face emerged into mortality, their chances didn’t look good.

The *Little Giant* newspaper of Lynn gave a tiny one-sentence spotlight to the unusual birth event, “On Sunday, the wife of one of our citizens gave birth to triplets, girls.”⁷ The editor knew more than he was telling: all three babies had also died before the newspaper was printed, but he elected not to sully the fascinating little news story with that somber reality. While the birth of triplets was a news item of interest, the death of infants was, depressingly, not news at all. The *Lynn Transcript* also highlighted the rare births in a one-sentence article, but they may have been genuinely confused because they reported the babies were born on the day they had actually died.⁸ Barely two days after their birth, all three Bean babies had died, and three more ciphers were added

to the heavy tally of infant deaths for the year. In the year 1871, there were 194 infant deaths in Lynn; three out of every ten babies died before their first birthday.⁹

David Fogg Drew, the attending physician at the Bean births, had later reported to his colleagues of the Lynn Medical Society that the triplets were born at about 6½ months gestation, but Consider Orcutt, one of Lynn's undertakers, recorded the causes of death as "Debility" for May and Ida and "Infantile Debility" for Ada; they both meant progressively weakening conditions that ended in death. Lynn death records also called it marasmus, feeble birth, anemia, and inanition, but it all meant essentially the same thing.¹⁰ Orcutt might have been advised to record those causes by Drew, but having seen physicians use the vague causes so many times for other tiny corpses he was called on to retrieve, he probably recognized its grim hallmarks himself.¹¹ It may never be known for sure whether the triplets died from weakness caused by premature birth, congenital defects, insufficient prenatal nutrition, or viral or bacterial borne illness, but one fact was clear – the Bean babies never had a chance.

Triplet lightning struck again in the Lynn area three years later. Caroline Russell, the wife of Enoch, a struggling shoe factory worker, gave birth to their sixth, seventh, and eighth children – all on the same day: 5 March 1874.¹² Enoch and Caroline's brood of Frank, Fred, George, Percy, and Laura was suddenly joined by Herman, Edgar, and Jennie.

As word of the Russell triplets' births spread over the next two months, friends and curious strangers visited the Russells. It was clear to the cash-strapped parents that there was money to be made from curiosity, so they advertised that they would be putting their triplets on exhibition in Lynn's Cadet Hall for one week beginning May 25th. Every afternoon from 2:00 to 5:00 and on Saturday evening from 7:00 to 9:00, the triplets would be displayed to an adoring, fawning, gawking, curious public willing to pay fifteen cents each to witness the tiny spectacles. And for an additional charge, they could buy a *carte de visite* picture that had been taken at Bowers' popular photographic parlor, just across the street and a few doors down from the Cadet Hall where they were to be exhibited.¹³

There was nothing strange about the plan to much of anyone. For decades, at least some of the catchpenny human oddity spectacles had had some success in Lynn with such exhibitors as Chang and Eng, the conjoined twins, and Julia Pestrana, the hirsute woman, touted in the late 1850s by her promoter-husband as "Darwin's Missing Link." Not only did Tom Thumb exhibit in Lynn several times, *carte de visite* photographs of him, his wife, and other dwarfs were sold at their appearances as well. The whole point, after all, was to make money. Two circuses advertised that they would appear in Lynn the weeks during and immediately after the Russell triplets' exhibition, and Nathan Vickary, the Lynn taxidermist, was preparing a two-headed calf for display.¹⁴

Despite competition from circus clowns, trapeze artists, and a two-headed cow, the Lynnfield triplets were a local sensation at Cadet Hall. A newspaper reported that large numbers of Lynn citizens visited each day of the week. Besides the triplets, the Russells also put their fourteen-month-old daughter, Laura, on display as an unannounced free bonus. The pictures of the triplets, considered "excellent likenesses," were in demand as well.¹⁵ The photographic image showed the triplets propped up against a settee draped in fabric. The triplets looked very much alike and definitely cute, sharing the pleasing trait of very light-colored eyes.¹⁶ Two of them were drinking from Burr brand baby bottles and looked fairly lifeless, sucking drowsily on the rubber and wood clumps that dangled at the end of the bottles' long, twisting tubes.

About the time that Emma Bean had become triply pregnant, the Lynn City physician made the observation that the "great mortality" occurring among Lynn's babies could be ascribed "partly to the growing, pernicious habit of feeding infants artificially, to the exclusion of their natural diet."¹⁷ His comment was directed at the proliferating use of baby bottles in place of breast feeding, but only a few had thus far recognized that babies faced other dangers from these methods besides malnourishment. Healer Elizabeth Mott had intuitively speculated four decades earlier that the

intestinal problems which occurred regularly and most frequently from mid-July through-mid September each year might have been due in part to the “quantity of animalculæ that infest the waters at this period of year.”¹⁸ Her warning went unheeded, and scientists and laymen alike remained blithely bemused and entertained by the antics of those odd little creatures under the microscope. In the spring of 1873, a series of six public lectures was given by a respected minister at Lynn’s Odd Fellows’ Hall about the microscope and its revelations. The reverend showed microscopic specimens found in the garden, forest, pond, and sea; yet despite such efforts to prove its ubiquity, he dismissed the significance and even the existence of microscopic life in drinking water, choosing instead to amuse his audience with the playful antics of the life forms.¹⁹ *The Lynn Record* reported of the lectures, “The crude opinions … sometimes expressed relative to the presence of animalcules in fresh water, were declared to be erroneous; in no other than water containing some vegetable matter, are such animalcules generated.”²⁰ In contrast, William Kingsford, a doctor in the Lynn area of mixed reputation, asserted his opinion a year later that microscopic life was limitless *and* timeless,

In order to live, we must breathe; and in absorbing into our lungs the quantity of air necessary to sustain life, we inadvertently inhale whole hosts of microscopical insects which are in suspension in the atmospherical fluid, and even portions of antediluvian animals, mummies, and skeletons of past ages. Thus we continue to exist, every day and hour, by the absorption of animal and vegetable life. So small are the microscopical animals that it takes millions to make a grain. Not only is the air we breathe teeming with animal life, but the water we drink is full also. The above facts are unquestionably true.²¹

The light of microscopic knowledge was just beginning to spark – but its practical application was still in darkness.

Nursing triplets was a logistical challenge in the base case and it was exacerbated by the rigorous public exhibition schedule of that week, but bottle feeding was becoming an increasingly popular solution for busy mothers. The Burr was a novel design in baby bottles that had been patented in 1870. Shaped with a cinched middle like a woman’s corset, it was ingeniously crafted to be easier for a baby to hold or to be nestled between a mother’s breasts, keeping the milk warm while allowing her hands to be free to hold and take care of the baby.²² Once older babies had been weaned, the Russells most likely put their bottles in storage, as did many straitened families that tried to live providently, because they could still be used if and when they had another baby, which the Russells obviously did, repeatedly.²³

They would have purchased cow’s milk from various milk peddlers that Enoch hailed down when the milk wagon was in the vicinity of their home and Cadet Hall. Recently enacted Massachusetts state law required that milk wagons be painted with the name of the vendor of the milk so that the customer was aware of whose milk they were buying; Lynn codified the requirement into its own ordinances as well.²⁴

As the Industrial Revolution brought high-volume shoe machinery to Lynn, the factories became more numerous and larger, and women left the home just as the men did to keep supporting their families. Babies of the new breed of working woman had to be nursed artificially; that is, with cow’s milk or pap (a blend of flour or bread with water or milk). But substituting cow’s milk for mother’s milk was anything but a simple solution. Communities like Lynn had increased in population to such an extent that farmland was forfeited to build more homes and buildings. Few still had the land or barns to raise a cow; most were struggling for space and shelter for their own families. The state reported that in such urban neighborhoods, cows were consequently packed together in disgusting, filthy spaces.²⁵ By the middle of the decade, Lynn had only 374 cows left to feed a population of 32,600 (an average of 1 cow for every 15 homes or every 84 people); the day of the family cow was quickly disappearing.²⁶ More and more families had to rely on milk peddlers to feed their babies.

Heat pounded Lynn in the summer months after the Russell babies were born; with the temperature reaching ninety degrees in the shade, the city newspapers urged people to cool off in the picnic groves and the ice cream saloons.²⁷ That same summertime intensity often dried out the grasses, making it difficult for milk cows to produce the normal quantity and quality of milk. When there was not enough to feed the cows, some dairymen fed them swill like they did to pigs. The resulting inferior milk had become known generally as "swill milk": it was a thin, bluish liquid that had virtually no fat content. They resorted to disguising the inferior product, whipping it into a creamier consistency and color by adding such things as chalk and plaster of Paris.²⁸ City ordinances were enacted to control the feeding of cows (not upon "the refuse of distilleries or any substance deleterious to the quality of the milk"), the sale of milk produced from sick or diseased cows, or the adding of any foreign substance to the milk; penalties ranged up to imprisonment of ninety days. Even the name of the milk dealer had to be legibly placed upon all wagons delivering milk, in order to authenticate the source.²⁹ Nonetheless, throughout the decade, Lynn's milk inspector was constantly catching several of the 160 milkmen (in 1879 only 16 of these were legally registered to sell milk) in the act of selling milk adulterated with water and chalk.³⁰ The chemist's 1879 analysis of one such sample of diluted milk found "about one quart of extract de [water] pump to five quarts of cow juice."³¹ It hadn't changed much since 1872 when one of the city's papers had quipped, "Slightly adulterated with cow juice – the water left at back doors by the milkmen."³² The struggling Russells were typical of the type of family that were susceptible to purchasing the lower cost, lesser grade of disguised, adulterated milk.

The Russell babies were probably weaker than other eleven-week-old babies because, on average, triplets are born about six weeks early. Their Burr bottles were taken out of storage and once again filled with peddler's milk, then sealed up when the wood and cork tops were pushed back into the bottle mouths. A long, flexible tube was connected to a glass straw inside the bottle, allowing the straw to constantly bend, like a divining rod, towards the milk. The rubber tube then protruded through the bottle stopper and snaked its way to a wooden mouth guard, which had a rubber nipple waiting on the other side.³³ The hungry, tiny triplets sucked and the money-paying gawkers gawked.

No more exhibitions of the triplets were given during the warm weather months, but keeping away sickness was not as easy as keeping away gawkers. At least two of the three infants contracted cholera infantum, also known as the "summer complaint." It earned the seasonal connotation because it showed up with the heat. August could almost always be counted on to be the hottest month in Lynn and with it came a mushrooming of the summer complaint, accounting from 1870-1873 for as much as 63% of the lethal cases and when joined with the rest of the warm season, from mid-June to mid-September, 93%-100% of the deaths from the summer complaint proved the appropriateness of the popularized name for the illness.³⁴ Since hot weather caused foul smells from fermenting and rotting organic matter, the connection was made that the summer complaint was bred by the stench of slops, offal, and manure left in streets and gutters, months of human waste festering in outhouses, pigs wallowing in urban sties, offensive emanations from morocco factories, the fouled air of overcrowded tenements, and being unintentionally fed spoiling but disguised milk; older, weaned children could get the complaint also from eating decaying fruits and vegetables, and other adulterated food products.³⁵ The vicious, lethal illness struck quickly. The infant would have a fever ranging from 102 to 104 degrees Fahrenheit. There would be much diarrhea and considerable pain. The child would gag or wretch, the vomiting becoming frightfully severe. Extreme thirst was accompanied by rapid emaciation. Convulsions were the next likely phase, followed by slipping into a comatose state, and eventually sinking into death. The first-ever picture of the remarkable triplets that had seemed like just a good money-making souvenir became the last-ever view of the triplets together. The *carte de visite* celebration of birth transformed into a *memento mori* reminder of death: baby Herman died on the 22nd of August and his brother Edgar died the next day; only Jennie, their triplet sister, lived on.³⁶



(above) **The Russell Triplets, May 1874.** This *carte de visite* was created as a fund-raising souvenir of the rare event – not just the birth, but the apparent survival of all three triplets. Also unintentionally featured were the Burr nursing bottles that were feeding and pacifying the babies to sleep, perhaps permanently. Photographer: Wilder T. Bowers, Photographers, Lynn, Mass., 1874. (Collection of the author.)

(right) **Deadly Infant Ensemble.** Burr Bottle (with the feeding mechanism and rubber tubing reproduced as described in the Burr patent drawings), leather booties, and baby rattle with whistle on the stem. In addition to all the dangers of long-tubed baby bottles, with their cork and wooden stoppers, the baby rattle also presented its own dangers. The stem is made of bone, the rattle cage is ivory, and the ring is celluloid. The pitting and grain of the animal bone stem was also a dangerous breeding ground for bacteria and the celluloid ring was extremely flammable. All items from the late 19th century. (All collection of the author).



The milk that was given to strengthen and sustain the triplets probably had little in it to help them, and equally likely was teaming with the “animalculae” found in raw milk stored in unsanitary conditions. In addition to the pestilence swimming in the milk, there were, lodged in the nooks and crannies of the bottles, the cork and wood stoppers and mouth shields, and the rubber tubing and nipples, yet more colonies of the little beasts exploding into animation, reproduction, and deadly toxin production when they were rehydrated by the pouring in and sucking out of the milk.³⁷ Long-tubed baby bottles like the Burr came to be known as “murder bottles” and the milk they carried was “white poison”; designed as a combination to sustain life, they were often a recipe for death. From conception to adulthood, growing up was always a delicate balance over the dark abyss of mortality; although bottle-feeding was fraught with hidden dangers, it seemed to be just an innocent refreshment break compared to scarier bugbears waiting in the darkness for Lynn’s children.

STUNTED GROWTH

Happy stories about children were all too few and sad ones all too common – it wasn’t easy to be young in Lynn; in fact, arriving at all had become less of a certainty. Lynn families were noticeably smaller in the 1870s than they had been in the early years of the century. In 1800 the U.S. birth rate was seven children per family, but the number of children slid consistently downward through the decades, to 3.5 children per family by the end of the century.³⁸ This was not due to an onset of some societal impotency, but rather a conscious desire on the part of parents to have smaller families. As New Englanders left farming for commercial and industrial wages, their children became stuck in the cogwheels of progress. Their roles shifted from being small boosts to family finances as farmhands, apprentices, and servants, to financial drains on the family pocketbook, needing support while receiving compulsory education and having to compete with immigrants for low-wage employment that increasingly required them to operate dangerous machinery they never previously handled. In the changing workplace of Lynn, children had metamorphosed from an investment to an expense.

Smaller families also allowed women some personal freedom that had been virtually unknown to their mothers and even more so for their grandmothers. This emancipation from perpetual motherhood allowed women to leave the house and earn wages or, if more affluent, to enjoy the luxury of staying at home without having children internally or externally attached each and every day for decades. Most of the methods to prevent pregnancy had been around for centuries: abstinence, coitus interruptus, and condoms. But such methods were used according to time-honored yet incorrect old wives’ tales and thus were largely ineffective to tamp down the birth rate as successfully as was being achieved throughout the nineteenth century. Men and women alike were guessing, inaccurately, about when in her menstrual cycle a woman was most fertile, and the tenacity of sperm and bacteria was also not understood; an 1869 ad in *The Lynn Weekly Reporter* assured that the condoms being offered could be washed when “soiled” and reused without concern.³⁹ The most certain solution to pregnancy (outside of abstinence) was abortion, but even then they didn’t know what they were doing. In the eyes of the law, women were not considered pregnant with viable human life until the “quickenings” – the time during the fourth or fifth month when fetal movement was felt.

Until that evidence of new life presented, efforts to flush the uterus were considered a woman’s prerogative to relieve herself of her “female complaints” before quickening, whether she chose to do so by following the instructions in a home medical guide, by douching, or taking store-bought emmenagogue medicines or homemade potions to stimulate or increase the menstrual flow. Lynn physician Joseph G. Pinkham went on record stating that he strongly believed that more miscarriages were produced by emmenagogues than by all other causes put together and that, in his experience, a violent abortion was the most common cause of uterine disease.⁴⁰



Promising Cures of the 1870s. Even before the newfangled wonders of electricity began illuminating and improving homes, Lynn medicine makers were promising that their products were cutting-edge solutions for customers' health problems. Just a few examples are shown here. (clockwise from top left) "SWEDISH / LUNG BALSAM / LYNN, MASS." (embossed aqua BIM); the short-lived "MRS. / DINSMORE'S / ENGLISH TONIC / BITTERS / SURE CURE FOR / DYSPEPSIA, / INDIGESTION, / Diseases of the / LIVER AND KIDNEYS, / Bowel Complaints, And General Debility" (label-only aqua BIM); "F. W. A. BERGENGREN // SWEDISH / BOTANIC COMPOUND // LYNN, MASS. (embossed aqua BIM; the first "S" is weakly embossed in this example). (All collection of the author. Also note the George B. Thurston product line photograph on page 652 displays more Lynn proprietaries from the 1870s.)

Proprietary medicines designed to relieve female complaints had been advertised in Lynn's papers for decades.⁴¹ It was a delicate matter to read about or deal with issues concerning the generative organs, so emmenagogue advertising was purposely ambiguous and broad, but its meaning was clear: "Dr. C. W. Millard's Female Silver Pills – An unfailing remover of obstructions, and a certain regulator of the monthly turn." "Duponco's Golden Pills for Females Act like a charm Prepared expressly for married ladies. One lady writes 'Duponco's Golden Pills relieved me in two days, without inconvenience, like magic.'"⁴² But *after* the quickening, all of these methods, even those presented in regal silver or gold, became as reviled as the illegal instruments of the loathsome abortionist.

The cultural wink at half-pregnant women frustrated several of Lynn's physicians, none more so than Joseph G. Pinkham. He strongly renounced his professional brethren who went along with the fuzzed boundaries of pregnancy, providing emmenagogues or even instrumental intervention to encourage blood flow in women who claimed to not be pregnant. Pinkham thought not stating the obvious was annoying and ridiculous. In 1870 he wrote an impassioned argument titled, "The Very Frequent and Inexcusable Destruction of Foetal Life in its Earlier Stages by Medical Men in Honorable Standing," wherein he denounced as ludicrous the notion that a physician would be putting his reputation in jeopardy by calling a woman pregnant when the absence of menses was accompanied by the onset of morning sickness. If the physician declared it a pregnancy in a thousand cases based on those two factors, Pinkham insisted, he would do no damage to his reputation because he would so infrequently be wrong. Pinkham then blasted fellow physicians for "convert[ing] the *doubt* into a *certainty*" by assisting the woman to clear out the womb of something that neither would admit was there in the first place.⁴³

On one occasion during his crusade, Pinkham became suspicious that a failed abortion was being disguised by an overused painkiller and the lies of the deathly ill woman and her cowering abortionist. In December 1869 he was called to the house of a former patient "and found her in alarming condition": she lay there unconscious, her skin looking deathly pale and gray. Her breathing was noisy and labored; her lower jaw drooped, leaving the mouth wide open. Her eyelids were partially closed and motionless and her pulse was weak. "On making hasty inquiries," Pinkham recounted, "I ascertained that she had been taking some medicine from a quack herbalist, who recommended it, in the choice English of that refined sect, as being able to 'knock pain higher than a kite.'" The herbalist had made her a painkiller from yellow jasmine and claimed that the patient had consumed the entire contents of the bottle in a few hours, despite his instructions to dose by drops. Pinkham, whose recollection of the herbalist was consistently condescending and disdainful, deduced, in his own opinion at least, just what had happened to have this woman in such a wretched, life-threatening condition, "I satisfied myself, notwithstanding the denial of both parties concerned, that he had procured an abortion upon the woman, and gave the medicine as an anodyne after the expulsion of the ovum." She apparently did not die because of what Pinkham painted as his heroic and far-superior skills to save the woman, though not the fetus, if there ever was one.⁴⁴

While Pinkham expected nothing more than botched doctoring by an uneducated healer, he couldn't tolerate the same from his professional brethren, and so he conspired with eight other licensed Lynn physicians to cull out a tenth from their medical society fraternity. Asa Tarbell Newhall had practiced the healing arts in Lynn for thirty-nine years, but his willingness to help women with abortions made him an early candidate for excoriation and expulsion from the Massachusetts Medical Society. The Lynn practitioners petitioned the society's trial board for the immediate prosecution of Newhall on the charge of "conduct unbecoming & unworthy (of) an honorable physician & member of this Society."⁴⁵

Four accusations of Newhall's inappropriate professional actions were presented by four different Lynn physicians. The first allegation dug back fourteen years, claiming that "A. T. Newhall, did by the use of drugs and instruments induce criminal abortion on the body of Mrs.

Mary E. Luscomb" (age twenty-eight, the mother of five); "this in Lynn, on or about May 1st 1856, from the effects of which operation she died May 13th 1856." The second count had identical wording to the first, this time victimizing Mrs. Sara A. Wentworth (age thirty, mother of three) who had the abortion on June 1st 1868 and died a month later on July 4th.⁴⁶ The third and fourth abortions, performed on Sarah Verity (single, twenty-two) in December 1869 and on Mrs. Nellie Sargent in January 1870 didn't, apparently, end in their deaths.⁴⁷

Asa T. Newhall decided not to go to the trial, even though he realized not doing so was considered by the society's bylaws an admission of guilt. He told one of the accusing Lynn physicians that there were extenuating circumstances in one of the cases – that the woman had already tried to produce an abortion on herself and Newhall was urged by her husband to continue the operation – but the weak defense to a single accuser was too little too late; he had resigned himself to the inevitable decision of the board. During the brief trial, held despite his absence, it was pointed out that he had twice been before coroner's inquests and civil courts within the previous year on abortion charges and one of the juries had rendered a verdict of death from abortion by Newhall.⁴⁸ His time as a licensed member of the Massachusetts Medical Society was over and the society's most outspoken anti-abortionists, exultant over the victory, shouted for more,

His expulsion has purged our ranks of one dishonorable name. ... The physicians of Lynn have done their duty tardily but well; and from remarks we have heard dropped, they do not intend to let the matter rest there, but will keep a watchful eye upon the culprit, whose presence would better grace the inside of the State Prison than the free streets and homes of a Puritan city.⁴⁹

The periodical's frenzied war-cry fizzled once the ink had dried. Newhall had only been stripped of his medical society membership, but the matter wasn't subsequently taken to criminal proceedings and Newhall continued to practice in Lynn for the remaining four years of his life. At his passing, Lynn newspaper obituaries eulogized the sixty-five-year-old as "an honor to his profession, as well as a most estimable citizen" and "one of the oldest and most skillful physicians of Lynn ... his services were held in high esteem by many families." His expulsion from the medical society had not removed him from the hearts of his patients and friends.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, Lynn's anti-abortion advocates would continue the fight in print over the years to come, as was the case with John O. Webster, yet another Lynn member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and Secretary of the Lynn Medical Society, who groaned in 1871 that the state laws didn't make criminal abortion a homicide (and by his use of the term "homicide" he wasn't writing in defense of the unborn, but was referring to occasions when the mother died). He urged his fellow physicians in the state to get a law enacted that would at least indict abortionists for manslaughter in such cases, "I doubt not that the other district Societies would gladly cooperate in the undertaking, and the physicians of Massachusetts, would, for once, make it manifest that *they are a power in the land*."⁵¹

For Webster, the anti-abortion crusade was a platform on which to raise the stature of medical society membership above all other healers while Joseph G. Pinkham pointed to it as the last hope for everything good and sacred: morality, health, motherhood, and society, "The practice of criminal abortion [in Lynn] is frequent. Its effects are the impaired, often the hopelessly ruined, health of the mothers, and a general lowering of the moral tone of society."⁵² Pinkham knew of what he spoke. In addition to the exposure his physician duties gave him to those who were seeking, giving, and receiving abortions, he saw the postmortem impact up-close in his role as Lynn's medical examiner, especially with the case of the woman in the trunk.



THE BODY IN THE TRUNK. On the freezing evening of 27 February 1879, a coal-heaver on his way to work saw an old leather trunk in the marsh on the eastern (Lynn) bank of the Saugus River, a few hundred feet from where the Fox Hill bridge spanned over, connecting the road from

Lynn to Boston. There was no lock on the trunk, but it had been tied shut with clothesline. When he unraveled it he found “to his terror and astonishment, that the trunk contained the corpse of a woman.”⁵³ The shocking, sensational news story spread through newspapers like wildfire, from New England to New York, West Virginia, Missouri, Louisiana, and half way around the world to Australia. The *Lynn Record* was among the first to shout to the world the ghastly news. Using seven different fonts, a lexicon of mayhem, and a plethora of excited punctuation, it had used every trick at its disposal to catch the reader’s eye with this hometown headline shocker:

MURDER! TERRIBLE DISCOVERY! IN LYNN. A DEAD BODY FOUND!
 Packed and Twisted In a Trunk! Terribly Mutilated and Disfigured! The Nose of the
 Victim Cut Off! TO DISFIGURE HER COUNTENANCE! Great Excitement In All
 Parts of the City! AN ABORTION AT THE BOTTOM OF THE CRIME!⁵⁴

It wasn’t just a body, but a disfigured, mutilated corpse, jammed into a box in a profoundly indecent, inhuman manner, frozen in time and in temperature. The right leg was folded up tightly against the abdomen and the left leg was doubled up over the left shoulder. The head had been forced down upon the chest and the face was covered with clotted blood because the nose had been completely severed from the face.⁵⁵ The hair had been raggedly hacked off to further frustrate efforts to identify the victim.⁵⁶

The body was left constantly on display to the public in the Lynn police station, in hope that someone would be able to positively identify her. The mortified, the fascinated, and the curious from Lynn and nearby towns thronged the small facility, which on this occasion seemed absurdly small, taking their turns to stare at the increasingly gruesome sight – in the heat of the room and the crush of the crowd that included little children, the body was quickly decomposing.⁵⁷ Estimates ranged as high as 25,000 morbidly curious people had visited the disfigured and decaying corpse in the first week, an astounding number by any measure, but even more dramatic when considering that Lynn’s entire population at the time wasn’t quite 38,000, including every man, woman, and child.⁵⁸ The *New York Times* reported that the location where the trunk was found “had also been visited by thousands, and down-town streets have worn an almost holiday appearance, so filled have they been with moving, excited throngs.”⁵⁹ Relic hunters who visited the bridge chipped away pieces of the bridge railing as macabre mementos of the horrible, sensationalized gossip event of the season.⁶⁰

For months, newspapers squeezed the story for every scintilla of dreadful detail, every bit of news and conjecture, every theory about who the victim was, who the murderers were, what exactly had happened, and why. Facts were secondary to speculation. Theories about every facet of the case abounded. Some believed the trunk had floated upriver from the ocean, others thought it was thrown off a train. A clam digger was suspicious that a horse-drawn sleigh being driven towards Lynn at high speed by a man and a woman on that fateful night may have been on the foul mission to get rid of the trunk.⁶¹ But a policeman had also seen a few men in a horse-drawn wagon flying wildly down Boston Street like bats out of Hell, heading towards the bridge; so that was another possibility to throw into the “how the trunk got there” file.⁶² The deceased had been positively but mistakenly identified by forty-one different people as a certain young woman who was later found alive.⁶³ It was also rumored that she had been a prostitute, of Irish parentage, or maybe German, and the *The Daily Picayune* of New Orleans, Louisiana, even ran a story that for several nights, terrified residents and passers-by had seen her ghost walking barefoot in the vicinity where the trunk had been found.⁶⁴

With clinical coolness and an eye for evidence equal to any detective trying to solve the case, Joseph G. Pinkham fleshed out a myriad of details that helped police to identify the victim. Serving at the time as the city’s medical examiner, Pinkham compared the cadaver to a photograph of the living Miss Jennie Clarke and noted that every peculiarity of appearance, however trivial, served as a means of recognition: a smooth, somewhat pigmented wart upon the left hand and seven very

small moles on the left forearm; a linear scar on the left of the neck caused by the lancing of an abscess; slight overlapping of the front teeth. Of similar importance, in his opinion, was taking the measurements of the body (before decomposition affected the results) – the circumference of the neck and of the chest over the nipples, of the waist and hips, and the shoemaker's measurements of the foot – all to determine whether certain garments and shoes owned by missing individuals suspected of being the victim would have been a correct fit for the deceased. He also noted the minutest details of her clothing's construction, concluding that it showed she had humble means. It was unlikely that she was a prostitute, he observed, because they seldom conceived and when they did, they quickly lost the fetus because of the constant activities and requirements of their profession; plus, he felt it was highly unlikely that someone would have gone through so much trouble to dispose of a dead *nymph du pave* (nymph of the pavement), the term Pinkham used for prostitute in his autopsy report.⁶⁵

As aids to ascertaining her age, he noted that what was left of the victim's hair had no trace of gray and the skin was fair and free from wrinkles. The upper wisdom teeth had emerged, but the lower ones had not, and he stated that while there were exceptions, they generally appeared between a person's seventeenth and twenty-second year. Pinkham then noted that the victim's finger nails and toenails were short and clean, while the ears, scalp, and teeth showed no evidence of neglect. The hands were delicate, free of calluses, giving some idea of the types of labor in which she may or may not have employed. While he had decided she wasn't wealthy, he had also concluded she didn't belong to the lower classes.⁶⁶ His autopsy also proved she had an abortion, contracted peritonitis and had been in the trunk between one to three days.⁶⁷

All his findings corroborated the victim's identity as Jennie P. Clarke, a twenty-year-old (as of the day her corpse was found) domestic for a family of moderate means in Somerville, a few towns away from Lynn, on the way to Boston. She had gone to a female clairvoyant physician in Boston on 12 February 1879 to have an abortion. She became quite ill from peritonitis "with pains all through her" on the 14th, then aborted the fetus on the 18th, followed by her own death on the 25th. On the 26th a male accomplice to the doctor cut off the dead woman's nose and chunks of her hair, shoved her into the trunk however he could make the body fit, and then drove away on that dark, freezing, rainy night to dispose of the body. Frustrated at being unable to find a river or pond that wasn't frozen over, he finally dumped the trunk over the Fox Hill bridge. The two were brought to trial in September 1879. Even with the case solved and the criminals arrested, justice moved slowly, which frustrated Pinkham, "The array of evidence was overwhelming against the accused, but, thanks to our absurd system of jury trials, they were not convicted, the jury standing eleven for conviction and one opposed." As a result of the hung jury, a second trial was held and, ultimately, the abortionist got sentenced to ten years and the accomplice to seven.⁶⁸

While the trunk crime was still being investigated, a small army of police and detectives had descended upon several suspected abortion dens, houses of ill fame, and other disreputable places in Lynn. The *Lynn City Item* stated that Lynn had become "notorious" for such establishments and that "the frequency with which this crime (abortion) is committed in our borders is but little understood by the public. It has been practiced to an appalling extent"⁶⁹ The trunk criminals weren't found in Lynn, but other abortionists were. Mrs. Marion A. McLane's home on 6 Curve Street, Lynn, was known to be a last resort for women in baby trouble.⁷⁰ About fifty years old, quiet, well-spoken and of modest and respectable appearance, she didn't match the expected sleazy profile of a nefarious abortionist, but she had an eighteen-year-old son who had loose lips and admitted that his mother was just that.⁷¹ He also told the police where in the house they would find her crude, hand-formed wire abortion tools. Although she was originally suspected of being the trunk victim's killer, she was eventually arrested in June 1879 for using abortion instruments on Susan Chandler, a poor mulatto washerwoman who paid her fifty cents for the procedure. On the witness stand, Chandler chose not to testify, on the grounds that it might incriminate her.⁷² Her silence made it impossible for the grand jury to bring a verdict of guilty against McLane.⁷³

During the next month, Mrs. Frances L. Stone at 18 Almont Street, Lynn, who had also been suspected of the trunk crime, was arrested on a charge of causing an abortion upon the body of Lydia E. Allen who resided in the Wyoma section of Lynn. The city marshal found out that Mrs. Allen had been in Mrs. Stone's care for about two weeks before being prematurely delivered of twins about five months in the womb.⁷⁴ Allen decided to share all the details, including the five-dollar fee and a series of six visits to Stone's home, although she modestly described the abortion operation privately to the judge. Two Lynn physicians, George Cahill and David A. Drew, were called upon to go to Stone's home to attend Allen, but interestingly, both physicians testified in court that it was impossible for them to tell whether the premature births were the result of an operation or an accident.⁷⁵ While the doctors were of no help, Allen's testimony helped convict Mrs. Stone; she was sentenced to five years' imprisonment at hard labor.⁷⁶



WHEN BABIES SUCCESSFULLY EMERGED OR ESCAPED INTO THE WORLD

with a heartbeat, the life in front of them was often anything but gently rocking cradles and soft, fuzzy blankets. The first five years of life were a gauntlet of obstacles to growing up, and the worst of those years was the first. In the decade of the 1870s one third of all babies born in Lynn died within their first five years, and sixty percent of those deaths occurred in the first twelve months.⁷⁷ Infant lives were consistently extinguished by bacterial infection in forms being recognized at the time as consumption (tuberculosis), scarlet fever, lung fever, whooping cough, cholera infantum, influenza, diphtheria, and typhoid, but they were also victimized by economics: when debt infected a family as surely as bacteria infected the body, one or two parents sometimes tragically looked at the baby as the financial burden that had to be eliminated. Infants, alive and sometimes already dead, were abandoned to avoid financial responsibility for their life or culpability for their death.

Sadly, the killing of babies was nothing new; in 1772 a Boston paper reported that a newborn male child had been found in a Lynn pond "with several Stones tied round its Body; the Jury of Inquest ... agreed that it was willfully murdered by one Sarah Goldthwait, the Mother of the Infant, who was thereupon committed to Essex [Jail]."⁷⁸ But a century later it had become a frightfully common occurrence; during the 1870s, at least nineteen tiny corpses became secrets hidden among Lynn's features, from its woodlands to the ocean's edge, victims of desperation and depravity. They were found in the cold December surf of Lynn Beach, swaddled in a woman's skirt and weighed down with a rock; wrapped in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and left near the West Lynn train depot; shrouded in a sheet that was stuck in a drain at the foot of Mall Street; chained to a brick in the waters of Floating Bridge Pond; and gently entombed in a box left at the Old Western Burial Ground.⁷⁹ In the spring of 1876, two little girls picking mayflowers in a Wyoma field wandered upon the partially decomposed body of a baby girl; and on a frigid February day in 1879, two ladies walking past the Elm Street schoolhouse found a female infant lying motionless in the street, frozen with "an expression ... of discontent," as if having cried until her tears turned to ice.⁸⁰

It was infanticide, the killing of one's child within their first year of life. Although the decision to do so may have been heart-wrenching for some of the parents who were genuinely grief-stricken, the *Lynn Transcript* pointed out in 1874 that it was nonetheless "The Murder of the Innocents." The newspaper then described still another such crime upon a "perfect and healthy male child, weighing ten pounds, [which] bore a bruise on its forehead indicating that death had been produced by violence." The article's incensed author hoped that a vengeful God would bring the perpetrators to judgement, "Their skirts are not free from blood, nor their souls from a stain which they will carry into eternity."⁸¹ The same paper pressed further for justice a few months later, when another infant was found in a pasture,

Alas, the slaughter of the innocents still goes on. ... It is high time a public sentiment was being cultivated which will bear with irresistible effect upon this fearful and wicked crime. ... ferret out the murderers, if possible, and bring them to punishment[.]

Certainly everything should be done which would have a tendency to check this terrible sacrifice of human life, and hasten the time when the prevalence of a more healthy conscience will unerringly place the life of all new-born babes "above the reach of sacrilegious hands."⁸²

Moral laxity combined with poverty and disgrace when Joseph Nicholson, nineteen, and Elizabeth Corcoran, a not yet seventeen-year-old girl, were arrested and brought before the court: Joseph for fornication and Elizabeth for murder. Elizabeth confessed her whole story "of the birth of the child, her disgrace and discharge by the family in which she was employed, the poverty of her parents, the desertion of the young father, and the final act" of throwing her two-week-old baby into Lynn's harbor.⁸³ Despite the confession, Pinkham complained to his professional brethren, "the case was never even tried, and the culprit got off scot-free."⁸⁴

To be sure, some of the deaths were outright murders, but others were intended only to be acts of abandonment with anticipation of rescue. Little ones were left on the doorsteps of homes and in public locations in hope that they would be found, cared for, and perchance even adopted by the kind-hearted finder. In 1872 a black baby girl of just a few days was left in an old blanket on the steps of Mrs. Hannah Essex, an old black woman of Mailey Street. Hannah cared for the baby until the authorities could be notified and then the infant was placed in the almshouse. Within a few days there was some reported interest by a childless black couple to adopt the newborn.⁸⁵ In November 1878, police officer Pendexter found a 2-week-old baby boy on the steps of physician John Emerson's residence in Washington Square and it too, was taken to the almshouse.⁸⁶ It was also the final destination for the few-week-old foundling that was left in a basket in the front yard of accountant Charles B. Clough's Oxford Street home in 1879. An elderly woman with gray hair was seen putting the basket down and running away down Cambridge Street. The baby, it was noted, appeared to have been drugged.⁸⁷

Even for a city that frequently found abandoned babies of suspicious origins, there was something extra suspicious about an old woman abandoning a drugged infant – it might have been another despicable deed being executed by a "baby farmer." Such was the moniker of contempt given to an especially low breed of individual who took away people's problem children for money. These "farmers" were typically older women who were entrusted with the tiny infants, but they would never allow these crops to blossom.⁸⁸ Their profit margin was best ensured by not having to take care of the baby for long, so the infants were drugged, starved, beaten, killed, or left on someone's doorstep – whatever it took to get rid of them quickly and quietly.⁸⁹

At the very least they were serial manslaughterers and at worst serial killers. The black-hearted lie of these grim reapers was that the little waifs would be cared for and a fitting family found to adopt them, but this display of compassion and humanity stopped once the infant was left in their keeping. Ever on the prowl to ensnare more business, they kept a keen eye out for parents in desperate trouble, such as the father who had lost his wife in childbirth or the parents who simply couldn't afford to feed another mouth. Sometimes there was even complicity between the baby farmers and some their most desperate customers: "shamed and disgraced" unwed mothers who turned to the baby farmers to hide their illegitimate child, "often [with] a tacit understanding that these little innocents shall be suffered to die of neglect or ill usage in the charnel-houses to which they are consigned." Lynn had such scoundrels blighting its neighborhoods, "... inhuman traffickers, who care not how they obtain money if it be even at the price of blood and innocence"⁹⁰

A letter to the editor of the *Lynn Transcript* in 1874 complained bitterly that one of Lynn's baby farms was located close to his home and a conversation with the unsavory proprietor left him no doubt of its real purpose:

I am informed by the garrulous woman in charge (whose coarse and disgusting manners would repel any real mother from trusting her precious infant for a moment in her care) that since the fourth of June four *unfortunate* mothers have given birth to

children under her roof, and that within the same period three deaths of children under one year of age have occurred. ... Is there no way to break up these dens of infamy and iniquity?⁹¹

The newspaper's editor replied in the same edition with equal disgust and concern about these unholy enterprises, "[there is] within a few miles of our office ... one of those infamous institutions known as 'baby-farming' establishments. Multitudes of innocent children are yearly murdered in these dens"⁹² Throughout the decade, killer abortionists, killer parents, killer baby farmers, and killer bacteria rode among the infants of Lynn like the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. For those who avoided the stampede, the rest of their youth wouldn't get much easier.

The death registers for Lynn over the decade 1870-1879 contained 453 records of stillbirths, 1,606 deaths between birth and the first birthday, 839 more from age one through five, 345 from six through ten, and 140 from eleven through fifteen; in total, 3,383 Lynn children that never made it to their sixteenth birthday. Annoyed by what he felt was the public's fatalistic resignation to child mortality, John O. Webster, Lynn's City Physician in 1873-1874, believed the death of a child should always be seen as "an unnatural event, for which somebody, somewhere and at some time, has been to blame."⁹³ To back up his claim, he researched children's diseases in Massachusetts and assembled a list of who and what shared the blame for all those tiny tragedies, publishing his findings in *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. His catalog of contributing culprits included diseased parents, poor attention to sanitary laws, poor food, poor clothing, poor ventilation, cold homes, and dosing children with dangerous medicines. He explained in biblical terms that congenital constitutional weakness was inherited from syphilitic and consumptive parents, "the iniquities of the parents ... visited upon the children."⁹⁴ Isaac F. Galloupe endorsed this claim when he provided the cause of death for Sarah J. Ford, nineteen: "the deceased attended a woman at child-birth and the father of the child was afflicted with syphilis a[nd] the child inherited it from his father, and the young woman contracted it from the child; and it resulted in Consumption which was the cause of her death."⁹⁵ Webster further asserted that infant mortality was greatest in those sections of cities where tenements crowded together, "full of nuisances, and inhabited by a class of people that are neglectful of the entire code of sanitary laws" and he claimed his research found that immigrants were "a class of people who are indifferent to the laws of health," five times more likely to disregard sanitary laws than "the better class of Americans."⁹⁶ Their squalid tenement homes lacked fresh air and sunlight and were sometimes below freezing inside. This active Massachusetts Medical Society member also felt compelled to note "the immense sales" of popular nostrums to "reckless" mothers and nursemaids for use on the little ones in their charge. He pointed particularly to purgatives, vermifuges, and soothing syrups containing large proportions of opium, that resulted in marasmus (malnutrition), diarrhea, debilitating weakness, and anemia. He pointed out that despite the multitude of medicines promoted specifically for whooping cough, the child mortality rate from that illness had not changed in thirty years. Far from providing cures, he claimed, the popular medicines were making it even easier for sickness to kill the kids.⁹⁷

Webster's xenophobic comments aside, some of his concerns and conclusions were justified; far too many babies and children were suffering miserably and being taken away all too soon from their families. In 1878 *The Lynn Record* plucked at the community's heartstrings when it urged sympathy for the Stiles family who had lost children in breathlessly quick succession: two little sons had died on the same day and another a month later, all to "membraneous croup."⁹⁸ The papers could have repeated that sad storyline many times over throughout the decade, each equally tragic and sad: the Cross family lost four children and the Harts and the Conways each buried five. And no matter how high the body count got, it never became easier to accept; the resignation that Webster had detected was, in fact, brimming with despair. Thus it was for Mary Welch, a deaf mother of three. Police found her in her bed with her three children, she clinging to her dead four-month-old daughter. In the absence of her deaf husband who had been traveling through Canada, selling books for Boston's Deaf and Dumb Asylum, she had lost her baby girl to cholera infantum

and “it was with the utmost difficulty that the dead babe was removed from its mother’s arms, as she seemed determined not to part with it, and her present insanity is attributed to the death of this child.”⁹⁹

Unwilling to accept how such stories ended, Webster focused on how to change them. He expressed frustration that people didn’t take heed to quarantine those thus infected with such contagious afflictions as scarlet fever, measles, and whooping cough, as they had been doing for smallpox for almost a century.¹⁰⁰ Pulmonary deaths (caused by pneumonia, lung fever, croup, and others) reigned from the fall until springtime and digestive diseases (such as cholera infantum, dysentery, and typhoid) ran through the summer and fall. The devastation caused by one of these warm weather contagions in late July 1872 was so profound, Lynn’s *Little Giant* newspaper singled it out from all others in the Deaths section under its own subheading: “Cholera Infantum”: twelve children had died of the disease during that one week.¹⁰¹

The only hope was for Lynn’s littlest bodies to last long enough to “harden,” as Webster said some put it, meaning to toughen up and fight off the hopelessly long list of sicknesses that did their worst to the young.¹⁰² Fewer children were lost the longer a child’s body had to strengthen. After the first year, childhood deaths decreased by fifty percent over the next five years and continued to decline significantly over the next ten years. During his 1874 term as Lynn City Physician, Webster had stated, “The hygienic condition of our city is not a thing to be proud of.”¹⁰³ The key, Webster said, was sanitary reform, especially that parents needed to embrace simple changes in hygiene for their children’s sake. Despite his wise council, there were still many lessons that would be learned the hard way and many more children who wouldn’t get to grow up.

Passing through Death’s gauntlet of childhood diseases was no guarantee of a smooth arrival at maturity; some were pushed into it. A swelling population covered by multiple newspapers yielded reprehensible incidents of pedophilia and child abuse; of creeps indecently exposing themselves and contemptible curs who lured young girls into unoccupied buildings and other remote locations to take “improper liberties” with them.¹⁰⁴ One outraged father took justice into his own hands in the form of a whip, “giving the offender a cowhiding whose severity was commensurate with the mean and dastardly conduct of which he was guilty, and one which he will be likely to remember for some time to come.”¹⁰⁵ Jeremiah Witherell, who kept a candy store on Sutton street, was arrested for “enticing, for improper purposes, young girls into his shop,” and for engaging in “lewd and lascivious conduct of a most flagrant nature with two little school girls in this city”¹⁰⁶ He was sentenced to six months in the House of Correction.¹⁰⁷

Other species of monsters abused children for financial gain, as was the case with Ann Carey of Chestnut street, who adopted a “beautiful little girl aged eight years” from a Boston orphan asylum in 1877. “From the first, she ... compelled the child to perform work far beyond the strength of the little one,” and treated her with “cruelty almost beyond belief.” The child’s nose was broken, her ears “horribly twisted out of shape, her head covered with scars” and bald patches where ringlets of hair had been pulled out; “her limbs bruised, and her back bearing the wounds inflicted ... by this fiendish woman with a red-hot poker.”¹⁰⁸ In still another form of child abuse, in 1872, a fifteen-year-old Lynn girl had been enticed “by a woman of ill repute” to run away from her family’s Washington Street home and once ensnared, was forced into prostitution in “a house of ill fame.”¹⁰⁹

Poverty drove some children to take risks that, under normal circumstances, they might not have taken. George Evans, a thirteen-year-old boy, was arrested for breaking into a tailor shop. The police soon learned, however, that his father was killed in the war, his mother was subsequently murdered, and he had fallen in with some older people who tried to convince him that crime did pay. Sympathy put him on probation.

An 1875 report on education in Lynn found that only 58% of eligible children were attending school, which was significantly below the 70-78% rates of other Massachusetts cities; this meant that 1,665 Lynn children were toiling in Lynn’s workshops or wasting their time altogether.¹¹⁰

Truant Officer J. M. Newhall reported that early in November 1878, “a large number of cases ... where children ... were unable to attend school for want of suitable clothing to wear,” so he made a public appeal for “cast-off clothing” to enable the children to go to school.¹¹¹

There were laws on the books that were designed to provide some progressive support for children aged ten to fourteen years old, but they were minimal controls that were often avoided by youth and adult alike. A revised Lynn ordinance required every child between eight and fourteen years of age to attend school for at least twelve weeks in the year, six weeks of which had to be consecutive, before being allowed to work in a factory; however, along with sickness and mental capacity, poverty was a legitimate excuse for non-compliance.¹¹² A former Lynn city marshal explained that it was difficult to abide by a law that required an eight- or ten-year-old boy to attend school instead of work when his widowed mother was to some extent dependent on his earnings; and there were plenty of children in Lynn whose meager paycheck was essential to a family’s budget.¹¹³ *The Lynn Record* reported that the law had been violated in Lynn for years with many children working in the shoe factories who were not more than ten years of age, and that no one seemed to care:

From time to time attention would be called to the matter, when a little fellow would fall down an unguarded elevator way and be killed, or maimed for life, or might have fingers or hands so mangled by the machinery as to necessitate amputation. In that case great sympathy would be expressed for the sufferer, and in many instances, a purse be made up for his relief, and there the matter would end, save with the victim, thus mutilated – perhaps terribly mutilated Confined in the too often badly ventilated workroom, amid associations not at all conducive to moral and mental improvement, any more than to the necessary standard of bodily health.¹¹⁴

Throughout the decade, new, innovative machinery was introduced into Lynn’s shoe factories, dramatically increasing production rates; on one new machine shoe production jumped from one pair to eighty pairs in a single hour. The constant machinery improvements enabled the manufacturer to reduce his workforce, causing families a disruption in wages, which “in a great many instances compelled them to remove their children from school and go work in the factory.”¹¹⁵ Led by ten-year-olds Ruria Cheever, a hotel waitress, and Harriet Pope, a shoe fitter (stitching machine operator) in a factory, the 1870 census for Lynn listed 139 children between ages ten and fourteen working, mainly in shoe factories: the 2 girls that were ten years old, 4 youngsters that were eleven, 15 at twelve years (10.79%), 32 at thirteen (23.02%), and 86 at fourteen (61.87%). There were likely more working at these early ages that cautious parents hid from census takers. All of the working youth noted in the census were from the city’s less affluent neighborhoods closest to the sprawling shoe factories in Wards 3, 4, 5, and 6. There were none from the still largely rural Ward 1 and just a few from the mostly wooded Ward 7, and only two from Ward 2.¹¹⁶ The diminutive workers that came out of the factories after a long shift with all the adults were a sad sight to see:

Take your stand at the close of day on any of our principal streets and observe among the crowds that emerge from our factories, the large number of children of school age. Their figures are bent with toil, and their frames are hardened by prematurely arrested growth, while on their faces no smile of childhood is seen, but in its stead a haggard, stolid look, or the still more deadening traces of an already vicious life.¹¹⁷

It would have been sad enough if the only physical toll was long-term, but tragically this wasn’t the case; dozens of Lynn youth were maimed and killed in industrial accidents throughout the decade, continuing the wretched pattern established in the 1860s when Lynn factory mechanization began lurching forward. In 1874, while at work on a splitting machine, “a lad” named Albert Lyon got his thumb caught in the knives and “the flesh was stripped to the bone.”¹¹⁸ While working at the manufactory of Samuel M. Bubier in 1872, fourteen-year-old George Dougherty had the forefinger of his right hand crushed so badly on a molding machine that

amputation at the first joint became necessary.¹¹⁹ Edward Bogan, who was sixteen, was also working on a molding machine at a Central Avenue shoe manufactory in 1873 when his accident occurred: three fingers of his right hand “crushed to a jelly” by the machine. Just one year previously, his elder brother James fell under the railroad cars at Central Depot and both of his legs were so badly crushed that they required amputation.¹²⁰ In 1878 Lester Spinney, a fifteen-year-old, got his left arm caught in the shoe factory equipment he was working on and it was necessary to amputate the limb just below the elbow joint.¹²¹ John Coleman, also fifteen, employed at a shoe manufactory on Market Street had his heel badly crushed by getting his foot stuck between the elevator and the framework as the elevator descended. “Had it not been [for the fact] that his boots were very thick,” *The Lynn Record* explained, “the boy would have been much more seriously injured.”¹²² In 1872 Michael McKenney, residing on Mountain Court, had climbed upon a box in a shoe factory on Exchange Street, to oil the machinery. The box shifted, “throwing him upon the shaft and thrusting the oil feeder which he held in his hand entirely through the center of his arm above the wrist, and between the bones.”¹²³ As it had been in the previous decade, the long flowing hair of girls continued to be attracted to quickly rotating machine parts; in 1875, sixteen-year-old Hannah Coleman, employed in the shoe factory stitching room, was adjusting a belt on the stitching machine when her hair wrapped around a rotating shaft. Other female operatives tried to help her, but in vain. When the foreman finally arrived, “Miss Coleman was lying prostrate on the floor with her head drawn close to the shaft; a large portion of her hair had been completely pulled out by the roots, and the balance wound tightly around the shaft. The scalp had been lifted for a considerable space....”¹²⁴ When in the always grueling, often dangerous world of the factory, Lynn’s poor teenagers and prepubescent laborers might have found a little comfort from working side by side with adult neighbors and family members because at the very least, misery loves company.

TORPID LIVERS

Lynn’s complexion was changing quickly. The center of the city had once been a collection of quiet neighborhoods of single-family homes nestled in the shadows of graceful churches, with heaven-pointing spires and bells that melodically welcomed all who would listen; but they were now transforming into hectic wards of multi-family tenements exposed to the glare of imposing factories, with heaven-eclipsing immensity and machines that bellowed and clanged and screeched at all who could hear. Assembly line manufacturing with new inventions in high-volume machinery was crushing the centuries-old tradition of home-based, hand-crafted shoemaking. Millions more pairs of shoes were being produced with fewer workers: in 1865 over 5,000,000 pairs were produced by 11,000 shoemakers, but in 1875 over 10,000,000 pairs were produced by only 9,000 workers.¹²⁵ Twenty-five Lynn shoe manufacturers proudly displayed their products to the world at the 1876 Centennial International Exposition in Philadelphia. Above a showcase of Lynn-made shoes, the machines that made them, and an eye-catching framed display of artistically arranged and engraved shoe soles, hung a banner announcing that Lynn not only had the production capacity to cover the feet of Americans, but was ready to trade with foreign countries (specifying Latin American and Caribbean countries, “or any other market”). The banner continued, “We make the very finest and the cheapest shoes made in this country. We claim that our facilities, with our methods, organization and machinery, are not excelled for producing all grades of sewed shoes at the smallest possible cost. We make what is called for.”¹²⁶ The world was being put on notice: Lynn had arrived.

The Industrial Revolution was rotating at high speed in Lynn throughout the 1870s. The shoemaking innovations expanded the shoe industry which, in turn expanded the shoe city. At the advent of the decade, *The Lynn Record* declared, “We have completely outgrown the town.” Calls were made for the city to catch up with its own growth and progress by building a new railroad depot, a theatre, a hospital, an audience hall, and to establish a source of abundant, pure water to

quench the city's needs.¹²⁷ Carpenters couldn't saw and hammer quickly enough to keep up with the demand for new factories and houses filling Lynn's streets. Three weeks after the great fire had consumed Chicago in early October 1871, a newspaper writer presciently speculated about Lynn's future, "There will be an imminent conflagration in Lynn one of these days, several of the citizens having furnished fuel by erecting numerous wooden buildings for manufacturing purposes and thickly lining street after street with them. The recent terrible fire in Chicago originated, as is well-known, in a quarter of that city largely built of wood"¹²⁸

Lynn was also chided for not remedying decade-old sources of urban blight. In 1874 the horse "cemetery" on Glenwood Street, with its "half-buried carcasses," was still wafting a stink that was almost unendurable during the warm weather and it was seriously affecting the sale and rental of property in the neighborhood.¹²⁹ The city's sidewalks in 1877 were still notoriously dangerous because they were incomplete and in bad repair, and the stench arising from the morocco leather factories on Munroe Street had also been complained about for years without any serious improvements made.¹³⁰ And throughout the decade continued the unending string of tragic accidents involving humans and the trains that dashed insistently back and forth through the city. The rush to build and grow was outpacing the need for planning, adjusting, and fixing.

The population increased twenty-five percent over the decade and more people encouraged more consumer-oriented businesses and a wider array of products. The Arcade Saloon in West Lynn served "Meals at All Hours" to "Ladies and Gents" and The Eureka Saloon on Munroe Street was serving meals just a few minutes' walk from the Palace Photography Saloon, the Goat drinking saloon, and Lucius Sargent's Eagle Saloon, all on Market Street, and there were many other shops and saloons in between.¹³¹ A gymnasium in the upper story of the Frazier Building on Market Street supplied "all needful requisites for muscular development, such as parallel, horizontal and perpendicular bars, rowing, lifting and blowing machines, Indian war-clubs, dumbbells and shoulder weights, swinging rings, &c. ... The perpendicular bars will greatly aid digestion and tend to banish the horrors of dyspepsia."¹³² Filene's Pavilion opened in 1870, offering ladies' fashionable clothing, which in this era included bustles that were the height of fashion, light-colored silks and taffeta; ruffles and flounces, butterflies mounted on a spiral pin for the hair, and fancy hats ornamented with ribbons and bird feathers – sometimes the entire bird – frequently enough that Lynn's board of alderman eventually refused licenses for killing song birds for the adornment of women's hats.¹³³ The well-dressed woman could then have personalized visiting cards printed up at Gardiner's on 11 Market Street to genteelly leave behind on their social calls.¹³⁴ Established apothecaries like Benjamin Proctor's and Tozzer's had to get retrofitted with soda fountains to accommodate the demand for the popular product and to have even a remote chance of keeping up with the fancy new competition of Bly & Newman's Apothecary that opened on Munroe Street:

The [soda] fountain is a picture in itself; it is one of Tufts' best, manufactured expressly for Messrs. Bly & Newman, of Italian Bardillo Marble, ornamented with panels of different colors, with a fountain of running water playing incessantly on top, enclosed in glass, and surmounted by a white marble statuette. It draws twelve syrups, and had its capacity well tested last Saturday night, when between four and five hundred glasses of soda were drawn from it and dispensed freely to the crowd. ... The store (had) tessellated floors of marble, rosewood showcases, &c. &c.¹³⁵

Forman's long-standing drugstore encouraged customers to try a cool soda from his Arctic Fountain, made from pure fruit syrups, poured from fountains thickly lined with tin so that there could be no lead poisoning.¹³⁶ Somehow the reassurance of not getting poisoned by lead lacked the allure of fresh water playfully bubbling in an Italian marble fountain adorned with a graceful statue.

Throughout the decade, many of Lynn's businesses were demonstrating a clear understanding that the art of the sale started with attracting attention. The centuries-old practice of attractive figural shop signs was being accompanied by crowd-catching curiosities in store windows, like the cat molded out of butter at Butler's provision store in 1877; the fact that it was

displayed in January protected it from quickly melting into a yellow mess.¹³⁷ Johnson the butcher attracted attention with a porcupine – apparently a live one – in his shop window, but Dunbar's shoe store may have done the butcher one better by attracting “considerable attention from passersby” with a two-month-old alligator, about a foot long, especially at feeding time when it was served beefsteak and flies.¹³⁸ Although an alligator in Massachusetts may have caused some goosebumps, in June 1877, Bergengren's apothecary display probably caused far more discomfort: he had a million potato beetles in his store's front window.¹³⁹ It would certainly have attracted a lot of attention, but it is hard to imagine that a huge swarm of bugs would have enticed many potential patrons to go inside the store.

In addition to the on-site tactics, advertisements for products and services were just about everywhere the 1870s Lynner might look: on small palm-sized advertising trade cards, in city directories, newspapers, handbills, broadsides, posters, and even painted on rocks and fences along the roads. And since advertisements helped sell merchandise far from the point of origin, the amount of advertising being done was growing exponentially throughout the decade. Customers in Lynn's stores found far more merchandise available than ever before, from homemade to foreign imports, and advertising was the silent salesman, trying to build attention and desire in readers' minds.

A typical issue of the *Lynn Transcript* for 1871 contained ads for parlor sets, clocks, refrigerators, French China ware, poetry books, chandeliers, custom-made lounges, organs, and silver-plated everything: tea services, cake baskets, butter dishes, card receivers, napkin rings, knife rests, and more.¹⁴⁰ At the sign of the wooden boots, the J. E. Hodgkins' shoe store offered men's Excelsior boots for \$5.00, and at the sign of the golden boot, C. A. Stephenson sold his best women's serge button boots for \$2.75. Mrs. Baker's millinery carried “splendid” French corsets for \$1.65, and George A. White's Lynn Bonnet and Hat Bleachery made Panama hats for a dollar.¹⁴¹ John L. Shorey would let you pick your “Ayrshire Milch cow” from his herd for \$100 and Charles F. Oliver's Market Street music store sold \$50 to \$600 pianos on the installment plan: “a small part down and the balance in monthly or quarterly installments.”¹⁴² The Drew & Annis grocery store offered foods that were grown far from Lynn: teas and coffee, spices, molasses, syrups, oranges, lemons, figs, dates, raisins and much more.¹⁴³ Griffin's Fancy Bakery offered hot brown bread, Indian pudding, dainty pastries and dozens of different crackers by the pound, from butter crackers (fourteen cents) and zephyrettes (sixteen cents) to animal crackers (twenty cents), iced fruit crackers (twenty-two cents), and cocoanut macaroons (thirty-five cents).¹⁴⁴ Lynn's store shelves and showcases were ready to cater to every wish and craving.

Peddlers were a nuisance and a competition to the shop owners, but there were so many on Lynn's streets because enough people fell for their pitches and purchased their products. There were peddlers of cigars, peanuts, basket-seat chairs, fish, meerschaum pipes, apples, medicines, and more.¹⁴⁵ In the heat of August 1874, one of the newspapers noted pointedly, “Thick – flies and peddlers.”¹⁴⁶ A Lynn store owner complained to his newspaper editor,

Everybody has got to live – or die – pedlers included. Still, it seems rather hard that this class of people should have been born to shorten the days of their fellow-men, both by their excessive numbers and their ceaseless importunities. ... To-day, up to this time of writing, (three o'clock P.M.), there have called on my premises, three men with Attleboro' jewelry, one man with hair-restorer, another with catarrh medicine, a corn doctor, one with soap for cleaning paint and glass, (of which he has sold thirteen hundred dollars worth in three days,) two pocket-book peddlers from New York, and two Italians with plaster images, etc., I believe these are all – except countless boys who throw at the door circulars and hand-bills relating to as many subjects as an Encyclopedia. ... I disposed of [them] all, and am now waiting for the phrenologist who will “put a head on me” for twenty-five cents.¹⁴⁷

Peddlers were all ages, from children to adults, and they went everywhere they could find people, and the more of them the better. Concerts on the Lynn Common were disturbed by the wail of a peach peddler from his wagon, offering his fruit during the performance.¹⁴⁸ Another peddler's tactic was to ring the doorbell very early in the morning to wake up the homeowner to the opportunity to purchase a sensationalized New York newspaper.¹⁴⁹ Inevitably, complaints were made that their merchandise was shoddy, their gadgets didn't work, and the food peddler's stuff wasn't fit to eat.¹⁵⁰ In 1871 the police cautioned the public about a man who was traveling through town, trying to sell a product he called *Dr. S. P. Foster's Antidote for Strong Drink*; the *Lynn Transcript* notice didn't explain if the police were concerned that the article was worthless or dangerous, or whether, in fact, it was the man who was worthless or dangerous.¹⁵¹ In 1874 *The Lynn Record* placed another medicine peddler under scrutiny, asking whether this "fellow who appeared on our streets eight or ten days ago peddling a carbolic nostrum, which he dignifies with the name of "Ointment" was, in fact a fraud. It was clear they had already decided he was; they inquired at Young's Hotel, on Washington Street, where he had registered himself as L. E. Shipman, of Providence and that he had "mysteriously disappeared" after staying three or four days, "forgetting (certainly, of course,) to pay his hotel bill, and this was but one of many shabby tricks he had played upon Mr. Roberts," the hotel proprietor. "We hope if he is again found in Lynn or vicinity, our police will put an end to his hotel "beating" and swindling career by arresting him as a common fraud."¹⁵² Another man came to Lynn representing himself as the agent of the European Imperial Non-Explosive Powder Company of Boston, with a blue powder to be put into kerosene to prevent explosions, but it was another fraud being passed off on the gullible.¹⁵³ Peddlers frequently went into the factories to sell their wares to the confined gathering of wage earners. A peddler of *Old Sachem Bitters and Wigwam Tonic* went into Joseph Bedel's shoe manufactory on Market Street with a supply of the barrel-shaped bitters and a wallet containing thirty hard-earned dollars. While he made a sale his money disappeared, which theft caused the peddler to pine piteously on the factory floor.¹⁵⁴ He was far luckier, though, than the itinerant fruit vendor in the Lynn soap factory who died by accidentally falling into a vat of boiling soap.¹⁵⁵

Purveyors of entertainment offered attractions designed to be as irresistible as the peddler's spiel and the store's goods, even to those with just a few coins in their pockets. Picnickers, beachgoers, and joyriders could get to Lynn's woods, beaches, and popular parks like Echo Grove on Tower Hill, by paying for a seat on one of the city's many pleasure barges. These open-air conveyances were often highly decorated with fringed canopies, bold colors, and horses crowned with festive plumes, and they were given such fanciful names as the Gipsey Queen, the Jolly Joker, the Lady of the Lake, and the Belle of Lynn; with rides like these, getting there was half the fun.¹⁵⁶

A very popular entertainment destination during the decade was baseball, from amateur pickup games on the Lynn Common to semi-professional requiring paid admission. Several Lynn teams were organized over the decade, including the Clippers, the Kirtlands, the Third Story (a team made up of workers from Luther Johnson's shoe manufactory), the Quicksteps, and the pride of Lynn, the Live Oaks.¹⁵⁷ In 1874 three acres were leased in West Lynn for the Live Oaks team to play opposition that visited from as far away as Chicago and Canada.¹⁵⁸ The grounds were leveled and fenced in and a grandstand with a seating capacity of about 800 was constructed in 1875. Good thing. Sometimes there was a "regular circus rush for tickets to the grounds"; at one game there were over a thousand sold.¹⁵⁹ The attendance was all the more impressive because it wasn't until 1878 that the ball club finally voted to admit "ladies" to the games, at ten cents each, and at the same time it was also voted to exclude "all women of questionable character."¹⁶⁰

Each game presented a new spectacle: teams in impressive uniforms, hitting balls, running, sometimes brutally into each other, and scoring runs. Some who played at Live Oaks games during the decade made their mark in history, including Bud Fowler, the first black professional ball player, and Candy Cummings who invented the curve ball. The catcher's mask was first used at a game in Lynn by an opposing catcher, but a few years later, the Lynn catcher had one of the first



Travelling Medicine Sellers in Lynn. Some pitched their medicines boldly in the light of day while others sold in the shadows. Throughout the century, there were hundreds of proprietary medicine makers, agents, and hucksters who traveled through Lynn, selling their medicines; some were there for a few hours and others stayed from days to months. The products shown here were among the parade of proprietaries that visited Lynn (clockwise from left): HOWE'S / ARABIAN / MILK-CURE / FOR/ CONSUMPTION" (label-only, aqua BIM bottle); "HOWE'S ARABIAN / Milk-Cure / FOR / CONSUMPTION" paper bottle wrapper; "DR. CHANNING'S / SYRUP (for scrofula, king's evil, white ulcers, indolent tumors, &c.)" (label-only, aqua open pontiled bottle); "SHIP / MAN'S / CARBOLIC / OINTMENT" (the first syllable of the surname is represented by the ship illustration above "MAN'S"). Channing visited in Lynn during the 1850s; Shipman and Howe appeared in the 1870s. (All collection of the author.)

face mask injuries. During a game against the Unas of Charlestown on the Lynn grounds, a foul tip broke the Lynn catcher's mask, "and one of the wires punctured a small hole just above the eye, making the blood run pretty freely, but nothing serious."¹⁶¹ All this drama and excitement for an admission of twenty-five cents for adult males, fifteen cents for children, and ten cents for ladies.¹⁶²

In March 1876 *The Lynn Record* advertised a wrestling match that was to be held, ironically, at the Academy of Music. Two bruisers were to wrestle "collar and elbow" (also called Irish Wrestling) for a hundred dollars each, and the Essex Quartette would sing in between the rounds. Tickets could be purchased at either a barber shop or a cigar store for twenty-five and fifty cents.¹⁶³

Like anywhere else P.T. Barnum's circus appeared, his extravaganza dominated all advertising in size, style, and calculated pomposity. Barnum brought his circus to Lynn in 1873, 1875, and 1876, each time headlining entirely different acts and curiosities, including "TOWERING LIVING GIRAFFES ... Barnum's \$25,000 Behemoth, THE ONLY LIVING HIPPOPOTAMUS ... CAPT. COSTENTENUS, A Noble Greek Albanian, Tattooed from Head to Foot ...," and "A New Stupendous Marine Monster, The Great Living Sea Leopard." The price for admission was the only thing that remained constant: fifty cents; children under nine years old twenty-five cents, and free admission to all who purchased a copy of *Life of P.T. Barnum* for \$1.50 ("reduced from \$3.50").¹⁶⁴

As if competing with Barnum's marine monster for top billing, Lynn's own sea monster made another brief appearance in the city's harbor in late 1875, but there were only a few on hand who got to observe the free entertainment, which they estimated was sixty feet long.¹⁶⁵ A more diminutive fifteen-foot specimen of sea monster went on exhibition after Barnum's and Lynn's headliners had disappeared. It surfaced, not in a tank or harbor, but on exhibition in Munroe street. Providing drama all its own, it was promoted as a mysterious, unknown "wonder of the deep," with three rows of teeth and a large, gaping mouth. It apparently was exhibited on the street for only a brief time, perhaps because dead fish turn from fascinating to unenjoyable rather quickly. Admission was ten cents.¹⁶⁶

There were many small, catchpenny entertainments throughout the city during the decade. On the streets there were hustlers, hucksters, and hookers and in small halls appeared traveling lecturers, aspiring musicians, and moral reformers. What was believed to be the country's first cat show was held in Lynn's Exchange Hall in 1876 with prizes for the largest, handsomest, and best breed, among other categories.¹⁶⁷ A few days later a baby show was held and, much like the cat show, prizes were offered for the fattest, the handsomest, and the youngest. Admission tickets were "only fifteen cents."¹⁶⁸

Spelling matches became popular participatory events, with adults and schoolchildren all having the opportunity to compete for prizes by spelling words like "conciinity," "hallelujah," "ointment," and "azymous."¹⁶⁹ Within just one week in 1875 three such spelling competitions were held at the First Baptist Church, then at the First Universalist Church, and finally a "Grand Spelling Match" at the Lynn Music Hall, where 150 spellers crowded the platform, representing "the tiny miss to the full-grown woman; from the youth of ten summers to the bearded contestant of forty." Prizes included a Bible, a dictionary, and a writing desk. The ticket price listed for each of these competitions was twenty-five cents.¹⁷⁰

Lynn's biggest indoor entertainment venue was the Music Hall. Dedicated in 1871, it was a large three-story building in Lynn's Central Square, containing a performance hall with a balcony and stage. Over the next several years, a long procession of speakers, musicians, entertainers, and celebrities took the stage, covering the range from boring to thrilling. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the renowned author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, did readings from her novel, but a post-performance critique reported that she was "much more entertaining as a writer than a reader."¹⁷¹ An 1873 performance of her popular slave tale was far more exciting. Tickets to the performance were fifteen and twenty-five cents, and thirty-five cents for best reserved seats and every night a lucky reserved

seat ticket holder would win a barrel of best grade St. Louis flour or a ton of coal. At two matinee performances, the boy or girl coming nearest to guessing the exact age (years, months, and days) and total weight of Little Eva (one of the performers in the play) would be presented \$5.00 in gold by Little Eva herself. "Elegant souvenirs" were also for sale at every performance.¹⁷² Buffalo Bill performed his western-themed show, full of "thrilling excitement," for the usual prices charged at the Music Hall: seventy-five cents in the orchestra area (in front of the stage), fifty cents on the parquet (the rest of the first floor behind the orchestra section), and thirty-five cents for gallery seating, up in the balcony.¹⁷³



IT WAS AN EXCITING TIME TO LIVE IN LYNN. New products, new attractions, and new possibilities were everywhere. While steam power and manpower were driving the factories, the motive power of electricity was being experimented with as early as 1871 (eight years before Thomas Edison introduced the lightbulb) by Charles H. Withey, a bookkeeper in the shoe factory of Newhall & Wellington, on Willow Street. He had ingeniously harnessed the friction of the shoe machinery's main belts to conduct electricity by wires to his desk in the room above and to the gas burners in the salesroom, "which are readily lighted by ... flashes of miniature lightning, and several bells could be made to jingle. He also had rewired a galvanic battery under his desk through the works of a clock and then up to a gong in the cutting room above, to strike on the hour.¹⁷⁴ Four years later, Walter K. Menns, a partner in a Lynn sewing machine and telegraph instrument business, furnished an "electric apparatus ... for lighting [the] Music Hall by electricity ... for the first time" at a concert on 29 March 1875. Although the concert had been much anticipated, it was expected that many would additionally "be desirous of witnessing the novelty of the proceeding" because of the illumination by electricity. Unfortunately, the musical performance was not very good, according to a review, and the article failed to even mention how Menns' electric lighting went, so like the performance, it was apparently lackluster as well.¹⁷⁵ Telephones were also introduced to the city in the latter part of the decade; in May 1877, several young men, members of the West Lynn Amateur Telegraphic Association, had been attempting to construct a telephone and had some success. connecting the clothing store of S. B. Valpey & Son in Healey's Arcade to Hiram Carsley's workshop at the westerly end of Ash street.¹⁷⁶ *The Lynn Record* enthusiastically reported how exciting and momentous it was to hear patriotic, secular, and popular revival melodies "with considerable distinctness" coming over the wire at one of these locations:

So often did the operators test the telephone that they became hoarse by their continuous vociferations. The throat of one of the operators ... became so affected in consequence, that on going out into the rain he contracted a severe cold, which, settling on his vocal organs, has obliged him, for several days, to go about the streets with his neck [wrapped] in flannel."¹⁷⁷

Switchboard-controlled telephones were installed by 1879 in businesses like Davis Adams' coal office on Shepard Street, Frank Lindsey's variety store in Market Square, the West Lynn Cash Store in Federal Square, and the Enterprise Tea Store on Market Street.¹⁷⁸ French's new grocery store had successfully connected to the North Pole: "BY TELEPHONE ... Santa Claus announces that he will visit our good city next Christmas Eve."¹⁷⁹ Exciting times indeed.

Success fed success; many of Lynn's business owners and professionals benefited from the growth of its shoe industry. Merchants, presidents of banks and insurance companies, flour and grain dealers, lumber dealers, a lawyer, and a beer manufacturer all shared the elite status of the largest shoe and morocco manufacturers, by each having combined real estate and personal property value exceeding \$50,000 in 1870, although none came close to Samuel M. Bubier, shoe

manufacturer, or to Phillip P. Tapley, morocco manufacturer, who amassed real estate holdings of \$508,000 and a personal estate value of \$300,000 (a total estate value of \$15,850,000 in 2020 USD).

Although far from rich, the 422 Lynn men and women who had accumulated comfortable assets of over \$10,000 in combined real and personal property in 1870 came from a wide array of professional and entrepreneurial pursuits: insurance agents and bankers; house carpenters and builders, like Isaac Pinkham, who were busy constructing the fast-growing city; farmers, grocers, fruit dealers, milk dealers, and a bread baker, who kept Lynn fed; physicians, dentists, a chemist, and an apothecary, who tried to make fellow townsmen healthy; and dealers in hardware, crockery, dry goods, hats and caps, a soap manufacturer, a photographer, and stable keepers, all of whom collectively tended to the large miscellany of needs their fellow Lynners had.¹⁸⁰ This was the class of people that the newspapers followed on their exotic travels; readership read and dreamed longingly as the well-known druggist Charles L. Bly and his wife went off to enjoy the great Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia and they admired the devotion (and financial ability) of Mrs. J. B. Lamper to take her daughter to the medicinal baths of Germany for her health.¹⁸¹ These were households that could afford to buy one of Mrs. Baker's French corsets and a stack of Gardiner's visiting cards, and sit in the front row for Buffalo Bill's performance – and possibly all in the same day, if they wanted. For them, life was as sweet as a box of Griffin's coconut macaroons.

Whether all this was progress and improvement, however, depended on who was being asked. Lynn High School Senior Albert W. Edgerly gave an oration at the school's commencement exercises in May 1870 that he titled "Progression Backward." Speaking on behalf of his fellow classmates about the world they were about to inherit, the seventeen-year-old scholar was decidedly unimpressed by society's progress:

... The flight of fifty years has made a vast change in the country; but it has been a change more productive of injury than of good.

The improvements, the innumerable number of inventions... have been so extended by men who desire to enrich themselves rather than benefit the people, that little advantage has been derived from them – and more evil.

Our articles of clothing, although of better style, are made up of poorer materials than formerly. Shoes and rubbers wear out in putting them on. Our food is so mixed and counterfeited by impurities that it is difficult to tell what we are eating. Cream-of-Tartar is made of bone dust, tea is produced from sticks, sand and sawdust are ground into the sugar, and various other things are *devised* which are ranked among the great discoveries of the day.

Machinery is considered another improvement; to be sure it hastens the work, gives employment to thousands – and sends to Perdition a greater number of the people.

Elevators, circular saws, steam boilers, and locomotives are tearing and cutting humanity in pieces at a fearful rate.

Almost every day we hear of accidents and deaths on the numerous railroads which cut across the country in all directions. ...

Thus the country is progressing: its improvements while they benefit on the one hand injure on the other.

These are enemies which are troubling the country and eating out the life of the nation, – foes which though slow and silent in their course, are fearful in their ravages and unbounded in their extent.

The crimes, the vices, the evils which prevail in the land form an innumerable host – an almost invincible array against the prosperity of our country. Patriotism, and love of country are being supplanted in the hearts of the people by the ardent thirst after gain.

The old saying that the “love of money is the root of all evil” was never truer than at the present day. Men, actuated by this inordinate desire of obtaining wealth, descend to deeds of crime and villainy which ought to shame any American citizen.

Everywhere wicked men are on the alert to take from the poor man the little wealth that he has – and make him poorer – to take from him the small support which his toiling hands and hard labor with difficulty give him, to add to their own almost overflowing coffers. . . .

Such is the condition in which America finds herself at the present day. As a nation she is all-powerful and strong; everywhere her arms have been triumphant; her victories on land and sea have been glorious; her greatness is respected all over the world. But while her arms are glistening in the sunlight of glory, while her power is respected by all nations, while every morning's sun looks down upon a country increasing in strength and growing in the numbers of her people, she is at the same time descending to the lowest depths of immorality.

O God! Preserver of nations, in whose hand rests the destiny of mankind, drive away this great impurity from the soil of America. Drive away all the evils and sin and crimes which stain the land. Preserve for future generations a country not of ignominy and shame, but of honor and glory.¹⁸²

There is no record of whether the student's bold rebuke of American progress was met with thunderous applause or stunned silence among the audience of parents; it could easily have gone either way. There is no question, however, that several of his arrows had struck the vulnerable underbelly of Lynn's rapid growth: while faster, bigger, and better brought benefits to some it often skipped over others.

In a heap below the underbelly were those who were dependent on others for support. The Massachusetts state census of 1875 required identification of what its Bureau of Statistics referred to as “The Afflicted Classes: The Blind, Deaf, Dumb, Idiotic and Insane.” They were targeted by the mid-decade state census, as they had been in the three previous federal censuses, because of the low view held of any who couldn't contribute to the economy: “These afflicted classes are inevitably a burden upon society. . . . They eat the bread which they do not earn, and consume what they have small part in producing.”¹⁸³ Just 187 such individuals were counted among Lynn's 1875 population of 32,600; 31 had mental disabilities and 156 had physical disabilities.¹⁸⁴ In 1877 the Bureau of Statistics quoted a report of Samuel Gridley Howe (physician and alleged advocate of the disabled) to the Massachusetts Legislature from twenty-nine years earlier because his “authority in such matters will not be questioned,” proving that little progress had been made during the three intervening decades in understanding cognitive disorders; the estimable activist had written, “We regard idiocy as a diseased excrescence of society, as an outward sign of an inward malady. It appears to us certain that the existence of so many idiots in every generation *must* be the consequence of some violation of *natural laws*.” Howe declared that some of those violations included “the intemperance of parents, self-abuse, intermarriage of relatives, and attempts to produce abortion resulting in permanent injury to the *foetus in utero*. ”¹⁸⁵ Similarly, the state's institutions for the insane attributed the “lunacy” of some inmates to masturbation, uterine disease, religious excitement, disappointment in love, overstudy, sunstroke, fright, spiritualism, overuse of narcotics, parents who were also cousins, smallpox, and lightning.¹⁸⁶

Lynn botanic physician William Kingsford provided a brief light of compassion amid the prevailing darkness of sanctimonious, condescending ignorance. He had followed the medical profession footsteps of a father he never knew as a physician. In 1848, when he was just a toddler of two, his father and namesake, who, with great promise and anticipation had just announced for sale his lung expander invention, slipped quickly into the dark abyss of insanity. For decades, spending time with his father meant visiting him in a state institution for the insane. In an 1874 letter to one of Lynn's newspapers, he used the tragedy of his father as the basis for his eloquent, tender-hearted appeal on behalf of those whom others viewed as burdens:

INSANITY. ... How few there are among us who ever felt or realized the meaning of this word. It can be fully realized only by those who have near and dear ones thus afflicted. It draws a cloud or curtain over the brain, thus obscuring the mind, leaving the poor one thus afflicted to grope forever in darkness, thus leaving his family and friends to mourn for him. We all mourn the loss of friends when they die, and we bury them; but insanity is death itself, a living death – the past a forgotten page, the future a blank. The mind that was once capable of grasping with reasoning upon the most difficult subjects of science and art, of fighting and coming off victorious in the daily struggle for maintenance for self and little ones, and greeting smile with smile, and scorn with scorn, is thus forever buried in a living tomb, knowing not and caring not for the presence or absence of friends. Can there be anything more hard, any affliction so great, as thus to have the bright fire of knowledge dethroned forever from its seat of power? Our every action and motion mechanically made, and without judgment; we, becoming as a machine, endowed with life, not having the power to use or to hold under subjection the component parts of which this machine is made, to be laughed at, to be scoffed and scorned by those who were once their inferiors mentally, subjects of their will. ... Those who have the misfortune to be so afflicted should by us ... be treated kindly, and receive every consideration and indulgence at our hands.¹⁸⁷

Physical and mental disabilities were usually long-term and often lifelong challenges, and while underemployment and unemployment were milder challenges by comparison, they were stressful and often similarly life-altering. Many Lynn shoe factory and morocco factory owners were becoming quite wealthy in the early 1870s, and professionals and shop owners were benefiting as well, but the shoemakers and leather workers, for the most part, certainly were not. Their profession – in fact, their whole world – was changing forever; not as tragically as it had for the Kingsford family, but dramatically, nonetheless. They followed the work trail into factories, becoming employees with assigned tasks rather than the craftsmen they had been. Learning to operate the new machines required much less time and skill than learning the complete craft of shoemaking from heel to toe. The craft that the shoemaker had conducted in his own shop in his own back yard was being replaced by a position in front of a piece of machinery in a building and business owned by someone else. A set of skills and pride in product that had been passed along through families for generations was being replaced by assembly line factory piece work. Craftsmanship was being replaced by speed and volume.

Steam-driven sewing machines and self-feeding eyelet machines were driving through leather with inhuman power and speed; in the hour it took the old-fashioned shoemaker to sew one pair of shoes, the sewing machine could stitch eighty pairs.¹⁸⁸ Their speed even outstripped demand and consequently shoe factory workers only had work for eight or nine months out of every year. What made matters worse was that, candidly, the new method of shoemaking didn't even need shoemakers. An 1871 state labor report explained, "You can put into a [factory] a farm laborer from New Hampshire, and in three days he will learn to do a part [make part of a shoe on a machine]. There is comparatively nothing to learn, and so no apprenticeship is required."¹⁸⁹ Consequently, women, children, recently arrived immigrants, and other unskilled but hungry people could be quickly trained and modestly paid. Low-wage, low-skill employment with prolonged intervals of unemployment brought a pound of problems to Lynn for each pound of success it produced.

Not every ten-footer shoemaker surrendered to the shoe factory in the 1870s, but their days were numbered. An 1871 labor report rang their death knell: "The use of machinery has virtually swept away the old race of shoemakers who could make up an entire shoe."¹⁹⁰ Contemporary historian David N. Johnson observed that the ten-footers were falling into disuse for shoemaking and "most of them were transformed into hen-houses or coal-pens or were moved and joined to some house to make a snug little kitchen."¹⁹¹

James R. Newhall, Johnson's fellow Lynn historian, had observed the same shift in the Lynn economy from a city where "almost everyone has depended upon his own exertions for maintenance, none being very rich, none very poor. ... A change, however has taken place within a few years ... Population and trade increase, and wealth accumulates in individual hands, giving means to gratify taste and the love of display, and humor the cravings and bewitchings of ambition."¹⁹²

While many of Lynn's shoe and morocco manufacturers, professionals, and business owners were living the American dream, building impressive wealth, there were only a small handful of shoemakers and shoe factory workers among that elite list. Shoe workers were far more frequently found down in the \$500-\$2,000 total (combined real and personal) property range, along with day laborers, store clerks, teamsters, school teachers, farmhands, coachmen, gardeners, some policemen, and other low-paid employees.¹⁹³ Their feet wouldn't likely get to relax on the Music Hall's parquet floor, their lips were not expected to welcome Griffin's macaroons, and even parting with a dime to gawk at a fermenting sea oddity in a wagon was, for some, a sacrifice too dear.

In 1875, the average daily wage for male boot and shoe workers in Lynn was \$2.45, but given the men worked an average of 244 days in that year, the yearly wage was only \$597.80, which worked out to only \$1.64 per calendar day. For women working in shoe factories it was even tighter: they averaged \$1.44 per day (\$360 per year), for the meager daily portion of 99 cents; at a cost of \$1.65, a "splendid" French corset would have been an extravagance.¹⁹⁴ It was said that most of the girls who were stitchers "do not earn as much, or do as well, as a competent house servant."¹⁹⁵ In the same year, a study was performed by the state's bureau of labor statistics of the living conditions of families around the state; three of those chosen were Lynn families involved in the shoemaking trades. The findings emphasized the difficulties for shoe workers living in Lynn, even though all three households made 150% to 270% more than the county average. The first report was of a couple with two small children; the father made \$714 annually against a \$681 family cost of living – buying a \$100 milk cow from John Shorey would clearly have been out of the question. They lived in a 6-room tenement flat which they had somehow managed to have well furnished, including a sewing machine and a piano, perhaps through Oliver's payment plan.¹⁹⁶ The second study was of a family of six; the father earned \$530 as a morocco dresser and his fourteen-year-old son earned an additional \$180. They struggled in a five-room tenement "in a poor locality with unpleasant surroundings. The yard is covered with refuse from the house, rendering it very disagreeable." With expenses over \$644, they dressed poorly and lived an otherwise austere lifestyle, trying to focus instead on saving a little.¹⁹⁷ The largest family made the most money because their two oldest sons, ages fourteen and sixteen, turned in their \$198 and \$396 salaries to their parents to supplement their father's \$600 wage as a morocco dresser. At the end of the year, their combined wages exceeded their fixed costs by \$96, perhaps enough to take the entire family to a few entertainments each year – provided they avoided illnesses and injury, the rent wasn't raised, staple prices didn't increase, clothes didn't wear out, and their seasonal unemployment wasn't too long.¹⁹⁸ The seasonal unemployment hit most workers especially hard. One shoe factory worker said in 1871, "Nearly half the working people are in debt, most of them from want of work; they are often in actual distress."¹⁹⁹ Another corroborated, "Very few shoemakers ... are out of debt and able to keep out. On their small wages they cannot save enough to carry them through the four or five months when there is no work, and many have sickness to contend with also."²⁰⁰



FACTORY WORK WAS BRUTAL; especially the use of machinery, was as punishing physically as it was financially. Just as happened to the factory children, adults sometimes imprudently let body parts get too near quick-moving machinery and the metal beasts consequently took frequent opportunity to swallow hair, clothing, flesh, and fingers. Joseph P. Berdge and John R. Parrott learned this painful fact at two different altars; both had fingers crushed by the machinery

they worked, and consequent amputation by physicians completed their sacrifices.²⁰¹ Too bad George Paine couldn't have been so lucky. He was oiling the shoe machine shafting when his shirt sleeve became entangled in the leather belt:

... before the machinery could be stopped, he was whirled round half a dozen times, and his clothing [was] torn from his body. He was picked up in an insensible condition, when it was found that one of his legs and his right arm were broken, and his left ear torn completely off. He was conveyed to his residence in Allen Street, West Lynn. It is the opinion of the attending physicians, that he cannot recover.²⁰²

Accidents happened in the city's other industries but far less frequently than happened in its many shoe factories. Amory Heald experienced a serious production accident at the M. C. Heald bottling company on South Common Street. While engaged in adding pressurized carbonated contents into bottles from the soda apparatus, one of the bottles burst, and a piece of the glass struck Amory over the left eye, cutting through the eyelid and penetrating the anterior chamber of the eye. It was feared that he would lose the sight of his eye, but "under the skillful care of Dr. [John A.] McArthur" he was expected to recover in a few days' time. He very narrowly escaped a serious injury.²⁰³

The danger of industrial accidents coexisted with the less dramatic but nonetheless painfully repetitive work of sitting or standing immobile before one's duty station at the machine. In another state labor study, shoe factory workers described the strain and pains from the physical drain of working in the same position day after day. One report described a case of spinal irritation for a machine operator who worked in a standing position each day.²⁰⁴ Three other workers complained about work positions that required them to stoop over throughout their daily ten-hour shift. Even though they shared essentially the same complaint, each manifested in different physical problems. A thirty-year-old shoe laster sat on a stool throughout the 10-hour-day with his feet suspended a little above the floor and body somewhat stooping forward; he claimed it was the cause of a lung complaint he had endured for nine weeks.²⁰⁵ Another worker, age thirty-three, complained that his stooping position caused his stomach to cave in so badly that he could put his two fists in the hollow. Apparently anticipating the worst, his declaration ended starkly: "Consumption follows."²⁰⁶ A third worker, age fifty, complained that stooping gave him trouble with frequent constipation and piles. His stomach was weakened by pressing against it as he stooped forward and claimed that others were not able to stand it more than a few months at a time.²⁰⁷

Finally, there was frustration that the job negatively impacted mental and emotional health: some of the workers complained that the work was long and monotonous and didn't exercise the mind at all; the days of friendly discussion of politics and news items in the quiet backyard shoe shop were disappearing under protest.²⁰⁸ A McKay machine operator felt the job leech away his very essence: "Working long hours is disastrous to body and soul. It destroys every particle of independence and energy a man has; it makes him a target for all the ills of life."²⁰⁹ And if man was losing his soul in the factory, could the women and children be in any less danger? According to a visiting minister, the answer was absolutely no.

The Reverend Joseph Cook came to Lynn and for half a year visited the factories and spoke with factory workers, policemen, physicians, and other citizens, then shared his observations and moral conclusions to packed audiences at Lynn's largest meeting place, the Music Hall. In fact, his speaking engagements were so well attended, over a thousand people had to be turned away at one of his sermons and during another a woman had to be carried home after being crushed up against the front door by the throng outside.²¹⁰ The minister's topic was well-calculated to cause an uproar and attract a big audience; the key note address in his thirteen lecture series was titled, "The Moral Perils of the Factory System in Lynn."²¹¹ What Cook had to say shocked and offended just about everyone, but for different reasons: there were those who thought his reports of factory conditions were courageous exposés while others felt he was a rabble-rousing nut.

Regardless of whether his message was met with adulation or animosity, it was hard not to be impressed by his eloquence. In one moment, he was humble and eliciting sympathy: "I care for Lynn. I recognize its prosperity and its general good order. But, in spite of this, for what I say tonight I expect to be cut into more pieces than you ever cut leather into in your factories."²¹² Later in the same sermon he gave factory owners a reason to start cutting, "... there are workrooms in this city, in which men and women, boys and girls ... are sandwiched together like herrings in a box; and, uninterrupted by the noise of machinery, it is not infrequently foul talk, profanity, and tobacco smoke from morning to night! ... This herring-box system I call a foul system (Applause)."²¹³ "I beg you, my friends, not to applaud – if you can help it."²¹⁴ But they applauded throughout his soapbox sermons.

According to Cook, Lynn's factories were, indeed, snatching away souls. Women and children were packed into cramped workrooms with rough, salty, lowbrow, men; it was like mixing silk with ink, he said; in such intimate proximity, the beautiful, delicate silk couldn't help but to get stained.²¹⁵

He worried out loud about the "moral danger" and temptations to which factory children were exposed, but his sermons principally focused on the threats to what frankly amounted to the chastity of young women, "There is not the slightest business necessity for mingling the sexes in the workrooms," Cook explained, "I have sometimes seen four or five young women crowded into the same room with twenty-five or thirty men; or three working thus; or two; or one."²¹⁶ The minister went on to describe what he had discerned about the factory girls' fall from grace:

It is found by experience that it is in the workrooms that a young woman coming here and not resisting ... the morally unhealthful influences, loses that natural shyness and modesty which are her charm, and gradually acquires a repulsive boldness. There are spiritual and physical signs for every vice. The loss of spiritual shyness and nobleness can be seen, as well as the loss of natural freshness of complexion and of a lustreful flash of the eye.²¹⁷

Cook then proved his thesis of innocence lost by talking to some of Lynn's physicians, ones that had been long-time residents with combined "qualifications of scholarship, ability, and candor," who blamed the factories for a startling increase of vice in the city. Based on his medical observations of the "physical penalties," one physician told Cook that the "infamous [venereal] diseases" had grown in the last ten years by ten percent. The man of God dramatically exclaimed, "I was moved as if smitten by an electric bolt." After making allowance for the war and all other causes, the physician held firm to his assessment that the "horrible blame" for the rapid spread of venereal diseases rested squarely on Lynn's new factory system with its mingling of the sexes. Cook then explained that he had checked with a second physician who replied, "The estimate is not high enough."²¹⁸ The preacher's message was clear: ink had already spilled on the silk.

Shoe manufacturers tried to undo the damage that this traveling minister was doing to their reputations.²¹⁹ Samuel M. Bubier, Lynn's largest shoe manufacturer and wealthiest citizen, walked on the stage and asked for an opportunity to refute the reverend's condemnation of the mixed-gender work environment in his factory. When Bubier approached the rostrum, the impatient audience began to leave, but the gracious minister encouraged them to hear out Mr. Bubier. The shoe factory owner pointed out he had lived in Lynn for fifty-five years to Cook's seven months, but when he swung low by alluding to the fact that the minister had once been committed to an insane asylum, the crowd hissed and heckled Bubier.²²⁰ When their noise calmed down, he began speaking again, but the hisses and heckles started right back up and forced his exit. A few weeks later, George W. Keene, another big shoe factory owner, accused Cook of "careless preaching" by scandalizing the public with his tales of lurid Lynn factories, but one of Cook's supporters, a shoe factory worker and former sailor, compared the language in the mixed-gender workrooms to what he heard in his travels; the thick-skinned old tar said that the language he had heard in Keene's own

factory was “the foulest that could come from a man’s mouth.”²²¹ While Cook’s sermons were not being universally accepted, they were definitely not falling on deaf ears.

What Cook wanted his Victorian audience to fear wasn’t just the impropriety of men and women working side by side, but the especially low quality of men they were. The seasonal need for unskilled workers attracted people from all over to Lynn’s factories and they were widely known as the floating population. Cook explained that “all kinds of people gather in a floating population,” and he described “floating Lynn” as a group that was largely (he did allow that there were a few hundred good ones) as valueless as they were homeless; immoral, foul-mouthed, infested with the scandalous diseases, criminals and former jailbirds, and of course, drinkers. They were, he said, “not only an intermixture of the thoughtless and giddy and failing, but, further down, and most to be feared, a percentage of the thoroughly bad.”²²²

Throughout its history, Lynn had been casting a wary eye for vagabonds and transients – poor people who drifted into town without money or jobs, who could become a drain to the treasury, competition for jobs, and threats to families and property. Although warning the likes of Esther Francis Perry and the occasional others from earlier centuries was a regular chore for the constables, late nineteenth century Lynn’s seasonal, unskilled shoe factory jobs made the industrializing city a lodestone for a lot of unemployed from all over the Northeast and beyond. And the more desperate they were, the more they hoped Lynn would be their solution,

[In September 1871] a man giving his name as Southwick, and claiming to belong in Milford, Connecticut, came to the Police Station … and stated that himself and family were in very destitute circumstances – having no food, and no shelter other than a small tent which he had pitched in Dungeon Rock Pasture. He said that he had an attack of small pox, some five years since, losing all his clothing, in addition to the loss of time, and that he had never recovered himself, financially. City Marshal Shepherd at once dispatched an officer to the spot, who found the case fully as bad as represented, - the man’s wife and five children – the eldest but fourteen years of age, - were at once taken for their relief, and the Marshal has since written to the Selectmen of Milford for information in the case.²²³

In July 1872 the Robbins family woke up to find another family, a couple with two boys, clothing in tatters, sleeping on the lawn of their Ocean Street estate. They had walked over 600 miles from Cleveland, Ohio, and the feet of the mother and one of the sons were in terrible condition, testifying to their sad story, and the father was in great pain with several abscesses. The sympathetic Robbins charitably provided the pitiful family money, food, and clothing.²²⁴

Cook claimed that somewhere between 5,000 to 7,000 of Lynn’s 15,000 shoe workers were from the floating population (he wasn’t sure the true number because, he explained, “there is no census taken of gutter rats”) and if his estimate wasn’t a fearful enough reality for the righteous, rooted families of Lynn, he painted a picture where everything that Old Lynn (as he put it) held sacred would be replaced by the ever-growing hordes of future floaters: “… the question constantly in my mind [is] how large that floating population is to be in ten years, in twenty, in fifty, or a hundred, in this city, in Haverhill, in New England as a whole,” and on and on. They were out-of-towner down-and-outers and a major worry for the common folk of Lynn even before Cook had arrived; he just championed what so many were already feeling.

With floating Lynn quickly and constantly growing throughout the 1870s, newcomers of any stripe were warily viewed on a sliding scale from a worry to a threat. The city’s rapid population increase had been largely due to immigration from northern New England, Ireland, Canada, and England; of the 32,600 residing in Lynn in 1875, over seventeen percent (5,691) were of foreign birth.²²⁵ The largest of these clusters was the Irish Catholics, making up over ten percent of the city’s population. They had been stereotyped by the Protestant Yankee stock as hard-drinking, overbreeding troublemakers, and as such, were often condescendingly laughed at in Lynn’s papers. But the nervous xenophobes in Lynn in the 1870s found more to fear than just the Irish who had

already settled thickly among them for the past generation. When factory workers went on strike during mid-decade, rumor had it that several morocco manufacturers in Lynn were hiring Swedes to replace the strikers.²²⁶ In the next year, Adolphe L. Anderson established an employment office specifically to provide Swedish domestics direct from Sweden to work for very low wages. He promised the potential households who could afford the luxury of a domestic that he would provide only industrious and faithful country girls. But even with such a wholesome-sounding offering, there were those who called servants (not just Swedish ones) “great Plagues” and something to be endured as a “necessary evil.” In his book, *Bridal Greetings*, The Reverend Daniel Wise advised newly married couples to “do without help if possible.” After explaining that a domestic was an additional expense, requiring their own room and fireplace (or else they would hear all of the family’s conversations), the reverend said salaciously, “there is another sort of flame she will inevitably covet. In plain language, you have a *man* to keep ...” and while destroying the marriage she will ruin the children:

Frequently a hired girl brings an unhappy moral element into the family. ... a servant’s influence has ruined many a child. Ghost stories, licentious anecdotes, and even unchaste habits, have been taught by such domestics to the unwary children, until they have fallen victims to superstitious fears or destructive vices.²²⁷

There had also been a rumor that one of the Lynn manufacturers had made arrangements with some of the Chinese shoe workers in North Adams, Massachusetts to come to Lynn to work in his factory.²²⁸ The great experiment of a shoe manufacturer in that far northwestern Massachusetts town to staff his factory with 200 low-paid Chinese workers was watched closely and with great anxiety in Lynn. Reports came in that they were ignorant and learned slowly, and only two could be induced to cut off their queues; therefore it was clear that “the Mongolian element will never harmonize with New England Society.”²²⁹ Instead of the invasion of a Chinese army, just one lone Chinese man came to Lynn: Wah Lee, who established a laundry at 98 Union Street. Like the porcupine and the butter statue of a cat in the shop windows, the foreigner of unusual looks and dress became an attraction to all the boys and some of the adults in the neighborhood, “they throng about his windows constantly, watching his movements with as much curiosity as if they had never seen a shirt washed or ironed in their lives.”²³⁰ After a few years, curiosity had transformed into bitter racism in the hearts of at least a few Lynners; an 1878 submission to one of the city’s papers showed just how unfathomably deep hatred for another human being could run:

As is well known, Lynn has had for the past few years a Chinese laundry. ... we think those who patronize such a low, nasty, dirty, filthy establishment as that kept by these almond-eyed, seldom washed, rat and tan specimens of humanity, should not only be ashamed of owning it, but should remember that they are encouraging these leopards to settle in their midst; and if they continue to come East at the rate they have been coming for the last five years, it will not be long before Massachusetts will be filled with them. Our shoe shops will be filled with Chinese workmen, and those of our citizens who may remain in the city will have to work for even lower wages than they do to-day, and, in fact, the whole power of the city will go to these sneaking thieves. Now, workingmen, it is your place to keep these “things” from getting a foothold here. By patronizing their laundries you encourage them; by paying them money you are digging your own graves; see to it that they are starved out ... Have nothing to do with a class who wish for nothing but your destruction; shun them, scorn them, despise them ... Have you noticed how beautiful they keep their hovel? If you haven’t ... we advise you to take a walk up Union street some pleasant day ... and get just one glance at their “ironing and washing” establishment and that, we think, will be sufficient to stop your further patronizing these filthy lepers.”²³¹

Not surprisingly, Wah Lee left Lynn, but he found no more kindness in South Boston, where he had gone; on numerous nights, his laundry there was pelted with dead rats and rotten eggs.²³² Back in Lynn, advertisements sought out the “normal,” “safe,” and preferred workers: a *Protestant*

woman to do domestic chores for a small family; a middle-aged *American* woman was willing to take care of an invalid, work for a small family, or take care of a child; and Atkinson, the apothecary wanted a “smart, active, *American* boy to learn the business.²³³ The decade had a distinctly American focus: the republic was reunited after the great war between the states, the wheels of industry were prosperously turning at high speed, the country was celebrating its first century of existence as a sovereign nation, and at the end of the decade, Lynn would commemorate the 250th anniversary of its existence with an oration that emphasized its American roots, “Go home from this place, children of the Third Plantation, and before you rest this night, fail not to thank God for that excellent privilege, your descent from an earnest, industrious, prudent, and above all, a free-headed and free-hearted New England ancestry.”²³⁴ There was even a burst of interest in tracing one’s lineage to Revolutionary War patriots and the founding fathers; the Merrill Brothers store on 79 Broad Street offered heraldic notepaper to fan the flame of avid new genealogists determined to prove a perfect pedigree.²³⁵ Foreigners, strangers, and floaters were perceived by Lynn factory workers and others as threats to their employment, safety, and peace of mind. The American dream was to succeed and prosper and they wanted no part of anything or anyone that threatened to take that dream away, but 1873 woke them up with a jolt.

PANIC ATTACK

There were ominous clouds drifting over Lynn, but few that suspected they would produce a raging, epic storm – not one producing thunder and lightning, but anger and despair. Several voices had expressed concern over the decade’s early years about the city’s poorest. In January 1873 one activist urged city leaders to establish soup kitchens, as had been done in Boston and New York,

We have refrained from alluding to the subject, feeling a delicacy in regard to letting our friends out of town know that in a city of so many palaces there were families who were actually suffering for the necessities of life. But we can remain silent no longer. It is better to tell the truth, even to our shame, than to feel that, by our silence, whole families are reduced to a state of starvation.²³⁶

In April a letter to the editor of one of the city’s newspapers observed that word around town was that “Lynn had seen its best days,” thanks to the increase in shoe machinery and the decrease in orders, and factory owners who took their families to fashionable resorts or a tour of Europe, while their laid off employees languished in debt and became “hopelessly despondent.”²³⁷ “How will it be with me in the future?” another worker wrote to the editor in July,

Shall I ever be able to pay any of the principal on my debt? If I can pay my interest and taxes I may keep clear of the wolves for a few years; but wear and tear comes in, and altogether I must lose all or be forever in debt, and after years of hard toil for a living and a home of my own, I finally become a pauper, and spend my last days in the work-house.²³⁸

This wasn’t the whine of a bellyacher; his nightmare was already real, huddled with a family in a tiny tent in Lynn’s fields, or sleeping in its crowded jail, or yes, even ending up in its poorhouse.

At the end of August, 63-year-old William S. Boyce, prominent importer, shoe dealer, merchant, and president of Lynn’s First National Bank, was in his bath at the United States Hotel, in Boston, for a long time, so the bath attendant knocked on the door to check on him, but receiving no response, the door was forced open and the lifeless body of Mr. Boyce was found in the tub, his throat cut from ear to ear. No one was quite sure why he took his life, but “he had somewhat failed in health and become depressed in spirits.” A stunned city mourned his passing with a long funeral cortège and the closure of several prominent businesses.²³⁹

In mid-September, a prominent New York bank declared bankruptcy. A chain reaction of bank failures followed, triggering the close of the New York stock market just two days later.

Factories then laid off workers, railroads failed, and the country had a panic attack, the Panic of 1873; economically and emotionally, the nation had slipped into a major depression. Back in Lynn, the body of Benjamin H. Atkins was found hanging by the neck. He had endured the losses of one wife to consumption, another in childbirth, and his eldest son to the battle of Gettysburg, but he couldn't endure the loss of his home. He had owned a property for many years that was sold by the bank to satisfy a mortgage of about \$1,700 (\$36,665 in 2020 USD). He became despondent, insisting that he would die rather than be forced out of his home in a penniless condition. A vial of laudanum was found in his possession and confiscated, but his death wish remained, so he committed suicide by rope in the barn of his former homestead that he had loved so much.²⁴⁰

Many more Lynners lost their investments and their homes; their meager savings, if they had any, also quickly disappeared. By mid-November, even having food to eat became a fearful daily worry for the most desperate. The instinct to survive took over. Early in the morning, before roosters began to crow, deliveries of milk cans at the door of the Kirtland House hotel and bags of bread left at the entrance of Wyman, Poole and Worthen's grocery store, less than magically disappeared.²⁴¹ The *Lynn Transcript* noted that beggars in doorways along the street were becoming numerous.²⁴² And at the same time that beggars were appearing and milk and bread were disappearing, it snowed; Lynn had its first snowstorm of the season. It was the coldest November to hit the city in eleven years.²⁴³

The city's poor were painfully experienced in hard times long before the Panic shook the rest of the city. One shoe worker reported that he had known some of Lynn's children who were kept out of school due to lack of money for clothes and books, and worse, "I know a family that went visiting for two days, because there was nothing in the house to eat. The father was a steady man, but out of work."²⁴⁴ The inability to pay bills could take away self-respect and one's good name as well as one's possessions, but these were tough times, and often, for many, there was no choice. A Lynn photography studio put one of its products into a showcase: it was a postmortem photograph of a baby and above it was a sign that read, "For Sale – Mrs. –'s dead babe. Picture ordered but not paid for." The woman's full name actually appeared on the sign, but the newspaper opted not to cause the poor, grieving mother even further sadness by repeating it in their coverage.²⁴⁵

The city's newspapers served as community bulletin boards for public moaning, venting, and proposing solutions. An 1874 letter to the editor summarized the state of Lynn just a year into the depression, "Citizens of Lynn, we are poor and growing poorer. Business men are failing and growing poor. Workingmen are out of employment – a large proportion of them – and those who do have work do not get half as much for their labor as they did a few years since."²⁴⁶ Another letter continued the pre-Panic argument that the factory owners were out of touch and heartless, and intimated that a French Revolution of the common man could be in the making across the country:

Our monied men seem to be totally oblivious of the danger that menaces them in the shape of large armies of unemployed men and women. Yet there is a danger, for when respectable men and women find themselves face to face with starvation and want, and know that the granaries and storehouses of the nation are piled high with the fruits of their industries, they will not long tamely submit to suffer; and why should they?

... The chains that bind the laborers clank as they never clanked before.²⁴⁷

Calmer voices chanted the refrain that the best way to help a poor person was to give them a job; "steady industry is essential to the prosperity of a community."²⁴⁸ In the climate of depression, what would normally have been a human interest story was reported instead as a morality tale that the wrong beast was at work: "On Tuesday last, in the hottest part of the day, a man passed through some of our principal streets with a huge bear, which he compelled to go through several tricks, hoping to pick up a few coppers thereby. The animal ought to have been set at liberty in some forest, and his master set at work."²⁴⁹ Tawdry peddlers, entertainers, and fast-talkers were warned to stay away while a circus visited town, "No side-shows, pedlers, prize-package swindlers or

nuisances of any kind allowed. Every feature strictly moral and first-class.”²⁵⁰ Most Lynners couldn’t afford to lose a penny more.

An 1874 *Lynn Transcript* article pointed out that while most of the unemployed were unskilled laborers, there was also a large number of skilled tradesmen who were unemployed, and recommended that those wanting work should contact the city missionary.²⁵¹ William F. Mitchell, that missionary, was assigned to provide moral and religious succor, but found himself increasingly pressed into service as a Good Samaritan, providing basic necessities and finding jobs for the poor when possible. Even before the Panic he was tending to the needs of the poor, like a family of six from the Canadian Maritimes who had sold all of their possessions to emigrate, but on arrival in Lynn found no work. When Mitchell visited them, sickness was running through the family but there wasn’t a single bed in the house. The mother had just recovered from a fever and the eldest girl, sixteen years old, laid on top of a chest suffering from the same illness.²⁵² In his April 1875 report to the city about his efforts, Mitchell was clearly stressed over how the threefold devastation of the Panic, the ensuing depression, and the particularly brutal winter had taxed the meager financial resources that the city had made available for him to provide relief. “Never have I known a season like that we have passed through,” he lamented, “Low living has been the rule. . . . it was a dull year, and our unskilled laboring people saved nothing for the winter. . . . I have never known such scarcity of apparel, especially of boots and shoes.”²⁵³ During an arctic wave in February of bone-chilling intensity from four to ten degrees below zero that had iced in the harbors along the whole New England coast, Lynn’s destitute children were attending school with nothing to cover their heads but “an old cloak or piece of cloth. Others are without stockings, or warm jackets, and their pantaloons are in tatters.”²⁵⁴ Other city welfare resources were equally as taxed to provide the poor needed relief. In June, the city had full financial responsibility for 165 people in its almshouse and at the asylum at Ipswich, and it provided partial support to 2,219 others in their own homes. The numbers had eclipsed previous years because of the depression; by the city physician’s reckoning, 7.3% of Lynn’s 1875 population was being supported in whole or in part by the city and as the next winter approached, things were looking pretty grim.²⁵⁵ In at least one instance, desperation ignited heartless cruelty. Late one night in October, a policeman found a thirteen-year-old girl asleep in the yard of the Brockway home at the corner of Exchange and Broad streets, a mile away from her home. “She gave her name as Maggie Duggan and said that her stepmother sent her from her home on Collins street to get work, telling her not to return until she had procured it.” The officer took her to the police station where she was properly cared for until the next morning when her father came to bring her home.²⁵⁶

By November, the majority of factory workers had been out of work for many weeks and “find themselves on the approach of winter but illy prepared to meet its rigors, so far as food, fuel and clothing is concerned”; the count of Lynners receiving public assistance had crept up to 2,500 and the expectation was that number would constantly increase over the coming winter.²⁵⁷ Several days of bitter cold wind howled through Lynn in the last week of November, and “found its way into many an humble home, whose inmates were but illy prepared to battle against so unwelcome a visitor.”²⁵⁸ The call went out once again for the support of those without “honest employment” who were suffering from cold and hunger. On November 30th, winter froze life once again and few words from the newspaper were needed to tell the story everyone knew: “Five degrees below zero on Tuesday morning. Ugh!”²⁵⁹

The retrograde progression that young Edgerly had described in 1870 was even more pronounced during the depression of 1873-1879. As one sign of the times, money for entertainment had become a hardship for the performers and audiences alike. The pride of Lynn, the Live Oaks baseball club, who had been so successful in the previous season, had fallen on hard times, as well – its best players were accepting more remunerative positions with other clubs. When the Syracuse Stars came to play in Lynn in May 1876, one of the ball field’s largest audiences ever – some 2,500 spectators – attended because some of the best players and the coach from the Oaks’ ‘75

championship team were now playing for the visiting Stars. Lynn fans hoped the new local nine would be re-established “on a more substantial pecuniary basis,” but it didn’t happen, and the team disbanded.²⁶⁰ In the fall a California polo team put on an exhibition at Lynn’s vacant baseball grounds, but the attendance was very small. “The grounds would have been packed,” the newspaper explained, “had the price of admission been twenty-five cents – but fifty cents was a little too much for these times.”²⁶¹ It wasn’t the event; it was definitely the times. A month before, a wrestling match drew an audience of only 150 despite a seating capacity of over 1,000 in its cavernous premier venue at the vaunted Music Hall.²⁶² Similarly, a well-done play only brought out a small audience as was also the case for Harrington the ventriloquist, even though his performance was called “first-class.”²⁶³ *The Lynn Record* had seen this problem coming, right after the depression had begun; they went so far as to say entertainers should stay away from Lynn: “Until better times, and money is more plenty, it would be money in the pockets of theatrical managers to steer clear of this city. When business is good we like to see a liberal share of amusements offered our citizens, because it keeps a great many people in town who would otherwise visit Boston. But now money is money, and people are looking after their dimes.”²⁶⁴ But the entertainers came – and the people stayed home.

Even home wasn’t always the safe refuge it should have been. Many a Lynn laborer had lived in poor conditions even when they had employment; their prolonged poverty during the depression just meant they had no means to improve their living conditions – they were focused instead on just not getting kicked out. Down near the Saugus River, where Hitching’s dog Eater had feasted on river rats 17 years earlier, the rats were now fighting back. Louisa Cooley knew there was something very wrong the night her 6-year-old daughter, Sarah, started crying out for her. Those little girl tears were mixed with pain and fear; she was screaming that something was biting her. Louisa raced upstairs to find out what was wrong and found that her child had been bitten on both wrists and one of her fingers had been considerably gnawed. It was instant clear that Sarah had been eaten by rats. A quantity of feed corn in the house had been recently removed, so with ferocious hunger, the rats had hunted for something else to devour.²⁶⁵

In 1874, a concerned citizen wrote a letter to the editor of the *Lynn Transcript*, “If we look with a merely superficial eye as we pass through the crowded streets of our great metropolis like South and Friend streets, where the murderous rows of tenement houses rise up as lazars homes, and see the troops of squalid and puny children that throng these habitations, we cannot fail at least to moralize on their condition and destiny ...”²⁶⁶ Reverend Cook had told his Lynn audience years earlier that tenements were “narrow, crowded, illy-lighted, poorly-warmed, and filthy” and a “damaging and deadly” impact on physical health. The minister concluded that the physical failings of tenements also had an “undermining” influence on moral health,

Tenement-houses so crowded and dilapidated and unclean that the observance of the common decencies of life is an impossibility in them, are schools of vice for the children. Houses of this class are nestling-places for the city wolves. Intemperance and other of the fierce beasts of the city forest roam abroad through the population in houses of this class.²⁶⁷

Undeniably, tenement life in Lynn had its tensions. The police received frequent complaints, especially from those living in tenements about women hurling foul language at each other, chained dogs howling at night, a neighbor’s hens scratching up peas sown in a little garden patch and then of a woman whose hens had been crippled by stones from a sling of “some cross-grained neighbor” (the pea farmer seems a likely suspect).²⁶⁸ The city marshal’s office was inundated with complaints of neighbors not getting along:

Charles Adams is complained of by Fred Jepson for shooting an iron-pointed arrow into his foot. Fred says it was done purposely. ... Mr. George Rivers reports a man who is very sick at his house is greatly annoyed by the sound of a piano which is played in the rooms above by members of another family. ... Mrs. Mary E. Fitch

complains of a neighbor, who takes pains to insult her every time she goes out of her house. ... If Abraham Currier don't look out how he insults people, etc., he will get his name into the papers. ... Annie L. Bryant complains of a man whose initials are Edward Agustus Thomas ... says that he assaulted her and tried to throw her down. ... The wife of Barnard Rowly complains of her husband for being constantly drunk and neglecting his family.”²⁶⁹

Nothing about the Panic of 1873 made tenement life any easier, but now homeowners and business owners were also struggling right along with tenement and boarding house renters; money was thin and financial depression was chokingly thick. Like bloated fish in a poisoned pond, bankruptcies and foreclosures began to surface all over the city. Everett H. Dunbar had pushed hard to make his shoe store a success in the heart of Shoe City, from displaying the alligator in his store window to commissioning many styles of trade cards and advertisements, but he was declared bankrupt by February 1874.²⁷⁰ In October the *Lynn Transcript* listed sixty-four properties that the city tax collector announced would be sold for unpaid taxes, including those of Francis Stearns, who had a store and a lot of land taken away, and between shoe manufacturers Charles H. Trask, Lyman B. Frazier, and Stephen Oliver, Jr., twelve wood frame houses, one brick house, a barn, a stable and over fourteen acres were lost.²⁷¹ The apothecary partnership of Snow & Messinger went bankrupt in December.²⁷² Stephen H. Sawtell lost his eating house to bankruptcy in January 1875 and in May of that year, another list of 355 “Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1873” crowded the *Lynn Transcript*, including that of Isaac Pinkham who, along with many other Lynners, had leveraged his funds across many property investments, believing that the less-populated wards in the city would be growing with more homes and businesses to meet the demands of the quickly growing population of the city.²⁷³ It was a realistic expectation in 1872, but an unachievable dream in 1874. In the May 1875 list of unpaid taxes, he lost five houses, a barn, three shops, over eleven acres of land, and the local landmark building known as the “Pinkham Block,” because of a total of \$253.92 in past due back taxes that he couldn’t pay.²⁷⁴ It was a crushing blow. He knew what it was to be badly bruised and in pain – he had endured the deaths of his first wife, two infant children, and two previous insolvencies – but at sixty years old and losing so much during the longest depression in the nation’s history, this was a crushing blow.

Businesses failed, wages were cut, unemployment spiked, building construction was halted, and real estate values fell. During the depression years that followed the Panic, the city’s progress had become torpid, like a sluggish liver that some medicines of the era promised to correct; but no cures were being promised for the livers in Lynn. In a city that had previously been quickly building, it came as no surprise to see that some of the occupations hit early by the financial havoc were the construction trades. Over the course of the year, Pinkham the builder was joined in his misfortune by at least five carpenters, two masons, and a real estate agent. By September 1875 there was another round of fifty-one unpaid tax delinquencies announced in the newspaper, of which twenty percent were in the building trades, including six carpenters, a painter, a paper hanger, a plasterer, a builder, and another real estate agent.²⁷⁵

Storeowners and professionals followed the somber struggles of the builders. Henry A. Breed, a merchant whose estate included a house, barn, and greenhouse, plus two more houses, was busted for back taxes of \$412.16.²⁷⁶ Grocers Horace Greely Littlefield, Alexander Ruth, and Henry C. Mears, filed for bankruptcy, and James G. Wilson’s barber’s shop, with all its furniture and fixtures, was foreclosed upon in 1876.²⁷⁷ The August 1876 tax collector’s list of unpaid real estate taxes had swelled to over 700 properties.²⁷⁸ To maintain some semblance of order, the huge list was organized alphabetically and by ward. Several names on this list had appeared in prior year bankruptcy notices but sharing the pain of repeated bankruptcy brought no comfort or relief. Thunderstruck Isaac Pinkham was once again listed among the casualties, losing two more houses in Wyoma Village, including the one he and his family called home, plus over seven acres of land, due to his inability to pay \$40.89 of overdue 1875 back taxes.²⁷⁹ This round of unpaid tax

announcements also cut deeper into the core of the city's wealth; dwarfing Pinkham's small shortcoming were the unpaid taxes of several affluent townsmen: Charles E. Knox was past due on the store he named the Knox Building on Munroe Street (tax bill: \$121.80); Timothy Munroe gave up the "Old Galeucia House" on Franklin Street (tax bill: \$179.22); French & Caverly lost the Academy of Music building on Market Street (tax bill: \$391.50); John Raddin was overdue on taxes for his little West Lynn real estate empire comprising the pleasure resort named Echo Grove (containing buildings and six acres), plus a house, barn and 2½ acres, all on the hillside through which Ashland Street cut, and three buildings and about 80,000 feet of land known as Raddin's Wharf along the Saugus River (tax bill: \$441.45); and Seth D. Woodbury had failed to pay taxes on seven houses and land, plus a furniture factory, three stores, and buildings known as Essex Hall and the Octagon Block (tax bill: \$2,037.54).²⁸⁰

Real estate developers stood out in the listings of potential insolvencies because of the many undeveloped house lots they had to forfeit to the gavel of bankruptcy court: George W. Josselyn was declared insolvent for a second time in two years, losing a house and five house lots on Mansfield Street. Seventeen lots on the southwest side of Abbott Street were taken away from the partnership of Abbott & Blake. Christopher Johnson relinquished four houses and fourteen lots and Mr. and Mrs. James Bigelow surrendered twenty lots on land known as Hood Farm and three more at the rear of Essex Street; then in the gargantuan mid-July 1877 listing of real estate tax delinquencies, the beleaguered and quickly aging Isaac Pinkham was yet again declared delinquent insolvent on eight lots on Daniel Street, six lots on Campbell Street, ten lots on Williams Street, and one lot on Hudson Street. Personal and financial tragedies had pushed him to his knees five times before the Panic and three times since, but this last time he just couldn't get back up.²⁸¹ A letter to the editor in the following year underscored how the devastation of insolvency just piled on top of the existing despair from unemployment, "The present general business depression has, as a consequence, thrown out of employment here a number of men ... their misery ... increased by having received notices from the city officials formally intimating that their little effects would be sold out to satisfy the demand for the city taxes, if not immediately paid. With this they are unable to comply, having no means of earning money to enable them to do so ... All they need are employers, which they cannot obtain ..." .²⁸²

An editorial in *The Lynn Record* observed at the same time as the mid-July 1877 unpaid taxes house-cleaning, "The wolf has been quite near many a door of the shoemakers of Lynn, during the terrible financial crisis the country is now undergoing ... There is not a neighborhood in Lynn where instances of destitution have not occurred." The newspaper had reported in May of a small army of adults and children who searched for dandelions for food in Lynn's streets and pastures, and of one young man in particular, dressed in black and wearing a slouch hat drawn over his eyes, who was seen in the Old Western Burial Ground, picking the dandelions there. While he was observed squatting upon the grave mounds, wielding his knife in the ground for dandelions, he looked very much like a ghoulish grave robber doing his horrible work.²⁸³ A few months later the *Record* recounted the privations of another citizen that typified the Lynn experience for many during the long depression:

Recently, in conversation with a citizen who was hard up and out of work, he informed us that for a week the only way he had of obtaining food for his family was by purchasing a supply of his baker on credit. ... what the end would be he dared not consider. He had succeeded until within a month or two in supporting his family. He had received but a mere pittance for his labor when he did have employment, and on losing his job was without means, having been obliged to spend, some time before, all that he had been able to lay by. On one night, not long since, his children had gone hungry to bed. He was searching for work, but so far found it impossible to obtain anything to do. His case is only one of many.²⁸⁴

The epilogue of the story offered a little hope for this Lynner, but at the same time accentuated the dire straits that he and fellow citizens were facing, “It is a fortunate thing that the berry crop is large this season, for many out of employment have been able to earn more or less by picking the fruit; and although the sum thus obtained has been small, it has helped along somewhat.” While unpaid taxes were causing Lynners to lose their homes and business, buy food on credit, and forage or even steal to survive, the irony wasn’t lost on them that the city was providing care to the penniless out-of-towners who tramped into town.²⁸⁵

In April 1874, the North Lake Division of the Sons of Temperance were holding a variety show fundraiser in Pinkham Hall. The program was a combination of singing, temperance talks, violin solos, blackface comedy, and skits like “The Quack Doctor.” Although the show received good reviews and attendance, other Lynners passed up the doings going on at Pinkham Hall and continued instead a little way up the Lynnfield road, to visit a band of gypsies that were encamped between the Catholic cemetery and the small pond to its north. They were an interesting and entertaining curiosity and it was noted that they had “some of the best horse flesh we have ever had the pleasure to look upon”; once again, uninvited out-of-towners were pulling money away from homegrown enterprises.²⁸⁶ In late August, several Indian families had traveled to Lynn from maritime Canada and Maine and set up camp on Lynn’s beach, at the foot of Beach Street. Naturally, they were as much a curiosity as the gypsies in Wyoma Village and people came to visit. Lynners left the makeshift Indian village with native-made baskets, toy canoes, bows and arrows, and less money than when they had arrived.²⁸⁷



THE GYPSIES AND THE INDIANS came as groups with the common purpose to sell goods and leave; by these measures, they were much like the circuses that came to town, just on a much smaller scale and with considerably less fanfare. Their presence and impact were far different from the interlopers that had been labeled “tramps.” A Lynn city marshal attributed the great influx of tramps to the financial panic, “which has caused the dismissal of many mechanics from the workshops, and laborers from the several lines of railroads, and they have wandered to our city in search of employment.”²⁸⁸ They arrived in town largely as individuals, although there were some who traveled with all or some of their families. From the time of the Panic of 1873 and onward through the decade, they numbered in the thousands and their transformation from “floaters” to “tramps” in the media parlance connoted a shift in public sentiment about them, from occasionally wandering unfortunates to constantly invading undesirables. In 1871 the police had provided temporary lodging to 1,392 people in their jail, prompting the city marshal to recommend eighteen to twenty more cells be built, each with a water closet and ample ventilation because “we are obliged to cram our prisoners into one-third of that number,” plus there was an urgent need for a padded cell “owing to the somewhat frequent arrests of insane persons and those afflicted with delirium tremens, some of whom are extremely violent, and all of whom are more or less inclined to self-destruction.”²⁸⁹ By 1874 the number of police station inmates had jumped to a decade high of 3,294 in 1874, almost entirely due to the enormous influx of tramps, and continued in the high two thousands for the next four years.²⁹⁰ Like human locusts they covered the city, swarming around the train station in the hundreds and invading homes in search of food and valuables.²⁹¹ They volunteered to be incarcerated at the police station, at least long enough to benefit from a night’s sleep in a warm building and to get some free bread and coffee in the morning; services provided by the city, not out of benevolence, but to deter them from begging, and sometimes even stealing or worse, at residents’ homes.²⁹² During the cold season, the homeless came to the police station shivering, sometimes badly frost-bitten, and hungry. In October 1873, right after the Panic had begun, a fifty-year-old white man and a twenty-two-year-old black man showed up at the police station in city hall, requesting to be committed as vagrants because they were unable to get work and had no homes. The older man was said to have rejoiced at his good fortune to plead guilty and

be committed for six months to the Ipswich House of Correction and the younger was equally pleased to be incarcerated for the same length of time at the State Almshouse at Bridgewater.²⁹³ In December 1875, another young man arrived at the police station, nearly frozen, seeking food and shelter. He had been hiding in a barn in Salem until the farmer came in to milk the cows and routed him out, so he made his way to Lynn. He loosely threatened that he would break some law to convince the authorities that they should send him somewhere so that he could have room and board throughout the winter.²⁹⁴ Word had allegedly spread among trampdom that Lynn had a better quality and larger quantity of food than any other cities or towns in the vicinity and, based on the numbers that begged to go to jail, the rumor may indeed have spread fast and far.²⁹⁵

Warily watching the constant presence of these homeless itinerants, *The Lynn Record* observed, “Hunger, cold, and lack of employment are evils enough to drive many a well-disposed person to moral or physical destruction. Be mindful of the poor.”²⁹⁶ Being mindful meant different things to different readers; to some it meant an opportunity for Christian charity. Lynn police were called to a house on Commercial Street because of a man who was staggering around in the yard like a drunk. He was, in fact, a baker from Peabody who had been out of work for several weeks, with a wife and five children whom he needed to support. He had heard that there was some chance of work in Somerville, so he walked the nineteen-plus miles for a job, but finding none, retraced his steps towards home, through Lynn and, “without having tasted a mouthful of food, and the weather intensely cold, the poor fellow almost perished with cold and hunger . . .” Exhaustion and hunger, not alcohol and dissipation, had caused his condition, and he was badly frostbitten, proving to the reporter, at least, “a sad reminder of the untold sufferings endured by the worthy poor.”²⁹⁷

Far more often, however, being mindful meant to watch out for the danger that were tramps. The papers presented many stories and opinions that they were “professional beggars,” “terrible creatures,” and “miserable pests” who were lazy, impudent, lawless, lying, thieving, dangerous terrors.²⁹⁸ In 1879, the Lynn city marshal described them as “an unclean, indolent, shiftless class of people, devoid of ambition other than to eat and sleep, a terror to unprotected women, a growing evil in the community.”²⁹⁹ One article said it had gotten to the point that the citizens no longer dared to go to bed until every window and door was double-locked and twice-checked. The city’s papers also agreed that charity only encouraged them to stick around and more to come to Lynn. “Where vermin feed, there vermin breed,” one article read; it was crass, but a fitting expression of the frustrated and scared.³⁰⁰ Tramps were nothing like the benign, colorful Indians on Lynn Beach; their omnipresence and drive to survive put most of the citizens on edge, and with good reason. In July 1874, Mary Hawkes of Saugus went down into her cellar and discovered a stranger helping himself to bread, pie, doughnuts, and a bottle of wine. The tramp defended his actions by explaining he had gone into the yard to get a drink of water from the pump and seeing the cellar window open, he just “popped in to see what there was to eat.”³⁰¹ The *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter* warned in August that the tramps’ pattern was to prowl from house to house with some pitiful story manufactured for the occasion, all the while being “on the lookout for every chance to pilfer articles of value, and in many instances forcing themselves into residences when it was discovered that only women were in the house.”³⁰² The pattern outlined in 1874 was executed precisely in 1877, when a man rang the bell at the main entrance of the Sargent home at 23 Franklin street. When Mrs. Adelia Sargent answered the door, the man asked for something to eat and at the same moment brazenly stepped into the entry and closed the door.

He then seized the gold chain suspended around the neck of the lady, and to which was attached a gold watch, and endeavored to wrench it from her; but as she had grasped it firmly, he was unable to . . . he threw her down, and putting his knee upon her chest, seized her by the neck and tried to strangle her. . . . The villain then kicked her in the head until she became insensible, when he fled. Mrs. Sargent was found by her husband, prostrate in the hall, about half an hour after . . . So firmly had she grasped the chain that her hand could not be relaxed until she had been restored to consciousness.³⁰³

After physician David Drew attended her, the city marshal showed her the several tramps staying at City Hall, but she didn't recognize any of them. As the news story concluded, she was still reported to be in a semi-unconscious state, complaining greatly of head pain; her throat was badly swollen "where the miscreant grasped her," and she continually murmured of "those terrible eyes." The word "tramp," another newspaper stated, had become a synonym for "complete terror."³⁰⁴

The decade of the 1870s had left Lynn staggering like the baker from Peabody – devastated, worn out, and depressed. So many had lost their jobs, and some had lost their homes, and still others their investments and savings. While most of the wealthier classes endured, most were not wealthy. Many had been pushed past their breaking point; they just couldn't take it anymore, like Debbie Simons, a Lynn mother who was fuming when she wrote to the newspaper in 1876 about her daughter's experience of going to one of the city's shoe factories to find work. The daughter found the shoe-boss delivering a lecture to the girls, telling them to take a pay cut of twenty cents off every dollar earned or else he would get mad and send the work to Maine. He didn't know what mad was. The mother wrote she was "darned mad!" The shoe-boss "was so ... mean, and had such a dried-up little soul, that should it by any means leave his body and enter into the eye of a bumble-bee, that, with even the aid of a powerful microscope, neither the Lord nor Satan would be able to find it."³⁰⁵ Coping with the challenges that beset their lives was critical to survival; some succeeded and many others failed. Debbie Simons found an outlet through her poison pen; others resorted to poisons more dangerous.

With all of the challenges in the workplace, the city, and the family purse, it was perhaps inevitable that escalated criminal behavior would be one of the responses. Throughout the 1870s, larceny was consistently one of the most frequently committed crimes in Lynn and the mushrooming rates from 1872 through 1879 represented only those who were caught.³⁰⁶ In December 1874, a policeman saw someone acting suspiciously so he went over to investigate; the suspect ran off, dropping a bag that contained nine decapitated chickens. "Look out for hen coops," the newspaper warned; they proved to be easy and frequent targets for hungry thieves.³⁰⁷ Homes were also broken into and assorted valuables disappeared; the police printed up small cards to spread the word about the many pieces of personal property that were disappearing from Lynn homes: gold watches and silver spoons, a gold breast-pin, gold coins, a silver mug engraved "Nellie" and a silver napkin ring and fork marked "Charlie."³⁰⁸ One dark Sunday night in November 1876, someone swiped clothing right off the clothesline on the Adams' family's property, then on Tuesday evening another scamp stole a blanket, a linen duster coat, and other items from clothing merchant Allen P. Aldrich's wagon team while it was standing in front Osborne's West Lynn shoe store. Thursday night was the coldest of the season, and a heavy frost settled everywhere, but at least a few thieves, somewhere, were a little warmer.³⁰⁹

Juvenile delinquency had contributed to the increase in crime, according to Marshal William Stone a large portion of the larcenies and break-ins were done by boys between ages seven and seventeen; the likelihood of probation for the first conviction "does not cause much terror, especially to boys, who, accustomed from their earliest recollections to hardship and neglect, and allowed to run the streets without restraint, will, if not checked, soon fall into the natural track of hardened criminals."³¹⁰ It was youngsters who decided to exorcise two unoccupied houses on Chancery Court that were said to have been haunted by ghostly apparitions allegedly seen there; in a few days' time they barraged the house with stones and broke about fifty panes of glass.³¹¹ Night soil wagons were also stoned during the same month, annoying the wagon drivers and even hitting one in the face and breaking a lantern.³¹² Even Edwin Marble, living far away from others, deep in Lynn Woods, wasn't safe from ruffianism. A group of them entered his cave and broke the chimney of the lamp Marble used to guide people through the subterranean labyrinth. When he insisted on payment for the broken chimney, one of the scoundrels assaulted Marble and knocked out two of his teeth.³¹³

The police had their hands full throughout the decade; making over 1,000 arrests each year; in the Panic year of 1873, that number swelled to 1,602. Consequently, funds were added several times throughout the decade to increase the size of the police force; it grew from 59 in 1871 to 91 in 1878.³¹⁴ George W. Latimer, well-known for having been a fugitive slave, was appointed a special policeman in 1874; although already 55 years old, his tenacity would be sorely needed on the force.³¹⁵ The Lynn patrolman's beat was busy and onerous, dealing with all types of crimes, grievances, and grumbles that citizens presented: they complained to the police about the butcher selling rotten meat, the milkman delivering adulterated milk, a Boston Street pigsty that offended neighbors by its smell, and an incapacitated neighbor who had bad-smelling sores because no one helped with his care.³¹⁶ The police had to stop peddlers without licenses and thieves from pilfering fruit and trespassing in gardens.³¹⁷ They had the duty to deliver the mortgage foreclosure documents to those who would then lose their homes and sometimes this task was met with belligerence and danger. Patrick and Catherine Quinn knew exactly why the sheriff was knocking at the door of their house on Harbor Street in late January 1878 and they were determined to go down fighting. Mrs. Quinn threw hot tea at the sheriff, then Mr. Quinn punched him. The assaulted officer went to the police station for backup and when they returned, the Quinns had locked the door, so the police broke it in. Mrs. Quinn ran to a room and seized a razor; the police caught up to her at the moment that she had put the razor to her own throat but they managed to wrestle it away from her. The Quinns were arrested.³¹⁸

SINS OF THE FLESH

The Lynn police also dealt with the city's seamy corners of crime throughout the decade, preventing or dealing with the consequences of abortion, rape and attempted rape, indecent assault, indecent exposure, keeping a disorderly house, lewd and lascivious conduct, circulating obscene cards, and selling obscene literature.³¹⁹ The criminal offense of lewd and lascivious conduct included prostitution and there were arrests for the offense in most years of the decade. In 1872 a citizen reported to *The Lynn Giant* that prostitution was a common occurrence in front of the post office,

Every evening, fair weather and foul, eight or ten of these professional women and fast shop girls congregate there to await custom. It appears that any man, whether acquainted with them or not, can introduce himself to one of whom he may fancy, and accompany her wherever he may choose. Several couples thus meeting have been traced to hotels, some to private carriages and horse cars, and thence to notorious houses out of town, and not a few to houses of ill fame within the city limits.³²⁰

Sins of the flesh provided brief escapes from harsh realities, but they and all of the city's other criminal behaviors were still dwarfed by drunkenness as Lynn's crime of the decade. The complaint that Bernard Rowley's wife filed against him for being constantly drunk had defined him clearly as a raging alcoholic. The drinkers of Lynn found refuge at their favorite drinking haunt; it was their escape from the stresses of Lynn and life in the 1870s; the flow of alcohol down the gullet smoothed some of the rough spots and made them forget the others. Reverend Cook crafted similar stories into his talks to illustrate that the sorry state of the drunkard was the result of being tired of work and then home, and eventually everything in between. Cook explained that after extra-long days during the busy season, "thin, worn, and 'played out'" factory workers could be seen "going into beer-shops for a glass of ale. Still, seventy or eighty percent are temperate men," he said comfortingly, but this still meant that twenty to thirty percent were not and they had lots of choices of where to go for a drink – and most of them were illegal.³²¹ Police escorted the minister to some hidden gambling dens and drinking holes around town. On one of these excursions, Cook saw a white horse in the center of one of the city's squares and he asked the policeman, "'If you stood where that horse stands, into how many places where liquor is illegally sold could you throw a

stone?" The policeman ... replied, looking about the square: "One, two, three – seven – ten – twelve, or fifteen, at least."³²²

Reverend Cook brought his audiences on a vivid verbal journey into one of these drinking and gambling dens, which at one point he referred to as "a prayer meeting of the Devil's Church."³²² The specificity he provided painted a poignant, disturbing picture of these dens of iniquity that he expected, and hoped, were totally unfamiliar to his listeners:

... the outer doors [were] locked and provided with a small window through which any who applied for admission ... were observed from within, before being admitted.

... these rooms [were] barred by the windows and the locked doors. When a policeman applies for admission, a delay usually occurs, long enough for any evidence of illegal liquor-selling or gambling that may be going on within to be put out of sight. ... The floor was filthy; the walls and windows dirty; ... a cask with a faucet (probably containing water!) ... three leprous illustrated newspapers on the bare table ... and the pictures on the walls were ... of boxing and racing scenes³²³

Not all Lynners went into the Devil's Church, but everyone likely knew some of its parishioners. Throughout the decade, forty-eight percent of all arrests in Lynn were for drunkenness; 1873 was the worst year, with 676; 113 more than the average of the rest of the years in the decade. In 1876 the *Lynn Transcript* sarcastically snickered, "Notwithstanding the general prostration of trade, Lynn can point with pride to the fact that it has afforded a generous support to no less than three hundred and five prosperous rum-shops."³²⁴ Each edition of the Lynn newspapers could be counted on to contain a list of people who had been arrested for intoxication during the prior week. *The Little Giant* tried to make the monotonously predictable weekly read more entertainingly with comic descriptions and plays on words; for example, describing those who were sent to jail for drunkenness as well-to-do guests of a country hotel. Far from being a laughing matter, Lynn had a long history of alcohol abuse and it was becoming more widespread than ever. Cook and other temperance advocates were not just concerned about the criminal behavior that frequently resulted from drinking; they also bemoaned the deterioration of lives and the impact on families and communities. A newspaper account of W. M. Pierce was a heartbreaking example of such a wasted life. He was a young man with a wife and a few children, the only son of a wealthy gentleman from whom he had received much aid in business and finances from time to time, but "having been brought up in the loose manner so common to young men in his situation, he became wild and dissipated." He was "rather lazy and shiftless" and "in the habit of loafing considerable and neglecting his work." He was brought before Judge Newhall a few times and on those occasions got bailed out by his employers, but in April 1872, he was once again in front of the judge's bench, charged with "neglecting his business and family, and hanging around grog shops." The reporter seemed dismayed at how the defendant pleaded guilty "in the indifferent, sluggish way of the lowest vagrants," receiving his six-month sentence in the Lynn workhouse. His life had become the sad, shameful archetype of the wasted alcoholic who had become incapable of anything other than marinating in his own fermented juices:

A short time ago he worked out a valuable invention, but foolishly disposed of it for a few hundred dollars and spent the money to support idleness and debauchery, and has gradually lost self-respect and everything pertaining to manhood, to become a worthless inmate of a workhouse.³²⁵

Criminal behavior around alcohol came not just from those who drank too much and did too many stupid things afterward, but also from those who made and sold the stuff to the often all-too-eager drinkers. On the charge of maintaining a liquor nuisance and selling intoxicating drink, fourteen cases from Lynn alone were tried in the Superior Court in June of 1872; Lemuel Brock, proprietor of the Lynn Hotel, pleaded guilty to keeping a liquor nuisance and was fined \$50 plus \$75 court costs.³²⁶ Before the end of the same month five hundred gallons of ale and sixty-five bottles of porter were seized from M. C. Heald beer manufacturers and another 130 gallons of

distilled liquors and 20 gallons of ale were also seized from the Relay House hotel in Nahant.³²⁷ A year later, 50 bottles of ale were seized from Charles Roome's Echo House on Summer Street, opposite the Echo Grove picnic park and 7 gallons of hard liquor and 150 quart bottles of ale were seized once again from the unrepentant Lemuel Brock (still proprietor of the Lynn Hotel), and yet again a small quantity of hard liquor was seized from him a scant two months later.³²⁸ In 1877 there had been 62 seizures of unlicensed alcohol inventories and 38 prosecutions, but there were also 117 warrants served where no liquor was found, prompting the frustrated city marshal to observe, "The ingenuity of man is constantly employed in constructing places of concealment."³²⁹ In the next year, the police mounted an even more intensive campaign, but so did the liquor dealers: there were 151 seizures, 70 prosecutions, and 375 warrants served where no liquors were found.³³⁰ It took the new city marshal for 1878 just the one year to become frustrated like his predecessor; his year-end report sounded despondent because his police force were fighting for a victory that no one seemed to want: "The people make the law and public opinion sanctions the violation of it. Not until public sentiment changes, not until the majority of people refrain from the use of intoxicating liquors, will they cease to be sold."³³¹ The Temperance Oyster House on Munroe Street, "kept strictly on Temperance principles," and Carr & Morse's Temperance Dining Rooms for Ladies & Gents, just a few doors away, where only "the best of spring water (was) used for cooking and drinking," may have had been conceived on praiseworthy principles, but clearly not many Lynners were knocking down their doors.³³²

The only category of crime that was statistically insignificant during the decade was murder. The police station had a showcase displaying "murderous implements taken from desperate criminals and suicides"; it became known, in Dickensian fashion, as "Chief Marshal Barrett's Curiosity Shop." The collection, spanning from 1862 to 1872, implied a more grizzled history than the city actually had. On display was the rusty old hatchet that the teenager, Horace Davis, had used to murder Nathan Breed in his store back in 1862. There were some blood-stained knives, each with its nefarious history, and some makeshift clubs that two youthful burglars had on them when caught in 1869. There were also a few single-shot, and four-barreled pistols that were used with the intent to commit murder or just to have as an alternative if the larceny or burglary went wrong, and a six-shooter and an ordinary razor, both of which were used in suicides. So certainly not all murder weapons, but a nasty-looking assortment of bad intentions, nonetheless.³³³ "The Annual Report of the City Physician" called 1871 "the year of violent deaths," but 34 of them were fatal accidents, three were suicides, and only one was caused by murder; it would, in fact, turn out to be the only murder for the entire decade.³³⁴ In mid-December 1871, William Vannar, aka William Brown, stabbed the woman he was living with thirty-five times in a drunken rage. The *Little Giant* newspaper painted a verbal portrait of the monster that had done the foul deed, delving into his lurid backstory, phrenological description, and racist explanation for his savage nature and shared all the outrageous details of the especially gory murder; it even magnified its sensationalized coverage by including an illustration of the enraged maniac stabbing the helpless woman in the blood-splattered entryway. The verbal portrait would have been graphic enough:

It would seem that [Vannar] inherited his satanic disposition from his mother, who, as well as her brothers, is said to have been exceedingly vicious Vannar and his fighting uncles seemed to possess the characteristics of wild animals rather than those of human beings, for a favorite mode of theirs in fighting was to chew off the ears and noses of those persons who were so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of the inhuman savages. ... He was addicted to strong drink, and when in liquor would assume the character of a bloodthirsty demon on the slightest provocation. ... Having a low, sloping forehead, a skull like iron, and being possessed of a large amount of muscle, he was well adapted to the blood work which he so successfully performed. It is thought by some persons who knew him best, that he had Indian blood in his veins, and that his savage nature was attributable in a great degree to that supposed fact.³³⁵



The Murderous Outrage of William Vannar. Illustration appearing in Lynn's *Little Giant* newspaper, 23 December 1871. The original also showed an eye witness, partially hidden behind a wall at the top of the stairs, watching the murder below. The original caption read, "THE MURDERER IN THE TERRIBLE ACT AS SEEN BY MRS. CONWAY."

The murdered woman had been married previously and had five children, but when her husband went to Timbuctoo, California, she had an affair with Vannar. They came to Lynn and boarded at Susan Roundy's house at 19 Adams Street on the 14th of December. At dawn on the 16th, Vannar left the house, then returned shortly thereafter, took a full half-pint bottle of liquor out of his pocket and drank it all. In a little while, his wife came down the stairs with one of his shirts to be washed; he followed her and then closed the door. "Screams and groans were soon heard in the hall." Another boarder in the house stepped out of her room and saw Vannar downstairs in the act of butchering his wife with his dirk knife; among the thirty-five knife wounds, the jugular vein and carotid artery had been severed. With his hands looking "as if he had dipped them into a pail of blood," he calmly washed them, cleaned his knife, muttered that she had spent his property and been a curse to him ever since he had known her, and then repeated three times, "She is dead and I have got to die."³³⁶

He then left the house and word of the murder quickly spread. About twenty-five of the workers in Henry A. Pevear's morocco factory found out that a murderer was outside behind their factory, so they joined with police in his pursuit and eventually surrounded him on a hillside between Boston Street and Western avenue. All held their positions in a standoff for about an hour, with Vannar in the center, picking bark off a tree with the point of his knife. Henry Pevear suggested to the crowd that they should get a rope and tie the killer to a tree, but they responded that he would cut it with his knife before they succeeded. Pevear then decided it would be a good opportunity "to make an impression on the crowd" by giving a temperance discourse, saying that those who sold rum were in a manner responsible for the crime that Vannar had committed. The standoff was

broken about fifteen seconds into the superfluous and awkwardly timed temperance lecture, when Officer Whitten struck a glancing blow with his heavy oak club; Officer John A. Thurston followed suit, but had no more success than the first policeman, the ground being slippery with snow. “The bloodthirsty fiend (then) brandished his knife and turned upon officer Thurston with the awful expression and terrible fierceness of an infuriated demon.” Officer Thurston tried to dodge the lunging Vannar, but slipped and fell, and the criminal was upon him in a moment, cutting and slashing his head, face, and shoulder as fast as he could; inflicting seven wounds on the head and face and one on the right shoulder, and a bullet from Vannar’s revolver shot through Thurston’s hand. Marshal Barrett quickly discharged four chambers of his revolver; one of which entered Vannar’s brain, followed by a terrible blow to the head by Officer Whitten who didn’t miss this time. He was “finally … arrested by grim death, who never releases his prisoners.” Vannar’s knife and seven-barreled revolver were added to City Marshal Barrett’s Curiosity Shop.³³⁷

All of alcohol’s seductive and addictive powers to stimulate, excite, depress, relax, confuse, and distort, could also be obtained in opium-based drugs, which were readily available, unregulated, and very misunderstood, especially when used as another form of escape. Anyone could buy them from an apothecary or all but the stodgiest physicians, with absolutely no questions asked. An apothecary shop was the local chemical depot, full of dangerous, poisonous ingredients when used in the wrong way or by the wrong hands. Whether the need was for rat poison, furniture glue, shoe blacking, shampoo, soap, paint, jewelry polish, or a cancer cure, the apothecary could make it for the customer or the patron could purchase the needed ingredients there (and often in grocery shops) and then compound the product themselves, using an old family recipe or one of those found in one of the many self-help books then available. Such a popular reference was *Dr. Chase’s Recipes, or, Information for Everybody: An Invaluable Collection of About Eight Hundred Practical Recipes for Merchants, Grocers, Saloon-Keepers, Physicians, Druggists, Tanners, Shoe Makers, Harness Makers, Painters, Jewelers, Blacksmiths, Tinniers, Gunsmiths, Farriers, Barbers, Bakers, Dyers, Renovaters, Farmers, and Families Generally*; copyrighted in 1867, it was already in its 54th edition by 1870, stating the total printing to that point at 415,000 copies. If a sedative or painkiller was needed, the reader could make their own laudanum by following one of the 800 recipes the book contained (slice “Best Turkey opium” 1 oz., pour in boiling water … work it in a bowl until dissolved; then pour it into the bottle …\ with alcohol of 76 percent proof … shake well … “Dose – From 10-30 drops for adults, according to the strength of the patient, or severity of the pain.”)³³⁸ A Lynn merchant tried to capitalize on the increasing reliance on laudanum as a sleep aid by creatively advertising in 1872, “DON’T TAKE LAUDANUM! To make you sleep, but go at once to AUSTIN’S, 31 Market street, and buy a soft, luxurious MATTRESS, and you will slumber sweetly. Price from \$3.00 upwards.”³³⁹ Candidly, the laudanum was cheaper.

In 1857 Massachusetts had produced some of the nation’s earliest legislation to control the sale of deadly poisons; Chapter 280 of the state’s *Acts and Resolves* stipulated that whenever any apothecary, or other person,” sold within the Commonwealth, “without the written prescription of a physician, any arsenic, strychnine, corrosive sublimate, or prussic acid,” he was to keep a record of the sale.³⁴⁰ It wasn’t much of a law and just four poisons named wasn’t much of a list, Lynn’s city physician explained in 1876, because other preparations that were “almost if not quite as dangerous,” were freely sold and sometimes to the “most irresponsible people”. He advised that until the “defect in the law” was fixed, those who sold poisonous articles should be extremely careful not to sell them to someone who may have “evil intent.”³⁴¹ Lynn already had a case on the books in 1870 of someone attempting murder by the administration of poison.³⁴² In the meantime, however, all other powerful, dangerous, poisonous chemicals could be and were sold as requested to all customers. A few Lynners bent on suicide took advantage of the easy access and attempted to end their lives accordingly. Mrs. Susan Hall had acted on her extreme grief over the death of her four-year-old daughter by attempting suicide with a dose of iodine; a month later she was still alive, but “quite despondent, with but little chance of recovery.”³⁴³ Margaret Coane, for reasons not

conveyed by the news reports, attempted suicide by drinking a quantity of white vitriol. One of Lynn's physicians reached her in time to administer emetics and the suicide was averted.³⁴⁴

Like the other poisons available to the public, opium-based medicines – opium, laudanum, paregoric, and morphine – were effective when used correctly and deadly dangerous when not. Recognizing one powder or liquid from the next wasn't an easy task, even for the apothecary's assistant, and could result in tragic consequences. Mrs. Ruth A. Bessom, wife of Edward the barber, had become ill and went to Henry S. Goodridge's drugstore to get a half ounce of tincture of rhubarb, most likely to correct some indigestion or nausea. When she got there, she found a boy (likely a teenager) minding the shop in the proprietor's absence. The young clerk gave her a vial of the fluid and, after returning home, she swallowed its contents and laid down on her bed to rest and let it take effect. When her husband got home he found his wife had become paralyzed! He quickly got a physician who succeeded after great effort (probably by giving her a powerful emetic) to restore her and save her life. It was determined that the boy had given Mrs. Bessom laudanum by mistake; the bottles in the drugstore were labeled "Tinct. Rhei" (Tincture of Rhubarb) and "Tinct.Opii" (Tincture of Opium, commonly called laudanum). The liquids were the same color and of very similar appearance in every other respect. When told about the mistake he had made, the clerk nonchalantly responded, "everyone is liable to make mistakes," which made a terrible experience even worse. The news account concluded, "The practice of leaving a clerk of this character in sole charge of a drugstore, with the power of life and death in his hands, cannot be too strongly condemned."³⁴⁵

It was a matter of life and death with each dose, whether in the hands of the druggist, the doctor, or the patient. A young man who had been drinking hard was given doses by his physician, Thomas Thatcher Graves, of the newly popular sedative, chloral hydrate, every fifteen minutes, but for some reason it had the opposite effect and he jumped out the window and ran across the Lynn Common; the other effect was that the doctor was discharged "from further attendance upon the patient."³⁴⁶ Henry A. Hill, a 55-year-old barber was found dead in his bed. "He had been sick for some time and had been in the habit of taking opium as a medicine, and the supposition is that an accidental overdose was the cause of his death." He left behind adult children to mourn for him and a wife to struggle through the depression without him.³⁴⁷ It was pretty obvious that Edward Boyle wanted to kill himself. He dosed himself with a combination of a grain and a half of morphine and two drachms hydrate of chloral that he had gotten from one of Lynn's physicians, and then went to a druggist and purchased a half an ounce of laudanum and swallowed that too. When his friends discovered what he had done, they summoned homeopathic physician Alvin M. Cushing, but by the time he began administering emetics, an hour had already passed, and the case looked grim. The doctor had six men keep Boyle walking all night and vigorously slapping his legs with a strap to keep him in motion. Thanks to the skill of the physician and the effort of his friends, Boyle survived his rash act. It was said that the morphine or laudanum alone would have caused death in nine out of ten people.³⁴⁸

Throughout the decade, there had been over a dozen incidents of drug overdose reported in Lynn. They were the extreme and most unfortunate results of using opiates, and probably represented a modest to moderate percentage of opiate use in Lynn. The only opium use stories to hit the newspapers were about those who died from it or came close. Opiate use was a phenomenon occurring throughout the state and country. Opium was reportedly being used in Worcester to an "alarming extent" and Chicopee had "a great many regular customers, and many other towns and cities in the state reported the habit to be "quite prevalent." Throughout New England the opium habit was increasing at a faster rate than the population itself and across the 37-state nation there were an estimated 80,000-100,000 opium users. F. E. Oliver, the Massachusetts physician who reported this growth of the state's opium market, explained that opium and morphine were not only being liberally used in patent and commercial medicines, but had become common ingredients in many family remedies, which were formerly made just from local plants.³⁴⁹ Morphine's popularity

was largely rooted in its genuine medicinal effectiveness; it was an efficient painkiller, cough suppressant, sedative, and tranquilizer, which encouraged its use for everything from insomnia and menstrual pains to nervousness and mental illness. In addition to its therapeutic effectiveness, its use could have a recreational aspect, providing hidden and discreet escape where alcohol use was a more socially driven and obvious behavior. Opium use was also less socially offensive than drunkenness, plus it was much less bulky and easier to conceal than a liquor habit. Some women carried their syringe, needles, and morphine in an attractive little etui that was well-disguised to look just like other kits containing sewing items or cosmetic tools. Women especially favored drinking laudanum and injecting morphine because it allowed them to enjoy the seductive pleasures of opiate intoxication while preserving an aura of propriety and decorum, away from the male-dominated world of rum-holes, gambling dens, and beer shops, and they could even still attend their temperance meetings “without endangering [their] reputation for sobriety.”³⁵⁰ There were slightly more publicized overdoses among Lynn women than men during the decade, but nothing can be said of the rest of the city’s hidden population of users.

Lynn’s opiate overdoses were evenly split between laudanum and morphine in the 1870s. Laudanum was swallowed, and recovery occurred more often than death because the person could be administered emetics to remove the poisonous dose. All six of the laudanum episodes were intentional suicide attempts triggered by severe depression. In February 1875 and June 1876, respectively, Wilhelmina E. Dunbar and C. Asa Johnson were both shoe industry workers in their forties; both had a child (he was married; she was widowed) and both were despondent about their financial difficulties during those depression years. Both tried to take their lives by drinking laudanum; both succeeded. After Dunbar had lost her husband, a sea captain, in the West Indies a few years earlier, she had come to Lynn and ran a shoe stitching shop on the same floor with the *Lynn Transcript* offices, but “in an excited state” over financial strain, she ended her life on the forest floor.³⁵¹ Johnson had been well known in the city, even serving in its government for a time, but some business reversals sent him on a downward trajectory. Albert Ingalls was another well-known Lynner who was reported to have attempted suicide by laudanum. He was also in his forties, a “horse doctor” and single, boarding in the home of Alfred E. Hill, the photographer. He had been “dissipated for years and had often been under the influence of liquor during the past month.” In this addicted mental state, he drank two ounces of laudanum that he had procured from a druggist under the ruse that it was for a horse. Physician Thomas Thatcher Graves was called to the police station where Ingalls had been brought and laid on a cot in a jail cell; he found Ingalls had become blind and unable to speak; his pulse was no longer perceptible, and his breathing was very slow; his hands and feet were cold and clammy, there was considerable muscular trembling, and it seemed unlikely he would live another fifteen minutes. Graves administered regular and frequent doses of tincture of belladonna as an antidote and the patient revived and survived, after having a “mild, fanciful delirium” throughout the afternoon.³⁵²

Two young Lynn women in 1872 and 1878 took laudanum and were assumed to have been attempting suicide; they both survived their apparent overdoses, one receiving medical treatment to bring about her recovery.³⁵³ The suicide attempt of Susan S. Traverse in 1875 was very deliberate, however. The 22-year-old had been having a disagreement with her lover; she sent him letters requesting that he come over to visit but he didn’t, so, severely depressed, she opted to end her life. But one of the few blessings of tenement life intervened when another boarder entered her room soon enough after Susan’s overdose that physician Goodell was summoned and able to revive her.³⁵⁴ One more case in the decade was of a young woman arrested by police at the Railroad House hotel. The *Lynn Reporter* elected not to name her because she “had been guilty of disreputable conduct [probably prostitution], but [her name was] withheld upon the presumption that she will do better henceforth.” Just before taking her to jail at the other end of Market Street, she seized a bottle containing laudanum and attempted to drink its contents. “The officer prevented her from doing so by grabbing her throat with sufficient firmness to prevent her from swallowing the entire

contents. She was then taken to Rice's drugstore where she was given coffee, ipecac, and other emetics, but none had the desired effect. Physician Cushing was then called upon "to partake in the drama and acted his part by administering two small powders which looked like sugar, but were probably not, as they had the effect to bring the former doses to the surface." She and the officer then resumed their walk to the jail.³⁵⁵

The methods of administrating a morphine overdose were not detailed in Lynn's news accounts but they could have been by pill, powder, or hypodermic needle. Morphine's hypodermic use was valued because it was erroneously believed that bypassing its oral introduction into the digestive system would eliminate the body's "hunger" for more and therefore it was thought to be an addiction-resistant method of getting the drug into the body. Compared to the laudanum incidents, the overuse of morphine usually seemed accidental, the result of addiction, but not for the purpose of suicide. Two of the morphine users were Union army veterans, both severely wounded in the war that had ended a decade earlier. William R. Mudge had been totally blinded and suffered from weakness of the nervous system brought on by old wounds for which he was taking morphine; although it had initially been reported that he had taken poison on purpose, a correction was printed that the blind veteran had accidentally taken an overdose at night; luckily, he recovered from its effects in a few hours "and this is the whole matter."³⁵⁶ Edward Murphy, forty-six, had also been severely injured during the war, for which morphine was administered to him in the battlefield hospital; he had been in the habit of taking morphine in small doses in the years that had followed the war. The day of his death he had gotten intoxicated, came home and told his wife he was going to take some morphine. He went into the bedroom, took off his pants, took the morphine, and laid down. His wife thought nothing of his comment since it was part of his regular routine to take morphine, but this time, combined with the alcohol, it killed him. He left a wife and two children. The paper speculated that it was intended to be a suicide since he had formerly been a "prosperous and happy man" who for many years had "been traveling down, down to this tragic end"; but if it was a suicide, there was no obvious reason for him to take off his pants before going to bed. It is more likely that he had intended to take the morphine for pain, real or imagined, and lie down for a nap, like he had consistently done over the last decade, but this time, he didn't wake up.³⁵⁷

The last morphine overdose of the decade in Lynn's newspapers was of Susie J. Truell in 1879; she was found dead in her room by her horrified mother, who had just gotten home from work. The newspaper reported she died from the effects of the morphine she had taken to end her existence. The reputation of the young woman "was none of the best, and she was generally known in connection with a coterie of females of questionable character." She had told them for some time that she was weary of life. She had purchased a quantity of morphine a few weeks earlier. Lynn physician Lovejoy was at once summoned to their apartment in the Lancaster Block, but his efforts to revive the "ill-fated woman" were unsuccessful; "she had done her work too thoroughly."³⁵⁸

During incidents of a drug-induced crisis, virtually all of Lynn's physicians experienced being suddenly summoned, rushed to homes they may never had been asked to be at before, and asked to perform the miracle of resurrection upon those who were passing through the veil, while terrified family and friends tearfully wrung their hands and waited for the user's slightest twitch of returning life. In the privacy of their Essex Medical Society meeting in March 1875, the physicians discussed the administration of opium and the degeneracy and decay of the human race; drug abuse was growing and they were witnessing it firsthand.³⁵⁹

While alcohol and drugs, and even death by suicide, were the principal escape routes traveled from the harsh realities of joblessness, financial hardship, and their concomitants – emotional stress and mental depression – those with more hope and faith used other escape routes instead. One of those was to travel to the American West, a place that for some, promised to be a land of possibilities. Having been declared bankrupt in 1874, Everett H. Dunbar looked to the West for a fresh start and went all the way to San Francisco, using his skills to start a shoe business there, but

hazards still mixed into the promise of a new start: "While attempting ... to open a bottle of [adhesive] cement, the bottle burst, scattering contents over his hands and clothes, and at the same time the cement took fire from a cigar. He was only saved from fatal injury by jumping into a tank of water, and as it was, his hands were so badly burned as to render them useless for some time."³⁶⁰ In 1871, three boys, the oldest only twenty, left Lynn on the train to go to the West, naturally without telling their parents. They brought everything they thought they needed for the adventure: two hatchets, a shoe knife, and thirteen dollars. It cost nine dollars to go just 100 miles to Springfield, Massachusetts, so they tried to hide out in a baggage car from there but were found by the Springfield police, who telegraphed Lynn's marshal, and the boys westward adventure reversed back east to Lynn.³⁶¹ They were guilty of youthful enthusiasm that was likely fueled by dime-novels about the exciting exploits of cowboys, Indians, bank robbers, grizzly bears and more. Lynn's young and old alike were excited about Buffalo Bill performing in their own Music Hall in May 1873. The performance "elicited long and continued applause during the entire evening, [and] the closing scene – a skirmish between the trappers and the Indians, with a view of the Pacific Railroad [was] greeted with thunders of applause, the whole entertainment no doubt furnishing as near as could be on the stage, a fair specimen of 'life on the plains.'"³⁶²

As had happened earlier in the decade, individuals and groups pursued their dreams of a fresh start and better chance by going West. In April 1878 there were rumors of an unprecedented migration of settlers to the wheat lands of Minnesota and also of a colony of fifty families were going to move from Lynn to Texas.³⁶³ In May a representative of the Southern Kansas Railroad met with Lynners about moving to Kansas and four families totaling twelve people left Lynn for Oregon.³⁶⁴ Isaac Mudgitt and his family of eight also left for the Washington Territory in May and in June Nathaniel W. Rich left for Eagle Lake, Texas and would send for his family as soon as he had arrived and chosen the best place to settle down.³⁶⁵ A number of young men from the city formed the Lynn Emigration Association to explore their options and all this occurred with the understanding that there were dangers; the *Lynn Transcript* poorly joked in August 1876, just two months after Custer's Last Stand, that a certain way to remove dandruff was to "visit the Big Horn country and interview the noble red man [get scalped]. Sure cure."³⁶⁶ The Deblois family in Lynn wasn't laughing; they got word in late January 1879 that their son Albert had been killed in a fight with the Cheyenne. The former Lynn wheelwright had been in the cavalry for three years.³⁶⁷

Although several dozen Lynners pursued their dreams on the frontier, there were many more who stayed at home, trying to improve their circumstances rather than escape from them. Some of those who lived in Wyoma had dreamed about and advocated for the construction of a horse railroad to connect to their village to the central part of the city. Easy and faster access to the city's quiet ward through its gateway neighborhood was seen as a sure-fire way to increase real estate values and bring a profitable return on investment to stockholders who invested in the project.³⁶⁸ A big rally in support of the project was to be held in August 1877 and one of the chief speakers encouraging the project was Daniel R. Pinkham. It must have been bittersweet to speak so enthusiastically in support of a project that would no longer help his family's personal interests; his father Isaac had just endured his third loss of property in the village a month earlier. In fact, the rally was held at the facility which, not long before, had proudly borne the name "Pinkham Hall," but it was becoming known as Wyoma Hall because his father had lost that, too.³⁶⁹ If the railroad had connected to Wyoma a few years earlier, Isaac's real estate might well have become more profitable and the Pinkham family's future could have changed dramatically; but instead, Daniel was a visitor in the building that in another life might have become his inheritance. The Pinkhams had vacated their handsome home in Wyoma and became renters of a small mansard-roofed house in a sparsely settled part of town that used to be called Graves End; since the discomforting name sounded better-suited to a cemetery than a village, it was changed to Glenmere, but by any other name, it was the Pinkhams' destination by way of desperation.

Daniel (“Dan” to his family and friends) was an impressive young man: driven, dynamic, eloquently convincing about things he believed passionately, and definitely not one to dwell on what might have been. In 1877-1878 he became a leading voice for Greenbackism in Lynn, a monetary ideology that supported laborers and farmers, fostered business, encouraging higher prices for goods and making it easier to pay off debts. Along with his younger brother, William, the two Pinkhams helped organize Lynn’s Greenback Club to fight against the poverty and “serfdom” they felt the workingman had suffered at the hands of the rich and powerful elite, like Lynn’s manufacturers and bankers.³⁷⁰ The depression had come hard to the Pinkham family, and to Daniel in a very personal way. He related to the plight of what he called “the industrial classes … those who supported themselves by wages for their labor, whether skilled or unskilled.” He knew firsthand that Lynn’s poor and unemployed had of necessity adjusted their lives “to consider not what they shall buy and consume, but what they can do without buying.”³⁷¹ The nascent club had followed the same penurious practices in choosing their meeting spot; they looked for free venues where they could gather: an old chapel worked once, but the building next to the Pinkham’s rented house was perfect. The Pinkhams were using it as a laboratory for making their mother’s vegetable compound by day, but by night, just push aside the tables covered with bottles and a few stacks of wooden crates, and it became a meeting hall for the Greenbackers of Ward 2.³⁷²

There in the new makeshift Pinkham Hall during warm June evenings, Daniel’s pro-labor sentiments stirred the souls of his audience. He was incensed that federal monies were being spent to deepen harbors, maintain lighthouses, and fund explorations of the Amazon and the North Pole; every possible project *except* helping the laboring classes in their hour of need during the depression.³⁷³ He got personal when he reflected on other courageous fights of principle that his family had fought, “I shall ever be proud that my parents, [and] my grandparents, were abolitionists when abolitionism was unpopular; that they stood by those noble champions of humanity – William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips – in their endeavors to right this great evil”; he was determined to carry on their legacy of fighting for what was right, despite the opposition.³⁷⁴ In the spirit of Greenbackism, he was vehemently opposed to U.S. paper currency being backed by a gold standard, but as far as audiences were concerned, Dan’s words were pure gold. One of his addresses before the club was described as “outbursts of eloquence that fairly astonished the audience, who expressed their admiration” that crescendoed from “applause” to “loud applause” to “tremendous applause”; the Pinkham’s barn was shaking that night.³⁷⁵ Greenbackism didn’t survive, but in Glenmere, it had bright moments, thanks to the dedication of Daniel Pinkham, its leading light. His popularity carried him to elected office in the city’s common council and even to a term as a state representative.

A Greenbacker’s objections to the gold standard notwithstanding, it must have been nice to find a gold coin in your soap. In 1877 a Lynn woman purchased a bar of soap, unaware of the fact that she was the lucky shopper who had picked a bar inside of which the manufacturer had added a gold one-dollar coin. She then gave half of the bar (apparently the coin wasn’t yet exposed) to a neighbor and, when the husband of the neighbor was washing his hands, he felt something hard, which turned out to be the golden prize. One of Lynn’s debating societies made it a topic for discussion: did the coin belong to the person who purchased the soap or the neighbor that found the coin? Given the time of the event, both families probably really needed that dollar.³⁷⁶ The Pinkham’s key to success would be their ability to work and persevere together towards a common goal. While the loss of a job, a home, or even a loved one could make anyone feel alone, despondent, and desperate, finding comfort in those who were closest was the strength that helped survivors endure.

Autograph albums left behind by two young Lynn girls are testaments to endurance and hope despite crushing loss. Although at one point their houses were only three blocks apart, the two girls lived in different worlds. Thirteen-year-old Mattie L. Spinney lived in a home blessed by wealth (a combined real and personal estate valued at \$32,000); they were able to afford an Irish maid, among

other luxuries. Eleven-year-old Lucy V. Allard lived in a tenement crowded with four families; twenty-one people in all.³⁷⁷ Mattie got her autograph book as a Christmas gift in 1872; Lucy's was a gift from her mother; 1 January 1875 is written on the first page. What they shared besides their city and their youth were their family losses through death and the touching messages of hope and resolve offered by friends and family to get them through the hard times. Mattie lost her forty-nine-year-old father, Charles, a shoe manufacturer, to pleurisy in 1868. She was urged on by others who loved her:

Make sunlight in dark places.

Yours truly, M. A. Lovering, Lynn, June 7th, 1873

Strive to obtain your bread buttered on both sides.

Evie C. Lyon, Dec. 29th, 1873

"Wisdom to gold prefer; for 'tis much less
To make our fortune than our happiness."

Grace E. Abbott, Lynn, March 13th, 1873.

Never trouble trouble, till trouble troubles you.

Nellie E. Soper, Middleton (undated)³⁷⁸

Lucy had lost her only brother, Franklin, to disease of the brain and spine in 1865, her thirty-five-year-old father, William, a salesman, to consumption in 1869, and her only sister, Fannie, to scarlet fever in 1874. All that she and her mother had left was each other:

We are but two, – the others sleep
Through death's untroubled night;
We are but two, – Oh – let us keep
The link that binds us bright.

Your Mother (ca. 1 January 1875)³⁷⁹

Sickness and death were interwoven into the pall of unemployment, poverty, and taxes that blanketed Lynn throughout the decade, but through the well wishes of their surviving family and friends, two young girls were learning how to survive despite the depressing weight of it all; giving up wasn't an acceptable option.

PROLAPSUS UTERI

In a city growing and mechanizing so quickly, livestock seemed less and less important, but their presence was felt most when they died in animal epidemics that spread through the region. On the 14th of January 1871 newspapers, Lynners read about an "extremely contagious" disease that was spreading through the cattle herds in the rural Essex County towns just northeast of Lynn; even hogs were said to have caught the disease. The news stories explained that the "epizootic aphtha" had made its way down to the region by way of Canada and infected dairy herds in Wenham, Ipswich, Hamilton, Rowley, Danvers and Beverly; there were even unsubstantiated rumors that it had appeared on two cows in Lynn itself. The illness gave the animals constipation, tight skin, and caused lameness; blisters appeared in the mouth, on the teats, and in the cleft between the hoofs, then became ulcerous, even causing the hooves to fall off. The cows refused to eat and their milk became diseased and dangerous, even fatal, for children to drink. No cure was known but isolation was essential to stanch the spread of the disease, just as it was with human epidemics.³⁸⁰ One paper remembered that a similar and equally mysterious disease had hit the area about twenty-two years earlier, in 1859, when cattle that were well at night were found dead in their stalls or in the pasture the next morning. Neither the cause nor the cure had been determined and the disease disappeared on its own two years later.³⁸¹ The January 28th edition of the *Lynn Giant*

ran a response from Danvers Center that tried to downplay the concern, saying it was just another “Yankee panic” they wish could be cured. The writer claimed the disease with an “outrageous foreign name” had actually appeared in a very mild form of “foot and mouth disease” in a few cows of one herd and had not spread to neighboring herds, and further that the infected cows contentedly ate turnips and farm cats didn’t die but grew decidedly fatter on their milk.³⁸² After this rebuttal, it was the story of the bovine epizootic that died.

In May of 1872, *The Lynn Record* reported a new animal-borne malady that had developed in Philadelphia among well-to-do ladies who complained of intolerable itching around the face and eyes; within 24 hours their beautiful features were “permanently disfigured by a terrible eruption, occasioning blindness and the most intolerable torment.” A well-travelled physician identified it as the Egyptian Camel Itch that affected many Asian and African animals that were “hawked out” in cheap menageries.³⁸³ While another Yankee panic had reached Lynn newspapers, the contagious exotic animal disease was never mentioned during the decade’s frequent visits of circuses and menageries to Lynn.

Lynn’s *Little Giant* newspaper reported in June that two horses had died from a fast-acting spinal meningitis; one horse died just three hours from the onset and the other in four, but there the incidents and reports ceased and all was quiet from the animal kingdom once again.³⁸⁴ But by the fall, the minor incidents and Yankee panics seemed like omens designed to prepare the city for what was coming.

In late October a new epizootic hit and hit hard. Lynners could almost feel it coming; a silent train of sickness traveling through horses, starting in Canada, just like the bovine epizootic of the previous year, down through Buffalo and Syracuse, over to Keene, New Hampshire, then into all of northeastern Massachusetts, and inevitably invading Lynn. A few dead horses sprawled at the outskirts of the city like grim sentinels warning all who entered.³⁸⁵ James R. Newhall, Lynn’s chronicler of the era, recorded that “Scarcely a horse in Lynn escaped the sickness [that was] disabling and evidently painful.”³⁸⁶ Sick horses filled Lynn’s stables and were therefore unavailable for duty.³⁸⁷

The era of the family horse in Lynn had passed, and consequently few may have given much thought about their reliance on those noble creatures to pull along public conveyances and to haul products for the businesses upon which they depended. The epizootic plaguing Lynn’s horses was a wake-up call. One of the city’s newspapers reported, “Never until last Saturday did our citizens, especially those dependent on the horse cars, fully understand what a valuable part the horse plays in our midst. On that morning the hundreds of people who depend upon the horse cars to reach their places of business, were compelled to walk.”³⁸⁸ Most business came to a standstill. Oxen, goats, and dogs were pressed into service to haul some of the carts and wagons.³⁸⁹ A bull, “fresh from the field,” was harnessed to a milk wagon and led by the ring in its nose, to deliver milk.³⁹⁰ Even people became beasts of burden – men and boys, harnessed into wagons, pulling them along the roads, often in teams of three to six.³⁹¹ The first glimpses of the odd parade of draught teams seemed comical but *The Lynn Record* explained that the humor quickly faded: “at first [it was] a novel sight, but so many of them were to be seen that the novelty of the sight soon wore off. Our sympathies are more than ever enlisted in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals . . .”³⁹² C. W. Lord got a wagonload of shoes hauled from his factory to Boston, nine miles away, by a crew, or perhaps better said, a team, of eighteen men. They were volunteers from his factory because his horses were all sick; he rewarded them with a dinner at the Crawford House in Boston.³⁹³ The horses for Lynn’s steam fire engines were also sick, so the fire department made up posters requesting the citizens to man the drag-ropes in case of fire.³⁹⁴ Grocers delivered their orders by foot; wheel barrows and hand carts were also frequently put to use.³⁹⁵ Citizens were urged not to place any more rubbish in the streets for pickup until there were horses to take it away.³⁹⁶

The epidemic abated by mid-November, but the few weeks it lingered in Lynn were long remembered and the specter of contagious illness was fearfully refreshed in many minds. When the

newspapers reported the occasional instance of a few horses getting sick in May 1873 and again in July 1874, no one rebuffed the concern as a recurrence of Yankee panic.³⁹⁷ Even the singular report in October 1873 of a hen disease raging in the coops of Lynn earned no humorous quip from the usually ready wags.³⁹⁸ What the 1872 epizootic did produce were the post-epidemic success stories of cures that had been created. Almost a month after the epizootic had attacked Lynn's horses, *The Lynn Record* reported that Stephen H. Sawtell, the restaurant man, had treated about 50 cases of the epidemic without one horse lost, by using homeopathic medicines.³⁹⁹ George O. Tarbox, a Lynn grocer, also claimed to have invented a successful remedy that saved his five horses during the epidemic, which even the doctor had considered beyond hope, "One gallon of hard cider; two quarts of onions; two quarts of molasses; three lemons. Boil slowly for two hours, and then strain it. ... It is said that nine out of ten horses will very willingly take the medicine; in fact, they rather seem to like it." And if the animal was troubled with severe throat difficulty, Mr. Tarbox assured that "rubbing the throat with goose grease will produce wonderful results."⁴⁰⁰ If only human epidemics could be so easily assuaged.

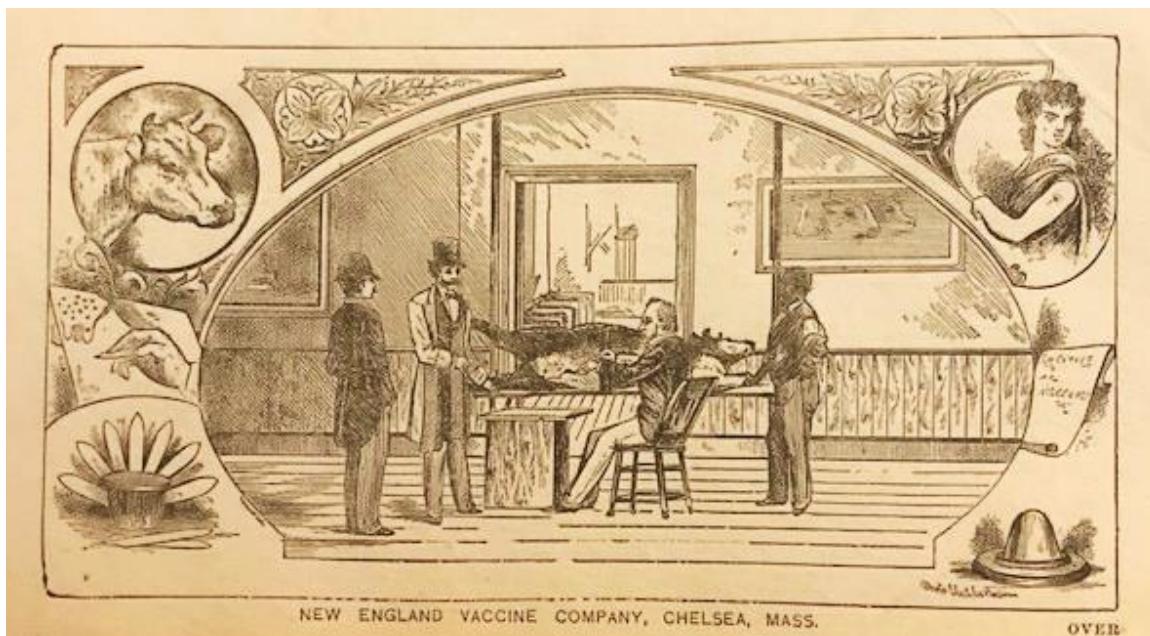
As Lynn's horses left their straw beds for their harnesses, Lynn's humans left their harnesses for their straw and horsehair beds – the city was beset by the next epidemic. The *Lynn Transcript* wrote that "... the old foe of the Colonies, small-pox, [is] pursuing us with hereditary hate"⁴⁰¹

The smallpox epidemic of 1872 had been preceded by smaller premonitory outbreaks that had erupted randomly across the city over the previous few years. In May and June of 1870, smallpox broke out among the blacks who were living in a building known as the "Old Sash and Blind Factory," on Smith Street. Word of the outbreak didn't reach city officials for two weeks, so schools in the vicinity were shut down and vaccinations were quickly administered to all the old factory's occupants, plus those in two other neighboring buildings who were willing to submit; two had refused to be vaccinated. Out of twenty-four people, nine broke out with smallpox and the balance had the modified, less severe varioloid form that resulted from the vaccination. The small hospital on the almshouse farm property was used to accommodate a portion of the afflicted whom health officials wanted to isolate from the community; others were quarantined in their own homes. Two deaths had occurred.⁴⁰² Fourteen months later, on 21 August 1871, seventeen-year-old Mary Ann Connell, living at the corner of Pleasant and Harbor streets, was diagnosed with smallpox and after two more days, William, an infant in the neighboring family of shoemaker William and Kate Philpot, came down with the terrible disease as well.⁴⁰³ Then two more cases emerged on Pleasant street residents B.W. Clark and David Finn, a laborer at the city's gas works. The following day John McKay also became a victim, but he lived on Fayette Court, a mile and a half away from the first four cases. The pox was no longer isolated to one city block; it had started to pop up unpredictably around town, just like it did on its victims' bodies. Baby Philpot died just a week after the pox had first appeared as a rash. Under the rules and restrictions regulating such cases, his interment in the Catholic cemetery would have been handled by Special Undertaker William Irving. The Special Undertaker and his assistant, their tools, and their wagon for transporting corpses, were all restricted to the work of burying victims of smallpox and other contagious diseases. They even performed their duties in the isolation of a cemetery during the dead of night, when the corpse's deadly disease would endanger none beyond the graveyard's ghosts. The incentive to undertake such high-risk work was that it paid well: five times the rate for standard burials.⁴⁰⁴

Two Lynn lives had been lost to the smallpox in 1871; then the homes of Pleasant Street and the nerves of Lynn calmed down. A primary function of the board of health was to prevent the emergence of contagious diseases if possible and to stop them if they started; to accomplish this, they had set in place a three-pronged plan: vaccination, isolation, and disinfection. "The committee fully believe that the best precautionary measure is thorough and repeated vaccination, which is the duty of every individual to see is properly and successfully done," but when an outbreak occurred, the focus was to vaccinate those in immediate danger. It was provided to the poor at the city's expense.⁴⁰⁵ Red contagion signal flags would then be posted at infected houses to isolate them.

Fourteen months later, in early November 1872, immediately after the conclusion of the horse epizootic, several cases of smallpox were reported at the city marshal's office once again.⁴⁰⁶ After a few more days, homeopath Alvin M. Cushing diagnosed another case of a sick child with a mild case of the disease. As it was the duty of every physician to report cases of contagious disease, he brought the information to city hall for the authorities to decide whether the case warranted a quarantine warning flag being posted outside the little sufferer's house. Instead of prompt follow-up, the city physician didn't investigate the case for 48 hours because the police officer on duty mistakenly passed on information that Cushing's patient had been diagnosed with chicken pox instead of smallpox – still contagious, but not nearly as feared. It was a bureaucratic blunder that gave the contagion two extra days to infect potentially many more unsuspecting victims.⁴⁰⁷ By the end of the month, physicians Pinkham, McArthur, Green, Sherman, and Cushing were all reporting cases: adults and children, mild cases and severe. The heart of the city, spanning Wards 3, 4, 5, and 6, was blossoming with pustules.⁴⁰⁸ For the next twelve weeks, healers of several stripes continued to stream into city hall with more reports of smallpox.

As it had done in the past, the city decided to put its three-part epidemic protocol into effect. Seven doctors were assigned to provide vaccinations to the four wards where the outbreak had



Harvesting Cow Pox for the Human Smallpox Vaccine. William C. Cutler, president of the New England Vaccine Company, is seated before a restrained cow, collecting pus and blood excrescence from the pox pustules on the cow's udders and underbelly that had been previously infected with pox matter from either another cow or a human. Shown in the back room are other cows that had previously undergone vaccination and were prevented from licking their wounds by design of their cramped stalls. Vertical bars at either end of the operating table held it in place and were equipped to rotate the table from a vertical to horizontal position, to accommodate getting the cow on and off the table. Framing the scene (clockwise, starting at the lower left) are vignettes of a vaccine pot and an array of applicators; a hand holding an applicator ready to scrape the pox-scared udders above it; a cow with some pox marks; a person vaccinated on the upper arm; a scroll with indistinct writing; and a vaccine cone, removed from the pot. William Kingsford of Lynn purchased his vaccine matter from Cutler. Trade card, dated 1884. (Collection of the author.)

Years after the 1872 outbreak, Cutler was disdainfully described by a detractor as a graduate of the Hygeio-Therapeutic College in Illinois, whose faculty included a professor of phrenology and another of Matery Terafy, "whatever the latter may be." However, an ally stated, "I do not know whether he is a physician or not, but I do know that he is a "liberal, honorable, business man and that the Boston Board of Health had selected the lymph of the New England Vaccine Company exclusively for four years. "Animal vaccination," the supporter continued, "and the supply of vaccine virus is a business or trade. There is no mystery about it. . . . and he who supplies the most reliable goods will command the most sales." (*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, October 8 and October 28, 1885.)

appeared and to provide vaccinations free to those who couldn't afford to pay. The city's many physicians reported cases of smallpox they came upon in their rounds and the board of health determined whether the pox victim should be quarantined in their home, with warning flag outside, or whether they needed to be removed to the pox hospital at the city's almshouse. Homes of the infected were fumigated to make them safe to inhabit once again.⁴⁰⁹

The newspaper notices assured the public that City Physician Joseph G. Pinkham had secured for their use only "pure, fresh cow-pox virus." Purity implied it was genuine cow pox matter, not a human strain or one implanted on the cow, but the widespread epidemic of 1872-1873 produced a large demand for vaccine matter, so many cows were vaccinated with less than pure cow pox strains.⁴¹⁰ Thomas Thatcher Graves, the then newly arrived physician in Lynn, advertised that he, too, had acquired "nothing but the best cow virus" from the same source as the city's vaccination team and Cushing promised that his cow pox virus matter was so fresh, he had seen it taken from the pox pustules on the infected cow's udders himself. It seemed especially important for him to reassure Lynn residents of this because there were apparently reports circulating that he didn't have fresh pox matter from cows.⁴¹¹ He bolstered his claim of efficacy by advertising his availability to perform vaccinations using a fresh supply of bovine vaccine lymph, "guaranteed Not Humanized, and free from taint of any kind."⁴¹² At least five other healers outside of the city's appointed group of physician vaccinators also promised pure and fresh disease; a healer named Hayward claimed that in his eighteen years' experience his patients never had adverse reactions – "not one bad arm."⁴¹³ J. G. Forman, an apothecary in West Lynn, got his fresh supply three times a week from cows in nearby Reading whose virus claimed a pedigree from a genuine cowpox strain from Europe.⁴¹⁴ William Kingsford got his "pure cow vaccine" from the New England Medicine Company in Chelsea.⁴¹⁵



RED QUARANTINE FLAGS FLUTTERED IN THE COLD WINTER WIND all over the city's center. The pox was spreading and attention to the 1872-1873 epidemic was significant for Lynn; the alarm it caused was spreading faster than the disease. There was other news, to be sure, like the discovery three boys made of a man's body completely frozen in the ice of a Lynn creek; it was removed "with great difficulty ... from its crystalline sepulcher with the aid of an ax"; but even this frozen tragedy didn't divert focus away from the chilling specter of the pox.⁴¹⁶ Some of the newspapers tried to provide a calm and soothing tone, despite the fact that their reassuring editorials were a column or squib away from updates on what houses and families the pox had next hit and how hard.⁴¹⁷ In a *Lynn Transcript* editorial titled, "The Terror by Night," the writer tried to prove with history and logic that there was no need to panic. Readers were reminded of the alarm of their ancestors over the smallpox in colonial days and the cholera of 1849, yet none of the city's contagions had ever exploded into the apocalyptic plagues that had terrorized fearful minds. "Bad as small-pox or other diseases may be," the editorial read, "trepidation makes the case worse rather than better. The terrified man is deprived of his best armor and falls an easy prey to some watching ill ... the quietly prudent, cheerful man has all it pleases god to send upon him, and the satisfaction besides of knowing he has not aggravated matters by his own alarm."⁴¹⁸ The editorial was a well-reasoned argument for calmness, but many just weren't buying it.

For the four months of deepest winter, when staying at home and reading the paper was one of the season's more popular diversions, Lynners read about neighbors throughout the central wards who had erupted with the vaccinated version of the pox (varioloid) or the full-fledged, extremely dangerous, painful, and contagious smallpox. They understood how it indiscriminately took hold of adults and children, male and female. As they read into the night about the isolated deaths and burials of their townsmen, they could all too easily visualize the ghoulish scene of the special undertaker hauling off the pox-covered corpse to the graveyard in the dead of night, wondering if



The Undertaker. Trade card about 1878. Lynn's undertakers were well-employed in the 1870s, especially with the funerals of children, but it was somber work for them, too. In June 1877, diphtheria attacked the family of ex-alderman Baldwin. While undertaker William Chandler was in the Baldwin home, "engaged in his melancholy duty of preparing the body of one child for the coffin," a second one died and the other two children were also sick with the disease. From Article, "Sadly Afflicted, The Lynn Record, 23 June 1877. (Collection of the author.)

each wagon they heard rattling by their home was that grim reaper with his next gruesome victim. Stay calm? Easier said than done.

When a coal delivery man presented his bill for payment, the lady of the house threw the money out the window to him, explaining that she had the small pox; and away went the coal man, running quickly, not taking the time to even look back until he arrived at the coal wharf in Lynn. "He couldn't be induced to return for his team, and another man had to go after it."⁴¹⁹ When a tramp asked to be put up for the night at the police station, Captain Thurston examined him and discovered symptoms that smacked of smallpox, so he immediately sent for the city physician to confirm. The infected tramp's freedom to circulate among the populace promptly ended and he was hauled away to a structure on the grounds of the almshouse on Tower Hill that had been coarsely dubbed "the pesthouse" decades earlier.⁴²⁰ The old, flat-roofed single-story building that had served as Lynn's much-used, much-feared contagious disease hospital, had been allowed to disintegrate, even as it continued to be used to save life:

Words cannot describe the conditions of that house. Two persons, afflicted with the most dreaded human disease [small pox], were in a dilapidated building into which rain poured in all directions. It came through scores of broken window-panes – it came through the roof as through a sieve. The floor was so wet and running with water that Mr. Ramsdell took off his rubber boots, and put them on the [less ill] of the two patients. ... He was obliged to fasten blankets over the windows, to stop the draft upon those poor suffering human beings. The rain came in so fast that it was impossible to keep the pillow dry upon the bed where the sicker man lay. ... Little short of a miracle has brought these men through the valley of the shadow of death, to be living witnesses against weak, wanton, inhuman neglect ... At whose door will lay these men's blood, if they die?⁴²¹

A fifteen-year-old Italian boy named Joseph Vieira, boarding at the house of Charles Blake, the shirt maker, was taken ill with the varioloid and so was taken to the ramshackle pesthouse. For two weeks the teenager was cooped up in the leaky hovel. Not even a minister was allowed in to

provide solace, so a copy of the Bible had been placed there for entertainment, enlightenment, and comfort.⁴²² Teenage boy ... alone ... hovel ... leaks ... quiet ... bible ... weeks. Almost inevitably, the contagious teenager escaped from his quarantine, borrowed money and clothing from friends, and disappeared from Lynn into Boston, putting everyone he passed by at risk.⁴²³

Lynners were warned to avoid patronizing second-hand stores so that they would not catch diseases from the items' unknown previous owners.⁴²⁴ Similarly, when a bundle of pillow cases, sheets, and ladies' clothing mysteriously appeared on the inside of a fence at a Boston Street property, police were called to remove it for fear that it might contain the dreaded pox.⁴²⁵

Suspicion and caution were wise, but disregard and denial sometimes won out. Mary Goodridge of Glenmere had the varioloid but tried to hide it from the authorities.⁴²⁶ In late November, a shop named Emanuel's Bazar began advertising that they had "Spanish Lace Veils" for sale; a few days after the advertisement hit Lynn newspapers, some passengers on a crowded horse-drawn street car became suspicious of a woman wearing a veil over her face, sitting in the corner of the car. When she was asked to lift her veil, it revealed that she had the smallpox "and had thus run the risk of giving it to everyone in the car." She was immediately ordered to leave the car. *The Lynn Record* consequently urged, "Ladies, when you ride in the horse cars, keep your veils up!"⁴²⁷

The fearful who worried about what lurked behind veils also kept a wary eye for other abuses of the public trust. They complained about people who lived in houses also inhabited by smallpox victims and then nonetheless mingled with the public, insisting that the disease was "in another part of the house."⁴²⁸ E. B. Eaton had a barber shop in the Railroad House on the corner of Market and Broad streets and boarded at a house on Sachem Street where there was a case of smallpox; nonetheless, he went back and forth daily, from living in an infected boarding house to cutting hair in his barber shop, either unaware or unconvinced that he was potentially spreading a deadly contagion to dozens upon dozens of people.⁴²⁹ Incubation of the smallpox took seven to seventeen days; the person you were with today may have been infected and neither of you would find out for several more days. There was another risk-taker with either a sick sense of humor or a penchant for criminal mischief who stole the smallpox quarantine flag off the house at the rear of 36 Rockaway during the night. It was an especially dangerous address for the disease; several were sick with the pox and two children had died there.⁴³⁰ The only thing more dangerous than a house where mortal sickness filled the air was when there was no warning to outsiders that death was on the other side of the door.

Throughout the epidemic, the main question on most minds was, who would be next? In early December 1872, undertaker Philip Short went to multiple town papers to fight the "extensive circulation of a rumor that his wife had lost her arm and even her life in adverse reaction to her vaccination; he insisted that she was alive and just fine."⁴³¹ Later in the month, "considerable excitement was created" by the rumor that a spark of the smallpox had drifted from its fire in central Lynn out to the quiet village of Wyoma. Shoemaker Breed Bacheller had not been feeling well for about a week, so he finally called for a doctor who diagnosed it to be a case of varioloid. A red flag was quickly attached to his house, and all the standard precautions were taken so that the disease wouldn't spread. It turned out to be a mild case; he recovered rapidly and was soon allowed to leave his house.⁴³²

The smallpox had its morbid victories. Catherine Phillips, the well-known, "highly esteemed," wealthy, and philanthropic widow of former merchant Benjamin Phillips, died of varioloid at the family home on Waterhill Street, even though her attorney son who was living with her, recovered from it.⁴³³ Captain James McDavitt, a Lynn merchant and veteran of the war, died of smallpox; the flag of the Grand Army flew over the armory in honor of their fallen comrade. His widow knew he had the pox, but she was herself quite ill and was therefore spared the news of his passing, and assumed his absence meant he had been taken to the pesthouse.⁴³⁴ Betsy Newhall also died of smallpox in February 1873 at her 173 Essex Street home. Her husband Rufus had passed

three weeks earlier and was lying in a tomb at Pine Grove Cemetery, but now, given the cause of her death, there was concern about what had killed him. A double grave was dug to bury both bodies that night, but the ground was so deeply frozen, the grave wasn't finished until 4:00 PM the following day, so the double burial was postponed until that midnight. The body of Rufus was taken from the tomb and examined by several experienced at recognizing smallpox; they decided he definitely didn't die of the pox, but he was every inch dead nonetheless, so he and Betsy were buried together, at midnight, in the dead of winter.⁴³⁵

Unlike the smallpox outbreak of 1870 that had been confined to the Old Sash and Blinds Factory and the outbreak of 1871 that had been limited to a few blocks of Pleasant Street and one isolated incident a few miles away, the epidemic of 1872-73 was sizeable and disturbing. Eleven physicians advertised their availability for vaccinations and fifteen reported smallpox cases to city hall. There were 102 cases reported over the four months of epidemic, an average of one case per day, and 11 people died.⁴³⁶ Besides the human cost was the financial pain: By the time the epidemic died off in late February 1873, 6,580 vaccinations had been administered free of charge to the poor, which cost the city the "snug little sum" of \$3,290 – fifty cents per person; public health in a fast-growing city wasn't going to be cheap.⁴³⁷

Lynn had to fight far more than just the smallpox in 1872; five other contagious diseases had each actually caused more deaths in that same year: consumption (134), cholera infantum (132), typhoid (33), and even scarlet fever (17), combined to bury twenty-nine times as many bodies as the smallpox, but none had produced as much attention and fear. Although the board of health had taken sound measures to prevent, contain, and eliminate at least some of these contagions, they still didn't understand what they were fighting. At the outbreak of the latest epidemic, an editorial appeared that challenged the most recent findings of science:

... all theories, however sound, are liable to exaggeration ... as science progressed, microscopically, the discovery of every new one of the multitudinous parasites now known to infest the [human] frame gave fresh opportunity to proclaim the truth of the origin of disease from exterior sources.... But within a year or two we have had a most frightful extension of this idea ... the noted 'dust theory' of Prof. Tyndal. He and others find that the atmosphere, in all situations, has a very considerable amount of microscopic dust floating in it ... and behold it is full of living things, germs of plants and germs of animals!

Now we hardly call this a medical theory. It is a piece of mere philosophy, and very poor at that. For it is not shown by any means that when such little things go into the system they are capable of doing any harm whatever. We know that such may enter the stomach in multitudes, and nothing be the worse. ... It is begging the question entirely to say that germs entering the system can be the cause of disease. ... Even if the notion be correct, what are we going to do about it? Are people to leave off breathing[?] ... the wise men have only brought us trouble without remedy, that is, if we believe all they tell us; but we don't, not one-half of it.⁴³⁸

So, for the time being, what sickened and killed could only be comprehended as coming from the sights, tastes, or smells that disgusted the senses and contorted faces. Water, for example, was essential to drink and important for cooking, and impure water was understood to cause typhoid, dysentery, and diarrhea, and to cause many other health issues that had not been as clearly defined and classified with a name.⁴³⁹ Joseph Pinkham wrote that those intestinal illnesses were "due to a specific poison," but couldn't identify what the poison was; only that it entered the body by means of polluted air, water, or food.⁴⁴⁰ Residents got their water either from wells dug on their properties or piped in through lead pipes from one of the city's reservoir ponds created for the purpose: Breed's Pond, built in 1842, or Birch Pond, in 1873.⁴⁴¹ A glassful of unfiltered, untreated water from Breed's Pond was often off-putting: at various times it was colored yellow, auburn, or reddish from plant matter and on one occasion it came out milky white and foamed like soda; understandably, "people were afraid to drink it."⁴⁴² When a drinking water pipe broke along Market

Street, the stench was so bad that people in the vicinity thought a sewer had given way," and when the sprinkler carts sprayed the dirt streets in the warm weather to keep the dust down, the seasonal cologne of rotting pond bog vegetation nauseated nearby nostrils.⁴⁴³ It was described as "swamp water" that *breeds* lots of "wrigglers" (insect larvae), and having a "foul and fishy smell."⁴⁴⁴ One letter to the editor claimed it had a stench and his wife wouldn't even do the laundry with it; he became nauseous to even think about the stuff and concluded, "I don't want any more swamp extracts in my tea and coffee."⁴⁴⁵ Another unhappy customer chimed in, "... our citizens have been forced to drink a foul liquid, under the name of water, which is ill smelling and worse tasting, as well as so full of palpable filth as to render it almost unfit for most domestic purposes."⁴⁴⁶ Still another tried making the point with humor, comparing the plant-infused water to one of the day's many botanic medicines: "No more corns, bunions, or sickness of any kind. Thousands of people in Lynn are drinking a decoction of herbs, roots, ashes, &c., direct from the manufactory at Birch Brook [Pond]."⁴⁴⁷ The *Little Giant* extended the hyperbole still further with a story of emergency surgery performed on a visitor at the Sagamore House who was suffering from convulsions and a swelling in the stomach that was rapidly increasing size. Deciding the only way to save the man's life was to "open the protruberance," the doctor cut it open and then removed "a creature closely resembling a lobster. The only way the Doctor can account for this mysterious affair is that Mr. S., having partaken too freely of Breed's Pond water, had swallowed one of the numerous animalcules it contains, which had grown to enormous size."⁴⁴⁸ Under the unnerving title, "Slow Poison," *The Lynn Record* drew its readers' attention to the soda fountain of one of its most faithful advertisers, F. W. A. Bergengren's Central Drug Store:

The advocates of Breed's Pond water are respectfully invited to call in at the apothecary store of Dr. Bergengren, corner of Central Avenue and Union street, and inspect the globe on the soda fountain. A very fine stream of Breed's Pond water, in playing upon the inside of the globe in question, has, during a period of three or four days, left a deposit of a green, filthy-looking substance upon the glass that needs but to be seen to be fully appreciated. Citizens who value their health should take the trouble to look at this deposit. A moment's inspection will be all that is needed to convince them of the "purity" of Breed's Pond Water.⁴⁴⁹

It was at least as bad a promotion of his business as the one million potato beetles he dreamed up two years later.

Breed's Pond was failing Lynn's needs; like a fallen womb, the life-giving force of Mother Nature was inside-out, not sustaining life, but discouraging it, and Birch Pond was not much better. It was said that horses and cattle couldn't be persuaded to swallow it, doctors forbade their patients from drinking it, and one well-respected physician said he had treated thirty cases of typhoid occurred in October 1873, each traceable to the water of Breed's Pond, and that the prospect of a typhoid epidemic was highly likely.⁴⁵⁰ The Lynn Medical Society said it was good to drink, but the *Lynn Record* was unimpressed with the opinion of that small cadre of Lynn's much larger physician population: "11 out of 37 physicians are not enough to make the people of Lynn believe that black is white."⁴⁵¹ Joseph Pinkham pointed out that while the natural quality of the pond waters was excellent, the city was constantly encroaching on the man-made watersheds: Pine Grove Cemetery was expanding ever closer to Breed's Pond and various villages were bordering Breed and Birch ponds, and "the fear of serious pollution ... is not an idle one."⁴⁵²

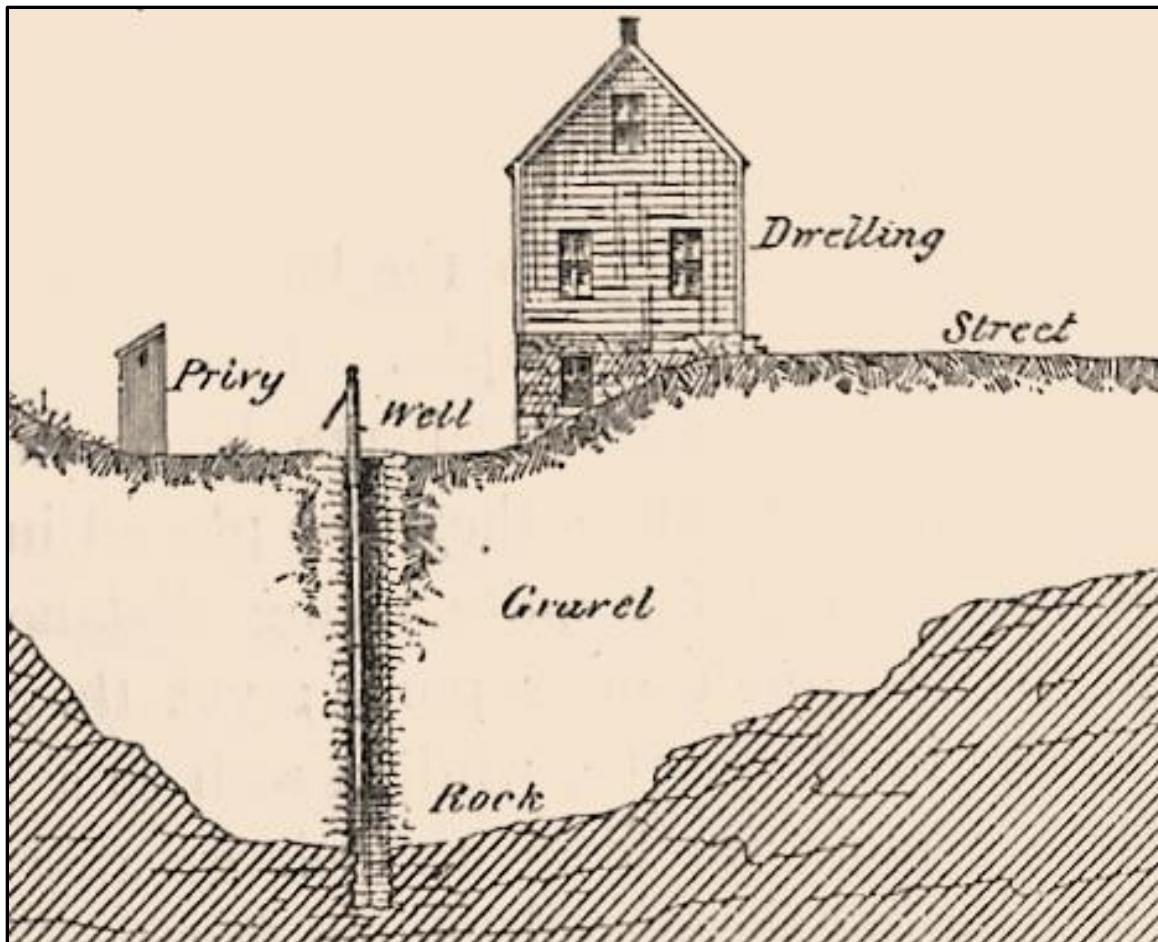
City authorities were concerned that the volume of water available from the two ponds wouldn't be sufficient for the growing city's needs, so the suitability of Sluice and Flax ponds were also investigated – by both sides of the great water debate – and the doubters were not impressed by the new candidates. Flax Pond had two morocco factories on its banks, surrounded with refuse heaps both of raw and putrefying animal skins and used lime, "also, seven old soak-pits very much filled with slimy animal matter and fouled mud" that was "colored like a peacock from the poisonous dyestuffs of the old printworks" from back in the day when Wyoma was called Dye

House Village. A large number of tenements, also in the immediate vicinity, sent their sewage into a stream that emptied into the pond and the Catholic cemetery and a poultry mill drained into Sluice Pond while Pine Grove Cemetery was encroaching on the edge of Flax Pond. It wasn't hard to understand why many felt more comfortable digging a well on their own property, but the popular choice was often more dangerous than Lynn's ponds.⁴⁵³

According to Pinkham's research, despite the sometimes-wretched look and smell of water from Lynn's reservoirs, typhoidal poison appeared to originate most frequently in contaminated well water. In a study that he and fellow Lynn physician Steven W. Clark performed of fifty-three Lynn cases of typhoid, forty-two had drawn water from wells that proved to be "badly contaminated by drainage from privies."⁴⁵⁴ Equally disturbing was his finding that two-thirds of Lynn's residents were drinking water from wells rather than from the city's ponds.⁴⁵⁵ The liquid contents of outhouses, he explained verbally and with graphic illustrations, seeped from outhouse pits and vaults into nearby household wells, thus polluting the family drinking water with tragic results. The wells and outhouse vaults were sometimes loosely lined with stones, but only to shore them up against cave-in, not to prevent leakage from within or without.⁴⁵⁶ Compounding the problem, according to Pinkham, was the owners' "indifference and cupidity, or the opposite [poverty]": far too few paid to have the contents removed from the outhouses and cesspools; thus the poorly constructed outhouse pits were backed up with years of human waste, that then seeped and oozed its way into the nearest subterranean cavity, which was all too often the family well or natural aquifers that fed into them.⁴⁵⁷ Of the 5,532 occupied dwelling houses in Lynn in 1876, the toilet facilities of 4,742 were either little standalone wooden sheds or connected to an outbuilding just a few anxious steps from the house. In each of the mid-decade years less than ten percent of those privies got cleaned out; out of several thousand cesspools, only an average of twenty-seven were emptied annually.⁴⁵⁸ In urging the cleaning of outhouses, cesspools, drains, and gutters to avoid epidemics, Pinkham wrote, "The nostrils of persons passing through our streets are often assailed by intolerable stenches emanating from cesspools and badly drained and worse ventilated vaults. The vaults in the rear of some of the stores on the north side of Union street is perfectly horrid . . ."⁴⁵⁹ The newspapers pinpointed other seasonal stink spots: in May 1872 the vaults at Lynn High School overflowed like some bad schoolboy prank and in August 1876 people in the vicinity of Breed's Square in West Lynn "were nearly suffocated . . . by the foul smell arising from the efforts of someone to clear out a vault. Several of the residents were obliged to get up and close the windows, even while the house was so impregnated [by the stench] that it was almost impossible to breathe. The police will doubtless investigate."⁴⁶⁰ The smell above ground was evidence of the well water contamination beneath, but few heeded Pinkham's warnings to get their outhouses cleaned or to start drinking pond water.

God-fearing folk believed the senses were heaven-sent blessings to enhance the enjoyment of life, but in the 1870s they were increasingly exposed to worldly curses. Steam-driven factory machinery and train whistles pounded eardrums. Unripe and past-ripe fruit sickened young stomachs and mothers were warned, "Give [your little ones] none of this death-dealing stuff. It may be hard to deny them, but the cry of want is sooner erased from the mind than the cry of agony, the glazed eye, the spasms of death."⁴⁶¹ Candy also teased the sweet tooth, but warnings were issued about dangerous ingredients that were used to increase profit, like glue in gumdrops, prussic acid for almond flavoring, and rotten cheese for pineapple flavoring, because "poisons are much cheaper than genuine extracts."⁴⁶²

Spittoons made fine targets for tobacco-chewing and cigar-chomping men, but they often missed and made a mess with brown spittle covering floors, walls, and nearby furniture. The squat brass or iron receptacles were found everywhere men went – restaurants, saloons, hotels, banks, trains, stores, meeting halls, and more – which meant fresh slimy spots or dried, caked-on brown vestiges, speckled the city.⁴⁶³ A few more degrees of disgusting was the habit of people living on the third story of a building on Market Street who habitually tossed slops out the window onto the



The Polluted Family Well, 1875. This drawing of a property on Western Avenue, Lynn, is one of the three cases Joseph Pinkham used to illustrate the dangers of the family well getting polluted by the nearby outhouse and surface runoff from the house, street, and properties further uphill. The liquid wastes leached through the soil and subsoil and between the rocks lining the walls of the well. Pinkham noted that in 1875, five cases of typhoid occurred in the house on this property, and seven more cases, including one death, affected others using the water who did not live in the house. "This house became the centre of infection for a whole neighborhood." (J. G. Pinkham, M.D., "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," bound in *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, undated, bound offprint No. 2499/1, p.18). (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)

sidewalk below – sometimes spattering the clothes of pedestrians walking nearby the point of impact. Slops was a euphemism used interchangeably for liquid wastes from the kitchen sink or the chamber pot ... angry complaints were entered at the city marshal's office.⁴⁶⁴ Other offensive sights included the carcasses of expired hogs, dogs, and hens that bloated insistently to be buried, and the leaky hand carts of careless offal gatherers and sloppy swill boys who left trails of garbage, entrails, and other discarded bits of animal anatomy from the neighborhood houses where they scooped up "their disgusting freight" to the hogs they were feeding.⁴⁶⁵

Pigsties were still attached or in close proximity to some homes, even as the city grew around them, and many complaints were made about the nauseating odors that hung in the now densely populated neighborhood air, like permanent invisible clouds carrying olfactory discomfort and ill health.⁴⁶⁶ A "mammoth piggery" on Empire Street contained some 150 swine and the stench extended at least a quarter mile "to the extreme disgust and indignation of the sufferers."⁴⁶⁷ Authorities made the piggery move to Blood Swamp Landing, into a less populated area, where Wyoma Village backed up into the Lynn Woods. Before that move, the residents of Bulfinch street were horrified by a rumor that the piggery was going to be relocated to their neighborhood; the

Lynn City Item speculated that had that happened, the mayor himself would have had to show up on Bulfinch street to prevent a riot.⁴⁶⁸

The stinking smells emanating from slaughterhouses in Federal Square and bone-boiling buildings and soap factories on Chestnut Street were also cited as injurious to the health of the inhabitants and to the value of the properties in those neighborhoods.⁴⁶⁹ Within the haven of the family home, sink drains had no traps to prevent repugnant odors from backing up into the house.⁴⁷⁰ The jail cells of the city hall were also described as “nests of pollution” with “stitches innumerable,” no sunlight or circulating area reaching those chambers, which were “a disgrace to humanity.”⁴⁷¹ Even stepping outside on a breezy day wouldn’t bring relief, if that wind was blowing in from the direction of Lynn’s harbor. City Physician John O. Webster praised Lynn’s new sewer system when he saw deaths among Lynn children drop by twenty-four percent “since … the great mass of waste and filth had been removed from the streets and alleys,” but Joseph Pinkham pointed out that it discharged the filth of the city into the harbor, producing “an evil of great magnitude.”⁴⁷² In the ten years since sewers began being installed in 1866, only seven and a half miles out of the eighty-nine total miles of streets had sewer lines, but the contents of those sewers, along with fifteen of the twenty-four morocco, glue, and soap factories, discharged directly into the harbor, accumulating into silt and sewage mud. When the breeze blew in from the sun-heated muck in the harbor at low tide, there was a “very strong and disagreeable odor” with “poisonous qualities” that reached even to the higher parts of the city. Most of the other nine factories drained into the city’s inland waterways: a creek between Market and Pleasant streets, Strawberry Brook, Flax Pond, and the increasingly boggy Bog Meadow.⁴⁷³

Joseph Pinkham documented all sources of offensive smells in his study of the sanitary condition of Lynn because each odor, while unquestionably obnoxious, was also sensorially suspect of carrying disease. Just as fouled water was believed to cause typhoid, dysentery, and all the other intestinal ailments, fouled air, Pinkham was convinced, also caused disease; his theory was put to the test in 1876, as the city was attacked with another epidemic, this time of diphtheria.

The year started out with unusually mild weather and mortality from pulmonic illnesses usually prevalent in the winter was also unusually low. The superintendent of the Pine Grove Cemetery reported that interments for December and January were the lowest for that period in four years.⁴⁷⁴ The year was starting off promisingly healthy; by February, that had all changed. The family of David & Fannie Keefe was hit hard by the disease; the parents could do nothing but watch helplessly as all three of their children coughed then choked then gasped for air until eventually, finally, they could breathe no more. Tiny Timothy, John, and Alice Keefe, all between one and four years old, each died of the disease within a period of just six days in March.⁴⁷⁵ The same tragedy was repeated with three Frahill children in October and three Harris children in November, all testifying to the virulence of the contagion, especially when it had penetrated the family circle containing young children.⁴⁷⁶ Pinkham uncovered the case of one six-year-old daughter of a washerwoman who died after visiting the house of a woman convalescing from diphtheria; five days later the disease also attacked the little girl and ended up killing her shortly thereafter.⁴⁷⁷

Theories about the cause and cure of diphtheria abounded. The Massachusetts Homoeopathic Medical Society meeting in Boston late in 1876 almost unanimously declared the disease was a blood poison; the theory that dampness, want of drainage, and so on, were the causes found adherents and doubters among the homeopaths gathered.⁴⁷⁸ One of its ranks from Lynn, Alvin M. Cushing, advertised early in 1877 that he had a preventive and “sure cure for diphteria”: sulpho-carbolate of soda. He claimed that the amount he put in packages for 20 cents was being sold by others in town for \$1.20, but he promised not to take “advantage of his medical skill to charge an outrageous price for a simple but effective remedy.”⁴⁷⁹ Apothecary J. G. Forman also promoted sulpho-carbolate of soda for diphtheria and scarlatina, and he also took the opportunity to promote his own *Taraxacum Bitters* as “an excellent Spring Medicine, and remedy for Biliousness, Constipation, Jaundice, Debility, &c.”⁴⁸⁰ Then there was the inevitable newspaper one-liner that was

deliberately hard to tell whether it was serious or facetious, "It is said that kerosene oil used as a gargle is a sure cure for the diphtheria."⁴⁸¹ Hard to tell; dangerous to find out.

Pinkham used his signature skills for detailed investigation and analysis to determine what was causing the devastating epidemic and how to control its spread, then and in the future. He was convinced he had found some clear similarities to the causative factors of other illnesses: damp ground and smelly air. According to his research, upwards of eighty percent of the 1876 diphtheria epidemic were in the vicinity east of Stacey's Brook and Bog Meadow where the soil was more or less damp and poorly drained, and just west of the region where night soil had been deposited and spread in large amounts as fertilizer, fermenting into an unholy stench during the hot weather.⁴⁸² Combined with this environment were the unsanitary conditions that had beset much of Lynn during the decade: offensive privies, cesspools, pigsties, etc.⁴⁸³ Pinkham found houses with full, stinking outhouses perilously close to family wells; filthy barnyards and pigsties next to bedroom windows, properties with defective drainage, garbage that had not been removed, sewer gases in houses, leaking pipes exiting houses, and a house stuck between buildings in front of and behind it, blocking out the sunlight – all the stuff that disease was made of.⁴⁸⁴

Even houses that were apparently clean and well kept on the inside were found to have sanitation problems right outside, like the house with three out of four occupants sick with diphtheria; it had an overflowing cesspool just outside a bedroom window. Pinkham thought the origin of the disease was to be found in the stink or filth of the cesspool; he wrote, "If the doctrine of a contagium vivum, which is now coming into prominence, be accepted, it is easy to see that the filthy sink-hole might furnish the very conditions necessary for the development of the bacterium which causes the disease, and the conveyance of its germs into the dwelling."⁴⁸⁵ He further substantiated his suspicion of the connection between the disease and the unsanitary conditions by comparing the struggling Waterhill district with the wealthy Ocean district. In the neighborhood of Waterhill Street, twenty of thirty-seven cases (fifty-four percent) were fatal, while in the area of Ocean Street, only two of sixteen cases (twelve percent) ended in death; incidents and death were highest where damp soil coincided with fouled drainage, overflowing privies, decaying garbage, etc., although there had been no reports that the disease came from contaminated well water.⁴⁸⁶ Pinkham compiled the reports of sixteen Lynn physicians who had participated in fighting the epidemic and added an estimate for those who made no report, thus aggregating a total estimate of 614 cases of the disease, 121 of which terminated in death in 1876; 102 of the deaths coming to children under ten years old.⁴⁸⁷ He and his fellow physicians had come to understand clearly that diphtheria was, indeed, contagious. Pinkham came very close to recognizing the true method by which diphtheria spread, but didn't realize how close he came:

Those brought into the closest relation with the sick person were the most liable to the attack. In the majority of such cases ... mothers of very sick children themselves acquired the disease. When the father assisted in the nursing, he also in many instances was attacked – less frequently when his duties kept him much away from home.⁴⁸⁸

In such times of contagion, behind the doors marked by red flags, the last chapters of many lives played out in pain and suffering – the sights, sounds, and smells of the sick. Let the record show, however, that in those moments of despair and grief, there was also undying love and tremendous courage: the compassionate embrace of a mother, tenderly caressing the dying infant at her bosom; a husband, gently holding the limp hand of his wife as she silently slipped into the next life; a little brother, bravely feeding a sick sister from whom disease had sapped all strength. Even at the risk of their own lives, they remained a family to the very end. In these quarantined homes, as contagion shredded mortal family bonds, love proved stronger than sickness, and hope for family reunion focused on the eternal. The family's love and commitment to each other kept them behind locked doors more compellingly than did city-imposed quarantine regulations. Today the many lives lost to the various contagions of the decade are remembered only by cold headstones in the city's cemeteries, marked with a name, a date, and sometimes a short verse reflecting the

affection of the living and hope for the ones they lost, helping us to remember that they mattered ... every one of them.

As the diphtheria epidemic abated, Pinkham felt even more convinced and driven to champion the need for sanitary improvements throughout Lynn. One of his conclusions was that if “infectious diseases, which find a permanent abiding-place amidst the filthy privies, sink-holes, and piggies” of unhealthy parts of the city found their way into healthy neighborhoods and homes, there would be nothing anyone could do to stop them. He also drew a conclusion about the economic impact of contagious disease upon the community: “It certainly lessens production, increases pauperism, and in various other ways checks material growth. ... Suffice it to say, that it forms a vastly greater burden for the shoulders of our people than the taxation of which they so much complain.”⁴⁸⁹ His recommendations included more attention to soil drainage, an improved public water supply, more sewers, an improved method of disposing of night-soil and the contents of cesspools, a better system of removing garbage (including the abolition of piggeries), more attention to the subject of ventilation, a more effective plan for removing contagious diseases, and allowing the board of health to have autonomous authority to decide and act in regard to all the sanitary interests of the city. Offsetting his grand vision was harsh reality: “By the report of the auditor for 1875,” he noted with significant frustration, “it appears that the expenditures of the Board of Health for the year were \$47.59. This for a city of 32,600 inhabitants”⁴⁹⁰

CANE & ABLE

Pinkham and other past Lynn city physicians had expressed frustration with the city government’s lackluster support for public health initiatives. They felt the board of health and the city physician were perpetually underfunded and controlled by the political agendas of the city fathers who worried far too much about public approval and budget constraints and far too little about what medical society men thought was best for the masses.⁴⁹¹ Thus, Pinkham’s push for a board of health independent of the upper branch of city government and the establishment of the Sanitary Association of Lynn. Back in 1870, in his year-end report as city physician, he proposed to Lynn’s mayor and city council an independent board of health, “We need a set of men fitted by education and character for the position, who, holding office more than one brief year, and making sanitary science a study, shall be able to give us the benefit of intelligent observation and ripened experience.”⁴⁹² He was talking about himself and his professional brothers in the local Lynn chapter of the Massachusetts Medical Society – the elite of health care, as he saw it – the cream of the crop.

The Lynn Medical Society was a congenial coterie of professional brethren, joined in the elevation of their science and craft. It was the local appendage of the Essex South District Medical Society which, in turn, reported to the Massachusetts Medical Society, where all members were required to have earned degrees at society-approved medical schools. Of the fifteen Massachusetts Medical Society members living in Lynn in 1875, nine had graduated from Harvard, three from Dartmouth, and one each from Bowdoin, Berkshire, and Long Island College.⁴⁹³ Physicians who met these membership qualifications came to Lynn with some skill, or at least some confidence; such was the early career of John Ambrose McArthur. Born in about 1830, he had become a daguerreotypist in Newburyport during the 1850s and evolved into an ambrotype artist in the 1860s, but then pursued a medical education when already forty years old.⁴⁹⁴ He graduated from Harvard and joined the state medical society in 1872 and came to Lynn in the same year. The Lynn newspapers delighted in following his early-career highlights, like operating on Mrs. Emeline Augusta Stone, who had been grossly disfigured and partially blinded by a tumor located over one of her eyes, between the lid and the eyebrow. It had grown to the size of “a moderate-sized apple and hung down so as to completely conceal the eye from sight.” The newspaper noted that “Mrs. Stone went through the operation without the aid of ether, to which she has a strong aversion.” McArthur removed the large tumor without affecting the action of the eyelid – all the more amazing

since even the tiniest flinch by etherless Emeline might have caused disastrous results. She recovered nicely and was thrilled to be rid of the “troublesome and unsightly protuberance.”⁴⁹⁵ When sixty-five-year-old Lydia Hanes became the latest victim to Lynn’s icy winter sidewalks, a sharp piece of ice pierced the soft flesh under her chin and severed an artery, causing her to bleed profusely. She was taken to her home where McArthur attended to her injuries.⁴⁹⁶ It was McArthur again, who was called upon to visit a sick sailor on a schooner in Lynn harbor. It was bad – very bad: the sailor was the victim of confluent smallpox – a severe degree of the disease where the pustules multiply and merge into massive sores. McArthur immediately consulted with the mayor who gave him complete authority in the matter. Thus empowered, McArthur quarantined and fumigated the vessel, confined and vaccinated the crew, and arranged for the pox victim to be transported to the Marine Hospital at Chelsea. Another newspaper was in awe of the heroic physician, “... every possible chance of further trouble has been averted through the prompt and decisive action of the doctor.”⁴⁹⁷ From delicate surgery to emergency care, to preventing a public health crisis, the daguerreotypist-turned-doctor was demonstrating serious skills.

McArthur joined his brethren of the Lynn Medical Society at their frequent, almost monthly meetings, where they indulged in the benefits of mutual and exclusive support. They engaged in reviews of their cases, discussing those that survived, those that didn’t, and if not, the autopsy results. They also discussed outbreaks and seasonal illnesses. They compared methods, sometimes from hubris, but more often to enlighten and help each other. Edward Newhall and Bowman Bigelow Breed exchanged observations in one meeting about the transmission of contagion: Newhall decided a case of scarlet fever he dealt with had been carried on a servant’s clothes and Breed reported a similar case where he deduced it was transported on a peddler’s pack.⁴⁹⁸ Joseph Pinkham shared an experience of using chloral to quiet and calm a mother’s labor pains, much like he had explained in an article that he did to relax a baby’s convulsions.⁴⁹⁹ James Nye recommended covering a newborn with lard and then wiping it off, instead of risking illness or death from exposure by washing it.⁵⁰⁰ John Emerson reported an advanced case of syphilitic sores and crusty lesions covering a woman’s face, head, nose, hands, and one calf, that had been improving “steadily and rapidly” to a decoction of sarsaparilla; it was a big job, so he was going through a half pound of the imported plant root a week.⁵⁰¹ Isaac Galloupe noted that he had seen several cases of dark spots on the skin that he suspected was caused by eating tainted meat.⁵⁰² Galloupe also shared the story of a soldier who had been wounded in the battle of Pittsburgh in 1864. When the soldier was hit, the bullet fractured two ribs, passed through a lung, and nested amid the network of arteries, veins, nerves, and lymph nodes in the armpit; he spit up blood and more than a year later coughed up a piece of the shirt he was wearing when he was shot. Over the years, eighteen consulting surgeons “thought it best not to meddle with it,” but Galloupe thought otherwise and removed the bullet in 1871, seven and a half years after the soldier was wounded.⁵⁰³ George Cahill told his experience of performing a tracheotomy on a three-year-old girl nearly suffocating from croup. After etherizing her, he cut three rings in the trachea and inserted a gutta percha tube. The little patient seemed to do well for thirty-six hours, even drinking a glass of milk, but then struggled again and died. “Dr. C[ahill] expressed himself as pleased with the operation”; although it didn’t save the little sufferer’s life, it “gave two nights of tranquil sleep.”⁵⁰⁴ Occasionally the physicians brought specimens to their meetings for scientific show-and-tell. Emerson brought two tapeworms he had removed whole out of a woman by having her swallow a cup of mashed pumpkin seed paste, later followed by a dram (one-eighth ounce) of turpentine and an ounce of castor oil; the two worms combined for a total length of twenty-two feet.⁵⁰⁵ Galloupe brought the three-pound malignant breast tumor of his female patient who had survived the excision but was in pain and spitting up blood.⁵⁰⁶

Meeting, discussing, and learning together built a professional rapport within the group, which encouraged consulting with each other on cases and assisting each other in surgeries. When Pinkham reported a case of acute rheumatism in “a large, fleshy man, who had had heart disease

for two years," he sought and took Nye's advice to apply six leeches to the cardiac region and remove a quart of blood, then following up with a blister over the heart, with satisfactory results. Nye, Breed, Perley, and Galloupe then all added their endorsements of leeching and blistering over the heart.⁵⁰⁷

The most dramatic application of this mutual medical fraternalism was demonstrated when the medical society brothers would call upon medical society members – and only each other – when assistance was needed with a surgery. In late 1869 a severely painful abscess formed in the region of the liver of Daniel Perley's patient, harness maker Matthew Plumstead:

The symptoms were so alarming that, in consultation with my friend ... Dr. B. B. Breed, we decided to make an opening without waiting for any thinning of the integuments. There was an immediate discharge of pus, yellow bile, and small black specks ... He was somewhat relieved, and continued to improve with the discharge of similar matter, with now and then a clogging up of the aperture, till in about a month gall stones of various sizes up to that of a cranberry began to issue and continued with volcanic irregularity of rest and activity till December 28, 1873. There has been no eruption since.⁵⁰⁸

At sixty-six years old, Perley was Lynn's most seasoned physician, and Breed, thirty-eight, had been a battlefield surgeon during the recent war; their experience combined to provide sixty-nine-year-old Plumstead what appeared to be his best chance for survival and the case turned out to be both a success and a curiosity: over the next four years, gallstones continued to eject through the opening they left in Plumstead's abdomen. Some thirty to forty jagged-edged stones dispensed from their human factory, some "as large as a small acorn." The stones became smaller and less frequent, and finally ceased altogether, and nature then healed up the opening on its own. "Mr. Plumstead keeps a box of these relics, which he shows to all curious in such things," the *Lynn Transcript* reported five years later, "and quite a number of physicians have called and obtained specimens."⁵⁰⁹

In 1873 homeopathic physician Edward S. Haywood turned to members of the Massachusetts Medical Society to perform surgery for a tumor on his right arm near the shoulder. David Cheever of Boston, an adjunct professor of clinical surgery at Harvard, performed the operation "in a most scientific manner," assisted by Lovejoy, Pinkham, and Graves of Lynn.⁵¹⁰ Haywood was under the influence of ether throughout what turned out to be a two-and-a-half-hour surgery, and it was a good thing, because when the tumor was removed it was found the bone underneath was so badly diseased that it was necessary to amputate the arm at the shoulder joint.⁵¹¹ Although Haywood seemed to rally after the surgery, "symptoms took an unfavorable turn" two weeks later and he died, leaving a wife and three children.⁵¹²

In the same year, a barroom dispute between John McKeon and John McDonald led to a pocketknife being drawn and a four-and-a-half-inch gash being cut into McDonald's abdomen near the navel. Police went for medical aid and John Emerson and Charles Lovejoy soon arrived, finding McDonald lying on the floor, "disemboweled ... and nearly murdered"; his intestines had largely spilled out of his body onto the blood and sawdust on the floor. After etherizing their patient, the medical team washed off the intestines, replaced them in McDonald's abdomen, and closed the wound. Fearing to move him in his critical condition, they allowed him to stay on the floor of the saloon until morning, when he was taken to the city mission hospital. In an article titled, "Snatched from the Grave," *The Lynn Record* reporter was in awe, "Were it not for the unceasing and extraordinary skill of Drs. Emerson and Lovejoy, who attended him, his escape from the grave would seem almost miraculous."⁵¹³

Another operation performed by invited medical society members, occurred in late August 1874 at the home of box manufacturer, George H. Plummer, on 106 Summer Street. His wife, Susan, forty-one years old, had an ovarian tumor and her physician, Cornelius Ahearne Jr., invited

long-time surgeon, Gilman Kimball of Lowell, to perform the operation. It was a surgical event like those performed in the Ether Dome operating amphitheater in Boston, but in miniature, in the Plummer house in Lynn. As Kimball operated, the surgery was observed by a pride of medical society doctors: Ahearne, Drew, McArthur, and William Reynolds, of Lynn, Albert S. Herrick of Lowell, and G. H. Bixby of Boston, and it was unquestionably dramatic theater: the removed tumor weighed forty-five pounds.⁵¹⁴ Susan Plummer survived the dangerous surgery, although it was described as painful and required “a strong constitution and skillful nursing” to enable her to recover, which she did, remarkably well: she died twenty-two years later, in 1896.⁵¹⁵

Shortly after Christmas in 1875, a young man barely past his adolescence was at work near a revolving shaft moved by steam power when his clothing got caught in the rotating machinery; his apron and pants were entirely torn off – along with his scrotum; the skin covering his penis was torn, as was the perineum back to the anus. Amazingly, “the testes and spermatic cords were left uninjured, but completely uncovered.” Galloupe and Graves reattached the scrotum and covered it with carbolic acid solution-soaked cotton-wool, hoping that time and nature would make the tissue graft, which it ultimately did.⁵¹⁶

The Lynn Medical Society meeting notes were full of such tales of heroic accomplishments, professional prowess, and stealing victory from death. The medical society physicians had augmented their medical school education with society meeting commiseration, collaborative consultations and surgeries, and professional periodicals to keep up with scientific discoveries and improvements. Some of the wealthier ones, like Perley and Galloupe, traveled through Europe, visiting hospitals and fellow doctors.⁵¹⁷ These medical society physicians were, collectively, the best-equipped healers in Lynn to elevate the medical craft into a science; however, elevation of their profession also often made them feel justified to look down upon others who didn’t qualify as one of their own.

This isn’t to say there was perfect harmony between medical society brethren or perfect alignment between their practices and the bylaws of their medical society. George Cahill saw red when the *Little Giant* reported that after a stabbing victim was tended to by Cahill, he resumed bleeding, and Cornelius Ahearne, “by his skill(,) effectually stopped the dangerous flow of blood.” The indignant Cahill fired back at the newspaper, explaining that he was attending another patient over a mile away when the stabbing victim came back to his office, bleeding again, so his assistant told him to go to Cahill’s fellow medical society colleague, Cornelius Ahearne. Cahill later went to see the victim and found Isaac Galloupe stopping the bleeding, with Ahearne “flying around with a large white apron on attending Dr. Galloupe with basin, water, towel, sponge, etc. So much for Ahearne the heroic doctor, Cahill sneered, “As long as I have been in practice I never was obliged to call another surgeon to do my work, and attend with him basin, towel and sponge.” The *Little Giant*, thriving on any content that would rivet its readers, commented entertainingly, “it seems our language has stirred up a nest of hornets....”⁵¹⁸

Sometimes the conventional medical society physicians used medicines made by those who weren’t worthy to be in their society. At one of the society meetings, Ahearne told his medical colleagues that he had gotten the idea from a “non-professional man” to use essence of peppermint for headaches; he explained he had used it in many cases of typhoid and nervous headache, often finding it immediately effective.⁵¹⁹ Right in the pages of *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, John A. McArthur came to the defense of *Cuticura*, a patent medicine; even though it had been maligned by a medical society colleague in a prior issue, the Lynn physician endorsed it, “I have prescribed Cuticura in a number of cases ... and have never yet seen any of the bad effects referred to by your correspondent; on the contrary, [I] have usually had most satisfactory results from using [it]. ... I have used it on my own person [for] very obstinate eczema, and with good advantage, never having experienced any of the irritant effects”⁵²⁰ More significantly, McArthur created his own proprietary, *Syrup of the Hypophosphites*, for the cure of consumption. Hypophosphites had been popularized as a successful method for bringing more oxygen into consumptive lungs that

struggled to bring enough in on their own. With consumption being the century's largest killer, McArthur's product joined a throng of hypophosphite cures; he promoted it "solely" to the medical profession, whom he asked to make their prescriptions out for "Rx Syr: Hypophos: Comp: McArthur," but he also distributed it to druggists who sold the cobalt blue bottle to everyone who gave them a dollar.⁵²¹ Although his own claims focused on its relief of consumption, his promotional materials let the testimonials of doctors from all over the world tell of its benefit to nerves, mental depression, hysteria, rickets, paralysis, spermatorrhoea, impotence, uterine catarrh, and much more. Adding four ounces of coca to a bottle would help cure intemperance and the opium habit, and dyspepsia could be relieved by adding two scruples of strychnine to a bottle of the hyphosphites.⁵²²

Even Joseph G. Pinkham, Lynn's bastion of medical orthodoxy, found some room to give a slight tip of the hat to the quack. Commenting on the common cold ("chronic nasal catarrh"), he was perturbed that his fellow professionals were leaving catarrh sufferers in the hands of quacks, but even gave them a few begrudging compliments that they may have been doing a better job reacting to the sufferers than were the regular doctors:

[The treatment of catarrh] is largely given up to empirics by practitioners of the regular school. Few sufferers from a long-continued "cold in the head" apply to their family physician for relief. If they do so, they are put off with a simple snuff, doubtless intended more as a placebo than anything else. ... The patient, annoyed almost beyond endurance by the disgusting complaint, resorts to some one of the ten thousand specialists that infest the country, *sometimes to his advantage*, at other times only to the detriment of nose and pocket. We can not blame him for taking this course. His physician promises him nothing, the empiric everything; his physician underrates his sufferings and the importance of the disease; the empiric overrates both, and works upon his fears by portraying in terrible colors the consequences of neglect of maltreatment. The profession itself, by its apathy, is, to some extent, responsible for the large amount of patronage which quacks receive. ...

The question is often asked by patients, Has "catarrh" any tendency to eventuate in consumption? The specialist says "yes, a neglected cold in the head may result in consumption." The physician says "No! You are, if anything, less liable to the dreaded malady." Which is right? It seems to me that, in the light of the recent theories upon the nature and origin of pulmonary phthisis, *the empiric may have a grain of reason on his side*. ... *I by no means affirm that these views are correct, but they have advocates and are worthy of attention.* Should they ever prove true, it would not be the first time that our profession has received instruction from despised sources. *We are, perhaps, too prone to condemn theories and modes of treatment simply because they have been abused by charlatans.*⁵²³

Throughout the decade there were many in Lynn – itinerants and residents alike – who appeared quite able to offer health in the shadow of the self-lit luminaries of the medical society. To their conventional stepbrothers in the clan of the gold-headed cane, they were disparaged as the "irregulars": the "quacks," the specialists, and those unable to communicate in Latin, but they found willing customers who chose to suffer in those shadows, waiting for a different light. The parade of irregular healers in Lynn had all the diverse pageantry of Barnum's circus caravan: there were clairvoyants and spiritualists; eclectic, electric, and magnetic healers; Indian root and herb doctors and sure-cure cancer healers; and phrenologists, homeopaths, and specialists: opticians, chiropodists, psychopathists, sex advice lecturers, and an odycian, whatever that was.⁵²⁴ Some dramatically pitched the gathering crowd while others quietly hung a shingle on their hotel door. Some succeeded to heal, sometimes, and some did not, just like the regular doctors; some became well-known and wealthy and some did not, just like the regular doctors. Seeing clearly whether a healer was a champion or a charlatan had somewhat to do with their performance, but also with who was holding the opera glasses; thus, "Sleeping Lucy" Cooke's reassuring ability to slip into a

trance and have comforting words of wisdom soon flow from her lips was difficult for City Physician Coeleb Burnham to match, exasperated as he was by his patients' annoying neediness.⁵²⁵ Similarly, John O. Webster's publicized complaint that \$400 wasn't enough payment for his services would not have measured up favorably with Indian Physician Galen W. Lovatt's consistently advertised promise, "No Cure, No Pay."⁵²⁶ Medical society regulars didn't despise irregulars only because they believed them inferior, but because they were competition.



THERE WERE AT LEAST SEVENTEEN CLAIRVOYANT HEALERS living in or passing through Lynn during the decade, a numerically significant challenge to the 23 resident medical society physicians, yet still only a fraction of the prodigious total 106 healers populating the city in the 1870s.⁵²⁷ There was a sizeable spiritualist base of support for this category of healers in Lynn; the *Banner of Light* spiritualist newspaper stated that spiritualism had "a strong hold" in Lynn; "spiritualist meetings are more fully attended than in any place in the State outside of Boston."⁵²⁸ Mixed together with clairvoyance in the alternative medical cosmos were spiritualism, astrology, magnetism, electricity, and even phrenology, and Lynn had resident and visiting healers representing each of the fields, often claiming various combinations of the skills. Clairvoyance was the most common, followed by twelve healers using magnetism, twelve using magneto-electricity and several of each of the other categories. Phrenology, astrology, clairvoyance, and spiritualism were used much to the same end: to tell customers things they didn't know about their future and what they couldn't see for themselves in the world around them. Similarly, the effects of magneto-electricity could be felt and sometimes seen, but the forces themselves were invisible. All of these manifestations made sense to many who were now living in an era when an invisible world on a microscopic level was being revealed – a world of unseen and unknown life being magnified into proof of what had existed all around them, and even in them, all along. With the microscopically invisible now being exposed and electricity starting to turn on lights and answer telephones, many hoped that one or more alternative channels would illuminate more of the unseen answers to life's challenges.

One Lynner who claimed to have harnessed some of those invisible forces was Charles F. Oliver, who practiced his own version of "Electro-Magnetic Physiology" and spiritualism. For decades he had pursued a career of selling pianos and other musical instruments, but in 1876 he offered his message to suffering humanity: he was a medium, an intercessor between mankind and the world of the departed spirits, and he was ready to help that dialogue along, even though he clearly had been getting resistance from skeptics:

Lawyers, Doctors and Ministers: – you may continue to call me a fool, if you can without studying, as I have, interpret this: -- Za ziz zo zin zezzen; zan ziz zeanzez zoz, zin zearzez zizzozizy – which, I am impressed, is the beginning of all language: the language of the Prophets: the ancient Hebrew

Friends: – if you earnestly desire to hear from your departed friends: come and see me; and you will be convinced that there is a life beyond this life; and that you may, indeed, be comforted by your friends in Heaven. No bells are rung, no tables tipped, no circles formed.⁵²⁹

His advertisement didn't explain how he connected his mediumship to electro-magnetic physiology ... but then again, maybe it did.

The Newmans came to Lynn to draw attention to themselves and it worked better than they had planned. When they began preaching and pitching on the Market Street sidewalk, gathering a multitude around them, Mrs. Lizzie Newman was especially noticeable, dressed in a man's trousers and long double-breasted frock coat, and her hair was cut short, exposing the man's stand-up collar and tie around her neck; it was an outrageous display to the prim and proper, and marvelous to the

liberal and reform-minded, but most of all, it drew attention to the husband and wife team of healers at the center of the swarming crowd.⁵³⁰ In every respect, they seemed to want to be recognized as different, not to help them convert the masses, but to exploit the few. Mr. Lovejoy Newman told the crowd that they were “healers by the will of God … the first manifestations of Christ in the flesh” who, by the aid of spirits and the laying on of hands, could heal the sick, grant forgiveness for sin, and “perhaps even raise the dead.”⁵³¹ Their advertisement in a Lynn paper further explained, “We make no specialty, but heal all manner of disease … by the will of God made manifest in the flesh … For as many as believed were healed.”⁵³² In addition to healing sickness, Mrs. Newman, “the Magic Teacher and Mind Reader,” would provide “Soul Reading … in private sittings, and reveal the past, present and future, and teach others to do the same, if desired.” Most of the crowd probably thought they were daft, but a few stood transfixed with awe. George F. Page, a clerk in one of the stores on Market Street, might have slipped outside to see what the commotion was all about; as he listened, he probably wondered if these healers could help his sick wife.⁵³³

The feeble Mrs. Amanda A. Page quickly converted to an absolute faith in the Newmans’ special powers and they pointed to her as a living witness, having been healed by one treatment, “after all medical aid had failed.”⁵³⁴ The price of cure was shockingly high, however; she had followed their every instruction – even when they told her she couldn’t regain her health unless she gave them *everything* she owned, including her beds, bedding, jewelry, and sewing machine, and her prized possession, a watch and chain. Eventually the demanding healers were brought to court for criminal larceny of the watch and chain, but the Newmans were found not guilty because Mrs. Page’s own testimony explained she had willingly given them the watch.⁵³⁵

The Newmans assembled their small band of followers into the Newmantonian Society, who lived communally at the Newman’s house in Boston after turning over all their possessions and money to their leaders.⁵³⁶ Within just a few months, the Newmans faced another spate of charges of the larceny of disaffected disciples. Lovejoy Newman was asked to treat some disease suffered by Annie M. Lougee, the wife of Lorenzo J. Lougee, a Lynn shoe factory worker.⁵³⁷ At each visit, Newman was paid after the laying on of hands (the biblical practice of invoking transference of divine power and influence) and then told her that she was getting better. After several such visits, Newman told the Lougees that “property was a burden on their minds, and that in order to cure the woman by this mysterious process they would have to part with some of their real estate, which being simple and unsophisticated people, they did.”⁵³⁸ Although the Lougees were of decidedly modest means, they paid Newman in staggeringly large chunks: \$200, followed by \$1,800, which they could only pay by selling their property, followed again by providing the doctor a promissory note for \$400, plus all the household furniture. In court the plaintiff’s attorney read a most extraordinary additional promissory note between the doctors and the Lougees: “I, L. J. Lougee … being sane and in my right mind, do this day cheerfully and freely, with my own free will, give my child, Ella S. Lougee, and all my earthly effects together with … my wife, Annie M. Lougee, and myself, to L. J. Newman …”; although the court room erupted in laughter when it was read, including laughter from the prisoners and witnesses, it was sadly pathetic that anyone could become so desperate for health that they would give up everything they had, even themselves and their family, to regain it. Mrs. Lougee’s previous doctor, Joseph G. Pinkham, testified that she was in worse health than when he was attending her the previous year. To demonstrate that the doctor was underestimating the miraculous power of faith, the defense attorney asked Pinkham “if he believed in turning water into wine,” but he replied he had never seen it done, and no more questions were asked of him. Nonetheless, Lovejoy Newman was found guilty of larceny of a large sum of money from the Lougees and was sentenced to the state prison for five years, the first day in solitary confinement. Mrs. Newman was sentenced to the house of correction, also for five years.⁵³⁹

A capacity audience of a thousand people filled a Lynn hall to listen and watch as H. P. Fairfield lectured in a trance state.⁵⁴⁰ He was a “Clairvoyant Seeing and Magnetic Healing Physician,” living for a brief time in Lynn, provided clairvoyant examinations, prescriptions, and

healing manipulations “as the case may require.” Using his psychometric skills, he also offered clairvoyant examinations of those not able to visit by sending him a lock of their hair, along with their name, age, sex, and one dollar.⁵⁴¹ Professor Taylor, “the celebrated fortune-teller” and “the greatest Astrologer living” promised the same type of results, locating disease and giving advice on sickness by looking into his crystal ball; and he too could examine lives “from cradle to grave,” either personally or by letter, for a dollar.⁵⁴² An 1875 puff indicated he was doing “a good business at his rooms in the Sagamore House, notwithstanding the dull times. In fact, he informs us that when business is dull he receives the most callers, as people are more anxious to know what is in store for them.”⁵⁴³ He must have had some success in Lynn because he returned two years later, advertising with a dramatic portrait of himself seated under a starry zodiac banner. George W. Musso was another of Lynn’s colorful clairvoyant healers. He had started his work life in his father’s confectionary business in Newburyport, but he moved to Lynn and became a shoemaker; in 1860 his property was worth \$500, but as a clairvoyant physician in 1870, he had increased his real estate value to \$3,500.⁵⁴⁴ It was an impressive enough property to entice a tramp to brazenly push his way past the screaming Mrs. Musso and into the house, before being scared off by her husband.⁵⁴⁵ In addition to offering his services as an “Eclectic and Clairvoyant Physician,” he sold what he claimed were his “celebrated” *Anti-Bilious Bitters* and *Female Restorative Bitters*.⁵⁴⁶ He was so well-respected by fellow spiritualists that, a few weeks *after* departing earthly life in 1893, he was unanimously chosen to be the vice president of their spiritualist organization.⁵⁴⁷ It wasn’t an honorary gesture; members fully expected that his spirit could be channeled through fellow spiritualists for his opinions and vote on organization business.

Another clairvoyant physician who was highly regarded by her peers was Mrs. Julia B. Dickinson, who announced herself to Lynn as a “Medical Clairvoyant.” Over the years of her career, she traveled as far as Kansas, twice to England, and twice to Lynn, promising to cure “all curable diseases” and selling her own “highly magnetized medicines” to do so. She also offered to do psychometric delineations of character (usually done from a lock of hair) and to go into a trance so that she could see and describe the deceased “spirit-friends” of her visitors. One such spirit-friend that frequently took control of the medium was White Fawn, an Indian girl.⁵⁴⁸ A convinced customer wrote, “In the interview I had with her I received tests of so convincing a character in reference to things of a purely personal and private nature, that at once settled the question of the reliability of her mediumship in my mind. I can say that in Mrs. Dickinson the angels possess an instrument potent for good in relieving the pangs of disease or assuaging the sorrows of the mind.”⁵⁴⁹

As clairvoyants like Dickinson had learned, they were among friends in Lynn. Sarah Appleton certainly felt the love; she had only been gone from her Lynn clients and patients for a few days, and her absence was already being reported wistfully by *The Lynn Record*, “Miss Sarah E. Appleton, the lady who has met with such wonderful success in healing the sick in this city for two or three years past, was in town on Wednesday last. She is now stopping in Charlestown, ... we hope she will be able to visit Lynn again soon, as she has many warm friends here, who will gladly welcome her return.”⁵⁵⁰ Her acceptance as a healer came not from a medical school diploma and medical society membership, but from messages left on a slate by an unseen hand. Her rise to acclaim followed the pattern of discovery for many irregular healers and medicine makers: an early life racked by life-threatening illness; being left to die by incapable regular doctors; making personal discovery of a cure; and then demonstrating a saintly desire to share the discovery for the blessing of all suffering mankind. Sarah started life in poor health (a victim of fits and spasms), was told as a young woman that she had a bone disease and that her arm needed to be amputated, and still later was attended by five physicians who had all given her up to die. Through a series of unexpected occurrences, she discovered written messages appearing on a writing slate at the same time that her body started to heal as mysteriously as the messages had appeared. The unseen author then explained “I am the one who cured Sarah’s arm” The grateful Sarah then promised to do

whatever the unseen entity asked, and it instructed her, “Go to work and heal the sick; do good to others and good shall come to you.” Of course she questioned how this could be, given her lack of education or ability to heal; but the spirit provided all the instruction she needed and thus her marvelous spirit-guided mission was set, and she had found grateful believers in Lynn.⁵⁵¹

The Dillinghams enjoyed the same grateful appreciation from their Lynn clientele. George (a former brick mason) and Francenia Dillingham had been practicing the clairvoyant healing arts in Lynn off and on throughout the decade and enjoyed the admiration of devoted followers there.⁵⁵² They were presented with a china tea set at a reception held for them in 1878 and a year later they were feted again, this time with a spiritualist festival in their honor; the sizeable celebration, which included a dance, was held at Centennial Hall in Lynn.⁵⁵³ They had both been described as “Developing and Healing Mediums” and Mrs. Dillingham was sometimes advertised as a “Clairvoyant and Magnetic Physician”; she had a reputation for providing clairvoyant examinations and treating all forms of diseases.⁵⁵⁴ She had the endorsements of doctors Thomas A. Bland and Dio Lewis, both of whom had submitted themselves to her special set of skills. Bland, an eclectic physician and Indian rights advocate, wrote that Mrs. Dillingham treated him for Nervous Dyspepsia “with such success as to convince me that she possesses Remarkable Healing Powers,” and under her treatment, Lewis, a well-known homeopath, physical culture advocate, and temperance leader, had quickly recovered from “congestion of the brain (and) great nervous exhaustion.”⁵⁵⁵ It may be that they were suffering from nothing more than heart burn and tension headaches, but the two men were well known for their own medical careers and social activism, and their well-publicized testimonials of gratitude undeniably brought Mrs. Dillingham increased attention and credibility.⁵⁵⁶

In 1879, at the conclusion of a summertime gathering of spiritualists in Montague, Massachusetts, Mrs. Dillingham found herself in dire need of a physician. Although the encampment was in the process of breaking up, there were many of the spiritualistic persuasion professing healing skills who tried to help the terribly ill woman. Francenia was suffering from a uterine tumor and the case was considered to be of life-and-death severity. Clairvoyants and healers offered their services but failed to diagnose the cause of her pains and illness. She was tended to one night by a medium who struggled, unsuccessfully, to get the needed clear direction from departed spirits; the next morning there was a different healer who was more notably “filled with tobacco” than solutions; and so it continued until a clairvoyant healer named Hartham was able to clairvoyantly diagnose that Mrs. Dillingham was suffering from a large uterine tumor and then with the guidance of her spirit band skillfully removed the offending obstruction. The triumphant healer wrote a letter to the editor of one of the leading spiritualist publications to describe her triumph, “I have in my possession, preserved in alcohol, a large, hydrated tumor, the result of treatment and medicine. This ought to put to blush the idea of even having a surgical operation performed when women can be influenced by angel bands to cure their own sex without the use of surgical instruments.”⁵⁵⁷ The removal of a uterine tumor by the aid of angels might certainly have been favored by many women over the means described by one of Lynn’s medical society fixtures, Isaac F. Galloupe. Like the thirty-seven-year-old Francenia Dillingham, Isabela S., who was fifty years old, was confined to her bed due to the battle occurring beneath her corset. She suffered from profuse uterine hemorrhaging accompanied by paroxysms of pain during her menstrual periods, making her weak from loss of blood. Her skin and lips were pale, she was emaciated and very nervous, and had great tenderness in the right ovarian region.

It was noticed that the occurrence of a storm would invariably usher in a paroxysm, and so sensitive to dampness did the skin become that wiping it with a damp towel would cause agony, and at last the approach of a storm, the existence of a fog, and even a heavy dew, coming on while she was asleep in bed, protected by closed windows and woolen blankets, would cause a visit from her tormenter.⁵⁵⁸

She confessed to Galloupe that her life was a burden and she would rather lose it than continue on as it was. The devoted doctor mustered all he had to the rescue of his patient: his university and international medical education, decades of experience, and consultation with his professional brethren. He tried a hypodermic injection of morphine but it provoked vomiting that continued all day, greatly exhausting her strength. He then tried ergot, external applications of ice water to check the bleeding, and a suppository of morphine and belladonna to ease the pain. On the next morning a digital examination was made and a fibrous tumor, "the size of a large orange," was found protruding into the vagina. On the next day, after etherizing the patient, Galloupe grabbed the tumor with his fingers, digging his fingernails in for best grip and then, by twisting and pulling, much as one would an orange from an unyielding tree, severed and removed the tumor. Isabella suffered considerably from shock and her case continued for weeks to come, but she survived. Although Galloupe was known to bring wet samples of diseased organs to his medical society meetings, there is no mention of this trophy being displayed.⁵⁵⁹

Lynn's medical society physicians faced plenty of challenges for business from those outside of their society. William E. Tarbell wasn't a member of the medical society, but he announced to Lynn in 1873 that he was a "Physician and Surgeon," devoted to the cure of all diseases of the lungs, throat, and heart, and cancers and humors of every kind.⁵⁶⁰ Illustrating his skills, a promotional puff appeared in *The Lynn Record* describing how he was successfully removing a cancer from a Lynn woman. The growth was the size of a quart bowl but his treatment, which involved neither knife or plaster, was daily shrinking it so that it was only a third of the former size; and the pain and suffering it had caused was no more.⁵⁶¹ Although the start of his career in Lynn seemed promising, he felt a higher calling, going with his wife to China as a medical missionary to establish a hospital.⁵⁶²

Jonathan Weeks seemed more than capable of carrying on with cancer curing in Tarbell's absence. For ten years, Weeks had been traveling between Lynn and his home in distant Medina, Ohio, promising that he also could cure cancer and that he would do it more quickly, easily, and cheaply than anyone else and, like Tarbell, he emphasized that he did so "without caustic, knife, or plaster."⁵⁶³ He could do so, he claimed, because his remedy was "purely vegetable and is the only antidote known that has an affinity for Cancer." Although he had spent years as a newspaper editor and publisher, he enrobed his venture into medicine with the title of "Dr." before his name and "M.D." after. His unique solution for so dangerous a disease didn't come cheaply: his charges ranged from a hefty \$20 to a staggering \$200; even just testing for the disease cost \$2 – stiff prices to pay for most Lynn laborers whose daily wage was less than a single test by the visiting cancer cure doctor.⁵⁶⁴ The cancers were topical growths and their removal was considered eradication of the disease. He urged potential patients to let him test the tumor and if it proved not to be cancerous, his medicine would have no effect, in which case he then advised them to go to their regular family physician to treat the less significant, non-cancerous growth; thus, he was able to select only those growths that he recognized his medicine would be able to dissolve. The promises of a traveling healer were often met with skepticism, so he assured his Lynn readers, "Dr. Weeks does not seek to humbug any one"; and they believed him.⁵⁶⁵ Despite the steep costs of his treatments, he kept returning to Lynn for ten years because he found paying, curable patients: John Martin of Summer Street, Abby Snow and Mary Newhall on Essex Street, Susan Stoddard on Newhall's Court, Hatty Lummus on Commercial Street, and Mrs. James Roots on Whiting Street were just a few of the satisfied Lynn customers listed in his ads. The fact that John Martin's cancer had not returned since Weeks had removed it seven years earlier proved to the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* "a guaranty that he entirely removes the cancer. A word to the wise is sufficient."⁵⁶⁶

Over the years of making Lynn the eastern terminus of his cancer cure itinerary, he stayed at the home of his brother, Joseph C. Weeks, on 67 Chatham Street. Joseph had been supporting his family as a house, sign, and fancy painter, but work became thin when the depression began in 1873, so Joseph was encouraged by his visiting brother's success to try cancer curing for himself.⁵⁶⁷

Jonathan shared the secrets of his cancer cure business, medical techniques, and even the special antidote, and Joseph struck off on his own, a house painter turned cancer doctor. In the years ahead, the cancer cure doctor who was being promoted in Lynn newspapers was Joseph; Jonathan apparently relinquishing the region to his brother. By 1874 it was Joseph who was performing miraculous cures:

Cancers are a terrible affliction to the human family; and so often do we hear of persons losing their lives through this disease, that the very mention of the word "cancer" is sufficient to make sensitive people feel uneasy. To us, however, they present but little cause for alarm, provided Dr. J. C. Weeks can be found in our neighborhood. One day last week the doctor walked into our office with a glass jar containing a cancer which he had a few days previous extracted from the breast [of a woman] ... without the use of surgical instruments, or even causing the loss of a single drop of blood, after a few weeks' treatment, successfully removed the loathsome object. The cancer in question is known as the "Stone Cancer," and terminates in the "Rose Cancer." It is nearly round in shape, measures five inches across the surface, is one and a half inches in thickness, and weighs one and a half pounds. ... With this proof of skillful treatment, Dr. Weeks needs no better diploma to recommend his services to whoever may happen to be afflicted with cancer."⁵⁶⁸

Based on newspaper reports, success followed success for Lynn's new cancer cure doctor. He removed a large half-pound breast cancer from the wife of Councilman Walsh from which she rapidly healed and suffered no pain. She was visited daily by women similarly afflicted, inquiring about her astonishing cure at the hands of Joseph Weeks; his reputation was spreading.⁵⁶⁹ Reports came in from Lowell, Massachusetts, and Lewiston, Maine, of successful cancer cures that Weeks had accomplished in their communities; one grateful former patient in Southborough, Massachusetts, kept his fig-sized lower lip tumor preserved in a jar of alcohol, and with pleasure would show it to anyone.⁵⁷⁰ In Auburn, Maine, Weeks successfully removed a scirrhouus cancer twenty-four inches in circumference that was enshrouding the poor sufferer's body; local papers praised the "remarkable success" of the "celebrated specialist of Lynn."⁵⁷¹ Within a scant three years, the Lynn papers were claiming Weeks had "won a world-wide reputation," suggesting there was no one alive who had successfully removed as many cancers as has Joseph C. Weeks.⁵⁷² He infrequently advertised, but he didn't need to; the newspapers seemed uniformly motivated to sing his praises, "While quacks are compelled to advertise in order to secure an opportunity to work upon a cancer, Dr. Weeks' reputation is so good that he does not even need the aid of printers' ink, although he occasionally finds that an account of his successful operations gets into the papers."⁵⁷³ Among the printed praise were accounts of cancer sufferers who traveled to Lynn from as far away as New Jersey and Nova Scotia to find the renowned cancer cure specialist.⁵⁷⁴ A woman from New Hampshire wrote to *The Lynn Record* that she had checked several of his references and found their testimonies aligned with his assertions of success and, three weeks later, she joined her voice to the joyous chorus, "I feel that I am virtually removed from the grave and restored to my dear family."⁵⁷⁵ Lynn apothecary J. G. Forman offered his support in terms that placed the former house painter firmly on par with any medical society physician,

I have ... personal knowledge in the case of a friend ... *it became my duty to employ you* for the treatment of a BREAST CANCER that existed so long, and was so far advanced towards a fatal termination that the greatest anxiety was felt in regard to it, and neither the lady herself nor her friends, had any hopes of a cure. They were, however, *induced through my faith in your treatment to authorize me to employ you* for the treatment of the case, a crisis having arrived when something had to be done. It affords me great satisfaction to testify that ... by your applications, you were able to remove the cancer without cutting or surgery, and to establish a healthful healing process ... *your patient* is in good health, and there is no reason to suppose that there will ever be a recurrence of the disease.⁵⁷⁶

The Marlboro *Mirror-Journal* was equally impressed by the visiting cancer cure doctor in their midst, stating that his “remarkable operations ... vividly illustrate *the great progress of modern medical science*”⁵⁷⁷ Impressive, indeed, for the former house painter from Lynn.

The key to promising cures was to appear to deliver them, and Frederick W. Urann a magnetic and electric physician, did that dramatically.⁵⁷⁸ In early 1870 he took a room at the Sagamore House in Lynn to establish a temporary office for the cure of incurable cases. He had circulars to distribute and photographs to show of patients who had been cured by him over the previous decade in his travels throughout New England and upper New York state.⁵⁷⁹ The pictures must have been powerful: many were the stories of miraculous cures he brought to the lame, the paralyzed, and the virtually hopeless – each accomplished in just one session. One of his ads made him out to be a medical savior: “The lame have been made to walk and the deaf to hear and the blind to see.” He explained vaguely that “His mode of treatment is such that by it the vital forces become more equalized.” He was likely using magneto-electric equipment like George W. Fairbanks made, possibly along with some medicines of his own making. The description of his method was rather vague, but what he really wanted possible patients to understand followed quickly thereafter, “No surgical operation is performed and no pain is caused.”⁵⁸⁰ Like Jonathan Weeks, he knew there would be skeptics, so he got a former deputy sheriff to reassure readers, “As Dr. Urann, of Boston, is about visiting your place, and a stranger in these parts, I know very well, like most physicians traveling, he will be looked upon with suspicion, particularly as his cures look miraculous,” but then the retired lawman proceeded to explain that while he himself had been on crutches for a year, after less than an hour with the amazing doctor, he was able to walk home, half a mile, uphill, without crutches.⁵⁸¹ Lynn readers got to read another stunning testimonial from a woman in Bolton Centre, Quebec who had been sick for four years; unable to sit up or walk. Determined to be seen by the renowned healer, she had to be carried in a cot two miles to a steamboat on the northern end of Lake Memphremagog, then from the steamboat landing to Memphremagog House in Newport, Vermont, where the doctor was staying. Before evening arrived, she was able to walk back to the steamboat herself.⁵⁸² The magnetic and electric physician frequently filled his ads with his success stories and thus, while he prepared to receive patients in his room at the Sagamore House, his reputation had literally preceded him.

Indian doctors were seldom what they appeared to be – at least those that tried to drum up customers in Lynn. Few laid claim to Native American lineage, and when they did, they were usually quite vague. The name of Or-ra-gon-set, the “Great Indian Medicine Prophet,” only hinted that he came from the Pacific Northwest, and his former partner, U-ta-wa-un, shared the polysyllabic names of several of his ancestors, but didn’t specify his tribal origins, either.⁵⁸³ In fact, his newspaper puffs gave conflicting information about his origin: one stated that “his remedies are from the Cascade Range in Oregon,” while another stated that he was the only true Indian medicine prophet east of the Rocky Mountains.”⁵⁸⁴ What Indian doctors were most determined to convey was that their remedies were from purely botanical and mainly American origin, the same as those used by America’s native Indians. On 27 May 1879, U-ta-wa-un let Lynn know that he arrived at the Sagamore House with a fresh supply of barks, roots, herbs, flowers, and seeds and that he was setting up outdoors in Market Square that evening to speak about his wonderful Indian cures and “to give the public an opportunity to try his great blood medicine, free of charge.”⁵⁸⁵ He was an Indian doctor because he said he was an Indian doctor.

Galen W. Lovatt, an “Indian Physician,” was once promoted as coming from Omaha, Nebraska, but for most of the decade he was advertised as the Indian Physician from Sixth Avenue, New York City.⁵⁸⁶ He made no claim to learning about medicine while living among the Indians, but in fact, told the people of Lynn that he attended the New York Medical College in the winter of 1875-76.⁵⁸⁷ He claimed to make “cancers, tape worms, consumption, and catarrh readily yield under the influence of his Vegetable Specifics” (he emphasized, “MEDICINE PURELY VEGETABLE!”), but “in a manner known only to himself.”⁵⁸⁸ He was the archetypal traveling

medicine seller, setting up brief doctoring visits in thirteen states through the decade; he managed to sandwich Lynn in between Rochester, New York, and Hartford, Connecticut, in 1877. While in Lynn he highlighted his ability to cure stammering permanently and resorted to a few other standard traveling medicine seller gambits: he would provide examinations free of charge and he had “mammoth specimens of tapeworms recently removed” to prove the power and urgency of his medicine.⁵⁸⁹

Joshua Liverpool made no apologies for who he was because he didn’t want to, even though trouble seemed to follow him around like a tin can tied to a dog’s tail. Just a few years before his arrival in Lynn, he was arrested and tried for assault and battery, carrying concealed weapons (yes, plural) and profanity, for which he was fined \$46.20, “which he cashed with vigor.” Before leaving the court room he cursed so much about the loss of a revolver that he was fined an additional \$12.15.⁵⁹⁰ A few months later he was in court again on a charge of driving too fast, and the reporter noted parenthetically, “We are afraid the Doctor is rather “fast” in every respect.”⁵⁹¹

In October of 1874 he showed up in Lynn and his weapon was now advertising. With guns blazing (figuratively), he introduced himself: “THE GREAT WONDER OF THE WORLD IS COMING. DR. J. LIVERPOOL THE GREAT Indian Herb Doctor.” The big words surrounded a portrait of him in all his greatness; he was later described as “a copper-colored medicine man, with bush black hair falling thickly over his shoulders, giving him an appearance calculated to inspire patients with awe.”⁵⁹² Another paper was convinced that he really was an Indian.⁵⁹³ He came to Lynn ready to treat all chronic diseases in the one day he would be in his “Parlors at the Sagamore House.” His stay didn’t leave him much time to mince words, so he got right to the point: “Dr. Liverpool does not travel to make money like those life-sapping quack doctors, who boast about their skill; their diplomas, and their great healing powers, and to get their Almighty Dollar. They take your money and do you no good. No!” By diplomas he was turning the table and calling the medical society doctors the quacks. Then with the same brash certainty he made a pitch to the readers that they just couldn’t refuse: “This great man of Nature is a wonder. He tells you your disease at once, and what your symptoms are, and how you feel, then gives you medicine that will cure you – all free – no charge made; he does not take money.” True to his copy, he knew what the reader was thinking and he answered their question, “How can this great man of Nature afford to travel, and pay large bills, and labor for nothing? But he does not fear, for the Great Spirit will take care of that.”⁵⁹⁴ He probably accomplished this by providing “free” prescriptions or small sample bottles for one of his two medicines, *Sanguinarium – the Great Indian Remedy* and *The Big Double Medicine of Wakadahahee*.⁵⁹⁵ Patients would then have to go to a druggist to buy the bottle.

Trouble seemed to follow the Great Indian Herb Doctor. In 1880 he was arrested again and charged with criminal practice for causing the death of a Philadelphian woman by instructing her to swallow in whiskey the herbs he gave her.⁵⁹⁶ The jury found Liverpool to be an accessory before the fact. Years later he was again charged and convicted for malpractice resulting in the death of a deaf boy. His mother said the medicine the doctor sold her (for \$20 down and \$10 per month) to be injected in the boy’s ear looked like wine and smelled like oil. The estate was seeking \$10,000, but the doctor was ordered to pay \$500.⁵⁹⁷ It was probably a good thing for Lynn that Liverpool only stayed one day.

One of the signs of hard times in Lynn during the decade were the efforts of many to find new work or additional sources of income; in the case of watchers for the sick, several men tried to convert their previously charitable labors into for-hire skills. Notable among them were Benjamin M. Alley and C. Bryant Phillips.⁵⁹⁸ Alley had moved around between jobs over the end of the previous decade; he was a bill poster in 1867 and a carpenter in 1869. In 1871 he found himself unemployed and consequently offered his services as a male watcher or nurse. With the flare-up of smallpox outbreaks in Lynn, he was given the opportunity to serve as a smallpox nurse, doing so from 1873-1875; the illness of others meant money for him.⁵⁹⁹ C. Bryant Phillips had the same concern and a similar solution. Based on what he said had been years of experience in taking care

of the sick, he solicited the public for employment as a watcher and nurse in October 1877.⁶⁰⁰ But a month and a half later he had a new idea: he reintroduced himself to Lynn as an “Indian Root and Herb Doctor and Magnetic Physician,” capable of treating and quickly curing all chronic and acute diseases, rheumatism, neuralgia, and nervous diseases. More strikingly, he even declared to have special skills in humors and impurities of the blood, and female weaknesses. His inaugural ad was accompanied by testimonial endorsements of three satisfied patients from Lynn and Swampscott. Despite the “Indian Root and Herb” highlight in his job title, the focus of all three testimonials was on the healer’s magnetic skills; perhaps this was because magnetism was the active aspect of his treatment and the roots and herbs were latent elements, contained in the medicines he provided. Among the three doses of praise was that of Mrs. Sarah A. Alden, the wife of a shoemaker:

I can cheerfully recommend Dr. Phillips’ magnetic powers, as he cured me of Neuralgia in its worst form. I was suffering from Kidney disease, trouble in my stomach and side, but I am all right now.⁶⁰¹

The newspaper dutifully puffed in the next issue, “We have never believed in magnetic physicians until quite recently. But that all magnetic physicians are not humbugs, we are now ready to admit.” The editor went on to explain that he suffered from head trouble and spine complaint for years, so he called upon the new doctor and, “although we assured him that we had no confidence in his ability to cure us, he proceeded at once to business, and we are happy to say with the most wonderful results. In a word, he succeeded . . .”⁶⁰²

Five months after his first advertisement, something went wrong: The fifty-seven-year-old Mr. Alden wasn’t happy about his thirty-seven-year-old wife’s long-running endorsement of her doctor.⁶⁰³ Phillips posted a notice titled “Scandal Monger,” in *The Lynn Record* at the end of March 1878 to stop the harm his reputation was apparently suffering from Alden’s mean-spirited attacks:

Whereas Solomon T. Alden, a cobbler on Union Square, this city, has been circulating scandalous reports about me without any just cause or provocation, I take this method to inform those not acquainted with his tongue, which never has a good word for anyone, or his standing in society, that these reports are false in every particular. Dr. C. B. Phillips”⁶⁰⁴

For some reason, it took four more months before Sarah Alden’s testimonial stopped appearing in the advertisement, but the damage seems to have been done; shortly thereafter, Phillips himself disappeared from Lynn altogether.

Although the genesis, methods, and mystique of Indian root and herb doctors, clairvoyants, healing mediums, and magneto-electric healers were all quite different from each other, they all shared the alternative medicine, reformist purpose for those who were not satisfied with conventional medical society medicine. It was therefore at least as common to find alternative healers practicing a combination of these techniques as it was to find purists practicing only one type. Eclecticism embraced whatever blend of treatments and medicines as would help to restore the body to proper function, or at least satisfy the patient that improvement was being made, but categorically excluded the harsh chemicals, like mercury, antimony, arsenic, and lead, that were heavily relied upon by the conventional physician. George W. Musso had promoted himself as an “Eclectic and Clairvoyant Physician” and although Galen W. Lovatt styled himself an “Indian Physician,” he attended an eclectic college of medicine. When he visited Lynn, E. L. Lyon didn’t stipulate what kind of physician he was, but his labors and words demonstrated that he was solidly in the eclectic camp. In a trade card he had made for his Lynn audience, he waved the eclectic’s banner, “We embrace in our practice the valuable features of all other systems,” and chanted the reformer’s war cry against conventional doctoring, “CURES WITHOUT POISON. . . We use no Mercury, Opium, Arsenic, or other Poisons. . . Ladies . . . promptly relieved and cured in a few weeks. . . No exposure [modesty preserved], pain or instruments.” He had arrived at this style of healing over a career of 40 years.⁶⁰⁵

Twenty years before Lynn he had been practicing as a “Spiritual and Botanic Physician” in Ohio, prescribing for diseases by spirit direction and was called a “foul-mouthed infidel” by a Presbyterian minister for the spiritualism doctrine he taught.⁶⁰⁶ In 1871 he was the Resident Physician of the Rochester branch of the eclectic New York Medical University, treating chronic diseases with medicines that were “SCIENTIFIC and RELIABLE [and] rapidly superseding the old poisons, nostrums, and nauseous drugs.”⁶⁰⁷ He first visited in Lynn in 1874, taking Room 52 in the Sagamore House, collectively endorsed by patients: “Among the physicians who have visited Lynn, none have given such satisfaction and evidence of skill as Dr. Lyon.” He introduced himself to the city by offering two free lectures at the Odd Fellows’ Hall: a “chaste and useful special lecture” to ladies that he titled, “Rays of Light,” and then in the evening a lecture to gentlemen *exclusively*, called “Plain Talk”; it was about alcohol and tobacco, “their effects upon mentality and sexuality and how to overcome the appetite for them, with invaluable prescriptions.”⁶⁰⁸ When he returned in 1880, he promised to cure all cancers, club feet, curvature of the spine, all deformities of the body, deafness, and could even provide artificial legs and eyes as needed. And, as with many other healers trying to reach a larger audience, he would treat patients by correspondence as well, providing them an elaborate list of questions to help them examine themselves.⁶⁰⁹

William Kingsford took years to decide to follow the career path of his father who languished in an insane asylum; in 1865 at nineteen years old, he was still living at home with his mother and sister, doing farming. By 1869 he was listed in the city directory as a physician and on 26 February 1870, exactly a week after his wedding, William Kingsford, Botanical Physician and his wife, a Clairvoyant and Electric Physician, placed an advertisement in the *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter* that they had taken rooms at the Sagamore House where they would receive patients until further notice. In 1873 he advertised himself as a physician *and* surgeon.⁶¹⁰ Armed with botanical, electrical, clairvoyant, and surgical skills and resources, he was called on in 1873 to take care of a most unusual case. Widow Catherine Waldron on Franklin Street had seen a number of physicians for the previous five months for what they regarded as a “hopeless case of liver complaint,” but what was truly remarkable, her nurse explained to Kingsford, was that Mrs. Waldron insisted she had known for the past fourteen years that there was a live animal in her stomach. Two weeks before Kingsford was called upon, “the animal seemed to come up in her throat and choke her (she touching its head at one time, it is said, with her finger).” Kingsford seemed to take it in stride and reacted decisively: “he put salt on the patient’s tongue, and the animal retreated,” and from that reaction he judged it to be a lizard. He then mixed a dose for the distraught woman, consisting of one and a half tablespoons of brandy and a teaspoonful of salt. In about twenty-four hours, the reptile “passed away from the patient, dead.”

The nurse, suffering from exhaustion and nervous irritability, as may well be expected, from her long watchings, only thought of putting the loathsome object out of sight as quickly as possible. ... She describes it as having been four or five inches long and about one and a half wide. ... she persists in calling it a bullfrog; but we think ... the water newt. [The] patient is sixty-two years of age and is supposed to have drank the reptile in water many years ago.⁶¹¹

Kingsford probably knew exactly what he was doing – playing to the woman’s fear, letting her believe that he believed, so that she would believe that he could rid her of the lizard that had been in her mind all those years, if not in reality, in her stomach. The previous year a book was advertised in Lynn newspapers titled, *Animal and Vegetable Parasites of the Human Skin and Hair*. The author, a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, described the many creatures, real and imagined, that people claimed sometimes took temporary lodging in their bodies; among the parasitic creatures he tried to debunk were lizards:

They would not be mentioned here at all, if the popular belief had not regarded some (lizards) as well as salamanders, frogs, and tadpoles, certain caterpillars, centipedes, beetles, etc., as actual parasites of man, and supposed that these animals, nay, even

some species of fishes, such as the eels, could carry on a parasitic existence in the interior of the human intestine. Unfortunately, medical men have given their assistance to this nonsense; and I myself have seen one allowing himself to be fooled by a patient with an eel, and another with a frog. All observations on living amphibia having remained long in the human body and, acting as the cause of long illnesses in it, are false. ... It is, however, possible that amphibia may get into the human subject by intentional or accidental swallowing. ... if no vomiting takes place, the animals are more or less digested, and we find either their epidermis or bones, or nothing at all of them, in the faeces.⁶¹²

Surely there were those who read the book that would have scoffed at Mrs. Waldron and her nurse and her doctor, but other people would argue for a different conclusion as they grimaced at the bottled tapeworms on display with several of the healers in town. The animalcules coming into focus under the microscope only confirmed what hypochondriacs and the ignorant had always worried about – that there were yet many unexplained mysteries in life and death, sickness and health. In 1868 Bowman Breed reported to his fellow physicians at a meeting of the Essex South District Medical Society the case of a young boy who had been playing outside while eating corn; a kernel apparently lodged somewhere down the trachea, causing him to gasp and have spasmodic breathing. The boy finally coughed up the kernel twenty-six days after swallowing it and Breed reported to his bemused brethren that the expectorated kernel had swelled and sprouted.⁶¹³ In 1875, forty-three-year-old Robert Heron was working at Pevear's morocco leather factory when he discovered what he suspected was a mosquito bite on his neck below his ear. The bump kept swelling up until it was as large as a man's arm and extended from ear to ear and down over the chest. Heron's pulse became weak and he was vomiting; the next morning his body had grown "dark and cold" and no pulse could be felt. Three doctors commiserated on the case, but their efforts didn't prevent his death; all they could do was agree that he had died from the bite of some kind of poisonous spider.⁶¹⁴

For William Kingsford, Mrs. Waldron's lizard was simply the case of a satisfied customer that gave him some good press; it turned out to be something he didn't always get. After his first wife died and the thirty-year-old widower remarried to a seventeen-year-old, he redirected his advertising away from healing services to the sale of medicines of his making; *Dr. William Kingsford's English Family Pills* and *Dr. William Kingsford's Great Blood Purifier or Great Humor Medicine* were the two he pushed the hardest. The ad for the blood purifier listed thirty-six diseases and conditions that it would cure and both were backed in print by the testimonials of many from Lynn and surrounding communities.⁶¹⁵ But as it turned out, at thirty-two years old, he was nearing the end of his life and apparently running out of funds as well. It appears he trumped up a fantastic backstory to avoid paying rent:

Sir William Kingsford, Court Physician to Her Majesty Queen Victoria ... has disappeared from view. If he turns up again, it will be in the natural role of a swindler Sir William made his debut at the boarding house of Mrs. Sarah Murgatroyd [in Boston] where he won confidence by paying a week's board in advance, putting out a gorgeous "shingle" and assuming the air of a nabob. He said he was a born Yankee, and early in life, after completing his education here, he finished his studies and became a surgeon in the British army. After a few years of service with "his Hussars," the Queen of England, who was ailing with womb disease, and who had heard of his wonderful surgical skill, sent out for him to come to her with all speed. Sixty of the best surgeons and physicians of Europe had previously been in attendance on Her Majesty and failed in their treatment. He came, saw and conquered the Queen's trouble, and he it was, and he only, who had saved her life. ... [He] received at the hand of the Queen the title of "Sir William Kingsford." ... By and by, however, he got into arrears on his rent, and finally left Mrs. Murgatroyd with an unpaid bill of \$42. The landlady's eyes were opened; and from the stories of other boarding-house keepers since confided to her, she knows that she was taken in by an egregious

swindler. He was last heard from in Lynn, and probably will be taken by the police very soon, as a description of the fellow has been generally circulated.⁶¹⁶

The editors of *The Lynn Record* then joined in with their own overdue payment jab at Kingsford:

We never took a great deal of stock in the doctor, yet he managed to become our debtor to quite a little amount, which we have no doubt he will pay “when his ship comes in.” Our friends of the Salem press, with whom he also advertised, have undoubtedly some pleasant reminiscences of Sir William.⁶¹⁷

Kingsford was divorced shortly after this exposure and then died in Lynn in 1880 of dropsy at thirty-four years old; many miles away, his father survived him in an asylum.⁶¹⁸

While Kingsford, Lyon and other generalists were using several methods of cure, there were others who were completely focused on a single theory of their own making or that of others to which they had become a disciple. William Thompson came to town in 1870 with a grand mission: to “announce to the inhabitants of Lynn and the surrounding country” that he had made a medical discovery so important that it had become his *raison d'être* for the last three years to travel through a hundred cities to cure thousands. Catarrh, asthma, dyspepsia, and piles couldn’t resist the medicines he had created to cure himself, after thirty-two physicians proved incapable of doing so. What they had all missed, he said, was an “eating sore between the nerves of the eyes, and you cannot get any one medicine in the world that has the medical property in it to kill the eating, and cleanse and heal. I use two medicines, and it does it sure. I have a number of samples right here,” in Room 67 of the Sagamore House. So, if you have any problems with costiveness in the bowels, or have a desire to sleep on your back with your hands over your head, or are sleepy after eating, or have pains in the small of the back, or any female irregularity, he urged, “come and see the Doctor. He will tell you just how you are, and the cause, without asking, and cure you better than any man in the world.” His strongly worded message to the sick of Lynn was a verbal battering ram, announcing the supreme effectiveness of his medicines and the utter worthlessness of doctors. “If one physician could cure you, they all could. They all study from the same books, and when they join the society they agree if they find out anything new to let the society know it.” But even with their tight-knit support network, doctors and their families suffered with the above complaints as much as anybody else, Thompson noted, so what good were they?⁶¹⁹ He only stayed a few nights at the Sagamore; just another brief stopover on his quest to save suffering humanity.

Several years after Thompson did business from the Sagamore House, a woman identified only as “Miss R. Dinsmore” advertised that she, too, would offer her medical services from that hotel that was turning out to be an itinerant headquarters. Under the banner, “Something New,” she advised that she would be found there in mid-September (1877), giving “cure by manipulation,” most likely meaning she was an osteopath; a very new specialty to be introduced in the area. Her little ad appeared in only one issue; she may have been trying to be frugal or perhaps people weren’t flocking to her door to find out what her manipulations were all about, even though consultations were free and satisfaction was guaranteed.⁶²⁰

Lynn had an increasing number of medical specialists who provided services that in previous decades had all appeared in the daybook of the conventional doctor. Those carve-outs included foot care and eyewear. Henry Norman frequently advertised in the city’s papers throughout the decade as a chiropodist, treating corns (“Don’t Suffer! Don’t Suffer! Corns extracted without pain”), bunions, ingrown nails, club nails, chilblains, tender feed, ruptured veins, ulcers, swelled feet and limbs, and sores of all kinds, all “in a scientific manner, without pain or any inconvenience.”⁶²¹ “A Separate Room for the Ladies” was provided so that men wouldn’t get to leer at their naked feet and, perchance, ankles.⁶²² In October 1876 he also applied for a trademark for his proprietary foot salve, which consisted of the letters “N.F.S.” (for *Norman’s Foot Salve*), but apparently hadn’t bothered to trademark his *Splendid Wash for Sores on Animals* that he advertised in 1873.⁶²³ His

uniqueness wasn't limited to being the only chiropodist and medicine maker in Lynn; he was a black man who had served his country through seven battles in the Civil War (Company F, 54 Mass Infantry), married with nine children, ran a boxing school for many years, traveled through northern New England for thirty-five years as an evangelist minister, and was a twice-published author of two books containing his poetry and wisdom.⁶²⁴ His foot practice advertisements frequently contained entertaining poetic stanzas, probably from his own pen,

What's the use of going Lame;
My, my, what a shame!
When CORNS are extracted
Without the LEAST PAIN.⁶²⁵

George H. Yeaton visited Lynn several times over the decade as he traveled about, an oculist and optician, providing a large assortment of his *Celebrated Perfected Spectacles and Eye-Glasses*. Like other itinerants engaged in the healing arts, he had testimonials ready at hand from satisfied customers. During his visit in April 1874, orders for glasses could be left at the St. George Dining Rooms on Market Street.⁶²⁶ Business was good and the itinerant oculist settled in permanently as a resident of Lynn.

John Carruthers wasn't as content to just settle in; he had served Lynn for several years as a watch and clockmaker, but when he learned of the blue-light theory, he was ready to make a dramatic career change. In the mid-1870s, retired Brigadier General Pleasonton of Philadelphia published a discovery he had made that blue light had fabulous health-giving properties. By interspersing panes of blue glass among clear glass windows, he found his hothouse grapes grew bigger than those of the neighbors; it also brought the song back to a silent songbird and caused a deaf mule to hear.⁶²⁷ Demand for his pamphlets encouraged him to capture and expand on his treatise in book form. Printed on appropriately blue paper, his book explained the magneto-electric interaction happening between the rays of sunlight passing between the clear and blue windowpanes and how it charged the atmosphere below with vitality and positive energy. It also included many incidents of the fabulous results the blue light brought to vegetables and fruits, farm animals, and invalid humans. He recounted the enthusiastic experience shared by a doctor's wife: "Do you know that when I put my naked foot under the blue light, all my pains in the limb cease? ... My maid tells me that my hair is growing not merely longer on my head, but in places there which were bald new hair is coming out thick."⁶²⁸ Based on the results of his own experiments and such gushing testimonials, Pleasonton projected that harnessing the sky's blue light may cause insanity and consumption to be classed as curable diseases.⁶²⁹ In March 1877, *The Lynn Record* reported that a young lady from West Lynn, who had been an invalid for several years, had "greatly benefitted by testing the blue glass remedy."⁶³⁰

With stories of such dramatic changes to plants, animals, and people, and the hoped-for cure of everything under the sun, Lynn became dazzled by blue light. "Many dwellings had a few blue panes set in the windows, and greenhouses were liberally supplied with the supposed life-giving appliances," recounted Lynn historian James Newhall, "While the excitement continued, the glaziers in Lynn, as elsewhere, had an abundance of orders. Ladies wore blue veils, and cerulean tints were decidedly in the ascendant."⁶³¹ Blue-tinted kerosene lamp chimneys were introduced to filter the oil lamp's glow, and the manufacture of cobalt blue bottles was expanded to maintain the flavor of sodas, the potency of poisons, and the integrity of medicines, like Lynn physician McArthur's *Syrup of Hypophosphites*.⁶³² James Pike's cigar store even played with the craze, offering "Blue Glass" cigars for twenty-five cents, with complimentary chromos (trade cards) to boot.⁶³³ John Carruthers saw the light and decided to capitalize on it, putting his clockmaking aside to become a medical electrician. He rented out rooms in the Pythian Building in May 1877,

... and fitted them [almost certainly with blue glass in the windows] for the practice of his new method of applying magneto-electricity in the treatment of Nervous,

Neuralgic, and Rheumatic Affections, Lame Back, Kidney Complaints, Female Weakness, General Debility, and other Ailments of a kindred nature. Combining the primary and secondary currents of Electro-Magnetism with what is known as the Blue-Light theory, he has reached the most positive and gratifying results in the Relief and Permanent Cure of a variety of painful and distressing complaints.⁶³⁴

Unfortunately for the clockmaker-turned-healer, time ran out on the blue-light healing craze; it didn't hold up to application by the hopeful public or the scrutiny of the skeptical press. When asked what they thought of Pleasonton and his blue glass revelations, *Popular Science Monthly* responded in its May 1877 issue, "Well, we think that the man is a pestilent ignoramus, and his book the ghastliest rubbish that has been printed in a hundred years. ... Pleasonton, however, it must be confessed, serves one important function: he gauges for us the depth and density of American stupidity."⁶³⁵ In the face of such withering attacks, the fascination with blue glass lasted only for the year 1877. It is surprising how quickly this instantly popular idea shriveled up while other health notions and medicines of equally wobbly construction lingered for much longer. Carruthers' advertisement for blue light-infused medical electric healing ran only from April 28th to July 7th. Although he had lived and worked in Lynn for decades, Carruthers left after this failed venture; he moved to Somerville and started all over as a clockmaker.⁶³⁶

Compared to the blue-light sparkle, phrenology was yesterday's news. When Orson Squire Fowler visited Lynn as "the world-renowned Phrenologist" in 1878, audiences coming to the lecture hall found an old man on the stage; thirty-seven years had passed since the very young Fowler brothers first visited Lynn to introduce the fabulous new science to customers and the curious. While a few like Fowler kept phrenology alive, it had become just one of the tools in the healer's bag instead of the only one. In April 1873 Professor C. N. Johnson offered his services, not only as a phrenologist, but also as a seer and healing medium, able to tap on unseen spirits equally as well as he could tap the bumps on one's head. He also sold *Humanitarian Salve*, *Dr. Usher's Blood Remedy*, *Liver Pills* and *Magnetic Liniment*, and would give magnetic baths if desired. Even with his varied and unique set of tools, he only lasted in Lynn a month.⁶³⁷

From long experience as a traveling phrenologist and speaker, Orson Fowler had his itinerary down to a science: he placed an ad in the newspaper almost two weeks before his arrival in Lynn in mid-May 1878, making all aware that he would be at the Sagamore House, performing phrenological examinations, as well as providing two free lectures at the Odd Fellows Hall on phrenology applied to life, health, self-culture, and business. At this point in his career, however, he was more notable for his sex advice than phrenology. He had written several books on marriage and the sexes and the most recent came perilously close to crossing the obscenity line of the recently passed Comstock Law. In the introductory *Lynn Record* puff about Fowler's impending arrival, the editor identified him, not as the noted phrenologist, but as the author and publisher of *Human Science* and *Creative Science* (probably a purposely cleaned up version of the actual title, *Creative and Sexual Science*) – the two most scandalously descriptive of his books.⁶³⁸ The books were full of intimate details of sexuality that many had not seen in print before; section headings in *Creative and Sexual Science* included "Specific Love-Making Rules and Directions," "Personal Fornication the worst of Sexual Vices," and "Signs of Self-Pollution and Sensuality."⁶³⁹ Some newspaper editors were outraged over his recent writings, which they described as "full of nastiness of the most disgusting kind."⁶⁴⁰ *The Chicago Tribune* complained, "Fowler has debauched the minds of young females and sown the seeds of a prostitution of the sexes under the guise of education, to an extent that is simply alarming."⁶⁴¹ With his sexual advice books under such strong attack, even his phrenology efforts came under condemnation; the moral crusaders organizing against Fowler discountenanced all of his contributions: "he has pursued a systematic course of fraud in the examination of 'bumps,' [and] he is the father of the system that disseminates vice, and has boldly practiced an immoral course under cover of his sexual science, upon which subject he has presumed to set himself up as an instructor of the sexes."⁶⁴²

Despite the disgust of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, 30,000 copies of the 1870 first edition of *Creative and Sexual Science* had been sold to an eager public and it was reprinted in 1875. It was a needed read for Lynn. In the same year Fowler's book was being republished, two adulterers were caught *in flagrante delicto* in a house on Elm Street and arrested.⁶⁴³ In another instance, a married man was arrested for adultery as was his unmarried paramour for fornication; bail was set for him at \$800 and she was charged \$31.35, but both being unable to pay, they went to (separate) jail cells.⁶⁴⁴ A Lynn woman who was suspicious that her husband was cheating on her was arrested by Police Captain Thurston because she had dressed as a man in order to be less conspicuous as she shadowed her spouse. Throughout the week after the story appeared in the morning papers, "the station was besieged by conscience-stricken husbands, who were very anxious to obtain sufficient particulars to enable them to determine whether or no it was their devoted wife that was captured while out on the trail."⁶⁴⁵ All three incidents of real and suspected immoral behaviors occurred within the *same* one-week period; Fowler's book had a ready audience in Lynn. In 1878 his Lynn lectures "were well attended, and gave great satisfaction."⁶⁴⁶ Indeed, the crowds may have been filling the Odd Fellows Hall in hope of hearing Fowler intertwine some comments about sexual science with his lectures on phrenology, and some individuals may similarly have signed up for private consultation with the old phrenologist in his rooms at the Sagamore House, not for a reading of their head bumps, but to be able to discuss some intimate, personal questions. It was in this same year that two people were arrested in Lynn for selling obscene literature.⁶⁴⁷ Fowler was old, but not outdated; many still wanted to hear what he had to say, even though the more innocent days of a chaste phrenological examination were largely over.

Abbie Cutter was one more healer who came to Lynn providing phrenological examinations, but she, too, made it an important but small part of her healing repertoire. It was her diagnostic tool and then departed spirits helped her with the cure. She appeared in Lynn a few times in 1875, offering to examine and treat all diseases by performing phrenological examination; of course, the skull would also reveal the patient's best choices in business matters and life companions, which information she would also provide. She could then cure a host of illnesses, including "cancers, tumors, displacements and ulcerations of the womb, without caustics, pessaries, the knife, or pain."⁶⁴⁸ She taught how to apply electricity using a magneto-electric battery, the "ever-ready relief in all diseases" and at the same time save the vast amount of money paid to doctors." She saw electro-magnetic batteries as cutting-edge scientific technology, "Application of the Battery ... is as much superior to the old system as the electrical telegraph is superior to the old style of carrying the mail by foot or horse-back."⁶⁴⁹

Motivated by all the suffering among women that she had witnessed over the previous 30 years, Mrs. Cutter was especially focused on educating women about their health issues and supported them as progressively as anyone else was in the era.⁶⁵⁰ She saw the magneto-electric battery as an opportunity for women to help women and as a means for the practitioners to make an income. She explained in her Lynn advertisement that a battery could be used "especially [for] those [diseases] peculiar to the female organization, [and it] opens a new path for women, by which they can benefit and relieve their suffering sisters and result profitably to themselves."⁶⁵¹

She also offered a lecture for a ten-cent admission to the young women and girls (of ten years or older) of Lynn, titled, "Life's Problems and Possibilities." Not a modest presentation of abstract concepts to a group of prim youngsters, Mrs. Cutter illustrated her lecture with a life-sized model of the body that could be taken apart and every organ shown and explained so that "the young girl of to-day may be the healthy, beautiful and happy woman of the future."⁶⁵²

After her Lynn tour, she began advertising the sale of *Dr. Abbie E. Cutter's Electro-Medicated Amulets*. Made of roots and herbs by the direction of the departed spirit of none other than Dr. John C. Warren, they were then "magnetized by spirit chemists, then charged with electricity" and used for "preventing the germs of Diphtheria, Small-pox, Croup, Scarlet Fever, Catarrh, and all contagious diseases." As an equally stunning bonus, each amulet purchased would

be accompanied by one of the spirit band living spiritually at Wickets Island in the harbor of Onset, Massachusetts.⁶⁵³ Phrenology accompanied by electro-magnetic batteries, deceased spirits, and mystical amulets – the unconventional healers of this decade were trying absolutely everything.

SCHOOL RIVALRY

Even more annoying than the pesky buzzing of specialists, traveling healers, and miracle workers was the growing strength of a well-organized rival medical group to conventional medicine – the homeopaths. During the 1870s there were at least twenty homeopaths in Lynn, almost equal the number of conventional physicians.⁶⁵⁴ In several ways they appeared to be twins to the conventional competition: most of them attended medical schools, received diplomas, and read their own medical journals, and they had a local professional association that reported to a regional association that, in turn, reported to the state association, just like the conventional physicians. The Lynn Homeopathic Medical Society was formed in April 1872, two months before their professional rivals in the Lynn Medical Society were formally organized.⁶⁵⁵ But the similarities between the organizations were superficial; what really mattered – the medicines in their bags and their approaches to health care – were far different and both were completely convinced that their way was right.

Benjamin F. Green was elected to be president of Lynn's new homeopathic medical society, but Alvin M. Cushing, its first vice president, was also its champion. The society was organized in his offices.⁶⁵⁶ Society meetings convened in his home in May 1873, when he was appointed a delegate to the state society, and in August 1874, when twenty-plus society members and guests listened to a discussion on "Bowel Complaints in Children," after which Mrs. Cushing ushered them into their apparently spacious "dining hall where she had in readiness a repast of cakes, ice cream, and a bountiful supply of delicious blackberries from the Doctor's garden"⁶⁵⁷ In July 1877 the Essex County Homeopathic Society picnicked in Echo Grove, where Cushing welcomed all in attendance and the Hutchinson Family singers entertained with songs.⁶⁵⁸ When the county homeopathic society held its fourth annual picnic, Cushing was asked to deliver his epic poem about the progress of homoeopathy. The 200 attendees must have been delighted by the doctor's rhyming couplets that verbally vaulted "new school" homeopathy over old school medicine:

The new school kept on working and scattering seed about;
 The old school kept on working to kill the new school out.
 They called the new school humbug and knave and quacks and fools,
 And then they thought 'twould kill them to exclude them from their schools.
 Then the new school got their backs up and started schools of their own,
 And from that very moment their cause has swiftly grown.
 The old school said their patients if sick were sure to die;
 The new school proved by figures that that was a willful lie.

 They tried all sorts of methods – perhaps they didn't lie,
 But you cannot name another thing they were not known to try.⁶⁵⁹

Professional practice and fraternity brought Lynn's homeopaths together and Cushing was their glue. He was as emblematic of Lynn homeopathy as Joseph G. Pinkham was of Lynn's conventional medicine.

When Cushing published a book on leucorrhœa, the thoroughly Victorian Lynn newspapers struggled uncomfortably with how to tell their readers about the popular doctor's literary accomplishment. The *Lynn Transcript* awkwardly sidestepped the subject matter, explaining only that "the author has carefully compiled all the symptoms of the disease under consideration ...," while *The Lynn Record* focused on the volume instead of the subject, explaining that it was the first

book printed and bound entirely in Lynn.⁶⁶⁰ The shoe city newspapers were more knowledgeable (and much relieved) to praise the doctor's next accomplishment – the invention of a new shoe horn, "The contrivance is simple yet will be very convenient in getting on a tight-fitting shoe."⁶⁶¹

The conventional physicians were dead set against homeopaths and all the other healers outside of their society, just as all their competitors were against them. The alternative healers had made frequent point of telling the public they were saving them from the old school doctors who bled and leeched and poisoned with mercury and all their other noxious chemicals. In turn, the members of the Lynn Medical Society disparaged the "irregulars" in their members-only meetings and their society publications. Isaac F. Galloupe reported the broken leg bones of a six-year-old child that had been improperly bandaged and set very much out of place by an "irregular practitioner" had to be refractured and reset by Galloupe.⁶⁶² John S. Emerson reported that little Forest, the 3-year-old son of milk dealer Ashley Newhall, had died of exhaustion because "the child had been practised upon by Quacks ... a claravoyant attended the child first and then a number of others before Dr. Emerson" was requested.⁶⁶³ It's not clear who dictated the death circumstances of forty-eight-year-old Edwin Marble (the last of the two Marble men who spent their adult lives digging for pirate treasure at Lynn's Dungeon Rock), but the poorly spelled report was especially bizarre and had a healing medium in the middle of it:

The deceased practiced masturbation a[ll] his life, and it undermined his constitution and weakened his nervous system to such an extent that it resulted in paralysis [of the right side of his body.] He was a spiritualist and a healing medium tried to cure him by laying on the hands and rubbing him. He also eat [ate] a sunburnt potatoe a short tim[e] fore he was stricken down and it poisoned him badly and he never fully recovered from the effects of it.⁶⁶⁴

Joseph G. Pinkham acerbically noted the two months of "homeopathic non-treatment" a shoemaker had been undergoing for head pain and ear discharge. As far as Pinkham was concerned, the patient's eventual recovery only happened because Pinkham himself intervened with his knowledgeable use of a collodion mixture of Spanish flies, opium for great pain, a morphine mixture for milder pain, and cutting and drilling through the blister and into the bone.⁶⁶⁵ But Cushing could dish it out as well. He told of a 13-year-old boy who had gotten his hand caught in a leather-slicing machine: all the fingers on one hand got split open – muscles and pieces of bone were hanging loose on the palm of the hand. A conventional doctor rigidly insisted on amputation of parts of the fingers and called Cushing a quack for thinking otherwise; undaunted, Cushing said "save all we can, cut off the rest." He anesthetized the boy with chloroform, removed bone fragments, used 30 or more stitches to close loose ends and used a solution of marigolds with water, followed by golden seal root and bloodroot, which saved the boy's fingers and joints. "So much for the quack," he closed triumphantly.⁶⁶⁶

The rapport between the conventional and unconventional healers of Lynn was as combustible as a box of lucifer matches on a hot cast iron stove – nothing good would come of it. It was a friction born of competition and contention and both camps took every opportunity they could to rub each other the wrong way. In 1871, the Commissioner of Pensions used the power of his office and his allegiance to conventional medicine to change the requirements for examining agents of the Civil War veterans so that only his professional brethren could serve, shutting out all rival forms of medical practitioners from getting or, in some cases, continuing to serve in the lucrative position. The homeopathic physicians and other irregulars were outraged and vilified the commissioner for his prejudicial position. Not surprisingly, the Lynn Medical Society, defended and praised his actions. They unanimously adopted a resolution and sent it on to *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* which read in part,

Whereas, Certain Homoeopathic and other irregular practitioners of medicine have condemned the action of Dr. H. Van Aernam, Commissioner of Pensions, in removing

certain Medical Examiners from office, on the ground of their not being regular physicians:

Resolved, That we commend Dr. Van Aernam's action in this respect as the only means by which the interests of the soldiers of our late war can be protected from the ignorance and incompetence that prevail so extensively in all the sectarian schools of medicine....⁶⁶⁷

The civil war wasn't over; it had just found a different battlefield.

An article appeared in a late December issue of *The Lynn Record* that, whether relating an actual or fictional event, was axiomatic of the tension that existed within and between the medical societies and the individual healers. The story related was of a boy who singlehandedly conspired to have some fun at the expense of a portion of Lynn's conventional doctors,

[He] took it into his head to test the amiability and energy of the Lynn medical faculty, by dispatching no less than eleven of them in hot haste on a trip to Glenmere! So lively did the youth work in calling out the doctors, that three or four of them started about the same time in response to the summons, and as each one observed the other going in the same direction, a mutual dislike for such company appeared to animate each medical individual's breast to such an extent that their respective "nags" were coaxed up to the top of their speed, in their desire to part company. ... Arriving almost simultaneously at the place ... the medical trio [who arrived first] almost scared the wits out of the lady they called upon, and as the disciples of Galen augmented their numbers very fast, the lady attempted in vain to reply to their anxious inquiries about her health ... Was she sure she was not ill? Well, to the best of her knowledge, presuming she was competent to judge in the matter, she was as well as usual, never was sick a day in her life! The doctors, who at first looked upon one another with more or less jealous contempt visible in their countenances ... some tried hard to look wise and dignified as owls, the ludicrousness of the situation proved too much for them, and they modestly hid their faces with their handkerchiefs or coat collars, while they silently stole out of the house. The truth in the matter is that the patient was well, (quite well,) and the doctors were sick, (very sick) of their trip to Glenmere....⁶⁶⁸

A short squib appearing in the *Lynn Transcript* in the same year pointed to the same sense of medical competition when it came to public visibility and recognition: "Some doctors don't believe in advertising – it's unprofessional, you know – but let one of 'em tie up a sore thumb for John Smith, and they'll climb seven pairs of stairs to have a reporter "just mention it, you know."⁶⁶⁹

When O. S. Cummings announced his homeopathic services to Lynn in 1872, he decided to have his office at 19 Railroad Avenue, where he "will pay special attention to all kinds of surgery and surgical diseases." It made perfect sense to the *Transcript* editor, to have a surgeon located in the vicinity of the city's central railroad station, "An office of this kind in the vicinity of Central Square will doubtless prove a blessing to many a victim of accident, and we are glad to see one established there."⁶⁷⁰ Running through the heart of a fast-growing city, man-vs-train accidents were frequent and fatal injuries were all too common. William H. N. Kimball, a 27-year-old insurance agent was run over by the train in March 1870; Daniel White was killed two weeks later. George H. Pierce, a 9-year-old boy, was killed by the train in March 1871, as were Albert F. Nourse and Jacob Sarring, both in July of that year.⁶⁷¹ Cummings could certainly expect to have occasional accident victims just down the street, but hopefully there wouldn't be another train-vs-train catastrophe like the one that happened 8 months and 5 miles back.

On 26 August 1871, just a short time before Cummings settled in at Lynn, there was a terrible train disaster in neighboring Revere and, even though it didn't happen in Lynn, they experienced the horror first-hand: a number of Lynn passengers were killed or horribly injured in the disaster and Lynn healers of every stripe heroically rushed to give aid, some even working side by side with their medical adversaries in an emergency armistice.

The accident happened after all the Lynn newspapers had been printed earlier that day, but though they had to wait a week to report the huge news story, some of the descriptions read like it had just happened:

THE HORRIBLE CARNAGE.

Those who but a moment previous were in life and health now laid in a mixed, crushed, torn, bleeding, steaming mass of dead and dying, forming one of the most appalling scenes ever beheld by man. Added to the horrors occasioned by the moment of the iron monster as it went crashing in among the passengers, its steam connections were broken and the already dead, dying, and even many of the uninjured were subjected to a terrible scalding which caused the skin and flesh to peel from their bodies and limbs which with

THE CARS ON FIRE,

Formed a picture inexpressibly ghastly, and sickening to the beholders.⁶⁷²

The hubbub of an extra-busy day could be felt in the trains; there were extra cars filled with lots of people traveling from two religious revivals, a military muster, and Revere's popular beach. Daytime had passed into a very dark and foggy night, and lights could only be seen a little distance ahead – not far enough for trains to stop on short notice. A train was preparing to leave the Revere station; behind the engine were a baggage car, a smoking car, and three cars full of passengers. An express train steamed right for it through the black night, unaware until it was too late. It hit the stationary train “with tremendous force – the locomotive plunging three quarters of the distance through the rear car, which was crowded with passengers even to the aisles.” The engine's cowcatcher split the car lengthwise in two, right down the aisle. The writer with the *Lynn Transcript* struggled to contain his emotions, even a week after the event:

Then ensued a scene of woe so horrible and heart-sickening that the pen falters in recording it. [Passengers] were thrown towards the forward end, some of them, doubtless, killed instantly, and many more of those who escaped mangling[,] meeting with a still more horrid death from the escaping steam that filled the car. The shock upset the kerosene lamps in the head passenger and smoking cars, and in an incredibly short time they were enveloped in flames....⁶⁷³

The *Lynn Transcript* reported over 30 had died; 10 of them were from Lynn. Among them were Harriet Shattuck, twenty-seven, and her seven-year-old son, Charles. Thomas F. Bancroft, fifty-five, a prominent shoe manufacturer of the firm Bancroft & Purinton, left a wife and four children. As soon as they received word of the disaster, Lynn doctors went to the site to give aid. Bowman B. Breed and Isaac F. Galloupe, Lynn's two battlefield surgeons of the late war, were among the first to arrive. When the bodies were brought back to the vicinity of the city hall, “the scene was one of intense and painful interest. Never since the assassination of Lincoln has the city been shrouded in such gloom as during that day.”⁶⁷⁴ Doctors Breed and Emerson assisted undertakers Short and Orcutt in the “melancholy task” of preparing the bodies for delivery to their families. The beard and skin on the right side of John Bartoll Jr.'s face were “burned to a crisp,” but somehow, he survived. One man's hands were so badly burned that the flesh hung in shreds from them.⁶⁷⁵ Jacob A. Allen, sixty-three, a liquid soap manufacturer, and Anna E. Swan, thirty-seven, the wife of a tin shop clerk, were brought back to their homes, but they were both badly scalded internally from inhaling steam and burned externally by the inferno. They were tended to by an unlikely medical consortium of Mrs. Glover (a metaphysical healer), and doctors Kennedy (a partner of Mrs. Glover and quasi-metaphysical healer), Lodge (a nonpracticing physician), and Newhall (a conventional physician). Kennedy saw that Allen's burns were bad, but thought his internal injuries were slight and the patient seemed strong and clear of mind. Kennedy and Lodge washed the burn victim's wounds, dressed them with oil and gave him laudanum, but it didn't seem to help the poor man's suffering.⁶⁷⁶ Bowman Breed felt sure that Allen and Miss Swan would die,

and mercifully, they did. It had been an extraordinary night of tragedy and hope, when all eyes and hands focused together on healing and helping, but when dawn broke, professional cooperation had disappeared with the night.

Throughout the 1870s, the doctors of the Lynn Medical Society repeatedly tried to exclude all other healers from practicing medicine in their city. In 1877 Daniel Perley personally appeared before the state's Senate Judiciary Committee to speak in favor of a bill exclusion, arguing for "the protection of educated physicians from quacks and charlatans who know not the first principles of medicine." He hoped that the legislation would drive uneducated pretenders from medicine, leaving it securely in the hands of the degreed and skilled physicians in the state's medical society. There was strong opposition to the bill from healers outside of the society and their supporters; many philosophical arguments were offered, such as "If a man has ability he will succeed as a physician whether he has a diploma or not." Fear and sympathy were also used: "This bill cuts off the mother from acting for her own daughter; and where is a better practitioner than her own mother, who knows nothing of medical phrases, but knows how to attend her daughter in child-bearing, gained from her own experience." Even William Thompson addressed the committee, claiming as he had in Lynn, that he had made the greatest medical discovery of the age and reading extracts from his patients' testimonials as proof of the efficacy of his medicine; he probably also pointed out the thirty-two physicians who were unable to cure him which he ultimately did for himself. He was an effective and humorous speaker, "replete with practical ideas" that reinforced his contention that "a man had as much right to select his own physician as his own lawyer." The forces that favored Thompson's freedom-of-choice position prevailed and the bill died in committee.⁶⁷⁷ Future efforts of the Massachusetts Medical Society to legislate control of medical practice would have to find other champions; Perley suffered a stroke "which left him in a helpless condition" in the fall of 1877; he died in 1881.⁶⁷⁸

A year after the medical society legislative defeat, one of Perley's professional brothers glumly summarized the status of doctoring in Massachusetts, "At present there is in this enlightened and progressive State no sort of official definition of what a physician is. ... No one can tell exactly where the line runs that separates the physician from the quack." While coddling his bruised ego he scornfully sniped, "This is a free country, and the dearest privilege of the American citizen is to humbug and to be humbugged"⁶⁷⁹

Joseph Pinkham stayed focused on the goal of taking control of Lynn's health. As Lynn's city physician back in 1872, he had successfully influenced the mayor to select only members of the medical society as vaccinators; it didn't prevent others from buying their own vaccination materials and offering their services, but because of Pinkham's efforts, they were on their own and not part of the city-endorsed effort to vaccinate the community.

At the decade's end Pinkham again succeeded in controlling another part of Lynn's medical landscape: the Sanitary Association of Lynn. This wasn't a long-standing department of the city government or "the outcome of any great popular interest in sanitary science, nor the urgent response to an epidemic rampaging in the city, but rather an effort, as he put it, of "a few zealous individuals, who felt themselves called upon to preach the gospel of hygiene to a community that was bearing the unnecessary burdens of preventable disease and death." In truth, it was mainly his baby, born out of the attention he had drawn in mid-decade to the hygienic conditions in Lynn and how they contributed to the diphtheria epidemic in 1876. In a review of its conception and birth, Pinkham explained the need he saw for it. He said the population of Lynn was "a mongrel one, containing many foreigners" and, although "there is a fair proportion of intelligent, keen-witted people, [there is] a larger one, I fear, of those who may be justly described as ignorant and stupid, especially as regards the laws of healthy living."⁶⁸⁰

The "zealous individuals" who organized the new Sanitary Association were composed exclusively of three members of the state medical society and a cream-of-the-crop list of success: five shoe manufacturers, two bankers, an attorney, a civil engineer, and a former mayor, plus an

insurance agent and a merchant rounded out the list of powerful and influential members of the community – not an “ignorant and stupid” person among them.⁶⁸¹ Pinkham was elected Secretary, well-positioned as the medical expert whispering advice to the president, Charles F. Coffin, a shoe manufacturer. The stated purposes of the association were to: (1) teach people how to prevent disease; (2) get city leaders to back their efforts; and (3) conduct property inspections for hygienic hazards.⁶⁸² True to its first objective, the association published a series of tracts to educate the populace about health problems and ways to prevent them, even though Pinkham recognized it would be an uphill battle because “the cure of disease, real or supposed, occupies a more prominent place in the public estimation than its prevention.”⁶⁸³ In *Sanitary Tract No. 3*, the association declared its design to get rid of outhouses and cesspools: “we unhesitatingly pronounce the existing privy system an abominable, disgusting, dangerous nuisance, unfit to be tolerated in a civilized community … a relic of barbarism, a disgrace to civilization … poisoning the air we breathe, fouling the soil … and poisoning the wells which furnish water for drinking or cooking.”⁶⁸⁴ They acknowledged that switching, from outhouses and cesspools to earth closets (commodes with soil instead of water) or connection to city sewer lines, would “entail great cost,” given that there were 4,750 privies in Lynn in mid-decade, but no price was too great for the community’s health.⁶⁸⁵ With medical society backbone running through it, the Sanitary Association was fully prepared to take control of the city, if need be: “If it be argued that this interferes with the rights of individuals, we reply that any other course interferes with the rights of the community; and that the only principles upon which a compact community can exist, includes *the restraint of individuals for the good of the whole.*”⁶⁸⁶

INHOSPITABLE DOCTORS

The Lynn Medical Society’s impact was felt even when it *didn’t* take action, which was the case with the establishment of Lynn’s first hospital. As with all issues concerning health, the need for a hospital in Lynn developed steadily over time. During the first two centuries, accident victims and illness sufferers had only their homes in which to heal; families, friends, and sometimes watchers were their nurses and the occasional visiting midwife or doctor were their medical practitioners. Back in 1839, physician Charles Otis Barker had turned part of his own Lynn home into a makeshift hospital. This fact made the news only because a fire erupted in the house when a hot coal from a stove pipe fell onto a straw carpet. The fire reached the ceiling but “was fortunately discovered before it had made much progress. There were in the house two patients, dangerously sick, who couldn’t have survived a removal had it been necessary.”⁶⁸⁷

Lunatic asylums, battlefield hospitals, and pesthouses for contagious diseases were three more destinations established for various special health needs, but they were all places where no one ever wanted to be a patient. Lynn city authorities had ordered the erection of a new quarantine hospital in 1860. A Boston newspaper wag teased about the meager facility: “[it is] a magnificent edifice, twenty by thirty feet … built of rough pine and located on the city [poor] farm. It will … cost something less than ten thousand dollars – probably two ciphers less [\$100].”⁶⁸⁸ It was being built to replace the previous pesthouse that had been worn out to the point of only being fit for use as a horse feed storage shed. The new edifice (of which the wag wrote, “the improved state of our language required that it should be called a ‘hospital’”) was a whitewashed building, standing on a knoll somewhat isolated from the almshouse, surrounded by a high picket fence; the implied message to the healthy was clear: *Danger – Stay Away*. With infrequent use and by only the sickest of the sick, each time Lynn built a quarantine hospital, it was an underfunded, bare-bones construction and an unloved stepchild when it came to upkeep; hence the motley condition of the hospital from which young Joseph Vieira decided to escape.⁶⁸⁹

For years, those serving as the city physician had consistently urged the construction of a hospital in their annual report to the city council. Bowman B. Breed had expressed the concern in

his annual address back in 1869, citing the overcrowded boarding-houses where the sick had “literally ‘nowhere to lay his head’,” as well as the problem of where to bring victims of accidents that were more frequently happening with the increased use of machinery; they were not paupers, but they needed a place to go. He dreamed big, envisioning a 50-bed hospital for Lynn’s needs, with a medical officer whose services would be offered gratuitously.⁶⁹⁰ Breed’s recommendations were followed by those of Joseph G. Pinkham, the next city physician, whose annual reports recommended the establishment of a hospital twice during his three-year tenure. In 1870 he wrote that there were “hundreds of cases of sickness and accident occurring Where the comfort and the chances of the poor patients would be largely increased could they be taken to a well arranged hospital, and have the benefit of careful nursing and skillful medical treatment.”⁶⁹¹ In 1872 his plea was more impassioned and graphic, citing sadly real examples of those needing a hospital in Lynn – the victim of a train accident and the pregnant, single woman:

The stranger, whose limbs are mangled by the cruel car-wheels, must now linger out his hours of mortal agony in the rude freight house, surrounded by a crowd of curious spectators – a position in which there is little opportunity to do what medical skill and kind nursing may to foster his feeble chances of life. A young woman, more sinned against than sinning, has committed the offence which society never forgives; and, either through ignorance or because not wicked enough, does not increase her guilt tenfold by those damnable efforts to conceal it, which society approves and practices. Sickness overtakes her an outcast; her malady assumes a threatening nature; and, though thrown at last upon cold State charity and sent to an almshouse at a distance, it is too late, and she dies, a victim of unchristian neglect. Had there been a place in the city to which these cases [had] been taken, the issue in each of them might have been far different. They are not imaginary, but actual instances, and many others might be given.⁶⁹²

In the same year, the *Lynn Transcript* enthusiastically urged the building of a hospital, stating that the almshouse, although doing a good job of caring for the indigent, was no more a hospital than the high school was, and the contagious disease “hospital” on its grounds “hardly meets an enlarged view of what is meant by that term.”⁶⁹³ So when in 1872 the Lynn Medical Society went on record in favor of a hospital, the *Transcript* was only too happy to publish the society’s formal resolution:

... Whereas, the city of Lynn has a much larger proportion than most other cities of persons without homes, who, if taken sick, are unable to obtain the care and conveniences necessary to their comfort and favorable to their recovery, every member of this society seeing, each year, many cases in which hospital treatment would add greatly to the chance of life;

Resolved, That we consider the establishment of a City Hospital at least *one* of the most commendable objects now before the people of Lynn⁶⁹⁴

Holding a death grip on the city purse, city authorities remained unmoved, so courageous but inadequate individual efforts continued as the only recourse for the sick and injured. Lynn’s city missionary had done his best to segregate one room of his humble mission apartment for the indigent sick; he called his refuge the “Covert,” and its few beds were constantly filled.⁶⁹⁵ In 1873 at the onset of the great financial panic, the overwhelmed city missionary could only scratch his head in frustration, “I cannot comprehend the opposition that is made to the simple, inexpensive institution which is asked. the existence in this city of more misery and poverty than the well-to-do in our midst probably ever dreamed of ... The need for a City Hospital becomes more and more pressing, as the population increases.”⁶⁹⁶

The Lynn Record stroked the egos of Lynn’s wealthy, trying to encourage donations for the effort, “What a grand chance this would be for some of our wealthy citizens to build a monument

that would be an honor to them while living and add luster to their memory when dead! Who of this class desire such a monument?"⁶⁹⁷

In October 1874 a small group of well-intentioned, kindhearted Lynn women gathered together to discuss what they could do to get a hospital established in their community, "without a dollar promised, with nothing for a basis but a spirit of determination and a great deal of faith."⁶⁹⁸ With Lynn staggering through the toughest part of the national depression, the effort to enlist support and gather significant funds could have seemed daunting, but they pressed on and the numbers in the newly created Lynn Hospital Association increased to at least thirty-four men and women who were pushing the need and sentiment for a hospital into reality.

All four of the officers (probably some of the original organizers) were female and more than half of the nineteen board of managers were as well. Similar to the Sanitary Association, the Lynn Hospital Association's leadership was filled with a bunch of well-heeled shoe manufacturers and community leaders, although some of the members were from among Lynn's grassroots: wage earners, a farmer, and a widow.⁶⁹⁹ The Lynn Medical Society had its inroads into the Lynn Hospital Association as well: "Mrs. Dr. Emerson" was the association's secretary, Hannah Breed, the wife of Civil War doctor Bowman B. Breed, was one of its managers, and the current city physician, John O. Webster, was another.⁷⁰⁰ Webster was enthusiastic about the cause; like his predecessors, he had strongly advocated for a city hospital in his 1874 annual report to the city council. John Emerson, another Lynn Medical Society physician and husband of the hospital association's secretary, was also quite animated about his wife's efforts; he wrote enthusiastically to his medical society colleague, Charles Lovejoy, who was doing post-graduate work in London, "We are going to have a hospital in Lynn, we are going to have one even if it is not as large as a woodshed."⁷⁰¹

On November 9th, at a meeting of the association's managers, Webster proposed an extraordinarily progressive motion, especially for a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, "No rule and regulation shall be made by this board that shall exclude any homoeopathic physician from attending such patients as wish for their treatment." He apparently offered the resolution in response to concern expressed by fellow citizens about whether homeopathic treatment would be offered at the hospital.⁷⁰² Three days later, at a full meeting of the association, an even more liberal version of Webster's motion was proposed to the membership as an amendment to the organization's constitution, "Resolved, that as this institution is intended to meet the wants of the entire community, there shall be no discrimination in favor of any school of medicine." Considerable objection was initially raised by several members who feared that some of the "Old School" doctors would refuse to work alongside healers not affiliated with the Massachusetts Medical Society, but the association was "composed of ladies of all beliefs in regard to medical cures," so when a vote was taken on November 14th, there were only two dissenting votes.⁷⁰³ If all the members were present for the vote, then at least one of the three with a vested interest in the Lynn Medical Society broke the sacred trust and voted in favor of the motion. The amendment was a bold move but popular enough that all the necessary funds were raised, and four and a half months later, on 31 March 1875, the new Lynn hospital was ready to be dedicated.⁷⁰⁴

Money had been collected and pillows, blankets, and other essentials gathered by the "indefatigable labors of some of [Lynn's] charitably disposed ladies and gentlemen," and the homestead of the late Benjamin J. Phillips at 12 Waterhill Street was secured to become the hospital.⁷⁰⁵ It was a square, well-ventilated, three-story house in good condition, with wide halls and numerous fireplaces, and it sat on two acres with a barn and "plenty of breathing space" among fruit trees and grape vines.⁷⁰⁶ The large house had been a comfortable home for the six members of the affluent Phillips family for decades, and it was planned to have six beds (initially) for sick and injured strangers who came through its door. Over that welcoming door was written the word, "Free" – the physicians had committed to serve at the hospital without compensation.⁷⁰⁷

The house-turned-hospital was reconfigured for its new purpose. The first floor was laid out to have a reception room, dining room, kitchen, and two rooms for patients, each containing two

beds but capable of holding up to four. The second floor had the matron's room as well as three more rooms for patients (one had two beds and the other two each had one). The third floor was divided into two large rooms for use by servants and an unfinished storage room.⁷⁰⁸ The *Lynn Transcript* and the *Lynn Reporter* announced the same list of attending physicians, appearing like civility, friendliness, and respect had buried the hatchet: The Lynn Medical Society would be represented by Isaac F. Galloupe, Joseph G. Pinkham, John S. Emerson, William B. Reynolds, Coeleb Burnham, and Jonathan W. Goodell; and the Lynn Homeopathic Medical Society presented Alvin M. Cushing, Charles R. Brown, George S. Woodman, Martha J. Flanders, and Isabel P. Haywood.⁷⁰⁹ All was in readiness; nothing like the foreboding pesthouse, it was the finest hospital facility in Lynn in its first 250 years.⁷¹⁰

During the dedication ceremony the hospital already had two patients and one more was about to join them. The *Transcript* reporter covering the event started feeling sick with a well-defined pain in the area of the stomach, "about as severe as he wished to bear." His clothes became soaked with perspiration and nausea overcame him to the point of violent retching, and he had difficulty breathing. But there may never have been a better time and location in Lynn to become sick than at the unveiling of the new hospital with a host of medical people in attendance. Several people helped get him into one of the beds. The matron then administered a small dose of camphor and applied flannel wrung out with hot water. Health returned to the reporter almost as quickly as sickness had arrived; the hospital's first success story, a cured man, was discharged before sunset.⁷¹¹ With the successful opening of the hospital, the city missionary closed the place he had used as a makeshift hospital for the poor. All was well; dreams had been realized and prayers were answered – or so it seemed.

One week into the much-anticipated venture, a call for help looked like things were moving forward nicely, "a few comforts are needed at the new hospital," an article in the *Lynn Reporter* indicated, "such as men's dressing gowns, women's double gowns or wrappers, footstools, and slippers. Partially worn articles of this description will be very acceptable, and ... will be very gratefully received."⁷¹² But another article in the same paper shook the hospital supporters like the jarring rumble of a sudden thunderstorm – the Lynn Medical Society doctors were pulling out. On April 2nd, just two days after the hospital opened, the Lynn Medical Society took a vote and "decided to decline serving" at the new hospital, "... after patients had been admitted and medical attendance called for, the regular physicians asserted that fidelity to their profession forbade the acceptance of a call for their services in this cause if any practitioner not of the Massachusetts Medical Society was employed in the hospital."⁷¹³ They notified the hospital association that they would provide medical attendance at the hospital *only* on the condition that "the care of the institution should be exclusively in the hands of members of the Medical Society." Their proposal was "promptly declined."⁷¹⁴ The *Lynn Transcript* was incensed:

... we are forced to say that it furnishes one of the cheapest and most disgusting bits of unprofessional bigotry that we have any knowledge of. We have no special sympathy with homeopaths, nor indeed with physicians of any of the prominent schools, and we can speak impartially; but we do say this, that the only proper object with any medical man is and should be the curing of the sick, and he has no business to claim to be honest, while he puts the interests of societies and cliques between the patient and his health. And for any physician to refuse medical assistance when desired, because somebody else under the same roof is acting under a different opinion – while he knows he can have undisputed control of his own case, and no interference – is too badly contemptible to be charged on any one in a city as liberal as ours.⁷¹⁵

This was no spur-of-the-moment decision triggered by some sudden enlightenment that they were being asked to serve along with homeopaths and others outside of the Massachusetts Medical Society – it was a premeditated strategy to crush the irregulars and become the sole medical practice in Lynn. They knew exactly what they were doing and the commotion it would cause. The Lynn

Hospital Association had passed their groundbreaking “Universalopathy” resolution (to borrow the apt description of it by the *Lynn Transcript*) back in November 1874 – over four months before the conventional physicians reacted – and their decision wasn’t just delayed, it was presented *after* the hospital had opened. They either thought the hospital association would quickly surrender full control to them or, if not, that the homeopaths would crumble under their own medical ignorance and incompetence. Neither happened and Lynn’s first significant hospital facility turned out to be, for all intents and purposes, a homeopathic medical center. So, while Lynn Medical Society doctors Perley, Newhall, Drew, Galloupe, Goodell, Emerson, Pinkham, Burnham, and Reynolds refused to work at the hospital with irregulars, homeopathic doctors Cushing, Ahearne, Welch, Cummings, Flanders, Hawks, Woodman, Haywood, and Brown, plus the interesting addition of maverick conventional physician John A. McArthur (in defiance of the state medical society bylaws), were prepared and willing to serve.⁷¹⁶

With a renegade allopath and a dose of homeopaths ready at the bedside, people came to Lynn’s new hospital. In the first year, forty-one patients came to the “house of mercy.” They were male and female, ranging from nine to eighty-seven years old, natives of Ireland and England, Maine and Nova Scotia, Wrentham and Lynn, and places in between. There were accident victims and stroke victims; sufferers from boils to typhoid fever to testicle inflammation; one who gave birth and a few who died.⁷¹⁷ The reputation of the hospital spread; the fact that any physician could tend patients there constituted its entire description in *The Medical Register of New England* for 1877; it had instantly become the most singular feature of the hospital.⁷¹⁸

Rather than crumble as the regular doctors had expected or hoped, the homeopaths and McArthur flourished. They organized their rounds by assigning a different doctor a specific day each week and thus ensure constant coverage of the patients and hospital duties. By July 1875 they were expanding their services to include opening a free medicine dispensary at the hospital. Staffing the dispensary was handled with the same sort of alternating day rotation as were the hospital duties. Advice and medicine were issued free to the poor at 4:00 PM five days a week.⁷¹⁹ The papers praised the good work being done by the valiant doctors; *The Lynn Record* applauded, “We gladly welcome so beneficent and philanthropic an institution in our midst[; the] humane efforts of the gentlemen connected with the institution will be properly estimated by our citizens.”⁷²⁰ *The Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter* chimed in, “We would also express our gratitude to all those physicians who so kindly tendered, and so generously bestowed their services; for without their aid, the institution, of course, must have proved a failure and especially do we thank those who so nobly brave the opposition of their associates.”⁷²¹ The Lynn Hospital Association membership was another sign of the hospital’s success; it had swelled from 34 to 287 members in six months. Two years into the grand experiment, a newspaper reporter visited the hospital and found the bed count had been increased to eleven beds and the association’s managers had “barely sufficient room to accommodate those admitted.”⁷²² Twenty-five months after the hospital’s opening, *The Lynn Record* remained convinced of the correctness of the hospital’s founding principle: “It should make no difference which school of physicians run the Lynn City Hospital; every patient should have the right to select what doctor he pleases.” After all, they pointed out slyly, “About as many of the people hie to the better land [pass on to the next life] on the homoeopathic train as on the allopathic, and *vice versa.*”⁷²³

Growth and need, not ineffective administration or poor results, proved to be the hospital’s undoing. Four years after its dedicatory exercises, it closed, due to lack of key resources, like bathrooms, and the owner refused to make the necessary improvements.⁷²⁴ But the 49-month endeavor had proven that a hospital was indeed needed in Lynn and that beyond the city’s exclusive society of medical elites, there were other healers who were a competent, creditable, and honorable part of the medical profession. In their effort to spit on irregular medicine, the Lynn Medical Society miscalculated and had actually spit into the wind – a strong headwind at that.

If the Lynn Medical Society's absence of bedside manner had been limited to the singular instance of sounding pompously elitist in the hospital debacle, the citizens may have forgiven or tabled the matter to a misunderstanding or miscommunication; but the problem was it was just one of several slide specimens created over the decade that magnified conventional doctors into a rather arrogant and unlikeable species. In his published writings about local health challenges, Joseph Pinkham had condescendingly described the large non-Lynn native population as "mongrel(s) ... justly described as ignorant and stupid, especially as regards the laws of healthy living," and in need of "intelligent, keen-witted" leaders like himself to make decisions for them. The city physician, George Cahill, had also shown disdain for the people he served when he publicly complained about the "very exacting and unreasonable demands" of the poor and how it infringed on his time to make money in private practice. The Board of Aldermen readily accepted but virtually ignored the impertinent physician's letter of resignation.⁷²⁵



THEN THERE WAS THE TROUBLING TRAGEDY of Mrs. Elizabeth "Bessie" Homan: she died from a surgery she didn't want to have, performed by doctors who insisted they knew best. The story of her last days had occurred in late 1873, when the cold winter sky collided with a bone-chilling financial depression; it descended over Lynn like a lead-grey shroud, heavy with cold, rain, and gloom, numbing life's prospects below.⁷²⁶ A second-floor bedroom in the Homan house, oxymorically located on Pleasant street, just a stone's throw from the Lynn Common, was the setting for the melodrama that was about to unfold. The characters on stage had had played opposite each other in Lynn's health drama throughout the decade: the conventional doctors, the alternative physicians, and the sick (with a supporting cast of concerned family). All three protagonists wanted healing to happen, but each looked at the other as the reason for failure.

To the regular medical fraternity, the patient was, respectfully, Elizabeth M. Homan, a patient with abnormal symptoms that needed to be resolved. They analyzed the etiology of her complaint and determined the appropriate clinical response for resolution. On November 25th, a pelvic abscess had been detected between the uterus and the bladder. Thomas T. Graves anesthetized her with ether and George H. Bixby of Boston drained the abscess of a large amount of pus by tapping a trocar through the vagina.⁷²⁷ The abscess refilled rapidly with puss and pain and by December 4th the doctors had decided that it must be drained again. Bixby later recalled that the patient "was apparently in a very poor condition" and "very unwilling to take ether, but tacitly consented to the persuasions of the physicians."⁷²⁸ Graves put the ether-soaked towel over her face and she struggled, trying to push the towel away, but he continued to hold it in place.⁷²⁹ More than another pint of pus drained out the second time, with still more flowing, "when the patient was found to be dead." The two doctors tried to resuscitate her for a half hour by vigorously rubbing her limbs, using artificial respiration, and shocking her with a galvanic battery, but the patient remained dead, so they left to get the coroner.⁷³⁰

The coroner was none other than Joseph G. Pinkham, and he assembled a jury of inquest consisting of nothing but leading men in the community: Isaac F. Galloupe and Edward Newhall of the Lynn Medical Society, plus two Lynn apothecaries, Warren Tapley and W. H. Messinger, and two shoe manufacturers, C. A. Coffin, and Lebbeus Hill, and the autopsy was performed by another colleague, John O. Webster, in the presence of four more from the Lynn Medical Society, plus three more physicians from the state medical society, and Alvin Cushing, the lone homeopath.⁷³¹ Webster noted an inflamed bladder and an enlarged uterus, and the abscess in between them, plus a dermoid cyst in each ovary, both with bone and hair and one with a tooth. The jury's verdict was that Elizabeth Homan had died from "the combined effects of sulphuric ether and extreme nervous exhaustion, while undergoing a trivial surgical operation"; they also decided "that the etherization and operation were *properly done*" and that the two doctors had taken all appropriate measures to resuscitate the patient.⁷³² The patient had been lost, but the doctors were

formally exonerated, and the medical fraternity used the case as a springboard for further clinical discussion on the merits of ether as an anesthetic.

To the homeopath, she was, notably, Mrs. J. W. Homan, the young wife who, despite her painfully swollen abdomen, had been quite busy in the days leading up to Thanksgiving, being “about the house and cooking for a large family, often going up and down stairs.”⁷³³ After Graves and Bixby left to get the coroner, family members thought they could still feel a pulse in the body, so they immediately sent for Alvin Cushing. When he arrived, an hour had already passed since she had been declared expired, but he kept hope alive: “the body [was] warm as in life; the eyes natural and lifelike; the lids would close when opened; lips red, but not livid; I could feel her pulse, and hear her heart beat, about thirty-five to forty beats per minute.” He poured several spoonfuls of vinegar, whiskey, and water into her mouth; none dribbled out and he thought he could hear a sound resembling an attempt to swallow.⁷³⁴ About thirty minutes into his efforts, Coroner Pinkham arrived and (said Cushing), he thought that he, too, felt a slight beating pulse and heartbeat and that she squeezed his hand. They used other tests for life – a mirror (“looking-glass”) in front of her mouth, hot water and even a flame to the skin – but the tests produced no further signs of life; she was, at least at this point, dead.⁷³⁵

At the inquest and for the record, Pinkham repositioned himself apart from the homeopath, altogether dismissing the matter of a lingering pulse, “An irregular practitioner was then called in, who testified, as did also some of the naturally excited relations, that the pulse was still beating. We pass over this evidence without comment.”⁷³⁶ The once again rebuffed homeopath was unsurprised that the inquest concluded the etherization was properly done; the verdict was stacked in their favor, given the composition of the jury: “of course the verdict complimented the medical attendants.”⁷³⁷ And so, the lone homeopath wrote his own review and assessment of the inquest report, publishing it in the homeopathic *New England Medical Gazette*:

If any one wants [my] conclusions more concisely, they are these. Every one has the sole care of his own life, and can only forfeit the right to control it by some public crime. [I] think that every attempt to break this right is an assault: if malicious, the law has a name for it; if innocent and mistaken, it is no less wrong [I] think that in the case reviewed there was such an attempt; very innocent perhaps, but very determined, and very unfortunate, and calculated to set prudent people thinking.⁷³⁸

He felt that the basic human rights of the young wife and stepmother had been trampled under the self-righteous hands and towel of overbearing medical society doctors. The jury clearly didn’t agree, but the family definitely did.

To her husband and extended family, she was just Bessie, a new wife, stepmother, cook, and housekeeper for her new household. Her story really started before she came to Pleasant Street. She was John W. Homan’s third wife. His first wife died of consumption in the year that Bessie was born; leaving John with a nine-month-old baby. By his second marriage there were several children, but the first died at four years old, of consumption. In 1869 his second wife also died of consumption, leaving him with the remainder of their children, ages 12, 10, 9, 7, and 6; then 5 months later, the oldest child died of typhoid fever.⁷³⁹ When Bessie married John in 1871, the twenty-four-year-young woman was assuming the mothering and housekeeping roles for four children and a 44-year-old husband. A man of modest means, he had gone from being a cordwainer, making shoes on his own, to becoming a laborer in a shoe factory, then most recently making glue for shoemaking, but then the great depression hit Lynn.⁷⁴⁰ The costs for doctors and funerals from recent losses, plus the needs of a family of six, meant that every day of work was an urgent necessity. Then his new wife became sick.

During the scant two and a half years of their marriage, Bessie had been diagnosed with a string of diseases – hysteria, neuralgia, and falling of the womb – and had always appeared to her doctor to be “a very weakly woman.” She had told her doctor that she was unable to attend prayer-

meetings, places of amusement, or even to ride to Boston in the steam cars. The disease from which she suffered most was *prolapsus uteri*, or falling of the womb; and just before their second anniversary, she complained of a swelling in the left side.⁷⁴¹ It was diagnosed as an abdominal tumor and it was causing a great retention of urine. By November, the region had abscessed.

Bessie was very weak from the first puss-draining surgery. John had not been told his wife was going to have that operation, so he went to work and found out what happened when he returned home in the early evening. He went upstairs and found his wife in a stupor until about 8:00 PM, when she commenced talking and singing deliriously until 3:00 AM; she then experienced respiratory distress and it continued for the next two days. She also was in pain, so he gave her pills that Graves had left; they made her puke and she had taken very little nourishment since the surgery.⁷⁴² It had been a very rugged, ragged recovery and, when Graves said another operation would be necessary to remove the new build-up of pus in the reswollen abscess, the beleaguered Bessie said *no*. She said no to everyone around her: her husband, her sister, her sister-in-law, and her oldest stepdaughter. She was confident that she wouldn't survive it, so she didn't want to take any more ether. All of them testified that she had told each of them as adamantly as her taxed system would allow, that she would rather die a natural death than undergo ether again. Each family member insisted they told the doctors on Bessie's behalf.

On December 4th, John Homan told Dr. Graves that his wife wasn't willing to take ether again. Graves said Bixby would probably not come that day anyway since it was cloudy and they needed very fair weather before even being able to operate. So, for a second time, John left for work only to learn that during his absence a second operation had been performed and, that this time, his wife had died.⁷⁴³

Bessie's sister, Augusta Delano, "feared the ether would kill her" and "told Graves that Bessie declined to have the operation performed." Graves said it must be done or she couldn't live; "Augusta protested that Bessie expressed a preference for a natural death." Emma S. Hemean, Bessie's sister-in-law, also told the doctors that Bessie wanted to die a natural death; irked and impatient, Bixby shot back, "Get the ether, *we men know better than you.*"⁷⁴⁴ Graves testified that Bessie had merely told him, "Do not give it [to me] too strong," but Cushing openly questioned whether, given the testimonies of four family members, it was more likely that what she had actually said was, "Do not give it [to me]! Too strong!"⁷⁴⁵

One of the Homan boys was sent to the apothecary with an ether bottle to get it refilled. George H. Drury, the apothecary at 38 Market St., testified that a boy came into his store and asked for a pound of sulphuric ether; "[I] asked him if he had any authority for getting it; he replied that Dr. Bixby wanted it; [so I] put it up for him in the bottle he provided."⁷⁴⁶

Graves put a towel saturated with ether over Bessie's face; she tried to push the towel away, but he continued to hold it firmly over her face.⁷⁴⁷ Augusta and Emma were in the bedroom with the doctors as they anesthetized and operated upon Bessie; Augusta reluctantly helped hold one of Bessie's hands down on the bed as she tried to get away from the ether towel. As Bixby operated, the patient gasped once or twice and then stopped breathing. Outraged, Augusta chastised the doctors with sarcasm, "You have done your work well; it is the ether that has done this; if you had listened to me this would not have happened."⁷⁴⁸ The two doctors briskly rubbed Bessie's limbs, performed artificial respiration, applied a battery for about 10 minutes, and listened for her beating heart, but she appeared dead.⁷⁴⁹ Testimonies of the family claimed the doctors seemed in a great rush to leave after the death, the haste punctuated by surgical tools found where they had been tossed. One instrument was under the bureau, another by the closet door, and another in the towel, covered with matter.⁷⁵⁰ Bixby said he left the instruments, fully meaning to return.⁷⁵¹ Stepdaughter Nellie hadn't been in the room during the surgery, but she was called in to help bring her stepmother back to life. She also picked up the instruments off the floor.⁷⁵²

As a postscript to Bessie Homan death, a medical society publication derisively stated that “*the lower orders*” had become a little more reticent about taking ether; to the very end of the discussion, people who disagreed with medical society doctors were still swinging on the lowest branches of Darwin’s evolutionary tree, incapable of comprehending superior medical knowledge.⁷⁵³

Many of the people of Lynn were going through a very difficult decade: they lost little ones to invisible creatures in their baby bottles, were injured and maimed by industrialization, lived in difficult conditions because of a crippled economy, suffered through increased crime, struggled through the effects of intemperance and drug addiction, and cowered in the presence of epidemics. Being told they were ignorant and undeserving of respect and the privilege of choice that was accorded the upper classes didn’t work with this battle-tested people. They were not willing to be docile drones, placidly accepting the decisions others wanted to make for them, especially when it came to their personal rights to choose between surgery or no surgery. Whether it be a homeopath, a clairvoyant, or a conventional doctor, a prescription or a patent medicine – even when they made the worst possible choice, it was their choice to make.

PROMISING CURES

Alcohol was to Lynn what water was to nature – it was everywhere and had dramatic impact on every life it touched. Just as with the waters from pump and pond, alcohol had its advocates and critics. Unlike water, alcohol was easily abused and concern about drinking too much of it was significant and genuine, as it had been for many decades past. Referendums were presented for public vote to determine, “Shall any person be allowed to manufacture, sell, or keep for sale, Ale, Porter, Strong Beer, or Lager Beer, in this city?”⁷⁵⁴ In 1871 the measure passed by just twenty-seven votes, but few had bothered to vote. Disappointed by the defeat and the lackluster voter turnout, the temperance forces rallied over the next few years, forming at least fifteen temperance organizations.⁷⁵⁵ In his 1872 inaugural address, Mayor Buffum targeted alcohol abuse as the root of Lynn’s evils:

Unless we can do something to check this vice [intemperance], there is not available wealth enough in our city to build poorhouses and jails sufficient for the very children amongst us who are ripening into paupers and felons. No glare of luxurious life or splendid architecture can blind a thoughtful man to this leprosy among adults, and worse still among boys and girls.⁷⁵⁶

In 1874 they got the measure on the ballot once again and this time it was defeated, 1,974 to 1,220.⁷⁵⁷ Still the argument didn’t end and drugstores were at the center of the debate. Shoemaker Amos I. Withey passionately insisted the druggists in Ward 3 were “unfit persons” to engage in the liquor business, “It is well known that they could not live but for the liquor sold. The stores have been open on Sundays, and a crowd congregates about them, to buy liquors, cigars, &c. They are the worst rumshops in this city.”⁷⁵⁸ In the next year, the state passed An Act to Regulate the sale of Intoxicating Liquors, granting city and town governments the right to award liquor licenses. Under the act, druggists and apothecaries were allowed to sell pure alcohol for “medicinal, mechanical or chemical purposes” and liquors of any kind, as long as they were not consumed in the drugstores, which would have put them on par with saloons and rum shops.⁷⁵⁹ This liquor licensing carve-out for drugstores was much to the relief of an anonymous Lynn pharmacist who explained in a letter to the *Lynn Transcript* that alcohol and liquors were the lifeblood of the drugstore trade:

... the sale of wines, spirits, ale and porter, as tonics and stimulants in medicine, is more necessary than alcohol. They are extensively used by invalids; and the medical profession prescribe and advise their use. ... It is impossible to forego the use of alcohol, wine, brandy and Holland gin in pharmacy and medicine. There are more than

a hundred different tinctures in every well-furnished drug store that cannot be made without alcohol. There is a large number of medicated wines, such as the wine of ipecac, wine of iron and wine of pepsin, that the apothecary cannot prepare without sherry wine, as directed by the *U.S. Pharmacopoeia*. For the preparation of diarrhoea remedies he must also keep on hand the best of French brandy; for many complaints, requiring an efficient diuretic, Holland gin must be used; for an astringent tonic, elderberry wine, port wine, &c. To prohibit an apothecary from keeping and dispensing these articles, to refuse him a license and visit him with penalties for the proper exercise of his calling, would be about as fanatical a persecution as can be imagined.⁷⁶⁰

With the rights of apothecaries to use and sell alcohol-infused products finally protected by law, the pharmacy business flourished in Lynn: in 1871 there had been 11 drugstores in the city; by 1879 there were 26 locations, but they weren't alone: by June of 1876, 141 businesses in Lynn had been licensed to sell spirituous liquors.⁷⁶¹ Forman's apothecary regularly advertised his Blackberry Wine, Cherry Brandy Cordial, and Cherry Rum, along with its *Diarrhoea and Dysentery Cordial*, "sure to cure the prevailing complaints of the summer" Temperance remained an unanswered prayer for Lynn's teetotalers.⁷⁶²

Apothecary shops, or drugstores as they were now more frequently being called, continued to be the important landmarks in Lynn's neighborhoods that they had been for decades. Some did all they could to stand out and gain the customer's confidence that each visit was going to be special. As soon as Warren Toppan leased a store at 108 Union Street, he fitted it up to be a first-class drug and medicine establishment. The two long counters, prescription desk, and upright cases were all made of black walnut and bird's eye maple "in the best style of workmanship" by Lynn's J. W. Tewksbury. Marble slabs covered the counters, and fine showcases from Patterson & Lavender of Boston were placed on top of them. The distinctive drugstore bottles were furnished by Strutts & Osborn, of New York. Toppan had worked for eight years in pharmacies and managed one for a year in Charlestown, and he felt sure he could make his own enterprise one of the best in Lynn; his investment in its furnishings was a bold lunge for success.⁷⁶³ Fancy soda fountains had become magnificent displays designed to impress and make the apothecary shop a social destination with healthful, delicious beverages where even the local temperance advocates could tip a glass. Bergengren's new fountain was described as "magnificent" with a "beautiful pattern."⁷⁶⁴ Forman's shop had the Tufts' Arctic Fountain, a countertop monument of marble with silver-plated gas jets, serving cool soda in the summer and hot soda in the winter.⁷⁶⁵ "The Radiant," another of Tufts' elaborate creations, was installed in Benjamin Proctor's West Lynn apothecary, "with all the latest attachments"; when the workmen were connecting a pipe to the "uniquely beautiful soda fountain," they found a mouse nest hidden in the shop's counter, neatly made of old currency that the mouse had decided it needed more than the old apothecary did.⁷⁶⁶

Several of Lynn's apothecary shops also carried non-medicinal goods and gifts. Atkinson's offered toilet powders and waters, several extracts to scent the handkerchief, all kinds of brushes (for hair, nail, teeth, clothes, hats, carriages, bath, and flesh), and sponges.⁷⁶⁷ Charles L. Bly had "one of the finest lots of perfumery to be found in Lynn," including such popular fragrances as Tube Rose, Carnation Pink, and Ilang Ilang, and Tapley offered a very popular gift item, "fancy cologne bottles that had been labeled with the purchaser's name."⁷⁶⁸ Tapley also added cigars, sheet music, and musical instruments to his product mix.⁷⁶⁹ Yet none of the drugstores' toiletries or niceties were ever as important to the community as was its role as a health center and even more significantly, as a neighborhood emergency facility, especially when there had been no hospital for accident victims.

Drugstores were more broadly and thickly distributed through Lynn than ever, which made them convenient. They were well known in their neighborhoods and therefore easily recognized as a place to which an accident victim could be taken as well as a readily recognized landmark that a

doctor could locate much more easily and quickly than the accident location or the victim's home. The apothecary was also usually respected for his medical knowledge and could provide emergency skills and dispense advice and medicines until the doctor arrived – a painkiller to an accident victim, an emetic for one who swallowed a poison, or a sedative for panic. When Miss Lizzie Ham fell down the entire two flights of stairs from Mrs. St. Clair's workroom where she was employed, Officer Kimball carried her to the apothecary of Henry L. Fuller to await the arrival of a doctor.⁷⁷⁰ George H. Payne, an engineer with the Central Steam Power Company, had been busy at work outdoors under a machine shaft when his clothing got caught and "he was revolved with great rapidity, striking a timber parallel with the shaft, at each revolution, with such force as to jar goods from hooks and shelves in Chandler Sprague's store" nearby, startling the shoppers. The victim was found lying senseless on the ground, stripped by the spinning shaft of all clothing except his stockings. He was carried to Snow & Messinger's drugstore, where two doctors arrived to tend to his injuries, which were many – a broken collarbone, a multiply broken arm and leg, and an ear nearly torn from his head. After the emergency medical attention, he was conveyed to his home.⁷⁷¹ Benjamin K. Alley was part of a crew moving a house when a wooden lever struck him in the head, sending him flying several feet. He was taken to C. A. Hodges' drugstore, "where it required the united strength of four or five strong men to hold him ... The blow so crazed his brain as to cause him to scream and writhe terribly and not until after repeated doses of ether had been administered [by John A. McArthur] was he in condition to be removed."⁷⁷² In February 1876 gale force winds blew down fences, sheds, chimneys, and signs in Lynn, including the one that blew from the stove shop of W. J. Larrabee, striking Mrs. Emily A. Philbrick. The lady was immediately taken into the apothecary of George L. Drury.⁷⁷³ One night later, a horse attached to a buggy was frightened by the noise of two Lynn bands marching on Market street, so it bolted and ran over both legs of a bystander. The injured man was taken to the drugstore of F. H. Rice, but neither Rice nor his head clerk were in the store at the time. The shop was only being tended to by the 18-year-old assistant clerk, Frank H. Marble, who nonetheless "scientifically" attended to the case. "Good for Frank," praised *The Lynn Record*.⁷⁷⁴

Frederick Wilhelm Alexis Bergengren seemed well-suited to provide drugstore emergency medical services; he practiced as both physician *and* apothecary. He had become a registered pharmacist in Sweden in 1866 and shortly thereafter immigrated to the U.S., practicing as a physician in New York and then in Gloucester, Massachusetts by 1870.⁷⁷⁵ In 1872 he sold his business to another physician, lock, stock, and barrel, or more accurately, office furniture, carpets, fixtures, horse, carriage, harness, and other furnishings; the only things he kept for himself were his medical books and instruments.⁷⁷⁶ He then made a new start in the middle of downtown Boston, setting up a medical office on Tremont Street. To establish his new venture, he advertised broadly, even as far as Lynn. In November 1874 his ad in the *Lynn Transcript* unabashedly promoted his amazing array of skills:

F. W. A. Bergengren, MD, ... for the scientific treatment of chronic diseases ...
 Catarrh, Asthma, Bronchitis, Consumption, treated by inhalation of Ozonized Air;
 Dropsy, Dyspepsia, Constipation, Ruptures, Gravel, Liver and Kidney Diseases, Piles,
 Fistula, and all affections of the Rectum; Cancers cured by three weeks' treatment;
 Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Sciatica, Pleurisy, Headaches, and all kinds of nervous
 disorders, Female Complaints, Irregularities, Prolapsus, mercurial and seminal
 diseases, Chronic Dysentery, Skin Diseases, Ulcer of the bone. Never fail to remove
 Tape-Worms in from two to four hours. Diseases of the Spine, Hip Joint, Contracted
 Muscles, painful Back Deformities, of all kinds treated with great success by a new
 method.

We have successfully treated hundreds of patients for the appetite for alcoholic
 liquors and opium.

A short time under our treatment will completely restore your health, or, if not,
 no charge made.

Remember that we make chronic diseases a specialty, and if we don't cause a permanent cure no pay. Letters promptly answered. Consultation free.⁷⁷⁷

When the drugstore partnership of Snow & Messinger declared bankruptcy, a month after the *Transcript* ad, Bergengren saw its distress as an opportunity for his expansion into Lynn.⁷⁷⁸ By April 1875, he was advertising his buyout of Snow & Messinger's old stand in downtown Lynn and called it the Central Drug Store. He stocked the store with "an abundance of the purest drugs, chemicals, patent medicines, toilet articles, etc." He also carried chemicals, patent and proprietary medicines, trusses, supporters, shoulder braces, homeopathic remedies, and wines and liquors, "expressly for medicinal purchases."⁷⁷⁹ He put medicines for external use into embossed bottles easily recognized by touch and then segregated them in a different section of the store from internal use medicines. He claimed the idea was uniquely his and a practical step to ensure that external use medicines were not accidentally swallowed; it was an important distinction for those who were illiterate or had poor vision and for the many who reached into their cupboard in the dark of night, perhaps even without lighting a candle or lamp. Poisons had been differentiated in this way for a few years previous, with embossed ridges and bumps on the glass; Bergengren applied this same tactile sensation to all external remedies.⁷⁸⁰

The Lynn Record seemed thrilled to welcome the new doctor, apothecary, and businessman to Lynn: "With over twenty years' experience as a practicing physician, Dr. Bergengren is familiar with disease in every form, and as a consequence has had ample experience in the treatment of patients, thereby enabling him to carefully examine and note the effects caused by the use or abuse of medicine" The newspaper was also impressed that prescriptions would be prepared in his store only by clerks who had graduated from the College of Pharmacy and had a diploma to show patrons.⁷⁸¹ Bergengren's new Lynn business was ready for any need, so when George D. Baker's toes were crushed by a wheel of the train he was trying to board, he was taken into "Dr. Bergengren's drug store," and treated by the physician-apothecary, then conveyed to his residence by the city marshal.⁷⁸² Repeatedly, when accident victims were taken to Bergengren's, no doctor was called for – they received the medical attention of Bergengren himself. He amputated the finger of William O. Elbridge, a 15-year-old whose hand got caught in a molding machine, and the two fingers that Frank P. Hill smashed in the same type of machinery, and he was able to dress the wound of 17-year-old Thomas Hayes whose thumb was split open in a box factory accident, and 11-year-old Frank O. Nichols who badly injured his finger in a pistol firing accident.⁷⁸³

With two drugstores (for a time, his ownership of the Boston shop overlapped with the one in Lynn) and certified clerks, Bergengren was clearly one of Lynn's wealthier apothecaries; like the moneyed doctors in the Lynn Medical Society, he vacationed through several countries in Europe for two months.⁷⁸⁴ Joseph W. Colcord, a native of the Sandwich Islands, was more typical of Lynn apothecaries, compounding the medicines himself, and it was almost his undoing. In July 1876 he was in the laboratory at the rear of his shop, mixing an alcoholic preparation in a bottle when he accidentally held the bottle over a lit kerosene lamp, causing it to explode and the contents to instantly catch fire. The burning liquid spread over the laboratory and, from head to foot, Colcord instantly became a human torch. He rushed out of the shop into the street and ripped off his burning long linen laboratory coat, "but not until his face, neck, arms and breast had been severely blistered. The skin of one arm completely peeled off. Back in the lab, his clerk doused out the fire with several buckets of water. Although his injuries were serious, and he was delirious even the morning after the accident, they were not fatal.⁷⁸⁵

Drugstore patrons needed their apothecaries to be approachable and compassionate, attributes that were sometimes lacking in their doctors. The language of medicine could be difficult for the layman to understand, so confusion at the counter was inevitable. In April 1871, the *Little Giant* reported a few such instances that occurred in a week's time. One young lady went into Warren Tapley's drugstore and asked for an ounce of *cupids*; trying to stay dignified and not laugh, Tapley gave her the ounce of *cubebs* that she meant to request. Soon thereafter, "a well-known

gentleman" asked for a *phosphorous* plaster, and "the knight of the mortar and pestle" gave the customer the *porous* plaster he really wanted.⁷⁸⁶ Sometimes customers were not only ignorant of proper terminology, but more dangerously, of the properties of some drugs and chemicals that were readily available at the neighborhood drugstore. Two "young Lynn ladies" (probably teenagers), followed the advice of a friend who recommended eating arsenic to have a "more beautiful ... brilliant complexion, and [to] add fire and life to the constitution." Securing two ounces from one drugstore and three ounces from another, each girl took two tablespoons of arsenic and even gave one to their brother. All three suffered terribly from chewing the poison but fortunately, no one died.⁷⁸⁷

The language between doctors and drugstores occasionally lost something in translation and the results could be catastrophic. Joseph Pinkham expressed concern about apothecaries recognizing the difference between the symbol for a drachm (ʒ, one-eighth of an ounce) and an ounce (℔) in physicians' prescriptions:

... a careless druggist clerk might in his haste mistake a genuine drachm sign for an ounce sign; or the sign itself might be so ambiguously written as to make it impossible for him to tell whether two crooks or three were intended. In the latter case he would either have to consult the Doctor, at the risk, perhaps, of offending his professional dignity, or make the patient's welfare depend on his ability to guess at the quantity.⁷⁸⁸

Pinkham also mentioned that he had recently seen the prescription of "one of our most careful physicians" who might have been "unusually frisky" with his pen because of being in a great hurry, consequently miswrite the drachm symbol so that it looked like the ounce symbol, thus instructing the apothecary to create a dose that was eight times what was intended. He recommended to his professional colleagues through the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* that the two symbols be replaced with an "X" for drachm and the abbreviation "oz." for ounce, but the change wasn't made and the risk continued. Throughout the decade and for all the years before it, working in a drugstore wasn't easy; chemical use, misuse, and abuse were ever-present challenges.

Also in the time-honored tradition of Lynn's apothecaries of the past, those of the 1870s created and marketed their own medicines. Bly & Newman's apothecary manufactured *Dr. Crooker's Vegetable Bitters*, which they said was prepared with dandelion, yellow dock, sarsaparilla, prickly ash, and alcohol, and they were careful to explain to any skeptical Lynn teetotalers that the alcohol was essential to prevent spoilage of the botanic ingredients: "Without the aid of spirit, a Bitter is in time decomposed, and in consequence more injurious than a preparation containing merely enough liquor to exhaust the virtues and preserve the contents."⁷⁸⁹ Thomas Dudley had relocated his Boston medicine and liquor business to Lynn in 1871, at first working from a stall on the first floor of the Sagamore House hotel and from it sold his family's *Jockey Club House Bitters*.⁷⁹⁰ He then relocated to 44 Munroe Street, where his business also sold *The Celebrated Annissette Cordial*, and various seltzer waters in syphon bottles, "so any family or patient can draw one glass or more without injury to what remains in the bottle."⁷⁹¹ *Amarine Bitters* for biliousness, liver complaint, kidney affections, dizzy head or headache, was the proud creation of Charles W. Brown's drugstore.⁷⁹² The newspaper teased that the euphonious name wasn't one of the unusual words used in a recent Boston spelling competition, but Brown intended it to be unfamiliar so that it would be memorable – a frequent technique for medicine makers.⁷⁹³ The proprietor was quite pleased to report the curiously named bitters had sold over four barrels in less than five months, which apparently equaled quite a lot of the fifty-cent pint bottles in which it was put up.⁷⁹⁴ William D. Atkinson offered a large array of healthcare products of his own making, including *Atkinson's Extract of Jamaica Ginger* for digestion, the *Atkinson's Citrate Magnesia* laxative, *Atkinson's Bronchia Pastilles*, the exotic-sounding *Oramunda* for the teeth and *Trichopoin* for the hair, and *Atkinson's Toothache Drops*, to name just a few.⁷⁹⁵ Warren Toppan was quick to start his fancy new apothecary with his own solution for toothache, *XLNT Tooth-ache Drops*. They were packed in a box containing cotton wool and toothpicks with which to pack the

XLNT-saturated wool into the tooth.⁷⁹⁶ Colcord made his proprietary, *Stimpson's Cordial*, and put it in bottles embossed with "J. W. Colcord" and he continued to offer *Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup* that he had been selling back in 1867 when he was teamed with Snow & Messinger.⁷⁹⁷ J. G. Forman advertised heavily for years in newspapers, city directories, and advertising cards, his complete line of proprietaries, which included, among many, *Forman's Elixir of Wild Cherry*, *Taraxacum and Calisaya Bitters* (made of dandelion root, gentian, hops, golden seal, calisaya bark with other valuable ingredients and aromatics combined with a pure sherry wine), *Forman's Diarrhoea and Dysentery Cordial*, *Excelsior Cough Balsam*, *Blood Purifier and Vitalizer*, "restoring the red globules to the blood," *Compound Elixir of Damiana* that "exerts a most favorable influence over the reproductive system of both sexes, in the ... recovery from ... impotence ... and an Aphrodisiac."⁷⁹⁸ He also advertised that he stocked trusses and *LaForme's Inhaler* (which was accompanied by a detailed illustration of a woman using the inhaler) and a medicated balm of his own making for use with the device; he said it could even be used by children for use in cases of croup or diphtheria. He also advertised steam atomizers and electric machines for sale or lease, and that he was the agent for the sale of *Echo Grove Mineral Spring Water* from West Lynn.⁷⁹⁹ Even the venerable Benjamin Proctor created his own *Vegetable Restorative Bitters* and *New England Balsam*. The balsam was gaily endorsed by the illustration of a naked cherub, covered in only a strategically floating banner, holding a glass in one hand and the balsam in the other, dancing a carefree dance (it could even be argued he looked a little tipsy) above the product name.⁸⁰⁰ Instead of the endorsement of jolly angels, another effective Proctor ad listed seven testimonials for the bitters that were predictably effusive in their praise. One declared Proctor's bitters were "the best investment of seventy-five cents that I ever made." Another testimonial could have been interpreted as an encouragement for all husbands to get their wives to drink the stuff: "You cannot conceive how much the appearance of my wife has improved since she began to take these Bitters."⁸⁰¹

Bergengren, the entrepreneurial Swedish apothecary, was also a proprietor of his own prolific line of medicines, many of which had an international-sounding origin: *German Blood Purifier*, *Russian Instant Relief*, and *Dubee's Great French Tape Worm Remedy*, and by 1882 adding *Swedish Botanic Compound*, *Swedish Lung Balsam*, and *Swedish Pepsin Pills*.⁸⁰² Early in his U.S. career, he acquired one of the few actual U.S. patents issued for a medicinal product. His genuine patent medicine was registered as *Victor's Restorative and Preservative for the Toilet* in 1873; he later gave it an alternative moniker, *Floridin*.⁸⁰³ According to the patent, this remedy was for the hair and skin but he expanded its versatility just a few months later, advertising its benefits for the teeth as well: it was "the only infallible remedy to Prevent the Hair from Falling off," it removed "unsightly skin diseases" ("Black Worms [blackheads], Red, White and Mattered Pimples, Ringworms, Freckles, Sunburn, &c."), and it could be used as a tooth wash to stop tooth decay and remove "foul or fetid breath."⁸⁰⁴ Bergengren's patent had necessarily revealed the ingredients of the medicine: cloves, sweet marjoram, red rose, cardamom seed, distilled water, citric acid, boric acid, and potassium chlorate. The patent had declared that the compound was for external use, "as effectual in its operation as it is harmless in its action," but if it was not to be swallowed, using it as a dental rinse brought the user close to unintended peril.⁸⁰⁵

Beyond the apothecaries' powders, pills, and chemicals, and the boxes, tins, and embossed bottles containing their own products, their store shelves and windows were filled with all sorts of proprietary medicines from far and near: colorful and dramatic, scientific and mystical, nationally prominent and from the person next door. Most of Lynn's apothecaries advertised homeopathic remedies because that alternative health system had a strong following in the city. Druggist George E. Meacom not only sold *Pike's Centennial Salt Rheum Salve*, he gave his testimonial for it.⁸⁰⁶ Fred W. Wilder and Frederick W. A. Bergengren both advertised that such big-selling branded medicines as *Sanford's Jamaica Ginger*, *Rush's Buchu and Iron*, *Hostetter's Bitters*, *Plantation Bitters*, and *Seth Arnold's Cough Balsam* were found on their store shelves; many other popular

remedies, including *Dr. Flint's Quaker Bitters*, *Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery*, *Ayer's Cherry Pectoral*, *Dr. Harrison's Iceland Balsam*, and *Moses Dame's Extract of Vegetation* were also stocked widely in Lynn's many drug stores.⁸⁰⁷

It was good business for the druggists to carry strong-selling products in all categories they offered; this axiom held most true for medicines because there were some brands that had advertised so extensively on regional, national, and even international levels that they had become extremely popular. Most of the established brands stood out in their extensive use of print media (newspaper advertising, handbills, trade cards, almanacs, booklets) and promotional giveaways, not only because of their saturation methods, but also in their advertising innovation, use of graphics, and creation of product identity through the creation of logos and other product devices. Advertising and product popularity had a symbiotic relationship: advertising stimulated popularity and product popularity stimulated advertising; it was clearly in the druggist's best interest to carry brands that were heavily promoted, whether to gain public attention or because they were already popular. Thus, strongly pushed brands of the decade were found on Lynn's drugstore shelves, such as *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry* and the entire product line of the internationally iconic J. C. Ayer. The *Lynn Transcript* echoed the praise of a grateful populace that had been heaped on this enormously successful medicine entrepreneur when the state legislature voted to rename Groton Junction to Ayer, Massachusetts, "Probably no living man has carried relief to such countless multitudes of the sick as he, and this high honor, from his neighbors, tells the estimation in which he is held by those who know him."⁸⁰⁸ Ayer graciously reciprocated by paying for the renamed community's elegant town hall.⁸⁰⁹

Hop Bitters, another big-name brand, focused some of its advertising at its benefit to factory workers. It didn't matter that it wasn't specifically Lynn factory workers being mentioned in the Lynn newspaper ad; the well-written message could make a troubled shoe factory worker feel like they were understood and there was hope: "Factory Facts. Close confinement, careful attention to all factory work, gives the operatives pallid faces, poor appetite, languid, miserable feelings, poor blood, inactive liver, kidney and urinary troubles, and all the physicians and medicine in the world cannot help them unless they get out of doors or use Hop Bitters," which, the ad explained, contained "health, sunshine and rosy cheeks" in each bottle. The factory-bound workers needed a little sunshine in their day; here it was.⁸¹⁰ More "proof" came from the anonymous testimonial signed "A WORKINGMAN": "I was dragged down with debt, poverty, and suffering for years, caused by a sick family and large bills for doctoring, which did them no good. ... I procured Hop Bitters ... and in one month we were all well ... I want to say to all poor men, you can keep your families well."⁸¹¹ It was a compelling note easily understood by Lynn's laborers, who were staggering through a punishing depression.

Stewart D. Howe, proprietor of the well-known *Arabian Milk Cure* for consumption and *Arabian Tonic*, a blood purifier, combined a product promotion tour with humanitarian mission as he traveled the region between his New York City home and northeastern Massachusetts. He visited Lynn in 1873 and again in 1874 and, like the steady stream of healers and peddlers that stayed at the Sagamore House, he announced his pending arrival in Lynn's newspapers. He pointed out that he would have no medicine with him to sell because it was already stocked at Proctor's, Tapley's, Bulfinch's, and Snow & Messinger's drugstores; his only purpose was to see patients, free of charge.⁸¹² In 1874, just a few days before his arrival in Lynn, *The Lynn Record* reported that Howe had received 1,100 calls in four days and of that number examined 600 patients; if that was true, Lynn's hotel and drugstores would have been wise to brace for the stampede of Howe's *Arabian* caravan of believers.⁸¹³

The catalog of proprietary medicines was huge and not limited to sale through drugstores; in fact, selling them was a frequent income enhancement choice for non-medical cash-strapped businesses wending their way through the decade's difficult economy. Medicine companies often supplied their products on consignment with lucrative profit margins, making them an attractive,

low-risk proposition. Mrs. S. R. Havens thought it was good business to add family medicines and confectionery in her dry goods shop, and Charles E. Newhall, a perfume manufacturer and traveling salesman, tried selling the *King of Pain*, having been convinced that “this is not a mixture of cayenne pepper and rum, such as is palmed off on the public by itinerant quacks who harangue at public thoroughfares and market places....”⁸¹⁴

The ubiquity of proprietary medicine sales caused competition between Lynn’s drugstores; *Vegetine* was a good example. The Indian blood purifier made in Boston was one of those heavily promoted, broadly popular medicines, and druggists wanted to capture a bigger share of the local sales. In March 1877, *The Lynn Record* reported that there was a “war among the druggists in Lynn, because one of them tried to undersell the others on *Vegetine*. Two of them are now selling that article at way down prices.”⁸¹⁵ The retail price printed on the bottle’s label was \$1.25, but in the same issue of the *Reporter* that the druggist price war was reported, Charles L. Bly, a druggist on Munroe Street, was selling the *Vegetine* at 83 cents a bottle.⁸¹⁶ F. W. A. Bergengren wasn’t going to be undercut. He prided himself on having the largest stock of patent medicines in Lynn and he had promised his customers that it was impossible for them to be disappointed by his variety and prices, so he brought his price of *Vegetine* down to 80 cents, an aggressive 36 percent discount off of retail.⁸¹⁷ Druggist J. W. Colcord targeted the Swedish apothecary the following week in an ad he titled, “FOREIGN WAR! Outflanked With Heavy Loss.” He then squeezed his *Vegetine* price below Bergengren’s: “Vegetine 79 ½ cts. Bottle (odd change no object).” The U.S. hadn’t minted half-cent pieces for twenty years, so his price was a stretch, but he was determined to have sole claim on the lowest price in Lynn.⁸¹⁸ On another battlefield of the price war, new druggist Fred W. Wilder matched Bergengren’s prices on the *Vegetine* and nine other medicines; keenly aware of the competition, his advertisement’s non-alphabetic list of medicines exactly matched Bergengren’s list in the order and price of each product; whatever it took to succeed.⁸¹⁹

Healthy competition sometimes had a cutthroat edge. The *Lynn Transcript* reported that an unethical, clandestine money grab was gaining a foothold among combinations of Lynn’s physicians and apothecaries who had teamed together to pad each other’s wallets. The druggist paid the doctor an extra fifteen to twenty-five percent in exchange for the doctor funneling his patients’ prescriptions to that druggist. The *Transcript* described two ways that the subterfuge was put in play: in one scheme, the doctor had the name of his apothecary partner printed on his prescription blanks and told his patients that was the only drugstore capable of filling the prescription; in the other ruse, the doctor purposely wrote a portion of the prescription in secret code so that the only druggist who could read it was the doctor’s partner in the underhanded arrangement. The paper assured its readers that Lynn’s older, long-established doctors and apothecaries were not guilty – so the implication was that the newer medical men, perhaps more anxious about surviving and succeeding, had some weasels among them.⁸²⁰

While Lynn’s drugstores were competing to sell more of the lucrative liquids, powders, pills, and ointments, other Lynners entered the fray, making their own medicines and selling still others. It was a logical response to hard times: whatever it took to survive.

In the same way that drugstores offered cigars, sheet music, and other non-medicinal items, so too did the cigar stores, groceries, and other shops offer proprietary medicines. Grocer Warren H. Currier told the story that he was urged to advertise the medicine with which he had cured himself of the rheumatism he had been plagued by for thirteen years. Composed of roots, herbs, and barks, the remedy was also a great blood purifier and it was only available at his store on 21 Howard Street.⁸²¹ A half-mile away, Erastus Newhall sold his own cough mixture in his grocery store at 170 Essex Street, where it was said his medicine’s sales were “constantly increasing as its merits [became] better known.”⁸²² Cough products were a popular product category in Lynn. In his candy store, John E. Rhodes stirred some medicine into one of his confectionery recipes to make his ‘ULTIMATUM’ cough drops.⁸²³ The creation helped them to keep up with his competition, like

the confectionery store of Page and Bailey, where people could buy their *Tar Drops* for coughs and colds, along with a bag of butter taffy or walnut candy.⁸²⁴

Lynn shopkeepers and tradesmen also mimicked the apothecaries' practice of selling other's proprietary medicines. Ladies who were looking to remove freckles, pimples, rough skin, or suntan could go to the dress shop of Mrs. Durgin on 46 Market Street, where she would give them a free skin treatment with *Paris Pearl*.⁸²⁵ Henry Norman, Lynn's own chiropodist, advertised that *Dr. Norman's Salve* wasn't only for corns, bunions, and sore, inflamed joints, but "can prove by prominent persons in this city that this Salve has CURED THE VERY WORST KIND OF PILES!" He said he had testimonials of over 300 satisfied customers who attested to his claims and he promised "a cure guaranteed in every case or the money refunded"⁸²⁶ Harness maker Thomas D. Jennings sold *Dr. Miller's Soothing Syrup and Healing Balsam*, a medicine that was used externally for burns, frozen limbs, bruises, and sprains, and internally for deafness, dysentery, diphtheria, and cholera.⁸²⁷ George Driver was an insurance agent but also sold what he called "*the article of all articles*," *Moyle's Liquid Inhaler and Catarrhal Douche Combined*. He secured the exclusive distribution rights for the entire state, but the little bottle didn't become the big seller that he had hoped would get him out of the insurance business.⁸²⁸ Eagle Saloon owner turned variety store owner, Lucius C. Sargent, offered the public a large selection of cigars, Meerschaum pipes, and tobacco, and a little bit of everything else: newspapers, books, stationery, confectionery, paper collars, cuffs, and bosoms, nuts, fruits, fancy goods, hair oil, perfumery, and hair restoratives, and he became the sole proprietor of *Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters*.⁸²⁹ Bitters were the most popular category of medicine being advertised in Lynn's papers throughout the decade, and Sargent's bitters were among the most frequently promoted. They were described as principally for headaches, digestive disorders, and as an energy boost.⁸³⁰ As springtime buds bloomed on the trees, bitters ads blossomed in the papers; promising to correct the sluggish action of the blood, liver, kidneys, and intestines as they emerged from winter, and then to add zip and pep as life coursed through the body once again. Sargent advertised eagerly, "Try one bottle and be convinced that they are the BOSS Bitters of America. And while you are buying a bottle of Bitters, get a bottle of SARGENT'S PURE BAY RUM, and also a bottle of his Improved German Cologne, And believe me, you will be glad you're alive."⁸³¹ He pushed hard to get it distributed widely to druggists and grocers by hiring on an army of salesmen, and *The Lynn Record* endorsed it as a great opportunity for the unemployed during Lynn's hard times:

We advise those of our workingmen who are out of employment to call on Mr. L. C. Sargent, the well-known periodical dealer, and secure an agency for some of his bitters or other popular and saleable articles. "There's money in it," and he'd use you well, if you call at No 108 Union Street.⁸³²

Bitters advertising was often the boldest of all medicines, perhaps because the category was so crowded with competition. Widow Eliza Kittredge submitted a short, almost apologetic advertisement for the bitters of her deceased husband, Edward Augustus Kittredge, Lynn's iconic water cure doctor. He had died two years earlier, but his medicines were potentially a continuing legacy income for his widow, or so she hoped, "Those persons who 'take bitters' for their medicinal qualities, *not* for their alcoholic virtues, will find the genuine KITTREDGE BITTERS unsurpassed by any in the market."⁸³³ Alexander Livingston was another Lynn carpenter who had been hammered by the struggling economy and he too, hoped bitters were his ticket out of trouble. As "Dr. Alex. Livingston," the 60-year-old told the readers of the *Little Giant* that he was born and raised among the "North American Indians" and had "made their medical treatment of different diseases a special study," thus learning how to use their roots, herbs, and barks to create his *Waterginsen Bitters*, the "Great Indian Herb Remedy [that] has cured 10,000 people" of 30 diseases brought about by impure blood.⁸³⁴ He also offered his *Indian Cough Syrup* that would cure consumption even during "the very worst stages of the disease"; he even promised to pay "the heirs

of any person whom the remedy will not cure, the sum of \$1,000 IN GOLD!!! It was a creative backstory and an impressive promise for a carpenter who couldn't afford to retire.⁸³⁵

While Livingston's print persona seemed far more exciting than his everyday existence, George Edward Clark's real life was exactly what made his advertisements sizzle. He had been a merchant ship deck hand in the Indian Ocean, a captive of the "Soumaulies" of Eastern Africa, a wanderer in the Nubian Desert, an adventurer in Hindoostan, and a gunboat sailor in the Union blockade of southern shipping during the Civil War.⁸³⁶ During his early merchant ship career, he became deathly ill, but in an exotic version of the self-cure saga recited by many medicine makers of the decade, he discovered a path for his cure:

... after the port of Mozambique, the large island of Zanzibar loomed up before us. . . Beyond Cocoa-Nut Island . . . with Dead Man's Island on the Nor'-West. . . How many sailors' bones lie under the sand and grass of that little island! . . . I am filled with dread as I think of that little island, and am glad that my bones are not there, although it was by a desperate move that I was saved from the death-grip of the African cholera. I had eaten for supper only a slice of wheat bread, spread with mango jelly, and a banana or two, and after walking the deck till nine at night, retired to my berth. Quite unexpectedly I was taken with the cholera, and turned black in a few hours. All the ship's remedies failed, and I was in horrid spasms. All was done in vain. The men said, Dead Man's Island is gaping for poor Ned." I had medicine of my own; the dose for cholera was a wine-glass full. I dragged myself to my little state room, opened my chest, took a pint bottle of the medicine The medicine proved my salvation; I was weak and delirious for three days, then came out as bright as a silver dollar"⁸³⁷

The account of his self-rescue from cholera near Dead Man's Island is an extract from his autobiographical *Seven Years of A Sailor's Life*, which covered his escapades as "Yankee Ned," on the high seas and during the war, but the adventure that was his life wasn't about to be contained in just seven years. When he returned to Lynn, he made the news by engaging in a highly visible, though illegal, boxing match. It was a duel for the ages, pitting "Highland James" against "Yankee



Zanzibare Trade Card, about 1873. The medical discovery of a sailor-turned-pugilist-turned-magnetic healer, used by him when he was near death while his ship was navigating between Cocoa-Nut Island, Dead Man's Island, and Zanzibar Island. (Collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society.)

Ned" – they brawled all day long, all over Lynn, in front of over 4,000 spectators who apparently followed them through each round, from location to location. Yankee Ned was in impressive physical condition "and he looked as though he might be an ugly cuss-tomer to handle." Round 1 was held in Wyoma; the pugilists courteously shook hands and "made some remarks on the weather"; the sparring commenced lightly at first, but soon punches were flying "thick and fast." Round 2 was fought near the church in Glenmere; Round 3 was in the old Empire fire engine house; Round 4 was near the Central Depot train station, and Round 5 was "right under the shadow of City Hall, under the very nose of the police, but they of course managed not to see it." By the time Round 6 was held near the Lynn Hotel, it was clear that Highland James was winning, even though friends of Yankee Ned partially blinded James by throwing a quantity of meal in his eyes. In Round 7, Yankee Ned had to be held up by his friends, "his strength had completely left him, and he was a most pitiable object ... with his features all out of shape ... and very much shattered," while Highland James was "as fresh and vigorous as when he entered the fight." The judge ended the bout and declared the obvious winner; the fight had lasted seven hours and thirty minutes during which poor Yankee Ned had been knocked down 263 times. George Clark had been shipwrecked, a prisoner, a victim of African cholera, and decked repeatedly by Highland James, but he was still not willing to throw in the towel – he just got busy reinventing himself once again.⁸³⁸

In just a little more than a year after his disaster at the hands of Highland James, Clark had restyled himself as "Dr. George E. Clark, Magnetic Healer," and was introducing his new line of Genuine Sailor Remedies, which included *Magnetic Salve*, *Magnetic Catarrh Cure*, *Life Boat Bitters* – the flagship of his fleet, and *Zanzibare*, for the cure such bladder or kidneys complaints as "ropy or brick dust deposit" in the urine, and weakness of the "urinal organs."⁸³⁹ A temperance man, he advertised that his bitters contained no alcohol.⁸⁴⁰ He sold it in pint bottles for fifty cents, with a five-cent reimbursement for every empty bottle returned, in order to keep down the expense of always ordering new bottles.⁸⁴¹ *The Lynn Record* puffed proudly for the popular Lynner, "Have you tried 'Yankee Ned's' Life-Boat Bitters? They are manufactured by one of our own citizens, and therefore we have more faith in them than we have in some other bitters manufactured by parties unknown to anyone in this section [of the state]."⁸⁴² An article appearing in the same issue reinforced the desirability of patronizing homemade goods, like those of good old Yankee Ned,

Numerous complaints have recently reached us in regard to the trouble given housekeepers by street pedlars. ... tell them that you want none of their wares; that there are stores enough in Lynn where you can by all the goods you stand in need of, and that you don't propose to be cheated by straggling pedlars when for the same or less money you can secure all you want by patronizing our merchants.⁸⁴³

Supporting hometown products and businesses was a strongly felt, steadily used theme of *The Lynn Record* throughout the middle of the financially difficult decade:

We have frequently taken occasion to urge upon our fellow citizens the importance of giving a better support to the merchants of Lynn. In times like the present, when very little money appears to be in circulation, the ambition of every good citizen and well-wisher of Lynn should be to give all the aid and encouragement possible to our local traders. ... The monied class spend their money abroad, while the working men and women patronize home industry. ... Were we so disposed, we could at the present time have four or five columns of advertising from out of town firms ... but we prefer to make a little less money and have the consciousness that we have done nothing, directly or indirectly, to impoverish our merchants or cause our fellow-citizens to be swindled by out-of-towners.⁸⁴⁴

Clark's advertising reinforced the newspaper's Lynn-centric message by stating, "Lynn People Buy Lynn Bitters."⁸⁴⁵ Advertising for the bitters featured an illustration of a carefree sailor boy steering his boat by its rudder; the image (looking very much like a trademark) was usually surrounded by advertising copy charged with the same bravado that marked all of his adventures:

"THE POPULAR LIFE BOAT BITTERS! The best life-giving, health-giving, speedy-curing Bitters ever sold."⁸⁴⁶ He arranged for broad distribution of his products among the merchants in the Lynn area, although notably the list didn't include drugstores; they were sold at such locations as the Franklin Grocery Company in Woodend, Bacheller's Grocery on Lewis street, the Horse Railroad Station, at his "headquarters" in his mother's boarding house on the corner of Newhall and Broad street ("Horse cars pass the office every few minutes"), and wherever a sign was posted for *Life Boat Bitters*.⁸⁴⁷ Whether sales were due to his personal popularity, the exciting product branding and marketing, the newspaper's support, the several strategic distribution locations or the products themselves, Clark's venture into medicines seemed to be meeting with success within just a few months of their introduction: "We learn that the demand for the "Life Boat Bitters" is growing greater every day ... and as they are manufactured by one of our well-known citizens, it gives us great pleasure to learn that success has crowned the efforts of the proprietor."⁸⁴⁸ Mentions of Yankee Ned gave way to his new identity, "Dr. G. E. Clark, Magnetic & Botanic Physician," and things just seemed to keep getting better; after just two months, *Record* readers learned, "Five hundred bottles of the Life Boat Bitters sold already, one hundred and twenty-nine bottles sold by Dr. Clark last week. Lively demand for them outside of Lynn. ... Does a good article and advertising in the Record pay? We think it does. The Bitters sell, and the Record too, dull times or not."⁸⁴⁹

Most of the Lynners who began advertising their own medicines during the decade did so without breathtaking tales and heart-stopping heroics. Not at all like the traveling showmen with their exotic animals or spellbinding speakers who stumped across the region, they were just shoe factory workers and other Lynn laborers who took the family medicine to market because hard times made them scrounge for more income. They usually brought themselves into public notice with only a single medicine or sometimes two, and their medicines were more likely modest specifics rather than cure-all panaceas. Walter D. Etherington was one such shoe factory worker who, in the middle of the depression, paid for a single ad in the *Lynn Transcript* to introduce *Etherington's Rheumatic Liniment*, "a certain remedy for rheumatism, sprains, cramps, bruises, lame back, sore throat, and stiffness of cords and joints. The public can rest assured that my Liniment is no humbug, but will positively accomplish all that is claimed for it." He got it placed in Drury's and Proctor's apothecaries, or people could stop by his residence at 17 Carnes Street to pick up a bottle. His medicine sales never allowed him to leave his day job, but perhaps it was never expected to bring more than a little lift to his wages.⁸⁵⁰

Lynners first heard of Joseph Lakeman, another shoe factory worker, in the context of medicine, when in February 1873 he liberally offered his wisdom to the readers of *The Lynn Record* that cancers could be cured by making a poultice of wild tea grounds and applying it directly on the cancerous skin at night.⁸⁵¹ He had suffered severely with such a cancer for some months and tried this remedy "with the happiest results," so he wanted to share it freely with his fellow townsmen for their benefit.⁸⁵² But when the Panic broke in October, so did Joseph; he went to the papers again to tell the public about a "new and sure remedy" for rheumatism and kindred ailments, but this time he couldn't afford for it to be free – he was selling it at his house on 4 Strawberry Avenue.⁸⁵³

Rheumatism was a favorite target of Lynn medicine makers, probably because achy joints and muscles were pains with which most hard-working Lynners were afflicted with some frequency, so in 1876, Timothy Parker, a mariner living in Lynn, had his own solution to these ills, a bottled medicine which he called the *Infallible Cure for Rheumatism*. He shared the story of how his wonderful cure came to be; in one short paragraph he vanquished the disease and the medical establishment:

Whilst living in the town of Eastport, Maine, I was taken with the Rheumatism in my joints, all over my body; I then tried everything doctors and all others recommended but nothing did me any good. I knew I must be a cripple all the rest of my life, except

I could get something to drive it out of my system. I then made a medicine myself, which filled a quart bottle; I took two bottles, and it cured me – made me a well man, and since then I have cured hundreds of the worst cases of Rheumatism; now I would invite all that are suffering with that awful disease to come and be cured – the poor free of charge. I am no quack but a workingman. I defy a case I cannot cure.⁸⁵⁴

In 1878 *The Lynn Record* puffed its admiration and appreciation for Parker, who had proven that advertising faithfully in their paper for two years had brought him success. They reported that Parker had been receiving orders for his medicine from “New Hampshire, Kansas, and other distant States, in each case being informed that the party sending the order had read his advertisement in the Lynn Record.”⁸⁵⁵

Other Lynn workers who moonlighted in the medical field included George W. Fairbanks, who continued to manufacture his *Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases*, which looked much like the well-known Davis & Kidder’s machine, “but with improvements that made it “more powerful and more mechanically made than the New York machine.”⁸⁵⁶ He advertised in 1872 that every family should have one of his machines, “so that every one can be his own physician”; unfortunately, not enough families took him up on his invitation, so he went back to shoemaking work later in the decade.⁸⁵⁷ George H. Waterhouse, a blacksmith, had invented *Waterhouse’s Improved Bed-Seat for Invalids*, a wooden device looking like a seat back that could be used to prop up the bed-ridden in bed. He got it patented in 1872 and it was endorsed by various Lynn physicians and businessmen.⁸⁵⁸ George W. Seaverns, a retired clothing dealer, had come up with *Seaverns’ Celebrated Cough Syrup*, and Franklin A. Phillips, a photographer, tried his luck with *Roserine* to make skin look “clear, smooth and healthy” and ready for a pretty picture.⁸⁵⁹ Phillips hired Charles E. Newhall to be his wholesale and retail salesman for the product. Newhall was a traveling agent who drummed up wholesale distribution and made retail sales on the ground floor of the Music Hall. In that a traveling salesman had better likelihood of success by representing many products rather than just a few, Newhall also sold *Heiskell’s Magic Salve*, also for skin conditions, which was made by the firm of Heiskell & Newhall, of Lynn; he also sold *Roserine* and another Lynn product, *Mrs. Soule’s Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator*.⁸⁶⁰

John Raddin had been trying to squeeze more money out of his Echo Grove resort by selling the water in its spring as “medicinal spring water.” When he originally had a well dug at the grove to supply picnic-goers, he encouraged them to bring their jugs because he would give them his spring water for free.⁸⁶¹ But when a chemical analysis found the waters had health-promoting properties, perfect for the relief of kidney and liver complaints, he began to charge for the waters. One of his ads contained the grateful testimonial of fellow Lynner, Charles E. Wentworth, of 4 Kirtland Street, who told of his several years’ struggle with general weakness, dyspepsia, and well, he was just a mess: “My back felt weak and gave me severe pain … My head swam on suddenly rising, and when I laid down I heard noises at each pulsation, resembling the sound of the exhaust pipe of a stationary engine; with violent and irregular beating of the heart from the simple exertion of undressing.” So, one day, mustering the last drops of strength in his beleaguered body, he walked to Raddin’s promising medicinal springs. They were only about a half mile from his house, but he had to rest several times on doorsteps and stone walls along the way. His pilgrimage was rewarded with miraculous results: he drank almost a gallon of the subterranean nectar which brought his appetite back and within three weeks the symptoms had all left him, “I am now eating … the heartiest kinds of food [and] often walk several miles a day, can run up-stairs, or … catch a car, and feel fully ten years younger than I did two months ago.” How fortuitous for Raddin and Wentworth that he reached Echo Grove that fateful day.⁸⁶²

Major William D. Chamberlain was highly regarded by his townsmen for his admirable service to the country and the Lynn men who fought under him. With the war now over, he settled back in at Lynn by running a fruit and confectionery business on the ground floor of the Sagamore House hotel, close by Dudley’s wine and liquor store.⁸⁶³ When July 4th came around each year,

Chamberlain's became a destination to buy fireworks of every description "to make a pyrotechnic display on our national jubilee."⁸⁶⁴ He had done his duty for his city and country and he felt duty-bound to offer them his *Chamberlain's Sure Cure for Cholera, Dysentery, and Diarrhoea* because it too, would save lives. The purely vegetable medicine had existed for upwards of twenty years, he explained, but he had made no special effort to introduce it to the world until he distributed samples of it in 1870, "among many of our citizens, and all who have tried it testify that it is unquestionably an efficacious remedy"; in fact, "hundreds of instances could be cited where persons in the last stages of Asiatic Cholera have been snatched, as it were, from the very portals of the tomb by this remedy . . ."⁸⁶⁵ Like a good soldier, it was strong enough to fight off life-threatening intestinal illnesses but perfectly harmless to the youngest child" who were so often the victim of those enemies.⁸⁶⁶ Although carefully examined and tested by druggists, chemists, and physicians at product fairs in Lowell and Medford in 1873, the award-winning remedy's wise maker would only disclose that "by some mysterious agency a small quantity will act like a charm in relieving the victim from those disorders which, if neglected, soon prove fatal," and that explanation was good enough for Chamberlain's loyal patrons.⁸⁶⁷ His product's logo contained an anchor in a circle, overlapped with an arrow and a shepherd's crook – symbols of safety and reliability, quick action and sure course, and leadership and protection; even without an explanation, the viewer could feel comforted.

In contrast, a circle with a dancing bear seemed almost goofy and flippant, but it was another way to reassure the customer that a medicine worked. The dancing bear was the symbol for *Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup*. Worms were a big problem, both real and imagined. In his 1874 treatise on children's diseases, Lynn Medical Society physician John O. Webster ridiculed the notion that worms in Lynn were a problem; he intimated that many children were made weak and anemic by the use of vermifuges given for *hypothetical* worms.⁸⁶⁸ Advertisements sometimes claimed record-breaking monsters were expelled from tremendously relieved patients, but the accounts had been stretched: adult pork tapeworms reach a maximum of twenty-three feet, but the itinerant doctor named Lyon, working out of the Sagamore House hotel in 1874, claimed to have removed "entire and alive," a sixty-eight-foot-long tapeworm from Miss Belle S. Pinney who resided, apparently very uncomfortably, at No. 17 Washington Court. According to the report, she had "suffered a living death from this tapeworm for a long time, and her gratitude for being relieved is inexpressible" – no doubt.⁸⁶⁹ Not to be outdone, a year later a team of itinerants named Wilson and Logan showed a crowd in front of the Sagamore House the live tapeworm they had just removed from Mrs. William H. Weld of No. 7 Tremont Street: it measured *147 feet long*. The "reptile" was preserved in alcohol and stayed on display at the hotel for those who hadn't caught the live performance.⁸⁷⁰ The bottled tapeworms that traveling doctors like Lyon, Lovatt, and Wilson and Logan displayed in their pitches and lectures could have been bought from a butcher rather than removed from a patient, yet Webster's professional colleague, John Emerson, had brought to show at a meeting of the medical society two enormous tapeworms that he had successfully removed from a woman using his pumpkin seed treatment, and in 1874, the year of Webster's treatise, the official Lynn death record for thirty-nine-year-old shoe factory foreman Abram B. Newhall listed "Tape Worm" as his cause of death.⁸⁷¹ Tape worms didn't seem so hypothetical to everyone.

Ever since colonists took their first steps in Lynn and ate their first meals, they had to deal with worms. Parasitic species of worms work their way into human hosts through pores in the skin or by infesting an undercooked or under-salted piece of pork, beef, or certain wild game that is swallowed. An article on tapeworms (which were also referred to as stomach worms) written for a Lynn newspaper explained that the tapeworm larva was minuscule. The kitchen or butcher's knife could convey the start of a tapeworm that looked like a bit of lard from just-cut meat or organ tissue to butter, cheese, sausages, bread, or whatever else was being sliced up for supper.

Another type of worm, probably much more prevalent given the ease of its transmission, especially to children, was pinworms. The appearance of small pinworms in the stool caused

parents to worry about the little beasties squirming around in their children's bodies and making them sick. The eggs of these very small, pin-like worms could easily be inhaled or swallowed by the completely unsuspecting host and would torment their victims around the abdominal orifices with incessant itchiness. Nobody wanted worms, whether they were the ten-foot tapeworms or the quarter-inch pin worms, so cure makers went to work making worm medicines. The product that was probably Lynn's most successful worm fighter was *Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup*.

The Thurstons were both a typical Lynn family and one of some distinction. John and Eliza Thurston had eight children, the first daughter dying at 17 and the first son at just 2 years old. Their three remaining sons became a mason, a painter, and a shoe factory worker, and their daughters married a shoe manufacturer, a gravel roofer, and a Lynn dentist, John Aspinwall. Their son Albert had served in a heavy artillery unit during the war, then in the mid-1870s went to the Black Hills in the Dakota territory, taking a squatter's claim on land and trying to raise potatoes. After fighting off Indians, grasshoppers and potato bugs, he returned home, having had enough of the "Wild West."⁸⁷² Younger brother George had teamed up with his father as sutlers to the Union troops during the war, selling medicines, among other items, to the troops in field, and when it was over, George settled in to shoe factory work while his father became the chief of police, fighting dangerous criminals like William Vannar.⁸⁷³

Eliza died of cancer in September 1870; two months earlier, her son George had begun to advertise the sale of his mother's "celebrated" worm syrup with the claim that it had been in constant use for 30 years.⁸⁷⁴ A broadside he created listed symptoms that had to make everyone wonder if they themselves might have worms: wakefulness (insomnia), nightmares, no appetite, stomach pains, bad breath, dry cough, thirst, choking, nervousness, nose-picking, and irritability.⁸⁷⁵ By June of the next year, George was busily engaged in the business of making his mother's worm syrup and having Charles E. Newhall sell them at his stalls in Central Market.⁸⁷⁶ He later wrote a sales flyer that described the story of *Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup*:

Mrs. Eliza Thurston, a native of Lynn, Mass., [was] a lady of eminent respectability and worth. As the Mother of a large family of children, she was deeply interested in the diseases of childhood, and her efforts to ward off or relieve these ills were untiring. Especially was her attention directed to ridding her offspring of those pain-begetting pests, PIN WORMS. Carefully noting the symptoms of their presence in her children and studying the direful effects upon the health of the victims, Mrs. Thurston set about concocting a preparation which might prove a cure. After careful experimenting, she at last succeeded in discovering a remedial agent which perfectly met the demand. Using it in her own family until convinced of its efficacy, she recommended it to others of her acquaintance, and its potent effects were soon patent to all who gave it a trial. Being a woman of generous impulses and kindly sympathies, she increased the preparation of the mixture to such an extent as to supply a large demand; but being of discreet temperament she judiciously kept the secret of the formula to herself. ... At the decease of Mrs. Thurston she bequeathed the formula to her son.⁸⁷⁷

By July 1871 George Thurston had already collected a host of testimonials from Lynn townsmen; shoe factory workers, house carpenters, a furniture salesman, a printer, and a leather dealer, all of whom had children apparently suffering from worms; bad news for the kids, good news for George.⁸⁷⁸ Things were moving forward well, then he fell. In December he was descending a flight of darkened stairs in John B. Johnson's shoe manufactory and accidentally stepped into a water pail which had been carelessly left there, and consequently fell almost the entire flight of stairs. He was injured so seriously that he had to be carried to his home in a carriage.⁸⁷⁹ Fortunately he recovered and was able to continue to grow his business, even in the face of competition from druggist Edward A. Hall, who made great efforts to dramatically market his worm powders under the mysterious name, 2905.⁸⁸⁰



Thurston's Line of Proprietary Medicines. Starting with the worm syrup recipe he got from his mother, George B. Thurston built up a complete medicine company in Lynn, starting in the early 1870s. Among a line of eight or nine medicines he made during his career were the five represented here: (back row:) three Thurston broadsides, archivally matted and framed; (middle row, left to right:) "THURSTON'S / OLD CONTINENTAL / BITTERS" (label-only, clear BIM bottle); Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters box (possibly unique example); "THURSTON'S / FAMILY BALSAM" (label-only, clear, 12-sided BIM bottle); Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup sign; (front row, left to right:) "MRS. THURSTON'S / CELEBRATED / WORM SYRUP" (label-only, clear, bevel-edged BIM bottle); backside of a second Thurston's Balsam 12-sided bottle showing original contents settled in three layers (also note original wire cork-pull at top); "THURSTON'S / XXX / DEATH TO PAIN" (label-only, aqua BIM bottle); and "THURSTON'S / HOARHOUND / TAR" (label-only, clear BIM bottle). (All collection of the author; box was the gift of Richard Watson, deceased.)

Throughout the decade, George advertised the worm syrup heavily and sometimes humorously, keeping everybody aware that the maddening, unmentionable itch in your nether regions just might need mom's medicine:

"WHAT'S EATING YOU, SAMMY?"

"Pin Worms, Billy!"⁸⁸¹

The newspapers' support of Thurston was reciprocal to his support of them; *The Lynn Record* admitted quite candidly, "We cannot speak from personal experience, having had no occasion to use such a remedy ... We always have considered faith, however, in any medicine prepared by our own citizens, and therefore we feel warranted in recommending the worm syrup to those who may be suffering from worms."⁸⁸²

George had either enough sales or enough ambition to quickly expand his medicine offerings into a whole line of products. By April of 1872 he was introducing his next product, *Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters and Blood Purifier*. The packaging was well-designed in fine Victorian style and typefaces to catch the eye: a Continental soldier dressed in the style of George Washington, stood on the box front, leaning on his rifle and holding a bottle of the bitters in his other hand. This image looked as though it was on a piece of paper that had been tacked to the burnt orange background, the corners curling upwards for a trompe l'oeil effect. The top of the box displayed the revered acronym G.A.R. (Grand Army of the Republic), suggesting either the proprietor's involvement in the G.A.R. or its key approval of the product; although there is no record of either being the case, it was a powerful suggestion that the veteran's association endorsed Thurston and his bitters.⁸⁸³ The *Record* said Thurston kept the price low, just 50 cents, because he knew "that a nimble sixpence is better than a slow shilling."⁸⁸⁴ Imitating the popular promises of other bitters, Thurston's was made from "carefully selected roots, herbs, and bark," and "so strongly concentrated" that they were promised to "invariably cure" sick headache, dyspepsia, nervous difficulty, liver complaint, loss of appetite, pains, and more. They were "just the article" needed for those in declining health; "it quickens the blood and cheers the mind."⁸⁸⁵ The bitters were then followed in the next month by the introduction of *Thurston's Hoarhound and Tar*, "an old and valuable remedy" for croup, coughs, colds, and any other difficulty of the throat and lungs, as well as *Shield Tooth Powder*, *Excelsior Hair Oil* ("a superior preparation for keeping the hair from falling and to prevent dandruff"), and *Superior Bay Rum*, extracted from bay leaf; all preparations of the now very busy, very committed medicine maker, George B. Thurston.⁸⁸⁶

In the following year, Thurston added yet another product to his line, *Thurston's XXX*. It was an interesting product that transformed its purpose over time. Lynners well knew that "XXX" meant triple strength or at least extra strong; whiskey barrels got this designation to indicate the whiskey had been run through the still three times. *Thurston's XXX* wasn't a powerful shot of whiskey, though; it was initially promoted as "sure death to fleas on dogs or cats."⁸⁸⁷ That product disappeared quickly and another by a similar name, *Thurston's XXX Death to Pain*, replaced it, being promoted for the internal and external pains of people. Every business decision wasn't going to be a winner but learning from failure and tenaciously promoting products for conditions where there was demand seemed to be the formula for success.

The entrepreneurial drive found a kindred spirit in Armanella Croscup. She had traveled from rural Granville, Nova Scotia, in about 1860, a widow with her two sons who found work in Lynn shoe factories.⁸⁸⁸ It is little surprise to find her first advertising her *Mrs. Croscup's Catarrh Bitters* when the Panic of 1873 had settled over the country. Her introductory advertisement painted the picture of an aged widow woman, holding a basketful of backwoods wisdom in one hand while shaking her fist at the cowering gaggle of conventional quacks: she was fearless and certain that she had accomplished what they could not:

"For every ailment there is a vegetable cure, and for every disease there is a certain remedy in our forests." These facts are every year becoming more and more apparent, as thousands who have had their systems loaded with mineral poisons and chemicals can testify, and people are now beginning to regard with suspicion any medicine purporting to be a great cure-all, when claiming to be prepared from certain powerful *mineral* curative drugs. ... Having spent many years in testing and studying the properties and powers of HERBS AND BARKS to be used as agents assisting nature to overcome and expel disease, she feels that she has discovered a certain, speedy cure This medicine is prepared from Roots, Herbs and Barks, and is warranted to contain no Spirituous liquors of any kind whatever, or anything of a nature to injure the health of the most delicate⁸⁸⁹

She got her next-door neighbor, Benjamin F. Emery, to provide a testimonial for her bitters and some Lynn drugstores to carry it, or people could just stop by her house at 19 Mudge Street to pick up a bottle. Emery admitted that he only tried the product to give some neighborly support to the Widow Croscup: "Without having any faith in their efficacy, I at least consented to try a bottle, but more to satisfy my friends than for any other reason."⁸⁹⁰ In 1875 a brief puff appeared in the newspaper that her medicine was promoted as "purely vegetable, and those who try them can do so with the satisfaction of knowing that if they do no good they will do no harm, which is more than can be said of a great many medicines now-a-days."⁸⁹¹ She also made *Mrs. Croscup's Vegetable Pills and Clovertine*, "the great blood purifier." By the end of the decade, Mrs. Croscup and her youngest son, George, had moved on to southern New Jersey, where she was still listed as selling patent medicines in 1905.⁸⁹² While her medicine may not have been lasting or its impact strongly felt, her effort was symptomatic of perhaps the most notable Lynn health development in the decade – the significant presence of women in the business of medicine.

HEROINE INJECTIONS

In the late 1860s and 1870s, Lynn Medical Society physicians repeatedly discussed the challenge and mystery that was woman. The doctors recounted their heroic efforts to remove uterine tumors, drain pelvic abscesses, reposition fallen uteruses, and solve birth problems that nature couldn't do on its own. Isaac Galloupe had saved his patient's life by removing an orange-sized tumor from her uterus, but George Cahill couldn't rescue his patient because her uterine tumor was so large: ninety-five pounds of malignant growth and fluids; in fact, it had to be removed post mortem because the undertaker didn't have a coffin large enough to fit the deceased *with* her tumor.⁸⁹³ The medical society meetings had long discussions about the "application and superiority of pessaries," the use of forceps to save mothers' lives during prolonged deliveries, and ways to resolve post-partum hemorrhages.⁸⁹⁴ Being a woman just seemed to carry a lot of extra problems. Long stereotyped as the weaker sex, women were perceived by doctors, and Victorian men generally, to be emotionally and physically fragile, unable to cope or endure in a man's world. At work and at play, they were expected to be decorously incompetent, hobbled not only by their corsets, bustles, and crinolines, but by the delicate female egg basket they carried precariously inside, every moment of every day. Of special concern to the paternalistic physicians early in the decade was a woman's ability to withstand the rigor of running foot-powered sewing machines – literally whether the factory and workshop machines would overwhelm the frail female machinery.

Foot-powered sewing machines were suspected of being too hard on a woman's reproductive functions. The lower body motions required to run the treadle machines were not the ground-pounding gallop of a Live Oaks ball player or even the alternating, stretched gyrations of the high-wheel bicyclist, but a sustained, rhythmic, motion that was suspected of provoking all sorts of ills in the female system, from upsetting the fragile harmony of her reproductive organs to corrupting her delicate morals. At the request of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, Lynn physicians

Bowman Breed, Joseph Pinkham, and John Webster undertook an investigation of the health impact of foot-powered sewing machines on the health of female operatives. They sent out survey forms to fellow medical society physicians and workshop foremen throughout the state and elsewhere to gather “statistics, facts, and opinions” about cases where running sewing machines by foot power caused back and leg problems, dyspepsia, lung disease, depression, or any of the uterine dysfunctions: menorrhagia, dysmenorrhea, amenorrhea, leucorrhoea, displacements, miscarriage, inflammations, or even sexual excitement (some French studies had found nervous excitement had occurred among female foot-powered sewing machine operators who were predisposed to “anterior habits or moral perversion”).⁸⁹⁵ Replies to the surveys came from 138 physicians representing 120 towns in the state and several large cities in other states and virtually all those who reported health problems among females using the foot-powered machines noted they occurred in factory settings where long hours at the machine combined with crowded, dusty work rooms, and lack of fresh air and sunlight to wear out their systems and aggravate those already suffering with some constitutional weakness; the survey results also consistently reported that shorter intervals of sewing machine use in the home didn’t produce the same long list of health problems. In short, the foot-powered sewing machines didn’t create the problems, but long and sustained use in an industrial environment made existing health problems worse. The surveys reported sore backs, leg cramps, sciatica, aching hips and knees, “lameness of limbs” (probably temporary loss of circulation), kidney pain, constipation, dyspepsia, depression and exhaustion, but the “diseases peculiar to women” were categorically the central problem.

Responding doctors listed a litany of female complaints experienced by their patients who operated foot-driven sewing machines: uterine diseases, “uterine derangement,” ovarian neuralgia, ulceration of the os uteri, “ovaritis,” “profuse leucorrhoea,” miscarriage, threatened miscarriage, malposition of the fetus, retroflexion and prolapsus uteri, “engorgement and congestion of the uterus,” and “nervous excitement,” although, not surprisingly, none reported patients confessing to treadle-induced orgasms. One doctor reported, “use of the machine during menstruation is especially injurious.” Among the workrooms described was a cloth gaiter manufactory in Lynn, where from forty to sixty women, depending on the work available, sat in rows of foot-powered Singer, Empire, Howe, Grover, and Baker sewing machines in an upper story workroom; the majority appeared “sufficiently healthy, but some look thin and pallid.” There had been many complaints of physical problems among them “and not unfrequently the operatives gave out completely” and the amount of work they produced fell off in the latter part of the day, “owing to their exhaustion.”⁸⁹⁶ As the decade progressed, the motive power of the sewing machines changed from women’s feet to steam or magneto-electric power, bringing with it a diminution of the physical complaints from the female sewing machine operators, but Joseph Pinkham didn’t stop warning that women’s health was still at risk:

Non-malignant affections of the uterus ... are especially prevalent among those females who work in shops. While one cause of such troubles has been removed in the substitution of steam for foot-power in running sewing-machines, yet there are still a great variety of circumstances which tend to produce them. It is hardly possible for a woman to become debilitated from overwork, and continue so for any great length of time, without experiencing a certain amount of disturbance of the menstrual function. Neglected, as such disorders usually are, the functional derangement becomes organic disease, and perhaps a lifelong source of suffering.⁸⁹⁷

Sadly, some women’s health was also at risk because of their own husbands. The ugly specter of abuse against women was happening in some of Lynn’s homes, just as it was to some of its children. In 1872 the city marshal stayed busy with reports of wife beaters: one who was “abusing his wife shamefully,” another that had beaten his wife in a shocking manner,” and still another “beats and abuses her severely so often, particularly at night, that she has been obliged to seek shelter away from her home.”⁸⁹⁸ Another wife told the marshal that her husband “ill-treats her,”

locked her out of the house, and threatened to kill her; all of these abuse episodes showed up in the newspaper over just two months, causing the paper to start their next abuse story, just a few days later, “And still they come. Complaint after complaint of wife beating, of habitual cruelty, of threats of murder, etc., are daily recorded at City Hall, and the question arises, How long will it continue?”⁸⁹⁹ It wasn’t acceptable by any measure and things had to change. Women didn’t have a cure for every problem they faced but throughout the decade there was considerable effort on the part of many of their gender to take more control of their lives.

Meetings and small conventions were held to advance the cause of women’s rights in the home, the workplace, the courtroom, and the ballot box; most of the effort focused on the latter. The attendance at woman’s suffrage meetings started out small but grew in popularity and number, thanks largely to the combined enthusiastic participation of well-known reform leaders like Mary Livermore, Julia Ward Howe, and Lucy Stone, and prominent Lynners, like ex-mayor James N. Buffum, retired shoe manufacturer George W. Keene, teacher and author David N. Johnson, and physician Joseph G. Pinkham.⁹⁰⁰ Lynn had always been noted for its support of social reform causes, from abolition to temperance, and the women’s rights meetings had the feeling of a reformers’ reunion: the local and national leaders had spoken from the same podiums for other causes and the Hutchinsons sang their reform songs to start and end the meetings on a pleasant note, just as they had many other times over decades past.⁹⁰¹ Many of the regional and national reform leaders made comment to the women’s rights audiences that they were pleased to be back and trusted that Lynn would rally once again to the aid of women – and they did. In November 1873, a formidable 123 “gentlemen and ladies of Lynn signed a pledge, thus forming a club and promising to do what they can for the extension and success of the cause, by holding meetings, distributing tracts, and giving their influence in favor of those candidates … who are known to favor Woman Suffrage, and against those who are opposed to it.”⁹⁰²

The diversity and intensity of reform sentiment could be observed among the speakers and the participants of the decade’s many meetings for women’s rights. There were those who looked for better treatment of women, others who sought nothing less than a woman’s right to vote and hold office, and radical reformers who proposed such extreme actions as free love and the abolition of marriage. Despite the fact that suffrage was specifically designed to benefit women, the composition of the meetings and the organizations looked like the audience at a Music Hall show; men not only attended the meetings for women’s rights but were elected to take leadership positions in the local chapter’s organization, and the women dressed in a range of fashions that reflected once again on the diversity of perspectives; conservative Victorian stiffness mingled with others who had shed their corsets and crinoline cages.

In an 1870 meeting of the Essex County Woman’s Suffrage Association, the popular Mary Livermore told the small but enthusiastic audience that the time wasn’t far distant when wives, mothers, and daughters of the land would be able to stand at the ballot-box alongside their husbands, fathers, and sons, but it was more distant than she hoped.⁹⁰³ In 1871 Mary Breed Welch was misidentified by the city tax office, probably because her name was listed in the property records by her standard moniker, M. E. B. Welch, plus it wasn’t common for a woman to be listed as a property owner; consequently, she was assumed by the assessors to be a man and received a poll tax assessment, like all the male property holders, and she promptly paid it. She then wrote a letter to the mayor and board of aldermen to insist on her rights as a property holder and taxpayer, “Having paid my Poll Tax, and in every other respect complied with the requirements that my name be of the law, I respectfully request that my name be placed upon the list of voters before the coming election. Yours Respectfully, M. E. B. Welch.”⁹⁰⁴ But the existing laws prevented the city authorities from granting her petition. The editor of the *Little Giant*, obviously another sympathizer for women’s suffrage, pressed hard on the unfairness of the law and the clear need for change:

The great majority of the public and private school teachers of our country are women
... We thus admit that woman has capacities that enable her to most effectually

develop the mind of our youth; but [then we] say to her that she shall not express an opinion as to the making of laws ... As delineators of almost every conceivable style of literature and art, does she not occupy high positions? It is a well-known fact that a large proportion of the book-keepers in the shoe manufactories of this city are ladies. Among the most popular physicians of this city are women each enjoying a large and lucrative practice. ...

On election day, men hardly able to read and write ... and hardly capable of grasping the shadow of an idea beyond the mere requirements of their physical being deposited their ballots. Such men as these are allowed to vote without restriction, but well-educated women, possessing knowledge as to the best modes of conducting government, and in deep sympathy with the reform movements of the day, are refused the ballot. How long shall this injustice continue?⁹⁰⁵

Those who were impatient for change formed The Radical Club in 1872 that was determined to be aggressively outspoken; the motto of the club was "Eternal hostility to every form of oppression over the mind and body of man or woman."⁹⁰⁶ Its meeting topics were designed to be provocative and to push the boundaries of the status quo; they included, "Good Health; how to avoid sickness and premature death, and the way to live a long and happy life of one or two hundred years."⁹⁰⁷ The proposal to accomplish this was to subsist mainly on a vegetable diet and avoid poisonous drugs, tobacco, butter, rum, tea, and coffee, and to "heed the three great physician[s], Exercise, Water, [and] Diet." The speaker told the audience that he had never been sick a day, and expected to live a biblically long life, and he warned that most were on a far different path, "Our drug doctors send them by the dozen to Pine Hill [cemetery] yearly. Young man, young woman, or those of riper years, if you want a short ride in Black Maria[h] [colloquial for a hearse] and a heavy bill with Phillip Short [one of Lynn's undertakers], take cold and deadly drugs."⁹⁰⁸ The radical topics that defined The Radical Club went too far with the next lecture, which was an attempt to prove that the Bible was full of errors and wasn't the word of God. The question was opened for discussion, but no one replied.⁹⁰⁹

The same uneasy tension surrounded the teachings and visit of the outspoken Victoria Woodhull. The first woman to run for U.S. President, she was nonetheless as polarizing as she was famous. While she was a leading national figure for woman's suffrage, she was also well known for her extreme positions in favor of legalizing prostitution and abolishing the institution of marriage. She spoke in Lynn's Odd Fellows Hall on 4 November 1873, a year after her unsuccessful bid for the presidency; not many seats were filled to hear her. Lynn always seemed to have supporters and critics for every cause and personality, and Woodhull's appearance was no exception. The *Lynn Record* and *Lynn Transcript* writers attended the same event but told their respective readers about two different Victoria Woodhulls. The *Record* writer was impressed; he reported the audience she had attracted was "quite respectable both in character and numbers," notwithstanding a musical performance going on in the Music Hall on the same evening and the interest of others who were awaiting the results of a state election.⁹¹⁰ There was no positive spin in the *Transcript* notes, however: "Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull lectured to empty seats ... the house being only from one-quarter to one-third full."⁹¹¹ The *Record* described her presentation style as "often electrifying, sometimes astounding ... sending a thrill of conviction ... to the minds of the listeners ..." and that "whatever surrounding circumstances may have influenced her views in regard to sexual and intimate social relations ... her views on politics and finance ... [were] worthy to rank among the ablest and most truthful expressions of master minds."⁹¹² The *Transcript* writer never said a word about her message because he had stopped listening long before he went into the hall,

Her extreme ideas affecting the sacredness of marriage have rendered her so obnoxious to decent people generally that but a very few will listen to her now upon any subject. That is the difference between now and then. ... if she had not done so much harm, she might [have done] a great deal of good in the world. ... The sun of her day is hidden

and going down in a cloud. Her opportunity has been thrown away. In her haste to have her lamp trimmed and burning to light the coming ages, she put in nitro-glycerine, and she will never recover the position she has lost by the explosion. An ambitious woman, who loved power and influence, the bitter cup which she is now compelled to drink is of her own mixing.”⁹¹³

Lynn women’s rights activists largely steered clear of the extreme edges of the cause and focused on the fundamental issue of getting women the right to vote and hold office. A significant step in that direction was taken in 1870 when six women were elected members of the school committee; it was the first time that women were elected to public office in Lynn.⁹¹⁴ Shortly after the momentous occasion, William Pinkham, a precocious high schooler, described how he saw women’s progress unfolding before his 17-year-old eyes:

Truly the tide of human progress is irresistible. Ninety years ago a female teacher was unheard of, now “the school marm is not only abroad,” but we have women for post masters, editors, school committee, medical doctors and doctors of divinity. The educated woman of our day would have been the wonder or the horror of early civilization. She has attained and holds without remark, a degree of liberty and various efficiency, which would have violated the customs and shocked the prejudices of olden days.⁹¹⁵

It happened again in 1874 when Mary H. Lindsay won a three-year position on the school committee with 1,118 votes, Mrs. Charlotte Mitchell gained 1,037 votes to secure a two-year term, and Abby M. Newhall earned a one-year seat with 1,380 votes – all of which votes came from men.⁹¹⁶ It would take forty-five more years and forty-one efforts for a constitutional amendment before women were granted full suffrage, but the small, measured efforts of Lynn’s determined women’s rights advocates in the 1870s brought hope and began showing that women could succeed in a male-dominated world if given the opportunity.

Lynn women demonstrated this axiom during the 1870s much more so than in previous decades. The newspapers were peppered with ads and notices for businesses owned and run by women: Clara E. Ripley was a dealer in staple and fancy dry goods; Mrs. L. M. Baker, Miss S. E. Chapman, and Miss C. A. Butterfield all had millinery shops; Miss S. A. Boynton was a music teacher, and Miss R. A. Gould taught the pianoforte; Mrs. Julia B. Dickinson offered her services as a medical clairvoyant, and Mrs. Lizzie Hill was a clairvoyant as well; and ads for all of these independent business women appeared in a single issue of *The Lynn Record* in 1874.⁹¹⁷ Miss Abby D. Beede had clerked in Holder’s apothecary and then co-owned an apothecary by 1875.⁹¹⁸ Catherine Greenleaf, who had struggled for sufficient success in making and selling her own medicines for the better part of a decade, and who had for a while tried supplementing her income by hiring herself out as a housekeeper and home health aide, had reinvented her business paradigm once again and set up an employment office in 1874, catering principally to the needs of the city’s wealthy for housekeepers; this in addition to still selling her medicines.⁹¹⁹

Women had also taken steps forward in the health field, using either business skills or medical education, and sometimes a combination of both, to establish their own source of income. Visiting lecturers to Lynn found willing female audiences anxious to learn about their bodies, diseases, and health. In 1875 Abbie Cutter had appeared in Lynn in mid-September and again in early November to give free classes to adult and young women about health, strength, and beauty using anatomical manikins and diagrams, and was available at the Kirtland House for free consultations.⁹²⁰ In 1876 a traveling healer named Mrs. H. B. O’Leary taught “The Physiology of Woman,” using her collection of French papier-mâché models and paintings to show the ladies seated before her just what was gurgling, churning, and beating in their bodies.⁹²¹ A locally organized meeting on dress reform brought out two of Lynn’s own female doctresses (as they were often called), Esther Hill Hawks and Mary Elizabeth Breed Welch. Their knowledgeable stance against the prevalent modes of women’s fashion, especially that of wearing corsets, brought validity

to the meeting and proof of the need to at least loosen the strings, if not throw the binding prison away altogether.⁹²²

Hawks, Welch, and Martha J. Flanders were leading examples of Lynn women's efforts to heal and earn in medicine, but they were just a small part of the 22 women healers living in Lynn during the decade. Women were, in fact, the largest category of Lynn healers outside of the conventional medical society physicians; more than all of the magneto-electric practitioners, the clairvoyant healers, or even than the membership of the Lynn Homeopathic Society. Their backgrounds, education, experience, and methods were widely varied, but collectively, women in Lynn had become a conspicuous presence in the business of health. Most of these were practitioners of botanic medicine, providing products and doctoring services mainly to other women and children, as did Selina D. Mason. She moved down to Lynn from Lewiston, Maine in April 1873 and built her practice around eradicating "all kinds of humors, dyspepsia, liver complaint, and female diseases" with the help of her *Drss. S. D. Mason's Vegetable Decoction*.⁹²³ She died exactly three years after her arrival but was immediately succeeded by her daughter. Styling herself "Mrs. Dr. S. A. Richardson," she justified her accession to the professional title because she had "the benefit of several years' experience and study with her mother," and considered herself "capable of continuing her practice," including the manufacture of her mother's special decoction "so long and favorably known."⁹²⁴

While self-trained, medicine-making females like Mason and Richardson were just annoyances to conventional doctors, doctresses Hawks, Welch, and Flanders were formidable competition to their medical society counterparts. All three were graduates of the New England Female Medical College (which merged with the Boston University School of Medicine in 1874) and well-seasoned with professional experience afterwards. During the Civil War, Hawks doctored black Union soldiers and assisted her physician husband in hospital duties and surgery. Welch had practiced in several hospitals for women and children.⁹²⁵ Flanders was a dedicated homeopath and was described as a "singular example of rare professional skill, talent, and energy ... a true gentlewoman ... yet of a manful courage and independence."⁹²⁶ By the 1870s all three had been practicing medicine for a decade or more.

Isabel P. Haywood had matriculated mainly in the school of experience, assisting and watching her physician husband until he died from complications after his arm was surgically amputated by the medical society physicians. Upon his decease, the new widow and single mother of three children under age seven earned her own certificate from the Eclectic Medical College of the City of New York and then began her own practice in Lynn, focusing principally on the diseases of women and children, as did Hawks and Welch, and she contributed several articles to eclectic medical journals over the ensuing twenty years.⁹²⁷ In one 1875 article, she described her work to save Mrs. Perez McFarland, who had been camping with her husband and children. The woman had leaned over a campfire stove when her apron caught fire and she was badly burned, from the tip of her fingers to her shoulder and across her back.⁹²⁸ The burns covered over one and a half square yards of skin surface: "all the fingers on the left hand were burned like leather; the adipose tissue was a cinder and the muscles were laid bare." The newly certified doctor showed her professional strength and determination: "It was a sickening sight, and my first impulse was to hasten away and call another doctor. That would have been unwomanly and cowardly; so I went to work and dressed the burns" and, pulling from experience, she used cotton instead of linen for the dressings; she wrote, "Our surgical books are silent on this subject although among the old-fashioned housewives, cotton was regarded as the specific for bandages, etc., in cases of burns."⁹²⁹

When the medical society doctors pulled their support away from Lynn hospital in 1875-1876, Hawks, Welch, Flanders, and Haywood were all among the small army of alternative physicians who replaced them. Flanders addressed a uterine affection and the patient was dismissed in an improved state. Welch treated a fever and furunculi (boils), as did Haywood, and Hawks treated patients for a lame wrist and pneumonia; most of their patients were released as "improved"

or “cured.”⁹³⁰ The matter of admitting qualified women into the Massachusetts Medical Society was frequently debated, but didn’t come to fruition by decade’s end; nonetheless, in May 1873 the Essex South District branch of the state organization, of which Lynn’s conventional physicians were a part, voted in favor to admit women into the medical society, “but under proper restrictions”; there just wasn’t enough support statewide for females to be accepted into the society.⁹³¹

Although education and advancement became increasingly available, tradition and folklore still held on tightly to some hearts and minds. In 1877 an infant had been ailing for some time and no remedy seemed to be helping, so the child’s mother called upon “an old negress” to do what she could. The old woman declared that the baby had been bewitched by someone conversant with “the art diabolical,” but fortunately she knew how to break the spell: she had a charm that would free the little sufferer. It was a cat’s claw that she had “soaked in the blood of a white dove during four successive Fridays, from sunset to midnight. She directed that the claw be wrapped in a piece of red silk and tied around the child’s neck,” and that in a few days, the spell would be broken. Yes, the baby began to recover soon after, and the old woman insisted it proved that “sorcery is a fact.” It was reported that the mother laughed about the old woman and ridiculed her method as “the greatest folly,” but scoff as she might, in her moment of despair she had tied the blood-stained cat’s claw around her baby’s neck.⁹³² If the decade had demonstrated a single truth about health in Lynn, it was that there were a myriad of possibilities and people willing to try each one, if they had enough faith … or despair.

LYDIA E. PINKHAM & THE BUSINESS OF WOMEN’S HEALTH

The preeminent example of a nineteenth century woman successfully engaged in the business of health was Lydia Estes Pinkham of Lynn, but hoping to comprehend her success without understanding the importance of her marriage to her husband Isaac would be like trying to enjoy a half-told tale. Isaac and Lydia Pinkham were equally yoked and completely devoted to each other for the forty years of their marriage. From the moment the two were quietly married on 8 September 1843 by a justice of the peace in remote Bellows Falls, Vermont, far from Lynn, they were equally determined to have and to hold from that day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, until death did they part.⁹³³ Theirs wasn’t a journey that can be understood by feverishly following just one set of footprints.

Isaac was the only son and oldest of eight children of Daniel Pinkham, a housewright in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Abigail “Nabby” Hawks from Saugus, Massachusetts.⁹³⁴ When Isaac was 12 years old, he experienced death for the first time with the passing of his 4-year-old sister, Charlotte Maria.⁹³⁵ In about 1829, Daniel, Nabby, and their children, Isaac, Mary Ann, Georgianna, Anna, and Caroline moved from Portsmouth down to Saugus, where two more daughters were born: Charlotte (named in honor of the lost sister) in 1831 and Christine, in 1833.⁹³⁶ The Pinkham home was crowded, but Isaac, Nabby’s “beloved son,” had become a young man, and soon struck off on his own.⁹³⁷ In May 1834, the 19-year-old, anxious to find his fortune, decided it could be found where others had left it – in Dungeon Rock. He became engrossed by the story of pirates’ treasure that appeared five years earlier in Alonzo Lewis’s *History of Lynn* and, full of youthful drive and zeal, Isaac and several compatriots decided to reach the treasure by exploding a keg of gunpowder in the cave, but the ill-planned explosion only resulted in the entrance being sealed by tons of rock.⁹³⁸ Three years more mature and grounded, he married Mary Shaw of Saugus in May 1837 and the two moved to the tiny village of Northwood Narrows, New Hampshire, thirty-odd miles northwest of Portsmouth. They set up house there because Isaac had bought a failing shoemaking business consisting of women sewing welt shoes in rooms over Ebenezer Coe’s store in the Narrows. He did so, apparently with seed money from both sides of his parents’ families, and called his new business Hawks & Pinkham. The name soon changed to Pinkham & Brown but shortly thereafter the nation’s economy was hit with a banking crisis that came to be known as the

Panic of 1837 and the startup firm went out of business.⁹³⁹ While still living in Northwood in the spring of 1838, Isaac and Mary became parents for the first time; a daughter they named Frances Ellen was born on 11 March at 8:00 PM, according to the family bible, but with the business now failed, they left Northwood behind and came back to the Saugus neighborhood of Isaac's family.⁹⁴⁰ In 1841 Isaac took up cordwaining, the staple job of Lynn men, and they moved a few miles to Pleasant Street, a road that stretched from the south side of Lynn's common to its harbor.⁹⁴¹ Isaac Pinkham was related to Joseph G. Pinkham, Lynn's notable doctor, medical examiner, and city physician; they were fourth cousins once removed – but too distantly for either to know or much care and it certainly wasn't enough of a connection to make Isaac's transition to his new Lynn home any easier.⁹⁴² In fact, things got significantly more difficult when, sometime before mid-July 1841, Isaac's father passed away, leaving his aged and now widowed mother with several girls still at home and an estate that was upside-down: her husband had died insolvent, owing \$1,084.79 (\$32,270.84 in 2020 USD), more than the value of his personal estate, so his property was sold off, including the house and its outbuildings, to pay off his debts.⁹⁴³ The Pinkham households were struggling to cope and survive their family losses and financial setbacks.

In those early years, Isaac and Lydia's paths didn't likely cross. While Isaac was trying to take care of his wife and daughter and support his mother and sisters in Saugus, Lydia was teaching school in Lynn and then in Wenham, a quiet town fifteen miles to the northeast.⁹⁴⁴ By any measure, they were both wearing big shoes. In the not-too-distant past, being an educated female was a disdained oddity, but women like Lydia were breaking through those barriers, becoming teachers, doctors, ministers, editors, and being elected to school committees; it was an observation Isaac and Lydia's son would make 30 years later.⁹⁴⁵ In 1841-1842, while Isaac the shoemaker was supporting his family and attending the Shoe and Leather Convention in Boston as a delegate from Lynn, Lydia the teacher was attending anti-slavery meetings with her sisters and brothers and making a cash donation to the cause.⁹⁴⁶ But tragically typical of the era, the two also continued to experience the heartbreaking loss of loved ones: Lydia lost two sisters, Eunice, 31 (1839), and Ruth Ann, 26 (1841), and Isaac lost his father (1841) and wife, Mary, 28 (1842), followed a scant four weeks later by his second daughter, Mary Adaline, who had been born just two weeks before her mother died.⁹⁴⁷

Stinging from the losses, the paths of Isaac and Lydia finally crossed in early 1843 at the meetings of Lynn's Freeman's Institute, a forum for open discussion of all reform issues and social questions of the day and that welcomed and encouraged the participation of both sexes. Both were members and Lydia was chosen its secretary. Topics discussed and proposed included vegetarianism, women's equality and suffrage, the abolition of punishment, and the question of a common ancestry of the human species (predating Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* by sixteen years, although it was probably in reference to the common ancestry as described by the Bible in Genesis).⁹⁴⁸ Possessing genuine reform motives, both Isaac and Lydia also made contributions to anti-slavery organizations and events.⁹⁴⁹ Reform organizations and activities provided opportunities to lose oneself in service for a good cause and, as it turned out, to find a kindred spirit. Besides forming a relationship with Isaac during this time, Lydia built friendships with other reform-minded Lynners including Henry G. Wright, Mary S. Gove, and David H. Barlow, who among other credentials, were the three editors of the *Health Journal and Independent Magazine*. Between 6 February and 12 March 1843, right after they had published Volume 1 Number 1 of their magazine, Lydia asked them to sign her autograph book.⁹⁵⁰ Wright's entry was a poem describing a woman who, having been deluded and disappointed by pursuing happiness in beauty and love, ultimately found it in God. Gove wrote that "the day of trial is but for a season," but to trust and find peace in God. Barlow's poem urged Lydia to keep the light and warmth of youth in her "unperverted heart" and to keep "unwasted ever"; perhaps a reflection on what he felt he had lost by his private addictions.⁹⁵¹ The three messages seem to have been trying to keep Lydia's spirits up and to find comfort in goodness and God as she moved on with her life; perhaps they

knew she was depressed over the loss of her sisters, or had a general dissatisfaction with her life's path at that time, or perhaps Isaac had already proposed and she had expressed trepidations to her three friends about becoming a second wife and automatic mother. Six months later, she married Isaac Pinkham and became stepmother to Isaac's five and a half-year-old daughter, Frances.

If there had been reticence on her part, Lydia likely took comfort in the amazingly similar path that her husband and father had experienced. Both of the men in her life started their careers in the shoe business; both lost their first wives after five years of marriage; both first wives had two children, both of which were daughters; both men lost one daughter within a few weeks of their births (one at three weeks, the other at six weeks); both of the daughters lost were their second child; both fathers became widowers and single fathers of daughters that were four years old; and both married a second time after a year had passed since their first wives' deaths. Lydia's father and husband and their households had much in common; she probably took some consolation in the familiar family circumstances as she began the next chapter of her life with Isaac.

In May 1844, eight months after their wedding and with Lydia newly pregnant with their first child together, Lydia's father William carved out a piece of his sizeable Lynn property and sold it to his son-in-law, Isaac. The sale of three-fifths of an acre up against the Eastern Railroad line to the northwest and Estes Street to the northeast was a kindly gesture by Lydia's parents to help out their pregnant daughter and her new husband and stepdaughter; the promise to pay William back \$250 interest-free on demand amounted to the parents' willingness to take payment when Isaac and Lydia were able to come up with the money; the only other stipulation was that Isaac fence in the property along bordering streets within seven months' time.⁹⁵² It was a generous gift for the newlyweds that may have been delayed by the eight months after their marriage because of William's poor health; he had been very ill during the previous spring when the couple were courting; his niece had observed, "we do not expect he will live from one hour to another."⁹⁵³

In December of the same year, Lydia gave birth to her new baby boy, Charles Hacker Pinkham and the blessed event was added to the Pinkham's family bible, right under Francis Ellen's birth record.⁹⁵⁴

Nineteen months later, Isaac and Lydia became the parents of their second son, whom they named Daniel Rogers Pinkham after Isaac's father, Daniel, and Nathaniel Rogers, the reformer they had admired and befriended. Nathaniel the reformer died a few months later and Daniel the baby died at one year two months young; during the summer heat of August 1847, he had succumbed to the ubiquitous baby killer, cholera infantum. No death date was listed next to his name in the genealogical data page of the family bible, but more personally, it was remembered as a Friday.⁹⁵⁵ Before they buried baby Daniel, a daguerreotype *momento mori* was taken of him being held by his solemn mother. In the cash-strapped years of the Pinkhams, the only image to survive of any of their children was that of the baby they had lost.⁹⁵⁶

Life's storms had only begun to beat upon the Pinkham household. The shoe business had become unsteady throughout the town. More and more people were coming to Lynn looking for work while more work was being sent out of town and out of state, which all had a depressing effect; daily shoemaking wages had dropped and shoemaking families and businesses that supported them suffered.⁹⁵⁷ With a wife and two children to care for (Frances and Charles) and a dead son's doctoring and undertaking bills to cover, Isaac couldn't hold on; in February 1848 Deputy Sheriff Charles Merritt issued a warrant against the estate of Isaac Pinkham, shoe manufacturer, declaring him "an insolvent debtor"—he was broke.⁹⁵⁸ He certainly wasn't alone; shortly before his finances collapsed, bankruptcies had been declared for James Allen, a cordwainer, Benjamin Allen (occupation undetermined), Steven Palmer, a carpenter, Nathan Kimball, a merchant, James B. Ambler, a minister, and William P. Newhall, another shoe manufacturer.⁹⁵⁹ In 1847, the year prior to his insolvency, there had been 268 paupers in Lynn: 79 who had been confined to the almshouse but the others lived in houses throughout the town (and



Memento Mori of Daniel Rogers Pinkham. The baby Daniel, Isaac and Lydia Pinkham's second son, died at one year two months young; during the summer heat of August 1847, he had succumbed to the ubiquitous baby killer, cholera infantum. Before they buried Daniel, a daguerreotype *memento mori* was taken of him being held by his solemn mother. In the cash-strapped years of the Pinkhams, the only surviving image of any of their children was this one of the baby they had lost. The time-worn image is shown here in its actual, unretouched condition (other than the narrow black border framing the image); please consult detailed analysis in endnote 956 of this chapter. (Collection of Schleisinger Library.)

14 elsewhere in the state who were still the responsibility of Lynn because it was the town of their nativity). The *Lynn News* tabulated that half of the paupers “probably [were] made so by intemperance, in themselves or others.”⁹⁶⁰ Even more sobering was the observation of the *Lynn Pioneer*, “No person can contemplate the idea of becoming a pauper without a feeling of horror. It seems like becoming a criminal. Many would as soon go to prison, as to a Poor-house and others would sooner go to their graves than to either.”⁹⁶¹

Whether the financial struggles of his daughter’s family had hastened William Estes’s demise will never be known, but the enfeebled octogenarian expired in March 1848, during the weeks that Isaac and Lydia’s fate was being decided in a Salem law office; William’s death notice appeared in the same issue of the newspaper that announced the court had appointed attorney James R. Newhall to organize a second meeting of creditors for “the estate of Isaac Pinkham”; emotionally, it was almost like dying but without being buried.⁹⁶² A year later, in Rochester, New York, the Fox sisters announced that they had experienced spirit rapping for the first time; communicating with the dearly departed became a hoped-for balm by the many who, like the Pinkhams, had lost so many and for whom life consistently proved its fragility. Over time, Lydia and Isaac would both come to seek comfort from spiritualism.

Despite the staggering losses of every type, Isaac proved that though he was broke, he wasn’t broken. He was no drinker, but a temperance advocate; the bottle wouldn’t become the painkiller for him that it was for so many others. He also resisted any thought of leaving his family for the siren call of the gold fields of California that so many other Lynn men had heard and followed. Isaac’s treasure was in his home and he was determined to do everything he could to take care of his family. The Pinkhams were determined to recover and they needed to quickly; Lydia was pregnant again.

Just days after Estes patriarch William’s burial in March, Lydia’s mother (Rebecca) and siblings banded together to help her and Isaac rebound once again by selling them some more of the family land. In late November, Lydia gave birth to her third son, once again named Daniel Rogers Pinkham, and while they continued to build their family, they also continued to rebuild their bank account by dividing up and selling family land as house lots.⁹⁶³ Even though one of their parcels went through foreclosure in 1850, over the next few years they were able to sell a dozen and a half more properties. With profits from their land sales, Isaac had seed money to build a produce business and thus opened a store at 6 Union Block, well located in Lynn’s business center, near the train depot.⁹⁶⁴ He purchased newspaper advertising to promote some of his store’s stock: lump and tub butter “from one of the best dairies in Vermont,” seed potatoes, and forest trees, like rock maple, double spruce, and fir, “and no one should neglect any opportunity to add such beauties to their estates.”⁹⁶⁵

Isaac and Lydia’s financial recovery had been made possible largely because of the assistance provided by Lydia’s mother, brothers, and sisters to help her and Isaac get back on their feet. Looking out for and taking care of each other was just something the Estes and Pinkham families did. In 1849 Elizabeth Estes, Lydia’s stepsister, was admitted for insanity to the Maclean Asylum in Somerville, Massachusetts, and she remained institutionalized for the remaining thirty-seven years of her life; but as one of William and Rebecca’s children, she was still included in the family’s wealth, having been given a portion of the Estes property in Lynn. Her family (her stepmother, stepbrothers, and stepsisters) signed many court documents attesting to her ownership of lots on the ancestral family lands and to the appropriateness of her guardian (at one point one of her stepbrothers) to sell those properties on her behalf for her expenses over her years of confinement at institutions for the insane.⁹⁶⁶ From Elizabeth’s safety to the well-being of Lydia’s household, the Estes family took care of each other. Similarly, Isaac and Lydia demonstrated the same close-knit support for their combined families. When the widow Nabby Pinkham died in 1851, the family homestead had to be sold, so Isaac and Lydia opened up their home to two of his sisters who had nowhere else to go.⁹⁶⁷ Then in late 1854, Lydia’s sister Guilielma became a widow with several

children but no money for rent, so Lydia and Isaac welcomed her and two of her children to stay with them as well.⁹⁶⁸ There were yet two more guests under the Pinkham roof – a child and a young woman, and all these were in addition to Isaac, Lydia, and their now three sons (William was born in 1852) – by 1855 a total of thirteen people stuffed into the Pinkham house on Estes Street like an overfilled feather pillow.⁹⁶⁹

The Pinkhams felt able to provide so much support because 1855 started off as a good year. Isaac was listed in the top thirteen percent of the city's taxpayers and in the previous year he had felt capable once again of making a donation to the abolition movement: fifty cents (\$14.87 in 2020 USD) to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.⁹⁷⁰ No longer dwelling on her own family's finances, Lydia was able to focus on helping others, volunteering her time to the very busy Lynn Charitable Association, which collected clothing, food, and money and sewed items for the city's poor.⁹⁷¹ The November 1855 issue of *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* featured a story about the shoe city, pointing out that seventy percent of the population was engaged in shoe manufacturing, from which "we may safely infer there are few idle fingers in Lynn."⁹⁷² In the same month, *The Bay State* reflected contentedly on the success of Lynn's shoe business over the manufacturing season just concluded, "In looking back ... our manufacturers can find no ground for complaint ... trade has exceeded the anticipation of the most sanguine, and happily disappointed the fears of the less hopeful."⁹⁷³ The sun seemed to be shining on Lynn at least for that afternoon.

But the year and the whole decade had, in fact, been very unsteady and unpredictable. Occasionally sharp drops in shoe orders had a significantly depressing effect on the local economy in 1852 and 1855 and the pattern would be repeated in 1857 and late 1859.⁹⁷⁴ Like two rival actors competing for attention, prosperity and poverty kept pushing each other off Lynn's stage throughout the decade. In the impressive young city with its massively dominant shoe industry, one thing was certain: when the shoemaking stopped, everyone in town felt the stillness. The shoemakers and other businesses that relied on their patronage struggled together: at the end of 1855 the insolvency lawyers were busy again, dealing with two carpenters, a shoemaking partnership and two other shoemakers, a gentleman, a peddler, Moody Dow, the owner of the Lynn Hotel, and Isaac Pinkham, the produce dealer.⁹⁷⁵ Isaac's produce business, which had been thriving during the decade's early years when the shoemakers prospered, failed when they didn't, and Isaac and Lydia's world was turned upside down once again on the shaky axis of the shoe industry.⁹⁷⁶ Having been severely roughed up by Lynn for a second time, and probably hoping to avoid the further frustration of harassing creditors, they packed up Frances and the boys and left.

Lunenburg, Massachusetts, might as well have been Hindoostan; it was remote and far (fifty-plus miles) from Estes Street and foreign to everything Lynn had become: the people lived off the land instead of off the shoe, and the house the Pinkhams next called home was isolated, their farming neighbors separated by acres of pastures, woods, and farmland. No matter what the future may bring, the Pinkhams had purposely made a fresh start.

They had somehow rustled up an \$800 down payment in the early spring of 1856 to buy a 55-acre farm on Northfield Road costing \$1,800 (\$53,202 in 2019).⁹⁷⁷ The purchase was in Lydia's name only, so that Isaac's creditors back in Lynn, should they learn about the Pinkham's purchase in Lunenburg, couldn't lay claim to it as part of Isaac's estate; it was a tactic they had also used several times on parcels Lydia purchased back in Lynn over 1855-1856.⁹⁷⁸ Lunenburg had only 1,290 people in 1855; it was only one twelfth the population of Lynn, but the town included much more land – 26.4 square miles versus 1.8 square miles for Lynn, making it much better suited for farming, which is what two-thirds of the population did.⁹⁷⁹ The property came with a small house and a smaller barn; it wasn't much, but it was enough for their family and their two horses.⁹⁸⁰ Compared to other horses in town that were valued in the hundreds of dollars each, the Pinkham's horses weren't worth much – \$75 for the two – so they were likely older animals that were sufficient only for pulling together on the Pinkham's wagon; they were probably as unsuited and unaccustomed to farm work as were the Pinkhams.⁹⁸¹ Besides the horses, Isaac and Lydia didn't

have any farm animals (oxen, cows, sheep, or swine) like most other farmers in the town, nor did they have any land designated as orchards, pastures, meadows or woods.⁹⁸² They had purchased a big patch of dirt at the start of April 1855, with the only obvious strategy being to start growing vegetables as the growing season approached. An oft-repeated Lunenburg story claims Isaac also gathered medicinal plants for Lydia “down in the swamp through which Mulpus Brook sluggishly wanders.”⁹⁸³ Even though the Mulpus swampland did border along part of the Pinkham farm, it is unlikely that they were already commercially bottling the medicine that would make her famous twenty years later; yet in their rural, post-insolvency, self-sufficiency environment, creating homemade medicines for their own family, and perhaps a few extra bottles for some neighbors, would have been as practical and therefore as likely an activity as raising homegrown vegetables.

In mid-November of the same year, Lydia and Isaac sold their Lunenburg farm for \$1,438.50, so they lost \$361.50 in the sale.⁹⁸⁴ Buying in April and selling in November would have given them time to plant, grow, and harvest one season of produce in this northcentral Massachusetts town. If becoming long-term Lunenburners had been their plan, either they didn’t give the farm much of a chance, or the farm didn’t give them much of a reason to feel encouraged. Raising produce had proved as challenging as selling it; they had lost twenty percent of their investment on the Lunenburg property. Sometime between the property sale and early March 1857, Isaac had hitched up the horses, packed up the boys again in the wagon, then helped his pregnant wife and his daughter Frances get in as well. The Pinkham family then rolled down the narrow dirt road from their house for the last time, towards Wayland, Massachusetts, leaving their farm and Mulpus Brook in the dust behind them.

Unearthed history to date only gives the briefest mention of the Pinkhams living in Wayland, west of Boston; they were residents there in March 1857 and again a year later in September 1858.⁹⁸⁵ Given the timing of their stays, their residences may have been places kindly made available to them by a relative or friend, or simply low-cost rental properties – a place of temporary refuge, a port in the storm. In any case, both stays were short. By April 1857 they were living in Bedford, Massachusetts. If they were trying to make their way back home to Lynn, they had traveled a serpentine path to get there, probably because the economy was shaking things up everywhere. The Panic of 1857 triggered the subsequent nationwide economic depression that covered the balance of the decade. Falling market prices and increased mechanization caused a glut on the market, which had, in turn, brought record low wages and put Lynners out of work again.⁹⁸⁶ Bedford was also struggling; almost fifteen percent of its population of 986 had moved away during the last five years of the decade because factories had been eliminating the opportunity to make shoes at home and the rich farmlands of the Midwest were more promising than the tired, rocky farms in Bedford.⁹⁸⁷ But the Pinkhams weren’t looking for friends; they were looking for an opportunity to end their own peregrination and rebuild their lives. All things considered, giving farming one more try in Bedford seemed like a good decision. One more reason for settling down was that Lydia was getting ready to give birth again.

In June 1857, Lydia gave birth to their fourth child and only daughter, Aroline Chase Pinkham, named after Lydia’s first cousin who had led the Lynn ladies’ petition drive for racial equality almost twenty years earlier (the family’s reform leader had died the previous December). In November of 1857, the Pinkhams bought a six-acre property in Bedford from Joseph B. Hodgeman for \$3,000; using only Lydia’s name in the purchase, they paid \$700 up front and borrowed the rest in a mortgage note. In the deed, Isaac was listed as a yeoman (a small-scale farmer).⁹⁸⁸ Nine days later, Lydia bought another property of 99 acres with buildings for \$3,400; she paid \$1,000 in value, using the Hodgeman property as collateral, so now the Pinkhams had two notes to pay, with six percent interest on the larger property, plus they were also required to pay for a \$1,000 insurance policy on the buildings.⁹⁸⁹ Together, Lydia and Isaac also sold Hodgeman some property they still had on Estes Street in Lynn, apparently in an attempt to offset what they owed him in Bedford.⁹⁹⁰ But the Pinkhams were still struggling. Their departure from Lynn was an

act of desperation, but their years in Lunenburg, Wayland, and now Bedford only continued the misery; their finances were not improving and the future was bleak.

In the dead of winter 1859, after a few more years of trying to grow produce and paying multiple mortgages with interest, Isaac wrote down five business principles specifically for his three growing sons, Charles, now fourteen, Dan, ten, and William (more often called “Will” who was six.⁹⁹¹ The maxims reflected an exemplary individual with a strong sense of ethics and integrity and a loving father with a great desire to lift his sons on his well-worn shoulders to help them reach financial goals that up to this point had eluded him. The message that he called “To Secure Success in Business” read like a calculated tutorial but it was written with a tender motive: his boys wouldn’t be men for years, so the advice was designed to be a legacy to his sons. His wisdom was the only wealth he had for them up to this point in his life; if he wasn’t around to guide them when they were adults, this memento would give them the best of their father in his absence:

- 1st Make all your purchases as far as possible of those who stand the highest in uprightness and integrity. Men of character.
- 2nd Enter into no business arrangements with any one unless you are well satisfied that such person is governed by a strict sense of honor and justice.
- 3rd Engage in nothing of business at arm’s length, and be sure that you are acquainted with whatever business you may engage in.
- 4th Be satisfied with doing well and continue in well doing. A sure sixpence is better than a doubtful shilling, which motto be governed by.

There was a fifth principle that read like an afterthought to the others; if the first four deserved to be included in *How to Get Rich; or A Key to Honest Wealth*, the fifth would fit best in the *American Agriculturalist*:

- 5th If you own land, do not neglect to set out fruit trees and bushes, a single year after owning it, till enough is set out.⁹⁹²

Between the trees he carried at his Union Square store, the Lynn lots he bought and sold, and the Lunenburg and Bedford properties that he tried to farm, a scattered orchard of Pinkham plantings must have been blossoming all over the region ... if only seeding coins could produce money trees. Isaac and Lydia had been unable to pay their \$700 mortgage at the end of 1857; it may have been why they had retreated to Wayland for a short time in the fall of 1858. Things went from bad to worse at their Bedford properties because of their inability to pay their notes, so two men were hired to foreclose against the Pinkhams on both properties; they “entered peaceably” with the sheriff to end the Pinkham’s occupancy. In the legal documents of foreclosure that the Pinkhams had to sign, Lynn medicine maker and apparent Pinkham friend, Catherine Greenleaf, came over from Lynn and served as a witness.⁹⁹³ Perhaps the friendship of Lydia and Catherine, twenty-one years her senior, was based on their shared interest in making medicine.

Homeless, Isaac, Lydia, and their family finally returned untriumphantly to Lynn; ironically, they were put up by Lydia’s sister Guilielma, who returned the favor from five years earlier. Making room for Isaac, Lydia, Charles, Daniel, William, and Aroline filled Guilielma’s house with twelve souls – there was just no room left for Frances.⁹⁹⁴ But she had turned twenty-one while in Bedford and for the sake of the family, the new adult needed to fend for herself. She got a job as a boot stitcher and found another place to live. When her father and his second family walked up the steps to the Ripley house, Frances went up a different set of stairs seven houses away to room at the home of William Estes, Lydia’s brother; his house had a few less people than Guilielma’s; Frances became number eleven.⁹⁹⁵

With a roof over their heads, the Pinkhams next had to focus on getting money. Charles, now fifteen, helped the family by dropping out of school to work at a stamping company in Cambridge; he even walked the eighteen-mile round-trip distance to the factory to save the cost of omnibus or

train fare. Some nights he just slept on sacks in the workshop so that he wouldn't reprise the long walk home at night and then repeat the trek the next day.⁹⁹⁶ His little brothers, Dan, and Will, about ten and seven respectively, sold fruit and popcorn around town; as these young boys learned how to sell to strangers, they gained valuable experience that would serve them well down the road.⁹⁹⁷ With his boys hard at work and his farmland and yeoman days behind him, Isaac labored to refit himself in the business world. He was witnessing first-hand the great shift in lamp lighting from the use of whale oil and tree-sourced fuel (camphene, comprising alcohol, turpentine, and camphor tree resin) to petroleum-based fuel – kerosene. It burned in lamps without the odor or smoke of whale oil and by 1862 it was also much cheaper to buy than either whale oil or camphene, and still more compelling for Isaac, it was fairly easy to produce.⁹⁹⁸ There were only a few steps: boiling the petroleum, distilling it, then treating the result with acid and alkali to remove the odors and impurities. Boiling, distilling, and treating was basically the same method and pot still equipment used to make liquor – an easy process to learn and emulate in Lynn, even for a temperance man.

In September of 1860, Rebecca Estes, the almost eighty-year-old family matriarch, decided it was time to divide up the remainder of the property she and her long-dead husband had amassed. Alonzo Lewis had been hired to survey the property and divide it into lots, and Rebecca ensured it was divided fairly between all of their surviving children, even her stepdaughter Elizabeth, who remained in an asylum, and Guilielma, who had become sick with the dreaded, deadly consumption. Lydia received three lots in the Pinkham's east field (east of the railroad track) and six lots in the west field.⁹⁹⁹ The parceling came at the end of days for Rebecca, eighty-one, and Guilielma, forty-seven, both dying within eighteen months of the division of family lands; but for Lydia and Isaac, the bequest couldn't have come at a better time. They once again divided the land into house lots for sale and they laid down a road into the neighborhood and named it after their first-born, Charles.¹⁰⁰⁰ Three pieces from this inheritance were mortgaged and sold in the first half of the next year, which gave them funds for housing and Isaac's kerosene manufacturing equipment – they were back in business.¹⁰⁰¹ Once again, however, their efforts for full recovery were challenged by forces beyond their control – the country had torn itself apart in dreaded, deadly war.

Throughout the five years that the war between the states raged on, every family had to come to grips with watching those near and dear go off to fight. In the Pinkham house all three boys were still too young to be required to go, but like many other heroic young men, Charles volunteered a few months before his eighteenth birthday. He served for a little more than two years and during at least part of that time, his father was also voluntarily serving in the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association. As one of the association's broadsides explained, volunteers like Isaac ministered "to those who have, and who require their sympathy, consolation, advice, or assistance, when brought within their reach, hoping, in a measure, to serve as substitutes for brothers and sisters, fathers, mothers, and friends far away."¹⁰⁰² Although the Pinkham household had great needs of its own, father and son selflessly responded to a noble cause. Isaac was supporting the troops in a Washington D. C. convalescent hospital in February 1863 and back at home on the 20th of March the kerosene oil factory of Berry & Hawkes in East Saugus burned down. The fire was caused by the cracking of an oil boiler, by which means about six barrels of oil poured down onto the fire beneath. The loss was estimated at \$1,500 (\$30,811 in 2020 USD) and there was no insurance.¹⁰⁰³ One man's loss was another man's opportunity and when Isaac returned to Lynn, he got busy making kerosene. When Charles eventually got back from war, he joined his father in manufacturing the popular lighting fluid.¹⁰⁰⁴

Isaac had initially set up his kerosene oil making operation on Chestnut Street, just a few steps away from Noah Furbush's and George Emery's soapmaking businesses. The industrial neighbors were a consortium of stink; the fumes from boiling petroleum and animal bones within a hundred feet of each other filled the air with a rank perfume, causing "much complaint in the neighborhood of disagreeable odors."¹⁰⁰⁵ After a couple of years of enduring the offensive odors, those living in the neighborhood were probably very happy to learn that at least Pinkham's kerosene

works was moving a few miles north; Isaac and "Liddy" had decided to relocate on the far edge of the town's most sparsely populated area, Ward 1.¹⁰⁰⁶ The village there that went by the Indian name, Wyoma, had previously been known as Dye House Village and even Poverty Point before that, but by any name, it was just an isolated drop in the bucket of Lynn's population.¹⁰⁰⁷ The tiny village was surrounded by landmarks that over the centuries seemed almost as if they had been purposely named to discourage its growth: Dungeon Rock, Blood Swamp, Gipsey Pond, Indian Hill, Devil's Den, and Seldom Good Pasture.¹⁰⁰⁸ Wolves, pirates, gypsies, and the homeless had hidden away in its remoteness because it was an area better suited to disappear in than to build a home and it was inconveniently far from where Lynn's business center developed and offered jobs. Maps drawn of Lynn throughout the century often hadn't even bothered to include the city's northernmost ward. The land was consequently cheaper than most parts of Lynn and the combination of its price and isolation was attractive to the Pinkhams for their home and oil refining business. With their stills set far up the Old Boston Road near the town line, the air could be fetid with the pungent odor of prehistoric ooze being cooked and the ground could soak up the thick, sticky brown petroleum waste that was discarded after the kerosene was gleaned, and virtually no one was near enough to care about it. The house in which they boarded was close by an old horse-racing track that had fallen on hard times. After he returned from the war, Charles spent some of his free time there, helping with the horses, watching them race, and also observing plenty of drunken brawls at the derelict park. In one such "knock-down-drag-out fight," one of the combatants grabbed a beer bottle and "crashed it over the other man's head," causing a bloody scene that rivaled what Charles had seen in the war; it sickened him so much, it was said that he never returned to the track.¹⁰⁰⁹ There were only sixty-one houses in the entire ward in 1865 and the way to their kerosene manufactory was just that quiet dirt road that rambled through the ward's east side, past the old track; it was only a way to get from here to there without much thought about the space in between. But amid the foreboding isolation and emptiness of the area, Isaac could see something that others didn't: streets and houses and people everywhere; business and prosperity and opportunity.

When Isaac reestablished his stills up near the South Danvers line and he and Lydia relocated their family to Wyoma, the soldiers were coming home from the war. They would be starting civilian life a few years older than when they had left for war, anxious to start or continue their families and set up house where they could afford and Isaac and Lydia were anxious to accommodate their dreams – they got back into the land selling business on a grander scale than they had ever done before. They had surveyors divide up land into lots and lay out new streets, two of which were Daniel Street and William Street, named after those sons.¹⁰¹⁰ They also built a big meeting hall nearby on Boston street, to bring the village together. Isaac advertised in and wrote articles in a Lynn newspaper that enthusiastically advocated for Wyoma development. The team of Isaac and Lydia Pinkham, each taking turns in buying and selling real estate, sold 40 properties in the five years from 1865-1869.¹⁰¹¹ Together they were turning their fortunes around once again and they were doing so without having to rely on their children to take odd jobs and sell things to help out mother and father. To that end, Isaac posted notices emancipating their oldest children: Charles's notice was dated 1863 and Dan's was published in 1867; they were teenagers who were given the freedom to keep their own earnings and sign their own contracts, and creditors of their parents couldn't oblige them to pay the debts of their parents.¹⁰¹² Emancipation was a token of Isaac's and Lydia's love and respect for their sons; besides, Charles was already in a war that was squeezing the boy right out of him and Dan decided to explore the American West shortly after his emancipation, joining a cattle drive through Indian Territory then teaching school in Texas. Mother and father were back on their feet in Lynn and the boys could pursue their own goals and not worry about their parents.

Isaac and Lydia's dreams for Wyoma were indeed coming true. In 1870 Isaac advertised Wyoma Village as "A HEALTHY LOCATION, [with] PURE AIR AND PURE WATER" where house lots were selling rapidly at a very low price of only three cents per foot. In a piece of slick

1871 marketing, he promised he could sell home lots for \$500 cash that were covered in at least \$500 worth of gravel, implying that after the new lot owner dug up and sold the gravel, the lot would have paid for itself, and then also be worth more as a house lot than when it had been covered with gravel. In 1872 he advertised 40 house lots for sale in the village, "only one and a half miles from City Hall."¹⁰¹³ Articles appeared in the newspapers endorsing the establishment of a Wyoma retirement home for aged people, a branch of the horse-drawn railroad to connect the village with the rest of Lynn, and possibly even a steam railroad passing through on its way from Peabody to Boston.¹⁰¹⁴ On one Saturday, over four hundred passengers traveled on the omnibus line between downtown Lynn and Wyoma Village; with that much Wyoma traffic relying on the lumbering, clunky omnibus, laying down track for a horse-drawn railway became the next important piece of Isaac's expansion strategy because the easier and faster it was for people to get to Wyoma, the faster it would grow. A horse-drawn railway was a significant improvement over the omnibus, as the metal wheels on grooved steel rails allowed the horses to haul more people than the omnibus and gave them a smoother ride. If Wyoma was to develop as a residential neighborhood for factory workers, the street railway would be the efficient and reliable method of getting them to work and back home every day.

Other investors and builders joined in on the great Wyoma development trend, like Job Skay who advertised two acres of land on the border of Wyoma Lake that were "admirably calculated for a Pic-nic Ground, a Hotel and Bathing resort, or private Dwellings ... (with) excellent facilities for fishing, boating, &c."¹⁰¹⁵ Isaac was building a two-story double workshop for a wheelwright and a blacksmith and Darius Barry built a morocco finishing factory. The Trotting Park was being divided into house lots, the grounds which had for so many years shook beneath the hooves of race horses would "soon be converted into a race-course for troops of happy children whose parents will reside there."¹⁰¹⁶ Wyoma had added only two houses and four families between 1860 and 1865 but the sleepy country village was wide awake during the last five years of the decade, once the war was over. The population increased by 77 percent, from 363 in 1865 to 643 in 1870; the number of families had increased by 82 percent, and the number of houses had increased 93 percent, from 61 homes to 118.¹⁰¹⁷

Isaac and Lydia continued to drive the trotting horse of success towards victory. Everything was going well for them; by 1870 they were living in their own home on Boston Street at the south end of Wyoma, just north of Hudson Street; it was situated on a sizeable lot with a fountain in the front yard and a large barn out back. The decorative leaded glass front door opened towards a grand circular staircase that dramatically swirled up the three floors inside; there was also a convenient dumbwaiter that quietly served all three levels. Their Boston Street home was a tribute to the Pinkhams' emergence as one of Wyoma's eminent families.¹⁰¹⁸ Their real estate was valued in 1870 at \$10,000 and personal property at \$400 (\$197,566 and \$7,903, respectively, in 2020 USD).¹⁰¹⁹

Isaac's success in business and in bringing so many to Wyoma had given him notoriety and popularity, and he was elected to the Lynn School Committee for Ward 1 in late 1868 and was reelected for two more terms, serving on the committees of finance and another that visited primary and grammar schools. He worked passionately in the effort to re-elect Mayor James N. Buffum in 1870 and although his candidate lost by eighteen votes, Isaac's own re-election was successful.¹⁰²⁰ He was also appointed by the governor to become a Justice of the Peace and held that position throughout the decade, notably in the service of formalizing others' real estate transactions.¹⁰²¹ In just a few years, Isaac had revitalized from bankruptcy to celebrity.

In 1870 Isaac & Lydia's youngest son, William, became the class valedictorian in Lynn High School's graduating class of forty-two students; he was following in the footsteps of his older brother Dan, who had earned the silver medal in his graduating class four years earlier.¹⁰²² Will gave his valedictory talk on the progress of technology, society, and the individual, urging his classmates to follow the path that his parents had placed him on: to "seek the truth ... (and) maintain good principles and live according to their dictates ... (so that) when life's journey is o'er

may we meet where progression is eternal and universal.”¹⁰²³ He was presented with the first prize, a gold medal, for “excellence in recitation, deportment and punctuality.” On the medal’s reverse was engraved *Cultus hominem facit virum* – “Fidelity and perseverance ensure success” – it was the perfect motto for each member of the family.¹⁰²⁴ These were, indeed, heady times for the Pinkhams.

Upon Charles’ return from the war, he helped his father with the oil manufacturing, but when Isaac moved on to buying and selling Wyoma real estate, Charles went to work as a conductor on the Lynn & Boston Street Railway, briefly moving down to South Common Street to be near the car barn where he started and ended his work day. He grew tired of dealing with the drunks and freeloaders on his late-night route, so he moved back to his folk’s home and took on work as a traveling agent selling flour sifters.¹⁰²⁵ Dan had become quite sick with “fever and ague” while on his adventure out West; he thought his health had restored sufficiently for him to try some farming upon his return to Lynn in 1870, but the illness “never wholly left him … he was always after of somewhat slender physique and uncertain health.” After about a year of physical labor that might have overtaxed his weakened constitution, he gave up the soil to run a grocery store in Wyoma and his brother Charles gave him a hand in running it.¹⁰²⁶ Dan’s store carried a range of goods that spanned groceries, toiletries, medicines, and hard goods like other groceries of the day: bunches of onions, beets, and turnips; Japan tea and Castile soap; washboard and clothes lines; pints of berries and pecks of apples; stove polish and shoe dressing; boxes of shirt collars and bags of oats: bottles of *Haynes’ Arabian Balsam*, *Atwood’s Bitters*, and Bay Rum cologne; and many quarts of milk from his mother’s cows, but not a drop of liquor.¹⁰²⁷

Will had been teaching at a Quaker school in Weare, New Hampshire, in the fall of 1872 but came back home as well.¹⁰²⁸ Thus, as they entered the year 1873, Charles, Dan, and Will were all single young men in their twenties, very much pursuing their own ways in life, but content and comfortable to still be living at their parents’ place – and why not? Their parents were finally doing quite well in a wonderful, comfortable house and the family bond had always been strongly knit in the Pinkham’s household: father and mother, husband and wife, and sons and daughters from blended families had always been loving and supportive of each other. It was home.¹⁰²⁹

The first several years of the new decade were unquestionably the finest, most successful comfortable, and satisfying in the thirty years of Isaac and Lydia’s marriage. They sold eighty-two more properties over the four years 1870-1873.¹⁰³⁰ The crowning achievement of their Wyoma years was the erection in 1872 of a large building that bore their name: Pinkham Hall. It was big and expensive, some \$20,000 (\$421,269 in 2020 USD), built by Isaac’s son-in-law, Samuel Lane, and was conspicuously situated on the main road heading to Wyoma Village from downtown Lynn.¹⁰³¹ Designed from the start to be a community center, it was three stories tall with balconies on the top two floors, a flag jutting from the first one. The building was capped with a mansard roof and an observatory at the top with another flag projecting from its apex, waving to travelers far down the road. The first floor was divided into four business spaces, three of which were being used as a grocery, a dry goods store, and a bakery.¹⁰³² There was a meeting hall on each of the top two floors, one large enough to seat 600 people, and they were well-used by the little village that was quickly transforming into a bustling community.¹⁰³³ Isaac was a member and recording secretary of the new North Lake Division of the Sons of Temperance and was happy to host their meetings in Pinkham Hall.¹⁰³⁴ The large meeting spaces came alive with many entertainments as the balconies became animated with revelers, while music, laughter, and voices projected from within. Songs, plays, dances, and dramatic readings filled the halls; even high-charged debates were held on strongly held notions of the day, as when the ardent spiritualist Laura Cuppy Smith of San Francisco debated the Reverend J. H. Dadman of Lynn on the question of whether modern spiritualism was being controlled by evil angels and demons.¹⁰³⁵ Some of Lydia’s favorite events held at Pinkham Hall were the spelling bees; she managed to win one such contest where she and her future son-in-law were the only two left standing – she won by correctly spelling

“rheumatism.”¹⁰³⁶ Pinkham Hall was a celebration and culmination of Isaac’s vision for Wyoma. In the same year that Pinkham Hall was opened, Isaac had written with some pride that when they began their real estate activity in Wyoma “the village was hardly known by a large portion of our oldest citizens,” but he was doing everything he could to get the city to see the vibrant neighborhood just outside its door: 100 new homes had been built in five years and Isaac prophesied that number would be quadrupled by 1877.¹⁰³⁷ At the end of the year 1872 *The Lynn Record* noted that Isaac had been “quite sick, having overtaxed his bodily strength.” Whether the 57-year-old had been weakened physically or emotionally, it was inferred to have been brought on by the stress of building up Wyoma.¹⁰³⁸ The newspaper conveyed the hopes of many for his speedy recovery; the great architect of Wyoma’s transformation was “sadly missed … in the great and good work going on in this vicinity,” but it assured the public that he was regaining his strength. With continued fidelity and perseverance, he would ensure Wyoma’s success.

Building was his passion and compassion was his gift. Touched by the tragedy of the great Chicago fire of 1871, caused, it was said, by the upsetting of a kerosene lamp, Isaac contributed \$5.00 (\$106 in 2020 USD) for the victims; even his son Dan contributed a dollar to the cause.¹⁰³⁹ Vigilant about the safety of his own village when a fire occurred at Sarah Woodbury’s house on Lynnfield Street, Isaac served on the inquest jury to determine the cause of the blaze.¹⁰⁴⁰ He was doing everything he could to ensure his vision for the village wouldn’t go up in smoke, like things did in Chicago. He couldn’t see it, he couldn’t smell it, but the smoke was drifting right toward him.

Like Isaac Pinkham, Lemuel Brock had made his way to Lynn by way of his native New Hampshire. He too, had tried several types of employment until he found something that worked well for him: hotel management. He was a hotel landlord in Boston for two years before coming to Lynn in 1870, where he bought the venerable, old, small, worn-out Lynn Hotel.¹⁰⁴¹ In order to make it competitive with the bigger, newer, and better-located Sagamore House and Kirtland House hotels, Brock undertook significant renovations, including repainting, new wallpaper and furniture, and three new billiard tables in the attached billiard hall.¹⁰⁴² Turning the old place into a successful business was won through the constant battle to please the public. When the dramatic troupe of Edwin Booth performed Hamlet at Lynn’s Music Hall, they stayed at the Lynn Hotel and wrote a letter of gratitude and high praise to Brock, with a promise of recommending his hotel to other traveling entertainers.¹⁰⁴³ Brock had Lynn papers publish the letter in part because of the very negative letter published in *The Lynn Record* from another guest of the hotel a few weeks earlier who complained bitterly about everything – the food, the beds, and the service.¹⁰⁴⁴ Brock’s name appeared with some frequency in the newspapers for keeping liquor without a license to sell; in late 1873, even twenty days in the house of correction loomed as a possibility.¹⁰⁴⁵ But a few months later, when the Panic of 1873 had begun to set in over Lynn, “the popular landlord of the Lynn Hotel” had gained his townsmen’s admiration for purchasing a turkey and other holiday feast groceries from the local provision store and having them delivered to a needy West Lynn family whom he had learned had nothing to eat on Christmas – it was a moment that would have brought a tear to the eye of Ebenezer Scrooge himself.¹⁰⁴⁶

With his hotel moving along with some success, Brock invested in another business opportunity he found in the quickly growing Wyoma Village. He saw in Lynn’s old trotting park a great opportunity to rebuild and update into a first-rate entertainment complex for the growing population in the area. Instead of dividing the land into more house lots, Brock convinced the owners to lease it to him so that he could turn another sow’s ear into a silk purse. He had “a large gang of workmen” completely transform the old track; they ploughed up and regraded the race track, added a field for baseball and other outdoor games on the track’s infield, converted a house on the grounds into a hotel, constructed a ten-row grandstand that would seat 800 spectators and built stables for the trotters underneath them, and erected a three-story tower with booths for the judges, the media, and a weigh-in station for the trotter jockeys.¹⁰⁴⁷ The whole park was then

surrounded with a high “tight-board” fence to prevent free views by adults and youth who wanted to see the races and ball games without buying a ticket.¹⁰⁴⁸ This was quite pointedly a venue for people with money – cash for admission and to wager on the trotters and probably on their favorite baseball teams as well. Anticipating the great revenues from the crowds traveling to the park, The Lynn & Boston Horse Railway Company petitioned the city government for the opportunity to lay track to the Wyoma part of town that just a few years earlier was a forgotten, uninteresting corner of the city.¹⁰⁴⁹

In the third month of his fast-paced construction schedule, Brock was badly injured. While cutting down a tree near the entrance to the park, one swing of his axe missed the tree and sliced into his leg, just below the knee. He was rushed back to his hotel and doctors and surgeons were sent for, but none of them happened to be at home, so Brock, with the assistance of his hotel clerk, “took a needle and thread and did quite a scientific job in the way of sewing up the separated flesh.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Nothing was going to prevent him from finishing the huge project in time for horse racing season. It was a huge investment and gamble for Brock and predictably, it was expected to become the means of bringing a great amount of money into Lynn. But it was a risk – a big risk – investing in such an enterprise in the midst of a staggering national depression.

Lemuel Brock was anxious, but so was Isaac Pinkham; he understood that the success of the new Wyoma Trotting Park would improve the stature of the village into which he and his wife had invested so heavily, but conversely, its failure would be a hard thing for the village at a hard time. Isaac did his best to spin it in the best possible light; he wrote, “Although times have been hard and business dull throughout the city for some time, yet there has been considerable stirring in Wyoma. The trotting park has been undergoing a complete change … it is said, by those who know, it will be, when finished, the best half-mile track in New England. … Now what is needed is a horse railroad ….” To this he added comments about the improvements and building addition to Wyoma’s Baptist church, the promising meetings of the Sovereigns of Industry at Pinkham Hall, and another hopeful revenue-generating project of using Flax and Sluice ponds as water sources for Chelsea.¹⁰⁵¹ His message was as clear as it was persistent: think positive; buy in Wyoma.

A month after his axe accident and still two months before the park’s grand opening, Brock was feeling very nervous. “In consideration of the times and the scarcity of (money),” he started selling his ten-dollar season tickets for half price, plus giving the ticket owners the right to exercise their own horses on the track throughout the season.¹⁰⁵² Opening day, 15 May 1875, was promising; the grandstands were filled with 800 people, “including many ladies,” the track was in good condition, and the Wyoma Band brought additional festivity to the proceedings.¹⁰⁵³ However, the promising turnout for the grand opening was followed by lackluster support from the penny-pinching public and by mid-August, during the heat of the depression, Lemuel Brock filed for bankruptcy.¹⁰⁵⁴ The strain and financial drain were too much for the business and its proprietor. Lemuel Brock was broke and so, too, was fellow Wyoma investor, Isaac Pinkham.

The impact of the great depression was enough to crush the dreams of both men all on its own, but the horse railway, the much anticipated, critical lifeline between Wyoma and the rest of the world, had also failed to happen. Even in late 1877, two years after both men had failed, people still wondered why the Lynn & Boston Railway Company hadn’t acted on the permission given by the city to lay its rail lines past the Pinkham’s home and Pinkham Hall, through the heart of Wyoma, and over to the trotting park; “none knew but the company.”¹⁰⁵⁵ Their inaction doomed both men’s dreams; for Pinkham, twenty-two years older than Brock, it knocked him to his knees and he never got up again.

For four years, Isaac and Lydia had borrowed heavily against anticipated profit. When the soldiers were returning and mortgages were easy to obtain, everyone was happy. But inflation started to kick in and the risk became steadily greater; interest rates bounced from the six percent they had seen in their Bedford years to eight, nine, and ten percent in the mortgage loans they were signing from 1869 until the Panic hit in late 1873.¹⁰⁵⁶ With property sales as their only income

stream, when people stopped buying and grantees stopped paying their loans, the Pinkhams were in big trouble. And the Panic of 1873 wasn't just an unsettling financial hiccup; it was the beginning of a six-year economic coma.

The Long Depression, as it came to be known, was felt deeply and profoundly in Lynn. Far from being the cautionary tale of a naïve or greedy speculator who fell while others soared, businesses and families were collapsing all around the Pinkhams. From tradesmen to shopkeepers and factory workers to factory owners, virtually no one could afford the luxury of not worrying if they would fall next. Isaac and Lydia's reaction to the bad news wasn't to suddenly collapse when the Panic hit in the fall of 1873; like all the other times that bad news had tried to make them surrender, they fought back.

They did what they could to chase down some of the mortgages that were overdue to them; in one such case, they won judgement in Superior Court for \$689.06 from grantee William Strong plus \$11.11 for costs of the suit for the Mansfield Street land they had sold him. The property then went up for public auction and the high bidder was Lydia at \$250.¹⁰⁵⁷ In 1874 Isaac continued to petition the city government for permission to complete Daniel Street, the new road named after his son that he had been laying down to connect his lots to Boston Street so that they would be accessible for builders and buyers.¹⁰⁵⁸ They also paid off their mortgage notes where they could; jettisoned other properties, probably below market value, for quick cash, and their son Will managed to purchase some properties from his parents before they lost them to overdue taxes.¹⁰⁵⁹ In 1881 Will was remembered for how he expressed his unflinching devotion to his family back during these difficult years, "In his father's family there was a closeness of attachment, unity of interests, rarely equaled, and this he always cherished. All was subordinated to advancing the common good of the family. ... As the rest did, so did he, as the others thought, so he thought."¹⁰⁶⁰ It was a sentiment demonstrated in the actions of each member of the family.

Once again and without any hesitation, the children rallied around their parents, pitching in much-needed cash through extra jobs. Dan became a substitute letter carrier, Will got work teaching evening grammar school to students from twelve to sixty, and Charles applied to become a truant officer, although he didn't get the highly sought, well-paid job because so many others had applied for the same position.¹⁰⁶¹ Seventeen-year-old daughter Aroline graduated from Lynn High School in May 1875 with the gold medal award for "the highest degree of excellence" in recitation, punctuality, regular attendance, and deportment, and by November had secured her first job as a grammar school teacher, bringing home a modest but valuable additional income at a time that was the bleakest for the family.¹⁰⁶² All of these efforts didn't free Isaac and Lydia from losing properties, so vast were their holdings, but it protected some from being taken away for a time, at least postponing the inevitable. More than anywhere else, they tried everything they could to keep their own home and their prized Pinkham Hall.

In May 1874, Lydia and Isaac sold their family homestead, consisting of two and one-half acres, the dwelling house and barn, and other outbuildings, to their youngest son, Will, for \$6,000, which included a \$3,000 mortgage they had carried on the property. The twenty-one-year-old schoolteacher made just a dollar a night teaching night school; he and his parents knew that he really couldn't afford the house. His mission seemed to be to keep it in the family for as long as he could, in hopes that it would be long enough for his parents to figure out how to catch up on the mortgage due.¹⁰⁶³ Within eight months he had sold it back to his parents for \$7,000, which then included two mortgages: the \$3,000 note he had assumed from his parents plus his own for \$2,500. Just two days later, Lydia and Isaac worked out a deal with the wealthy, seventy-five-year-old retired shoe manufacturer and bank director, Nathan D. Chase, to float them \$9,500 for the two mortgages on the house and an additional \$4,000 mortgage on Pinkham Hall – the risk just kept getting larger and the hole they were digging for themselves became much deeper. To get Chase to cover the three notes, they promised to pay him \$1,000 – plus *twelve percent* interest, the three other mortgages, the taxes, assessments, insurance, and well, it didn't really matter about

everything else, because they didn't have a snowball's chance on top of a hot kerosene lamp of making it work; they might as well have promised to find the pirate's treasure at Dungeon Rock.¹⁰⁶⁴

In the four-month, last-gasp effort, all of the Pinkham family combined couldn't raise the \$1,040 that was required to cover the basic terms (the \$1,000 plus pro-rated interest) of the deal. On 24 June 1875, having defaulted on their promise to pay Chase, Isaac and Lydia were forced to forfeit their family's jewels – the Pinkham family home and Pinkham Hall – to Nathan D. Chase for one dollar. In August, Lynn's Mayor Jacob M. Lewis personally signed the tax deeds for the two properties over to Chase for the sum total of \$192.47 back taxes owed by the Pinkhams.¹⁰⁶⁵ Home sweet home now belonged to someone else and the local landmark that had borne their name was no longer a monument to Pinkham success. The Pinkhams were allowed to rent their home into 1876, but eventually they had to leave; it was the centennial year of the nation's independence and majestic celebrations were going on in Philadelphia, but Lynn was under siege and there was no cheer in the Pinkham household; Isaac and Lydia continued to lose properties and investments.¹⁰⁶⁶ Although twenty-six years old, Dan was said to have been so ashamed, he just couldn't bring himself to get into the wagon that had been packed up with the family and all their earthly possessions. Becoming the next poverty-stricken Lynn family to ride away from the home they couldn't keep was more than he could bear; he waited until nighttime and begrudging his way through fields under moonlight's veil to the small house they had found to rent in old Graves End.¹⁰⁶⁷ Yes, the name had been changed to Glenmere, but for Dan on that night the former name may have felt more apt.

The lonely house on Western Avenue sat in an isolated pocket of no-man's-land between the industrial downtown of Lynn and the village of Wyoma, the former pride of the Pinkhams. It was, at least, a good place to be alone while the banks and courts and government took everything else away from them in 1876. Pinkham mortgages were foreclosed and properties repossessed by the Warren Five Cents Savings Bank, the Portsmouth Trust & Guarantee Company, and individual mortgage holders, all of whom were done with waiting for their money.¹⁰⁶⁸ The City of Lynn sold dozens of Pinkham properties at public auction in 1875 and again in 1876 because of nonpayment of taxes that had been overdue, in some cases, for as long as five years.¹⁰⁶⁹ This was the season when Isaac, overtaxed beyond anything he imagined his body could handle back in 1872, sank into profound depression financially, but quite possibly clinically as well. The law allowed mortgagors to be jailed because of payment delinquency, and Isaac had been so fearful of his inevitable arrest that when the police came to take him into custody, they found the moribund sixty-one-year-old sick in bed. He was saved from that final devastating degradation only by the capable parley of his son Charles, who intervened on his behalf by negotiating with Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, a fellow justice of the peace who had officiated over several of Pinkham's real estate transactions; they may also have been distant cousins and both factors may have played into Charles' plea for clemency.¹⁰⁷⁰ Once more, one of Isaac's children had come to their father's rescue.

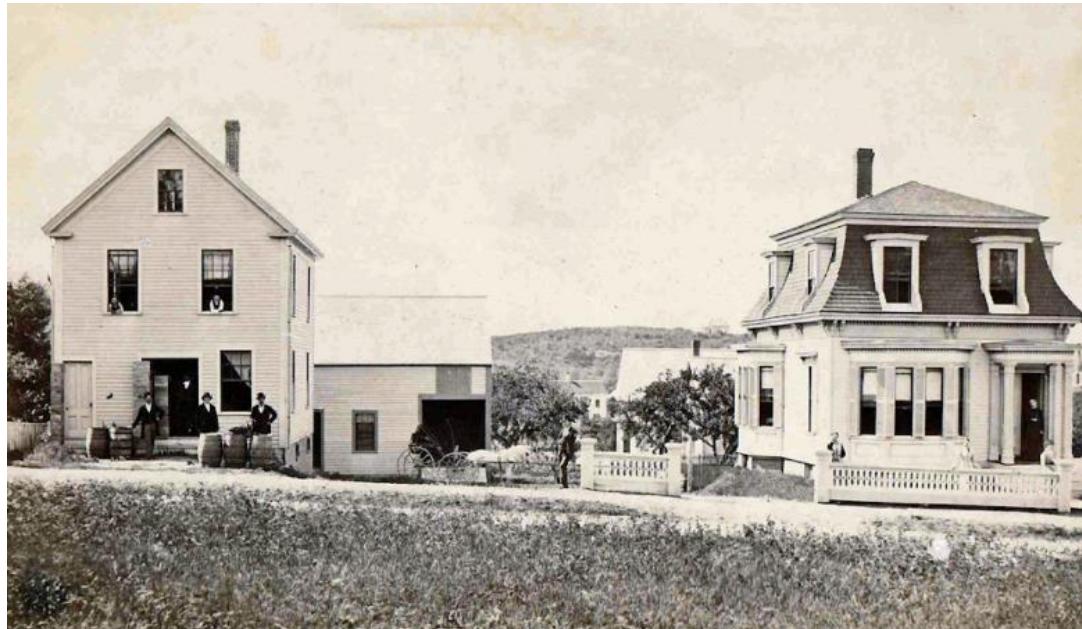
Each family member seemed to deal with their misfortunes in a different way. Isaac had become melancholy and withdrawn, rarely becoming visible over the balance of the decade; occasionally in his capacity as a justice of the peace he signed some of his son's real estate transactions.¹⁰⁷¹ He was remembered in his post-1875 years, not for his halcyon days as a vigorous, driven, principled businessman, investor, or visionary, but as a stereotypical old grandfather, languishing in the seclusion of his home, his pocket constantly filled with a little bag of white checkerberry lozenges for himself and his grandchildren.¹⁰⁷² His beloved Lydia "looked after him with sympathetic understanding and great forbearance" after he had lost everything, "including his courage, his ambition and even his physical well-being."¹⁰⁷³

Lydia sought comfort through spiritualism in hope for a better life, even if wasn't to be until the afterlife. Although she hadn't lost a close family member since her mother had passed twelve years earlier, it is interesting and somewhat revealing that while she and her husband were in the midst of losing everything, she was writing to a popular spiritualism periodical looking for answers

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Pinkham Home in Wyoma, about 1875. It was a splendid, attractively landscaped home with fine front sitting porch, water fountain visibly spraying in the front yard, a barn in back, and circular grand staircase behind the front door. It was a well-appointed, upper-middle-class home, well-located near Pinkham Hall and the Wyoma neighborhood that Isaac was developing until the Panic of 1873 changed their fortunes. This home was also where *Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound* and later *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* were first compounded and bottled, both in unsuccessful attempts to hold on to the house. (Collection of the Schleisinger Library.)



Pinkham House on Western Ave., about 1879. Renting just the house on the right in 1876 – plain, unembellished, and isolated from anything noteworthy – it was just somewhere to live. Lydia kept making the vegetable compound in the basement and from these humbled beginnings, the business expanded to the building on the left in 1877, and went on to become the center of a medicine empire. (Collection of the author.)

from beyond the grave. George W. Keene, a fellow Lynn spiritualist, had “passed to higher life” on 27 January 1874, a few short months after the Panic of 1873 had descended upon Lynn. Just a few years older than Lydia and also a lifelong resident of the city, Keene had been an ardent believer in spiritualism and when he passed, his family placed upon his grave in Pine Grove Cemetery a huge monument that testified to his faith in life after death. Surmounted by a winged angel holding the Book of Life, gazing down at the inscription:

GEORGE W. KEENE
Passed to higher life
January 27, 1874
Aged 59 years.
This memorial is prepared by
his wife and children in pleasant
remembrance of an active,
useful life and of his perfect
trust in the future.¹⁰⁷⁴

The *Banner of Light* provided a service to its readers; questions for the departed that were submitted to the paper would be presented to the spirits by a medium, after which the response would be published in the next edition of the paper. Lydia wrote shortly after her friend Keene’s passing to learn if he would send her a message from the other side of the veil. Apparently, Lydia impatiently followed up on her initial inquiry to the paper when the hoped-for message wasn’t immediately forthcoming, but she eventually got a response from Keene’s spirit as promised, channeled through a clairvoyant “while in an abnormal condition called the trance,” and it appeared in the *Banner*’s March 14th edition: “To Correspondents. L. E. P. Lynn, Mass. – Mr. Keene’s message is delayed because all on the list ahead of it must be published first. This is the only reason of its non-appearance. The message is very brief. He seemed well pleased that he had got over the other side all right because he found his faith *true*.¹⁰⁷⁵ Lydia’s son Will believed that, despite all the deception perpetrated in the name of spiritualism, the doctrine and ideas were fact. “I believe it,” he said, “but it is not enough to *believe*; what I want, is to know it. My mother knows it.”¹⁰⁷⁶

Well before his moonlit march of shame, Dan had been upset with wealth and power being found in the hands and pockets of the few. When he had his Wyoma grocery store, it had been a miniature Pinkham Hall – a neighborhood center for spirited discussion and debate about the economy and politics and other flashpoint topics – enthusiastically led by shopkeeper Dan. He was a true friend of the workingman, outspoken about equality and fairness in a world that seemed to be beating upon the weakest; he sympathized with the hardships of the poor and the working man because of the many hardships he had personally experienced.¹⁰⁷⁷ Well-spoken, well-known, and well-liked by his Ward 1 patrons, they elected him in the same year of his parents’ financial crumble to represent them on the city’s common council and a few years later to the state legislature as a representative of Lynn.¹⁰⁷⁸

Will charged headlong into protecting his impoverished, vulnerable parents. He was remembered as a human dynamo, “assuming the main burden of rebuilding the fallen fortunes of his family, and supporting his aged parents. … Difficulties at times were abundant, but he never yielded to them – he fought through them.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Full of heart and with no hesitation, he sacrificed his time, body, and talents to succeed in his mission of love and charity. In the same election when his brother got elected to the city council, Will was elected to the school committee (taking over where his father left off), collecting a small stipend for his service.¹⁰⁸⁰ He also taught grammar school to adults at night, and in the daytime, “in coarse dress with rolled-up sleeves, [worked] amid the dirt and dinginess of a wool-pulling establishment” and when that shift was done for the day, he grittily busied himself with books and paperwork for a business enterprise he was trying to get off the ground with his mother.¹⁰⁸¹ His plans for being the first of the family to attend college – at Harvard – were unflinchingly dropped; his parents needed him and it was time to get to work. As

had been done during previous family crises, the children had circled around their parents; but now, as adults, their efforts were more significant, more supportive than in their days of selling popcorn and produce. Oldest son Charles succinctly explained the selfless devotion of the Pinkham children: "We simply tried to do our duty towards our parents, who had been so kind to us."¹⁰⁸²

The old record book William maintained to track his new business venture still exists in the company archives and reveals the first step in the construction of one of the most successful family-run medicine businesses in the United States during the nineteenth century – the manufacture and sale of *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound*. Right ... nobody else has heard of it, either.

The record book for the new business that William and his mother began was titled:

Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound
Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham
185 Boston St., Lynn, Mass
William H. Pinkham, Clerk¹⁰⁸³

Only small hints about Lydia's medicine-making proclivities have popped up in the historical record, including the claim by Lunenburg historians that she was making medicines in their town back in 1855 and the possibility that her commiseration with herbal medicine maker Catherine Greenleaf during her Bedford stay might have indicated she was engaged in medicine making activities in 1857.¹⁰⁸⁴ The Pinkhams had a long heritage as proprietary medicine customers, reaching way back to 1828, when Isaac's father, Daniel Pinkham, had endorsed *Holman's Grand Restorative Bitters* in a broadside for the product; although the ingredients were not listed, it was made by his friend and fellow townsmen, Charles Holman, and brought him relief from his illness; it was all the proof he needed to praise and encourage its use by the whole family:

This certifies that I the undersigned have been much troubled with a Liver complaint attended with all the enfeebling and distressing feelings incident to that disease. After having had recourse to Holman's "Grand Restorative", and by using two bottles of this excellent medicine, have been entirely relieved. I would recommend it to the afflicted as a most valuable "Family medicine".

Portsmouth, N.H. Dec. 10, 1828.

DANIEL PINKHAM. ¹⁰⁸⁵

Nonetheless, the distance between using proprietary medicines and selling them required a sizeable leap of faith, and in the case of the Pinkhams, a heaping spoonful of desperation as well, but the cash and equipment required to get started was minimal, and thus the idea had potential. Regardless of when it was that Lydia first decided to mix and cook some herbs together, making or buying homemade medicines was still a popular alternative (especially during the depression) to paying for costly store merchandise or physician's prescriptions. The number of medicine makers would have been a small percentage within a neighborhood or community and some of those who were so engaged developed local notoriety for their craft; Lydia seems to have been one of those. Her children told of women who came to their house from nearby towns for medicines she had made and also recalled the esteem in which she was held for her kind and intelligent ministrations at the bedside. It was the type of reputation Lydia had acquired over time. "Because she had been a school teacher," recounted her grandson, "and was capable, resourceful, understanding and kind, people respected her judgement and opinions regarding their health and had faith in her methods of nursing them."¹⁰⁸⁶ For Will and Lydia to conspire in the manufacture and sale of a medicine was a logical and unsurprising business venture for a woman medicine maker of local esteem. They knew they had to do something to raise money and the days of popcorn and fruit were far behind them. They hoped for something more impressive than just another herbal medicine made on the kitchen stove – they desperately needed a successful potboiler – literally.

The first and most obvious questions behind their new medicine were who was Dr. J. Hurd and how did Lydia and William end up with that person's medicinal recipe? Unfortunately, the answers will probably remain hidden away in the vast library of history's mysteries. The thin

evidence that has surfaced about *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound* reveals that it had been advertised for sale in a small Boston newspaper back in 1866.¹⁰⁸⁷ It was being promoted by the medicine wholesaler, M. S. Burr & Co. The owner, Milo S. Burr, had built a career and a fortune selling proprietary medicines.¹⁰⁸⁸ For almost two decades before getting to Hurd's product, Burr had pushed his share of forgettable nostrums. Starting as a traveling medicine seller in the quiet backwoods of his native Vermont, he grew himself into a Boston-based drug wholesaling business, peddling and promoting the likes of *Gardner's Parisian Pimple Destroyer*, *Dalley's Magical Pain Extractor*, *Perry's Worm Tea*, *Litchfield's Diptheria Vanquisher*, and *Dr. Atherton's Dew Drop Bitters*.¹⁰⁸⁹ His advertising revealed a pattern of giving each new product he owned or represented a quick splash in a newspaper, but repeating only those that started to sell. Winnowing swiftly through the chaff helped him quickly identify the hearty kernels. The shot he gave to Hurd's two products focused on *Dr. J. Hurd's Catarrh and Sick Headache Remedy*; he gave it a lot of space, expounding its health benefits and including two detailed testimonials. On the same page he gave the briefest mention and hope to a second Hurd product, *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound*. Its entire promotion comprised only ten words, "A SUPERIOR MEDICINE for Ladies. A sure cure for Weakness."¹⁰⁹⁰ Predictably, the *Grecian Compound* disappeared from Burr's advertising rotation as quickly as it had appeared. In fact, over the next few years, Burr ended his long-running patent medicine advertising campaign, focusing instead on inventing and selling his uniquely shaped and very popular baby bottle; the very one used by the Russell triplets.¹⁰⁹¹

The *Grecian Compound* disappeared after its brief 1866 glimmer until it resurfaced in William Pinkham's handwriting in his 1875 business notebook as a medicine that was being prepared by his mother. An early twentieth century claim of nebulous origin states that the recipe for the vegetable compound, which the Pinkhams would eventually make famous, was provided to Isaac by George Clarkson Todd in repayment of a debt.¹⁰⁹² Todd was an unmarried machinist, living with his mother at least since the war's end. He had gone to California during the gold rush of 1849 but came back a few years later, still needing to work. He received a few patents for his improvements to the shoemaking process, but he never showed up as a target for foreclosure or bankruptcy during the decade, so it isn't clear that he had become so cash-strapped that he would have had to barter something as obscure as a medicinal formula for female complaints or that Isaac would have settled for a hand-scrawled, recipe as payment for a \$25 debt (\$539 in 2020 USD).¹⁰⁹³ It's possible that the disinterested Burr sold the disappointing *Grecian Compound* formula to Todd, who was ever-willing to try something new for a dollar, and that he, in turn, used it as collateral or payment for a debt he owed Isaac Pinkham. In 1877, a few years after the Pinkham's re-introduced *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound* and a year after they had stopped making it, a small medicine business in Dorchester, Massachusetts, based around a female healer named Augusta Healy, stated in a medicine ad it placed in a Lynn newspaper that its "lady proprietor" was the "original discover[er] and manufacturer of Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound"; maybe she was, (whoever she was), and perhaps Todd had bought the formula from her.¹⁰⁹⁴ Only one fact is certain: in the spring of 1875, Lydia Pinkham was preparing and William was selling *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound*.

In April 1875, just weeks after the first of the Pinkham's Wyoma properties went into foreclosure and just weeks before the newspaper announcement that the city was going to auction off five of his houses, a barn, three shops, eleven acres, and "Pinkham Hall," all because of overdue back taxes, Will placed three bottles of *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound* in the Lynn drugstore of Chauncey A. Hodges for \$3.00 cash. In June he placed another three-dollar order with Hodges but it was only their second sale to the store in three months. After six months, only a dozen bottles had been placed; by any measure, the sales were going horribly slow.¹⁰⁹⁵

In October, things were looking a little better: Will placed five dozen bottles with drug stores spread from Salem and Marblehead to Chelsea and Boston, including the large Boston drug distributors, George C. Goodwin Company, who purchased two dozen at the wholesale price of \$9.00 per dozen (75 cents per bottle) and Carter, Harris & Hawley, who were also in for a dozen

(Milo Burr had long since stepped away from the medicine wholesale business, focusing instead on his baby bottle business).¹⁰⁹⁶ Despite the improved October placements, sales and placements started drooping again over November and December; this may have in part been due to seasonality, where people focused on holiday buying, but it was more likely because the Pinkhams were preoccupied with their defaulting mortgages, foreclosures, and the public auctioning of their properties, including their own home and Pinkham Hall during the intervening months in that terrible, devastating year 1875. Another burst of placements was made in January 1876, again in hope that sales would grow and business would spread. A few dozen more bottles were sold over February and March, but then the Hurd experiment was discontinued, an unmitigated failure.

As had been Milo Burr's experience with Hurd's compound, the absence of significant, sustained advertising had prevented its success, but while the few *Hurd's Grecian Compound* bottles sat on the store shelves, trying to promote themselves, another problem may have confused potential customers – its name was all wrong.

Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound was a great name for a medicine if it was intended for growing hair on faces and bald heads: consistently, products labeled "Grecian" were referencing hair care and scalp treatment. There was a long history of hair-growing and coloring products called "Grecian," going back at least to 1791, when *The Grecian Compound* for the hair and scalp was advertised in the *London Times*. *The Grecian Hair Balsam* in 1860 and another *Grecian Compound* in 1865 both promised to "force growth of whiskers or moustaches on the smoothest face or chin, or hair on bald heads," and *Parker's Original Grecian Compound* of 1870 would change red or grey hair "to beautiful and natural shades of black or brown."¹⁰⁹⁷ Greeks were associated with dark hair (much as Scandinavians were linked to blonde hair and Scottish as redheads). Victorian men and women cared a great deal about thick, darkly colored tresses; baldness and greyness were signs of lives lacking vitality and vivacity. Women's glory was their long, flowing hair; it often extended beyond the waist and was seen as an extension of their youth, sensuality, and even fecundity. For men, facial hair defined the Victorian man; whether grown as a fine handlebar or bushy walrus moustache (like that worn by son Charles), muttonchop sideburns (worn by son Will), the lion's mane (son Dan), or the chin curtain (husband Isaac), it was proof of manliness and virility. A Grecian Compound was a hair grower for all those people that wanted to look and feel vital, handsome, and timeless – like a Greek god – it was understood and valued as something for the outside of the head, but not for the inside of a woman's abdomen.

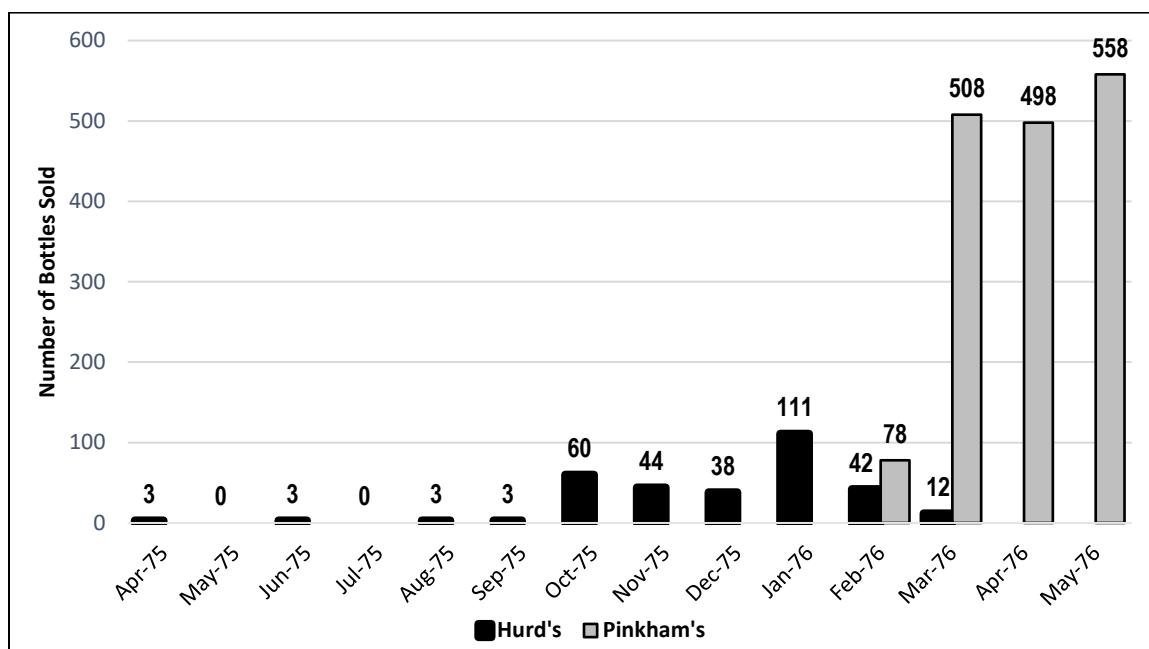
While *Hurd's Grecian Compound* had once again failed to earn more than a modest patronage, despite Will Pinkham's considerable efforts, there had been a few good lessons learned: Lydia and the family had mastered the production and bottling of medicine on a larger scale than what she had previously experienced in making a few bottles at a time for friends, and Will had learned the importance of placing medicines with large drug wholesalers and at as many drug stores as possible. In twelve months' time, mother and son had made, sold, and consigned 319 bottles of medicine to over 20 druggists and wholesale medicine businesses, along with sundry private parties; it wasn't great, but it beat selling popcorn.

If they were going to succeed in the patent medicine business, though, they needed a product for which there was a sure demand, and while the family was discussing the matter, some women came to the Pinkham door, looking to buy some of Lydia's vegetable compound for women's ailments for which she had developed a small but devoted local reputation and patronage. Lydia was already making a medicine that had developed some demand – *that* was the one they needed to sell – not under the name of some long-forgotten or constructed doctor persona but by the name of the woman who had developed some trust and following.¹⁰⁹⁸

In February 1876, the month before they sold their last bottles of Hurd's, they began placing and selling the first bottles of their product for female ailments by its new name: *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*. Conventional advertising wisdom may have preferred a medicine named after someone sounding like a knowledgeable doctor over one that read like it was made by *just*

some faceless, unacclaimed, mundane woman; and while *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound* carried the aura of proprietary importance, *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* admitted to being a homemade botanical brew – just a batch of herbs and roots plucked from the ground and plopped into a pot on the stove – and it turned out to be just the perfect recipe for success in a bottle.

**Placement & Sales of Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound &
Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, April 1875 – May 1876**¹⁰⁹⁹



Various early advertisements for the vegetable compound loosely suggested she made the first batch of that particular medicine sometime between the end of the Civil War and the family's move to Wyoma around 1870.¹¹⁰⁰ After the earliest biographies of Lydia had been written, her grandson provided a different explanation of the formula's origin, intimating that it was one from her own recipe collection: "Recipes for many useful home remedies had been passed down in her family and to these she had added some of her own which she had found in medical books."¹¹⁰¹ Lydia's medical notebook, though apparently begun in 1878, does reveal that she was a dedicated student, observer, and practitioner of medicine.¹¹⁰² She doctored and advised her own family and strangers with the same confidence. Her notes included recipes for such health issues as contracted uterus, hemorrhage, and summer complaint (acute diarrhea). For uterine cramps she prescribed an infusion of poppy flowers that were first steeped in water, then strained and added to warm olive oil. Her remedy for hemorrhage was rooted in traditional folk medicine: calcined deer horn "taken from the deer between May and September while in the velvet," and her cure for summer complaint showed that she also heeded current popular medicine trends, in this case, the blue light theory that enjoyed brief popularity in 1877:

Cure for summer complaint.

Summer complaint can be cured by exposing water in a blue bottle to the sun for a half hour or upward and then giving one or two teaspoonfuls each hour until symptoms change. Water thus exposed is a great nervine [strengthening weak nerves] and refrigerant [reducing body heat] as well as an astringent [diminishing evacuations].¹¹⁰³

Similarly, she wasn't hesitant to prescribe others' proprietary medicines, like *Payne's Nerve Tonic Syrup*, *Pierson's Blood Invigorator* and *Dr. Pierson's Diuretic*, *Parson's Purgative Pills*, and *Brandreth's Pills*, which she herself took for an onset of pneumonia.¹¹⁰⁴ If she did get the vegetable compound remedy from an outside source, she would certainly have tinkered with it

as she saw fit. In the final analysis, whether Lydia's vegetable compound came from an inherited family recipe, personal research, experimentation from the banks of Mulpus Brook, stealing Mrs. Healy's recipe, receiving George Todd's recipe in payment, or even from finding a gift left by a shoemaker's elves, tracking down its origin has only helped to pad the legend, but has done nothing to advance the more important historical narrative of how it became a best-selling proprietary medicine. It wasn't unusual for women to occasionally come knock at Mrs. Pinkham's door for a bottle or two; unconcerned about its beginnings, they believed they received benefit from the medicine and they had confidence in its maker.

The recipe, at least after whatever modifications Lydia may have made if it wasn't her own recipe, consisted of several plant parts macerated in alcohol, solely as a preservative, the strictly sober Pinkhams insisted, and therefore completely in line with their views on not using alcohol as an intoxicant. There was therefore nothing inconsistent with their temperance views that when Lydia was threatened with pneumonia, she took *Brandreth's Pills* (a proprietary promising to remove blood impurities), pleurisy root and caraway seed tea, and then before each meal a teaspoonful of whiskey in two tablespoons of milk.¹¹⁰⁵

The ingredients that put the "vegetable" into vegetable compound were pleurisy root, black cohosh root, unicorn root, life root, and fenugreek seeds. According to John King's *The American Dispensatory*, all but the fenugreek seeds were indigenous to North America and each root had a beneficial impact on a woman's reproductive organs. According to the *Dispensatory*, cases of prolapsed uterus had been cured by combining pleurisy root with unicorn root, "In uterine difficulties [pleurisy root] deserves further investigation. It is, undoubtedly, one of our most useful agents." King also found that unicorn root was broadly helpful with uterine difficulties, in cases of "prolapsus, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, etc." Black cohosh appeared to exert "a peculiar influence upon the uterus, (for) which account it has been termed a 'uterine tonic'" ... (and) has been employed advantageously in ... periodic diseases, leucorrhœa, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, menorrhagia, threatened abortion, sterility ... and in prolapsus uteri ..." Life root's use for "female complaints" was alleged to be so obvious that it was also known as Squaw Weed and Female Regulator, apparently exerting "a peculiar influence upon the female reproductive organs ... It is very efficacious in promoting the menstrual flow It will also be found valuable in dysmenorrhea."¹¹⁰⁶ Fenugreek seeds were in Lydia's recipe from the beginning but for more than an exotic flavoring agent; among other physical benefits, it had been used for centuries to relieve uterine irritation and act as an emmenagogue. Combining all the roots and seeds in an alcohol infusion, Lydia was certain that her compound was the most powerful medicine a woman could take for virtually every problem that fell under the rubric of "female complaints." The original bottle label confidently announced:

**Lydia E. Pinkham's
Vegetable Compound,
A SURE CURE FOR
PROLAPSUS UTERI,
Or Falling of the Womb,
AND ALL
FEMALE WEAKNESSES,
INCLUDING
*Leucorrhœa, Painful menstrua-
tion, Inflammation and Ulcer-
ation of the Womb, Irregu-
larities, Flooding, &c.*
Pleasant to the taste, efficacious and
immediate in its effect. It is a great
help in pregnancy, and relieves
pain during labor....¹¹⁰⁷**

The plant matter didn't completely dissolve during maceration, so a tiny label was applied to the backside of the original bottle to soothe concerns about the stuff floating around inside: "NOTICE. – The precipitate which sometimes forms and settles in the bottom of the bottle is not an impurity. It is simply a formation peculiar to many preparations and produces no deleterious effects on the medicinal properties of the Compuond. SHAKE THE BOTTLE BEFORE USING."¹¹⁰⁸ The list of ingredients was a tightly held secret, abbreviated by Dan in one of his letters back home and by Lydia in her notebook, to prevent exposure to prying eyes. The big challenge wasn't in keeping the secret but so profoundly promoting the resulting product that everyone felt they knew everything about it.

But therein lay the problem – women's reproductive health issues had been intentionally hidden along with other objectionable skeletons in the dark closet of ignorance. There was nothing about the collective subject of "female complaints" that was comfortable for prudish Victorians, candid social intercourse, or discussion by the Comstock-shy Victorian press. While prolapsed uterus, menstruation (too much, too little, or too painful), inflammation and ulceration of the womb, and leucorrhea or "the whites," were perceived as decidedly unmentionable and therefore blocked from many eyes and ears, what Lydia and her family seemed to grasp was that it was nonetheless a series of real and frequent physiological problems encountered by females – in other words, something being dealt with by half the population of *everywhere* – Lynn, New England, the United States, and the world – and with so few willing to discuss such things, the Pinkhams had discovered the mother lode in the almost virginal field of female complaints. The thing was, they had no idea that this time they had found gold.

Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound was certainly not a new idea (nor was *Hurd's Grecian Compound*); there had been dozens of female remedies in the U.S. since the country's founding, but none that had captured the attention and purses of a country of ailing, aching women. They were, for the most part, small-scale, short-lived medicinal products that had failed to gain a following on the scale of such big commercial medicine successes as *Brandreth's Pills*, *Dr. J. C. Ayers' Pectoral Balsam*, or *Perry Davis's Pain Killer*. There were products that were designed to attract women by their exotic-sounding names, like *Dr. Bartholick's Luner Tincture* (1841), *The Squaw's Secret* (1858), *Stewart's "Equa Wejeke Way An"* or *Woman's Friend* (1860), and *Dr. Cox's Japan Secret* (1862); and there were remedies that promised to make a woman stronger, reenergized, and well regulated, like *Mrs. P. Baker's Female Strengthening Syrup* (1847), *John T. Walsh's Female Restorative* (1849), *Dr. Lyon's Periodical Drops* (1864), *Dr. George W. Sweet's Female Strengthening Cordial* (1868), *Dr. Weed's Female Regulator* (1870), and *Mrs. Linus Belcher's Cure for Female Weakness* (1870).¹¹⁰⁹ As the decade of the 1870s opened up, two medicines in particular, *Pierce's Favorite Prescription* (1870) and *Vegetine* (1872), began thrusting deeply into the business of women's "secretive organs" and when Dan went to Brooklyn to promote his mother's medicine, he found *Grafenburg's Uterine Catholicon* was well-established in that city and that druggists were reluctant to stock an unknown product; if *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was to have any chance against their head start, the Pinkhams would have to be very smart, extremely hard-working, and incredibly lucky.¹¹¹⁰

The company literature published decades after Lydia's death would paint a homespun idyll of the rustic matron making the vegetable compound, swirling a ladle in a large pot on her stove. It was a quaint image suggesting her small-scale beginning, but the Pinkhams needed large-scale success and that meant expenses that would have to be very carefully controlled. They had to purchase volumes of everything: the botanical ingredients and alcohol; bottles, corks, and printed labels, boxes and wooden shipping crates. They were driven to cut corners and did so from the beginning; Lydia taught her children how to make the medicine; family members folded the



The Price of Woman's Health. The main promise of Lydia Pinkham's famous compound was its ability to cure falling of the uterus. The alternative was a pessary (the example pictured is made of porcelain and shown on a spindle stand) that the woman or her doctor would have to vaginally insert until it was positioned just under the cervix. The Pinkham's cure was a far easier and less odious experience and it cost only \$1.00 (as shown). This is the original *Lydia E. Vegetable Compound* of 1876, with what has faded over time into a cornflower blue label; however, when the bottle was first produced, the label was cyan blue, much like the lighter tones in the fabric backdrop. (All collection of the author.)

booklets by hand, bottled the medicine, assembled and packed the boxes, and then packed the boxes in the crates. Since they started out with next to nothing, they covered all steps in the process requiring human labor that they could do by themselves, except personally delivering the product to distant locations. The materials to produce one bottle cost between forty-six to fifty cents for the earliest 1876 batches of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, packaged and ready for sale.¹¹¹¹

**Initial Costs to Produce One Bottle of
*Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound***¹¹¹²

Item	Cost /Bottle	First Purchase	Source
Alcohol	\$0.0583	8 March 1876	Charles W. Badger, Boston
Fenugreek Seeds	\$0.168	26 June 1876	
Pleurisy Root	\$0.066	8 July 1876	
Life Root	\$0.048	8 July 1876	
Unicorn Root	\$0.016	15 February 1878	
Black Cohosh Root	\$0.009	15 February 1878	
Bottle	\$0.0486	7 March 1876	New England Glass Co., Cambridge, MA
Cork	\$0.002	7 March 1876	
Label	\$0.0025	17 March 1876	C. E. Bessom's, Lynn
Bottle Boxes	\$0.020 (est)	Feb 1876	J. P. Howard, Lynn
Shipping Crate	\$0.0166	1 March 1876	J. N. Buffum & Co., Lynn
TOTAL	\$0.455		

After the vegetable compound was launched in February 1876, Will worked hard to get stronger placement in drugstores and drug warehouses than he had ever been able to accomplish with the *Hurd's* product. A monthly average of over 500 bottles were placed in March, April, and May; by June it was obvious the Pinkhams' stove couldn't keep up with the volume, so they had to buy a new stove and cooking utensils. It was the first and for years the most expensive piece of equipment their tiny business couldn't survive without and it cost a staggering \$40.00; they got an underwhelming \$1.50 credit from the dealer for the trade-in of the old stove.¹¹¹³ After a brief slowdown in June and July, the same high level of distribution continued from August through November.¹¹¹⁴ By the end of 1876, the Pinkhams had sold and consigned 4,755 bottles of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, but making the product wasn't the same thing as creating a demand for it. People had to know the product existed, believe that it worked, and know where to get it; if the Pinkhams didn't cover all three objectives well, they would fail. With this much product created and distributed, and on a shoestring budget at that, the only two directions they could go were down the narrow path to success or the wide road to the almshouse.

Dan and Will agreed on some methods of promoting the new compound, like using quarter-sheet posters nailed up wherever they could find or make space. In August, they paid Lynn bill poster George F. Sleeper \$20, for posting 2,000 quarter sheets all over the Lynn area.¹¹¹⁵ But the brothers had different viewpoints on what was the best method to build the foundation of an advertising campaign: Dan favored circulars while Will preferred newspaper advertising. Mastering advertising really wasn't their strong suit; they had placed little or no advertising for *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound*.¹¹¹⁶ Beyond their apparent lack of advertising experience, mounting any meaningful newspaper advertising campaign was far beyond whatever money they might have hidden in the sugar bowl or the can buried in the back yard. In what may be the first promotion for the vegetable compound, Will placed a very short, basic ad in the *Lynn Record* on 25 March 1876 that read in total:

LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S
VEGETABLE COMPOUND

IS A SURE CURE FOR
ALL FEMALE WEAKNESSES,

And is the greatest remedy
in the world for

KIDNEY COMPLAINTS

FOR SALE BY

F. W. A. Bergengren, Central Sq.
C. A. Hodges, 64 Market St. Lynn.¹¹¹⁷

It was as lackluster and forgettable as Burr's 1866 ad for *Hurd's Grecian Compound*, but that was all they could afford – a simple ad in the hometown paper – no pictures or graphics, no testimonials or scientific explanations; just what it was, what it was for, and where the locals could buy it. There wasn't even a mention of the *Lydia E. Pinkham Liver Pills* that were listed right on the label of the vegetable compound. The ad ran for 28 weeks, until 7 October, after which Will switched Lynn papers, running an even briefer ad in the *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, starting 11 November 1876:

W O M E N !
U S E
LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S
VEGETABLE COMPOUND.
» Sold by all Druggists, at \$1.00 per
bottle.¹¹¹⁸

Will seemed to be following the teachings of P. T. Barnum, who had talked at Lynn's Odd Fellows' Hall months before the Panic of 1873. Perhaps he was part of the crowded audience, listening to the internationally renowned impresario tell the secrets of his triumphant business:

Another very great help to success is advertising. Let your business be known and the newspaper is generally the best medium for advertising. A person should also study the best method for writing advertisements. Seek for something sensational, something that will attract attention, and after that be sure to advertise long enough to have it take. There is a saying that it requires seven insertions to make people buy. At the first a man takes no notice of your advertisement. The second time he merely sees it. The third he reads it. At the fourth he reads carefully. At the fifth he makes up his mind to buy. At the sixth he calls and prices, and at the seventh he buys.¹¹¹⁹

Will had first run the ad for 28 weeks, theoretically quadrupling the efficacy of Barnum's advertising principle. Broadening his reach also pointed to his Barnumesque dream of being before audiences everywhere; he expanded advertising to the *Boston Daily Globe*, at eight lines in four issues for just \$2.50 total and to the *Davenport Weekly Democrat*, way out in Iowa. How and why he jumped to the middle of the nation at this juncture isn't clear, but the fact that the newspaper was willing to take a gross of the medicine in trade for a year's worth of advertising, instead of insisting that the \$87 bill must be paid in cash, had to be music to Will's ears.¹¹²⁰

From the outset, it seemed that the little pamphlet Dan preferred was more persuasive. It was cheaper to print than Will's newspaper ads and could be distributed to potential readership anywhere they chose. Best of all, it contained far more words to share compelling copy and reassurance than they could dream to afford in the newspaper in 1876. So both brothers tried their favored method throughout the year while hoping that either method would work.

Telling and convincing the women of America that they needed *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was the critical task entrusted to Dan's advertising idea, the modestly plain pamphlet titled *Guide for Women*. It provided potential customers the invitation, science,

conviction, hope, and sales pitch, all bound together in a pamphlet of eight small pages that could fit discretely in a woman's purse. In its brief contents, Lydia explained the cause and cure of female complaints, with a special focus on prolapsed uterus, or falling of the womb, the misery that she said affected one of every three women throughout New England and probably in the West and South as well.

Lydia the teacher came out in the text and the readers were her students, "We must first know the *cause* of disease, and then open the way through which *nature* can expel the obnoxious intruder that bars her healthful activity." When blood, the "vital fluid" of the body, became disease-producing, all sorts of physical symptoms could start to manifest and all of the existing schools of medicine, she claimed, focused on curing the symptoms instead of the cause. Local applications like pessaries and nitrate of silver were frequently used to repair prolapsed uterus but, she warned, they were "both indelicate and barbarous, and productive, in many instances of fatal results." *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was presented as the solution; Lydia promised it was "the greatest and best remedy that has ever been discovered for the cure of disease of the womb." It was "a positive cure for Falling of the Womb. It restores the blood to its natural condition ... strengthens the muscles of the uterus, and lifts it into its place, and gives it tone and strength, so that the cure is ... entire." Uterine ulcers would disappear, menstrual flow would correct its course, and the whole system would have "new life and vigor," but the pamphlet's list of curative promises went even further: "It removes dyspepsia, faintness, flatulency, and destroys all craving for stimulants, and relieves weakness of the stomach. ... The tendency to cancerous humors [of the uterus] ... is checked very speedily." The circular also made the curious claim that "there is an aroma from the whole body in a few hours after the first dose is taken," and another claim, wrapped in the type of shadowy language that had been used as a veiled message for abortifacient medicines throughout the century: "it will also dissolve and expel tumors from the uterus, in an early stage of development." Purifying the blood and cleansing the uterus could have different meanings to different people, and the pamphlet was indeed directed to all women for all their personal issues, ailments, and concerns. The testimonials that were included provided the confident success stories from an equally broad range of perspectives: women who used the product for various female complaints, doctors who endorsed it to their patients, and druggists who reported its growing patronage from their customers.¹¹²¹ The focus on the vegetable compound's creation for women, by a woman, was the very intentional vision and energy that went into the product's sales. Early ads told women what they believed and wanted to hear; such endearing and empowering tag lines included: "Woman can Sympathize with Woman" and "Health of Woman is the Hope of the Race."¹¹²²

When compared to the proprietaries of the era, the curative actions of Lydia's compound would have put it squarely in the category of blood purifying tonic. It cleansed the blood of disease-producing humors; this then strengthened the muscles, which in turn restored the organs and their functions to their proper position and condition. But where most blood purifying tonics also promised to cure sick and weakened lungs, livers, stomach, skin, bowels, and more, Lydia chose not to suggest that the blood purified by her medicine would also strengthen, heal, and restore other organs, other than the kidneys. She elected, at least at the outset, to keep her medicine's curative claims primarily focused on women's health issues. King's *Dispensatory* described many curative applications beyond female generative issues for most of the botanical ingredients Lydia used in her compound, but she took the less-traveled path and stayed focused on the benefits her medicine provided to suffering womankind. The medicine bottles and advertisements carrying her name thus proclaimed the cure to be for PROLAPSUS UTERI and FEMALE WEAKNESSES in a letter size as big, bold, and determined as Dr. A. J. Flagg's syrup was for COUGH AND LUNG and Warren Toppan's drops were for TOOTHACHE. Lydia and Will had been wrong about *Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound*, but she was nonetheless determined that women would respond to her specific for their needs.

The 1872 statewide survey of working women by Lynn physicians had proven that Lydia had found the perfect base of customers searching for a new lease on life. The study revealed that females were hard hit by physical ailments, being “debilitated from overwork,” with disturbance of the menstrual function leading the list of complaints. Another important but understated discovery about female ailments early in the decade was that relief might not be best achieved surgically or medicinally. Many of the overworked women who were admitted as patients at Lynn’s new hospital in 1874 seemed to recover, not because of some heroic surgery or extraordinary medicine, but because of the comfort, kindness, and care they received, much like their mothers had found at the water cure spas during the previous generation and that many Lynn women had experienced over the years from the patient nursing of midwives and female watchers of the sick. The first annual report of the new Lynn hospital explained the subtle but important phenomenon:

Since the first of April twenty-five sufferers have been sheltered in our home. ... A few severe accidents have been recorded; a few chronic cases have found a degree of relief, and returned to their homes. An interesting class of patients has been the over-worked, ill-fed women. Sick and discouraged, with miserable homes – such need rest and wholesome food and plenty of it, *kind words and care to strengthen them to go out again to bravely meet the inevitable hardships of their lives.* They carry with them the feeling that *they have found and can still find a refuge.*¹¹²³

Lydia had been providing such personal ministrations for years, at least since the family had moved to Boston Street in 1870. Various family stories were passed on of women coming to the house for her medicines, but she also provided doctoring services and even dental care to some. Over April and May of 1877, 19-year-old shoe factory worker Addie Verry paid Lydia 50 cents for teeth (exactly what product or service Lydia provided in relation to the young woman’s teeth wasn’t specified), in addition to \$1.00 for a pair of gloves and \$10.50 for a dress, and then received credits on her account for labor that she provided Lydia in return, which included folding clothes.¹¹²⁴ From August to September 1876, Lydia took complete care of the recovery of Lena Young, a 20-year-old shoe factory worker, even providing her meals. Lydia charged Lena \$5.00 per week for board, medicine, and care and did so for two weeks; in the cashbook, her medical attendance of her young patient was listed as “Dr. Pinkham’s bill.”¹¹²⁵ Lydia also had the wisdom and insight to include in her earliest advertising an invitation to women everywhere to write to her about their problems: “All letters of inquiry ... will be freely answered.” It was a simple note on the back of her free *Guide for Women*, but, as it turned out, it was just what many “sick and discouraged” women everywhere needed to know: there was a woman in a place called Lynn, Massachusetts, who would listen and help. With medicine and message in hand, the Pinkhams now just had to get both into the hands of the women of the world ... and to do so with virtually no money.

On 15 February 1876, the *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* label was registered with the Patent and Trademarks office, and during that month, the first 78 bottles of the compound were sold or consigned.¹¹²⁶ Those successes were offset by the cost of making and selling more: in the same month the product was launched, Lynn printer John Macfarlane gave the Pinkhams his \$7.00 bill for printing 4,000 circulars.¹¹²⁷ Then more bills arrived in quick succession over the next several weeks for the bottles, bottle boxes, crate stencils, shipping crates, alcohol, and labels, culminating on the 25th of March with their first attempt at a tiny newspaper ad in the *Lynn Record*. They also had to pay or credit druggists around New England for the people they hired to distribute the circulars; between the \$1.75 cost per thousand to get them printed and an average of \$1.51 per thousand to get them distributed, multiplied again by an average of 5,500 circulars sent to each of over a half dozen New England cities and towns where they were to be distributed, put the Pinkham’s over \$150 further in debt.¹¹²⁸ E. Goldthwaite of Brockton, Mass., sent his bill dated 3 March 1876 with a disappointing note, “To destributing Circulars \$2.00. No Sale of your goods at the time of writing. Bal. due us \$2.00”¹¹²⁹ And just before all of these new business expenses

came due, more chunks of Isaac and Lydia land holdings were sold off at public auction because they had defaulted on those loans; their finances were a mess.¹¹³⁰

Throughout the time of these tremendous setbacks and expenses, everyone in the family was doing what they could to raise badly-needed money. In addition to writing advertising copy for the new product, Lydia rummaged through their possessions to find things that she could part with, like the dress and pair of gloves she sold to Addie Verry, and she sold quarts of milk from the family cows through Daniel's grocery store.¹¹³¹ Isaac found a few opportunities to serve as a justice of the peace; Aroline had started teaching school, and Charles had unsuccessfully applied to become a truant officer, so he went back to working on the railroad.¹¹³² Dan had given up his grocery store but was working as a substitute letter carrier and trying to bring change as an elected member of the city's common council, and Will supplemented his full-time efforts to build the medicine business with side work at the wool-pulling factory up the street.

The year 1876 continued its assault on the Pinkhams. In April the Portsmouth New Hampshire Trust & Guarantee took possession of still more of the Pinkham's properties because Isaac and Lydia had no choice but to continue defaulting on the notes.¹¹³³ In May, Dan forsook his responsibilities on the Lynn Common Council in order to go to Brooklyn, New York, and build a sales network of vegetable compound distributors, drugstores, and enthusiastic customers. It was a bold and desperate decision for the besieged family whose world was crashing in all around them, to send just one member far from home to the largest city in the United States, alone to build the unproven family venture into a commercial juggernaut, but the Pinkhams were down to luck and prayers. In June, yet more Pinkham real estate was seized by the banks.¹¹³⁴

On May 3rd, Dan wrote his first letter back home with a touch of enthusiastic bravado, addressing his family as "Fellow Doctors." Even on his way to Brooklyn he had been focused on the business; he had stopped at Fall River, Massachusetts, at a drug store that had a dozen bottles of the vegetable compound, but they hadn't sold any. The drugstore clerk told Dan that two boys had passed out the circulars and he didn't think it would be worthwhile to distribute anymore because "business is mighty dull . . ." Not trusting that a couple of boys did their job responsibly, Dan recommended that some of the Pinkhams should go down there and do it themselves.¹¹³⁵

Dan's letters home were fueled by drive, creativity, and poverty; in Brooklyn he lived with an abundance of all three. He was driven to put out as many pamphlets as humanly possible, and by his way of thinking, that was a lot. He put out 2,000 in Brooklyn within just a few days of his arrival, but when one of the druggists told him he hadn't sold any of the Pinkham's medicine, Dan lied and said he hadn't put out any pamphlets yet. He challenged his brothers to have a contest with him to see who could get the lowest price for printing a million of the circulars, "We must throw ourselves this summer on [distributing] pamphlets if we ever do. . . . Keep me Supplied With Pamphlets."¹¹³⁶ A few days later, he urged again, "I am going to try hard to get all these pamphlets out . . . so you better rush a barrel full along. The only way for us to do is to put out all we can. . . . I shall throw out piles of pamphlets, and if you can only keep me going, there's bound to be some trade pretty quick."¹¹³⁷

From the very first, his letters read like instructions from a field general to his silent, invisible army: full of scouting reports of the battlefield, instructions to the troops, and constant orders for ammunition and reinforcements. He bought a map of Brooklyn, studied it to lay out the routes he would take through neighborhoods of Irish, Dutch, and others, then distributed pamphlets with a speed and thoroughness that would have made Johnny Appleseed jealous. He bought cheap meals and walked and walked until his shoes wore through. He stitched them up and kept on walking until it was almost impossible to keep them on his feet. He wrote his letters at the post office because the pen and ink were available there for free.

Throughout all his letters, there was never a question that getting the medicine to sell was everything; he thought about nothing else, even himself. He lived on the brink of broke, surviving

on the small amounts sent to him by his brother, never quickly enough and only after much griping and growling: "My shoes are all to pieces – send money."¹¹³⁸ "What have you been thinking? I'd have starved if not for friends here."¹¹³⁹ "Now for God's Sake how do you expect me to live here in Brooklyn without sending me any more money(?)"¹¹⁴⁰ After yet another instance of receiving a letter with none of the cash infusion desperately needed for his survival, an extremely frustrated Dan wrote to his mother and brother Will, "For God's Sake whose management is it that keeps me from having what I actually need?"¹¹⁴¹ Yet despite all his privations and need of personal spending money, he stayed focused on building the business by recommending to Will that they get some of their properties mortgaged to get needed cash, "You had better work up everything in the shape of a mortgage into printing & get the most you can out of them . . ."¹¹⁴²

He reached crisis points several times during his first two stays in Brooklyn when he was absolutely empty-plate, filthy-clothes, tattered-shoes, overdue-rent broke, leaving him hungry, embarrassed, and unable to do the work he was there to do. His earlier experiences with the privation of his parents may have prepared him to weather these experiences, but he nonetheless hated enduring hard times and on at least one occasion sounded ready to give up on the great vegetable compound adventure:

Now I should think you either were all crazy or else thought I was getting my meals at free lunch establishments. There are ... expenses that are ... necessary such as Laundry work &c but if it is necessary to wear a shirt 2 or 3 weeks at a time in consequence of business not being good enough to have a clean one I am willing to put up with that but if it isn't good enough to supply me with food then I want to get out of it. ... Now if these folks here hadn't have accommodated me I don't know what in the Devil I should have done. Now in consequence of your cussed judgment I shall have to loaf to-morrow & live upon a cracker diet.¹¹⁴³

He worried about going to see key accounts he was trying to cultivate because he was "beginning to look so confounded seedy"; at one point he even suggested that he and one of his brothers should go for a trip into the country to put up posters and distribute circulars because he looked too ragged to be approaching people.¹¹⁴⁴

Although he willingly lived a spartan existence and a regimented lifestyle, he was no soldier; he was first and foremost a son and brother, anxious for news from home. His letters were filled with questions about the business, the family, and life in Lynn, but the silence of a delayed response or none at all was sometimes deafening and often put him more on edge. On one occasion, he pleaded for Will to answer even half the questions he had asked in his letter.¹¹⁴⁵ In another letter, he asked the most important question that could be asked, not with the calculation of a businessman inquiring of another, but with the empathy of one brother asking the other, "What really do you think, will the business pay or not?"¹¹⁴⁶ He was well aware things were tight on Will's end as well, so in early October 1876 he warned his brother to buy something to wear before it was too late: "For God's sake buy yourself some clothes before we get dead broke."¹¹⁴⁷

Alone in the enormous city and focusing all his thoughts and energies on growing the business, Dan dreamed up some big ideas to greatly improve sales and he peppered his letters to the family back home with his frequent brainstorms:

- *Do anonymous card drops* – Write notes on small cards, as if from a satisfied customer, and leave them in parks and cemeteries, "there all such frauds as that"; make them small enough that rag and paper pickers wouldn't bother picking them up "like they would with our pamphlets."¹¹⁴⁸
- *Add Kidney Complaints cure language to the circulars* – "... about half the people out here are either troubled with Kidney Complaints or else they think they are. ... put [it] on the first page where it says Guide for Women & have quite a sentence as it wont then seem so much of a place to hand one to every man & woman too. As a general thing now

the men make no bones of reading it but if you happen to look at a woman while she is reading it she is likely to tear it up”; “men have more money to spare these times than women and I find it very prevalent ... I want to have the kidneys spoken of on both sides [male and female] as I really believe we can sell as much for that complaint as the other [female complaints].”¹¹⁴⁹ (Will had already included Kidney Complaints language in the compound’s earliest Lynn newspaper advertisement in March 1876, but the Pinkham’s were far from able to buy advertising space in the New York papers, so the circular was almost exclusively responsible for educating the public about this new medicine from distant Lynn, Massachusetts, but it mentioned nothing about its benefit for kidney problems in its early 1876 version.)

- *Add a New England connection* – “If we should hitch on the medicine somehow, ‘The Great New England Remedy’ and then after a while have our Trade mark Picture some New England Scenery with a humble cottage, these folks would be all tore out on home made.”¹¹⁵⁰
- *Lower the product price* – Make 18-ounce bottles at \$1.50 and 10-ounce for \$1.00, “the complaint on price is pretty general here as well as elsewhere.”¹¹⁵¹
- *Take on advertisers* – Advertise others’ products in addition to the vegetable compound in the circulars, “... about every third man who is out of work has some kind of an article which he knows he could make money on if he had means to advertise it and if he could have ½ of a page on our pamphlet he would judiciously distribute 10 or 20,000 ... make arrangements with sewing machines, clothes wringer, washing machine, or even book agents to distribute them.”¹¹⁵²
- *Stuff almanacs with the circulars* – Stuff the next year’s print run of some other company’s almanacs with the *Guide for Women* circular to benefit from free distribution.¹¹⁵³

His letters reveal his approach to selling a proprietary medicine was to adopt the same no-holds-barred methods he saw in practice by hucksters and pitchmen everywhere. Justifying fabricated personal endorsements of the compound because “they’re all such frauds as that” demonstrated his willingness to be deceptive if that’s what it took to make the sale. The drugstores were his main target to win over because they were the neighborhood shops where the compound should be found for sale, so he continued his illusion of the compound’s success with the druggists as well: “I tell every druggist that I run across that they better lay in some of this medicine as [I] am going to distribute one-half million pamphlets in New York, that druggists are selling cords of it in the New England States etc.” Then he admitted to his brother Will, “I don’t know whether Grosvenor (a key New York drug wholesaler) has sold a bottle yet or not.”¹¹⁵⁴ Dan wasn’t only at peace with his style of salesmanship but also tried to recruit Will to take on the same perspective: “If you’ll only think & scheme as much as we used to in politics we shall be able to get [the circulars] distributed without cost.”¹¹⁵⁵

Dan went to Brooklyn with a fiery determination to make *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* the next great patent medicine brand, but as the months wore on, his letters vacillated between worry about failure and certainty about incredible success. The same young man that had seriously weighed giving up and going back home, at other times was all fired up, “... I know we shall be able to buy Wyoma & Blood Swamp thrown in, in less than five years ...” and in October, “There is no use doing business unless we do a devil of a business.”¹¹⁵⁶ To that end, he even encouraged the family to consider moving to Brooklyn so they could work together on the huge population.¹¹⁵⁷ His letters to Will resounded with repeated determination that New York was the place and the means for them to succeed or fail, “I think we had better continue to advertise in this locality [Brooklyn] till we either get it general, get rich or bust.”¹¹⁵⁸

He was more often worrying than crowing; business remained slow for the compound and the country throughout the bicentennial year. "Sorry to learn orders aren't coming faster ... They call business mighty dull here."¹¹⁵⁹ In October 1876 the medicine sales were really struggling and Dan was depressed over the lack of good news, "Seems things are getting bluer ... Jackson [another key druggist] don't sell many."¹¹⁶⁰ Three days later he wrote again to his brother, "I'm glad to hear the medicine is curing them up so well, but dont see why in the "Devil" it is, that you dont get any orders. ... It's mighty strange that none of our hundred places don't order any."¹¹⁶¹ Again, in the moments that he stopped dwelling on his own despair, he expressed concern about his brother Will, "I see by our letter that you are kind of blue. It beats all that you dont get more orders. ... Are you not receiving any orders at all?"¹¹⁶²

On the 4th of June 1876, just a month into his stay, his energy and shoes and clothes worn out, despair was setting in; he confided to Will, "my hope on ... selling ... has deserted me as I haven't got a dollar out of the Comp[ound] yet that you sent me."¹¹⁶³ He had gone over to Jersey City and put out 5,000 pamphlets and left three bottles of the compound at each of four druggists, but when he came back a week later, none of them had sold a single bottle. When he went over a few days later and found that still not one bottle had been sold, despair turned into bitterness, "I would n't give a picayune for the whole state & dont believe in [advertising] in any part of it."¹¹⁶⁴

The Pinkhams had dearly wanted to make 1876 a special year to celebrate not only the nation's independence but their own, from forces that oppressed. The three brothers had canvassed large sections of cities and towns themselves, tramping through neighborhoods, weighed down, like beasts of burden with a heavy pack of circulars on their backs, distributing as many as 5,000 in one day.¹¹⁶⁵ Dan had covered the boroughs of Brooklyn and Manhattan, and Jersey City, while Will went through Boston, Lynn, and Peabody, and Charles helped both of them when not working as a conductor on the horse railroad. "Hang it!" Dan wrote, determined to find an easier way than distributing pamphlets to promote the medicine, "We've got to reduce this [advertising] down to a science & instead of so much brute force."¹¹⁶⁶ They had also hired a small army of boys and men to canvass distances they couldn't reach, placing many thousands of circulars, one by one, in every doorway and willing hand, and putting up broadsides on buildings and fences. Dan, Will, and Charles – the "Pinkham Boys," as they had become widely known in Lynn – solicited every druggist and wholesaler who would listen to take a trial supply of the medicine. The *Guide for Women* also solicited for women agents "in every town and city of the United States" to sell the medicine. Yet for all this backbreaking and costly effort, resulting sales were most often from little to none, with only occasional pockets of trending sales, like in Concord, New Hampshire and Lewiston, Maine, among the flashes of success here and there.¹¹⁶⁷ The struggling medicine business was unable to relieve a homefront besieged by mortgage defaults, property seizures, and public auctions that continued throughout the year like a swarm of devouring locusts. In late September, the mortgage for their own house was released by the bank to Nathan D. Chase who then consummated its sale to the attorney William D. Niles; he was ready to move in and the Pinkhams had to move out, with the crestfallen Dan, then back in Lynn, allegedly skulking to their new home under the black of night. He went back to Brooklyn shortly thereafter and before he returned home near year's end, he tried to help his family see a little sunlight shining through the darkness that seemed to be covering their world, "When [the medicine] becomes general in NY our fortune is made."¹¹⁶⁸ It sounded good, at least.

The year 1877 didn't start up any better than where 1876 had left off; in January, Frances Pinkham Lane, Isaac's only surviving offspring from his first marriage and mother of his two grandchildren, died. The not quite 39-year-old had died of the leading scourge of the nineteenth century: consumption.¹¹⁶⁹ Poor Isaac, already despondent and beleaguered, didn't need any more bad news, but it doesn't come tougher than the death of one's child. The family probably knew the end was near for Frances; the average duration of tuberculosis from onset to death is about three years and Isaac and Will had made trips out to Bedford the previous year where Frances lived;

Isaac's visit in May was probably that of a father offering his love and compassion, but Will's October trip may have worked out to be more of a farewell visit to his dying stepsister; she succumbed eleven days after the new year.¹¹⁷⁰

Something of a more positive turn was starting to happen to the business as the year changed from 1876 to 1877: there was a change with Will's approach to the compound advertising – he was getting bolder. A combination of all the advertised promises of cures to potential customers and constant cajoling of druggists and wholesalers may have been starting to bring a gradual increase in sales that encouraged the Pinkham Boys to broaden their business plan along with their risk exposure. He ran an ad in *The Lynn Record* in December 1876 that contained a testimonial from D. W. Wiggin, a druggist in Lewiston Maine, claiming he had sold about 150 bottles in the past six months, and another testimonial from apothecary E. H. Kelley of Lawrence, Mass, that he had sold nearly 200 bottles.¹¹⁷¹ Sales were picking up, advertising was working, and the Pinkhams were going after more, spending on advertising "every last nickel that the family could earn, save or borrow."¹¹⁷² Will changed his order with the *Boston Daily Globe* from the previous ad of a modest 8 lines at \$2.50 for 4 insertions, to 64 lines at \$96 for 5 insertions. That was a lot of money and a big gamble for the Pinkhams – about \$19.20 per ad; one insertion could have bought about 5,900 *Guide for Women* circulars that Dan had favored. Will also continued to broaden his geographic reach by taking ad space for the first two months of 1877 in the *Rock Island Argus* (IL), *The Palladium* (New Haven, CT), the *Concord Daily Monitor* (NH), and the *Bangor Weekly Courier* of Maine. But family memory tells of one instance of his advertising push that had taken their collective breath away – when Will spent \$60 for one single ad in the *Boston Herald*; he might as well have sold the family cows for a handful of magic beans.

As the story goes, Will went to Boston to collect a payment of \$84 from Weeks & Potter, a Boston drug wholesaler, for a gross of vegetable compound they had ordered. That was a big cash infusion for the cash-strapped Pinkhams, but Will had an advertising itch. From the wholesaler he went to the offices of the *Boston Herald* where he had been running long ads on page four (the back page) for a couple of weeks, but he wanted to know what it would cost to put a bigger ad right on page one. He had to use \$60 of the newly collected funds to pay for an impressive ad that filled most of one column on the front page of the *Boston Herald* for 14 April 1877. The ad was even longer and formatted with new copy; it was stuffed with information about the medicine's virtues, the promise of the *Guide for Women* and a "Testimonials Circular" sent free if requested, and then the name LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S VEGETABLE COMPOUND was sandwiched repetitively between every paragraph, in big, bold letters.¹¹⁷³ It was a repeating pattern style of long column ads that were used by the big companies in medicine, like *Vegetine*, *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry*, and *Hood's Sarsaparilla*, and retail heavy-hitters in other consumer categories, and that was exactly the perception Will wanted to accomplish – that *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was one of the giants of the trade and therefore everybody should want to buy it. The paper's circulation was to a huge 50,000 homes; the problem was that \$60 covered just one issue. The ensuing storm of emotions in the family home kept the memory of that day alive:

When Will returned home, Dan and his mother were waiting anxiously to see if he had been able to make the collection; and all of a sudden Will realized that they would not be pleased with his transaction. He was right. They could not believe that \$60 for a single ad in a single paper could possibly pay off. As his mother said later, "That was like a thunderclap out of a clear sky, and we all sat down and had a good cry."¹¹⁷⁴

Within forty-eight hours, three different wholesalers ordered a gross apiece and the next week after another large Pinkham ad reappeared on page four, another five-gross order came in; P. T. Barnum would have been proud.¹¹⁷⁵

As *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* became a more ubiquitous remedy throughout Lynn's drugstores in 1877, it came under the same fire as *Vegetine* and other popular medicines in the druggists' price wars: they were fighting to become the destination for the popular proprietary

medicines because well-advertised products sold well, and the Pinkham's product was actually becoming one of those fought-over desirable items. Bergengren and Wilder both dropped their retail price of the vegetable compound to seventy-five cents, way off the \$1.00 suggested retail price, but Bergengren's deepest dive was still to come; in March 1879 he was retailing it at just sixty-three cents a bottle, a few pennies above wholesale cost – neither the competition nor the Pinkhams could have been happy about that.¹¹⁷⁶ Dueling druggists were just another proof that the Pinkham's product was hitting its stride and creating a demand – and it was a good thing, too, because the Pinkham's real estate holdings were continuing to be mauled.

The city of Lynn continued to take over Pinkham properties in July, August, and September 1877 because of unpaid back taxes on them; in the city's public auction of August alone, the Pinkhams lost twenty-six lots of land on Daniel, William, Campbell, and Hudson streets and one house on Boston Street.¹¹⁷⁷ But by this point, the family had already switched horses and decided to keep riding the vegetable compound into their future, even at the cost of leaving their properties behind. As the city reclaimed five more properties in September, Dan was increasing the print run of his circulars to 200,000, and he did it again in October.¹¹⁷⁸ In the same month, Will began an ambitious, half-column, year-long ad run in *The Lynn Record* that focused more on testimonials than they had done previously. It had ten testimonials from Lewiston, Bangor, and Skowhegan Maine; Burlington, Vermont; Erie and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Lynn. Eight of the ads featured brief but effective endorsements from druggists and doctors:

“Every customer brings another.”

– F. M. Rowe, Druggist, Bangor, Maine

“It leads the list of all my Proprietary Medicines.”

– J. W. Colcord, Druggist, Lynn, Mass.

“I have used it in my own family, and I know it will do all it claims.”

– Warren Toppan, Druggist, Lynn, Mass.

“Physicians of my acquaintance are surprised by their success with your Vegetable Compound.”

– Dr. Robert Rohland, New York City¹¹⁷⁹

The two full-blown testimonials from customers were longer and more personal, like that of Mrs. S. E. C. of Philadelphia, who wrote that she had suffered for the last seven years with falling of the womb, “unable to walk about the house without suffering intense pain.” She had, of course, tried several other kinds of treatment “and had almost given up in despair,” but after taking two bottles of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, “I can already walk three miles without the least difficulty.” The ad also explained that if the compound was ordered through the mail by an individual, they would receive the lozenge form in a box for the same price as the bottle, or a trial box for fifty cents. The ad was somewhat groundbreaking for the Pinkhams in a few other respects as well: they added curative properties to the medicine; although Lydia had originally set out to keep it a specific for female complaints, it now included stomach problems: “It is producing the most wonderful effects in DYSPEPSIA. Immediately relieves WEAKNESS of the STOMACH, and CORRECTS INDIGESTION.”¹¹⁸⁰ Then in the last paragraph it spoke exclusively about its tonic effect, giving worn-down women a pick-me-up:

By its use the vital processes are quickened, buoyancy supplants depression, the eye becomes brighter, the brain clearer, and the whole system vibrates with a keener, sharper play of the life forces. By its immediate effects the patient becomes stronger and is protected against subsequent attacks of disease by its strength-renewing power.¹¹⁸¹

The Pinkhams (with Dan most willingly but Lydia most notably) were succumbing to the commonly accepted practice by proprietary medicine makers of moving their product away from being a specific to multi-purpose (even cure-all) in order to attract a wider range of customers. But

the primary subtext of each ad and label for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* retained the focus on being a medicine for women: "A SURE CURE FOR PROLAPSUS UTERI Or Falling of the Womb and all FEMALE WEAKNESSES." After Will's successful gamble on the April *Boston Herald* ad, an advertising agent named T. C. Evans went out to Lynn to talk to Will about being retained to arrange a modest newspaper advertising campaign in small newspapers in the Boston area and the Pinkhams felt ready for that next step.¹¹⁸² Most of every dollar they were making was being reinvested in more advertising.

While Dan and Will were fully focused on building the business, Lydia was answering letters and continuing her local good works, as she did by taking care of Lena Young in August and September. She had also been deeply focused on healing Isaac's grandson, Arthur Wellington Lane. Near the time that his mother Frances died of consumption, the eleven-year-old boy complained of pain in his neck and some swelling was visible. Lydia recorded in her private notes something that read like instructions for someone else to follow, perhaps his father, since his mother was likely too feeble from her own sickness to be caring for her children. Lydia prescribed, "For Arthur Lane – Some Kidney trouble and scrofula swelling. Equal parts of Common Pyrola and White Oak Bark steep, strain and give him a table spoonful little more once a day after which bathe the swelling well; this continue until the swelling is all gone."¹¹⁸³ The instructions, even if they were well-followed, didn't slow down the problem, so it was decided that Arthur would come back to Lynn to live at his grandfather's house and be taken care of by Lydia until he was better. Yes, she had a medicine business to help run and an enfeebled husband who needed her patient ministrations as well, and she was still facing the onslaught of foreclosures, short-sales, tax deed forfeitures, bank repossessions, and the myriad of other financial wolves howling at their door, but the boy was family and needed her help and so that was that; Arthur became her patient in her home. She wrote again at a later time in her notebook:

Arthur's swelling while treated differently one week, became much more swoln and greatly inflamed to remedy, which we kept it sopped in Pyrola for three days he taking three or four sips through the day. He also took B[lood] Purifier twice, immediately after which his swelling was bathed in Pyrola & Lobelia equal parts. Inflammation having abated, treatment described on previous page was again adopted.¹¹⁸⁴

Arthur ended up staying with his grandparents for two and a half years as Lydia tried to fight back the tumor in his neck. When it became clear the situation was hopeless, Arthur, then just shy of his fourteenth birthday, was taken back to Bedford to spend his final days with his father and his kid brother, Ernest.¹¹⁸⁵

During this hectic, stressful time, daughter Aroline was still providing her teacher's pay to the family business fund. In October an angry father of one of her students stormed into the school, shook his fist in front of her face and used profanity-laced, threatening language, because she had whipped his son, but it was he who was arraigned for assault and battery for the incident.¹¹⁸⁶ The year ended with another Pinkham property being repossessed; 1877 was a bitter-sweet-bitter year for the family, but business-wise, things were picking up.

On the 4th of January 1878, Albany, New York apothecary Joseph Nellegar wrote to the Pinkhams that he was surprised, almost embarrassed, to find that the medicine that was otherwise clearly becoming popular elsewhere, wasn't selling briskly for him, "It is a very astonishing thing to me that your medicine has had such a poor sale in Albany, after the large number of circulars I have had distributed for you. – I knew they were distributed faithfully, but your advertisement does not appear to strike. – I do not know what the difficulty is."¹¹⁸⁷ William's account book showed Nellegar had received a dozen bottles in 1876 and another dozen in 1877, but still had four bottles left; this, after having distributed 15,000 circulars in Albany over those two years.¹¹⁸⁸ But as even Nellegar seemed to understand, druggists in the Northeast who were struggling to sell Mrs. Pinkham's medicine by 1878 were becoming the exception to the new rule: *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was starting to sell well. This was so much the case that early in 1878,

business had outgrown production in the Pinkham house, so their landlord was induced to move a small building of two and a half stories to the adjoining lot for use with the expanding business, and a little while later a stable for the horses was added in the rear.¹¹⁸⁹

In 1878 their receipts showed purchases of other botanical ingredients not used in the vegetable compound, including pyrola, sassafras bark, senna leaves, powdered mandrake, and yellow dock root, along with a note from S.W. Gould & Bros., of Malden, Mass., that “there is not any True Chocolate Root in the market but we can give you the Southern [chocolate root]”; Lydia was experimenting on making other plant-based medicines.¹¹⁹⁰ She had, for example, written a recipe for cough syrup in her medical notebook that never became a Pinkham-branded medicine for sale; perhaps the syrupy composition of flaxseed, water, honey, gum arabic, lemon, and paregoric was considered for inclusion someday into the Pinkham product lineup or it might have been just another item she made for her own dispensing to family and those she doctored personally. She sold a woman in Sudbury (perhaps an old friend from the days when the Pinkhams stayed next door in Wayland) a bottle of her own “Liver Remedy” along with “5/12 dozen Compound.”¹¹⁹¹ In March the Pinkhams introduced a new product into the market, *Lydia Pinkham’s Blood Purifier*. It was put up in the same size and shape bottle as was used for the vegetable compound, and retailed for the same \$1.00 per bottle, but in contradistinction to the cyan blue label of the vegetable compound, the blood purifier was printed on a scarlet red label.¹¹⁹² Adding another medicine was hoped to not only increase revenue and build the *Lydia E. Pinkham* brand, but it would also help preserve the female-centric mission and positioning of the vegetable compound by transferring the blood purifier benefits to the new product better suited for that distinct purpose. *The Lynn Record*, now a warm friend of the long-column, long-run local advertiser, announced the new product three weeks before an advertisement even appeared on its pages:

Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, of this city, proprietor of Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound, has just completed arrangements for the manufacture of her Blood Purifier, which will be ready for market the coming week. The name of the preparation will be “Lydia E. Pinkham’s Blood Purifier.” It will be put up in nearly the same style as her Vegetable Compound, but will have a red label instead of a blue one. This preparation will eradicate every vestige of humors from the blood, and at the same time will give tone and strength to the system. It is as efficacious in all diseases arising from impurities of the blood as the Vegetable Compound is in all those complaints for which it is advertised; and this as thousands will testify, is as strong a recommendation as can be given. We congratulate Mrs. Pinkham on her success in preparing an article which is so sure to supersede all others in the popular favor. It will be sold by all druggists at \$1.00 a bottle.”¹¹⁹³

On March 30th the first newspaper advertisement for the blood purifier appeared and it was actually rather ghastly to behold. The previous vegetable compound ad that had been running since October was cannibalized with only the headline, “LYDIA E. PINKHAM’S VEGETABLE COMPOUND is a positive cure for all those positive complaints and weaknesses peculiar to women” surviving; the body was completely cut away to add:

LYDIA E. PINKHAM’S BLOOD PURIFIER, Will eradicate every vestige of humors from the blood at the same time will give TONE and STRENGTH TO THE SYSTEM! It is far superior to any other known remedy for the cure of all diseases arising from impurities of the blood, such as SCROFULAR, CANCEROUS HUMOR, ERYSIPelas, CANKER, SALT RHEUM – and all – SKIN DISEASES! As a Spring Medicine this preparation is unsurpassed.”¹¹⁹⁴

The lettering was unusually large, but still there were large chunks of white space in between, like words thrown against a too-large canvas; but the clumsy ad remained untouched throughout its thirteen-week seasonal run – either Will had too much else to deal with or its eye-catching awkwardness was what was hoped for all along. It was no coincidence that the Pinkhams introduced

the new blood purifier in the spring; it was the traditional time for blood purifiers and bitters to be promoted – sort of a reminder that it was time to clean out the blood of the humors that had become stagnant in the system over the dormant winter, just like the closed-up houses needed a good spring cleaning each year after a long winter. The new vegetable compound ad that replaced it on 29 June didn’t peel back its claims for curing dyspepsia, depression, or kidney complaints, but it didn’t expand them either, and it did focus more on its benefits to women: of being a great help in pregnancy, relieving pain during labor, and strengthening the muscles of the uterus, lifting it back into its place. The ad concluded, “It is impossible for a woman, after a faithful course of treatment with this medicine, to continue to have weakness of the uterus . . .”¹¹⁹⁵

A few months after the blood purifier had been introduced, the family finally started spending money on some advertising space for the *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Liver Pills* that they had been making and selling for years; it was “excellent in conjunction with the Vegetable Compound when the complaints peculiar to women are attended with constipation and a sluggish liver.”¹¹⁹⁶ In 1878, the Pinkham name wasn’t just attached to an increasingly conspicuous family in Lynn, but to a family of medicine products that were becoming increasingly conspicuous throughout the Northeast and Midwest. In the coming year, their newspaper advertising stepped up its presence, not only in volume but with the use of sensational headlines in bold, large, can’t-be-missed type sizes – teases designed to force the most blasé reader to peruse the body copy to find out what the ad had to say about: “IS LIFE WORTH LIVING?”; “IT IS IMPOSSIBLE”; “Encircled by the Coils of the Hydra”; “LIFE’S WOES! THOUSANDS DYING ANNUALLY / From Causes to the World Unknown . . .”; and “MRS. LYDIA E. PINKHAM OF LYNN, MASS., / HAS MADE THE DISCOVERY! / HER VEGETABLE COMPOUND / THE SAVIOR OF HER SEX!”¹¹⁹⁷ Barnum’s other dictum, “Seek for something sensational, something that will attract attention,” was being soundly applied to Pinkham advertising.

With the business gaining traction, Dan was back home, side by side with Will, Lydia, and the rest of the family, all doing whatever they could to keep the momentum going. The success was allowing Dan to reconnect with his friends and some of his passions, especially politics. He was one of the leading lights in The Greenback Club of Lynn and clearly a leading prospect for elective office on the Greenback Ticket in the fall.¹¹⁹⁸ Will and Aroline also found time to enjoy life away from the grind. In June, at a strawberry festival in their new Glenmere neighborhood, Aroline delighted an audience with “a very fine reading” of some literary piece; and at a concert at the Maple Street Church a few nights later, brother Will showed off his oratorical skills by presenting a dramatic declamation for the crowd’s pleasure.¹¹⁹⁹ Charles was finally enjoying life, too; he got married to Jennie Barker Jones on September 11th and they settled into a house right behind his parents; there was even a gateway in the fence between the two properties.¹²⁰⁰ The Pinkham’s success had made them local celebrities in Glenmere and it was nice, after such a hard, sustained period in their lives, to be able to relax and enjoy some happy times.

For Aroline, the good times were short-lived. In September there was another incident alleging she had abused a child in her class and this time she was the one who ended up in court. The newspaper explained that during the past few years there had been complaints during almost every term about certain teachers using forms of punishment on the children that were brought to the attention of the school committee or the city marshal and this time it was Aroline who stood accused:

The case referred to is that of a young girl, about 12 years of age, named Katie Mack, who resides with her parents at No. 10 Stewart street, and who attends at the Cobbet school house, Franklin street. The name of the teacher who is accused of treating the child in such a shameful manner, is a Miss Aroline C. Pinkham [who was nine years older than the student]. It appears that the little girl had been kept after school for some slight misbehavior, and when told that she might be excused, she started for the entry to get her hat, but not finding it there she reported it to the teacher who gave her for

an answer, “well, if you can’t find your hat, go home bare-headed.” The child, naturally enough, did not approve of the way in which she received this answer and told the teacher so. Upon being answered back Miss Pinkham, who is reported as being easily enraged, flew into a passion and seizing a leather strap with which she punishes the children, whipped the child in an unmerciful manner upon the shoulders and arms. ... Mrs. Mack ... took the child to the station house for the purpose of entering a complaint against Miss Pinkham. The child’s dress waist was removed and black and blue marks were exhibited in a number of places, plainly showing that she must have received a terrible whipping. ... This teacher is fast becoming notorious as a child punisher, it being but a few months since that she had trouble with a pupil while teaching in Wyoma Village.¹²⁰¹

The Lynn School Committee quickly received a letter from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, expressing the desire for “prompt and energetic action ... in regard to the abuse of pupils by teacher Pinkham.”¹²⁰²

Attorney William H. Gove, a close friend of Will Pinkham and the future husband of Aroline, was quick to jump to her defense, expressing outrage about how her name was being dragged before the court of public opinion without all the facts. The case he made for Aroline started with the justification that the child had received “a reasonable punishment, which she richly merited,” but which she had exaggerated to her mother. The police, he pointed out, didn’t see it as a matter worthy of their attention, so they turned it over to the school committee, who in turn relegated it to a subcommittee. Gove further argued that the reporters who were hanging around the police station were the ones who blew up the story into a news event without investigating further for facts and fairness. Various Boston and Lynn editors then declared Aroline was guilty and called for her firing from her teaching position, but Attorney Gove rebutted the slipshod justice being handed out by newspaper judges:

If [their] advice was followed, our schools would speedily be without teachers; for certainly nine-tenths in Lynn are obliged to resort to corporal punishment occasionally. If the editor knew what he was talking about, he would know that the public schools, composed of children from all classes of society, the worst as well as the best and under all kinds of home influences, good, bad and abominable, cannot be governed without corporal punishment¹²⁰³

The capable attorney summarized Aroline’s career, from stellar student to capable, respected teacher and colleague who had become the victim of this “gross slander” to her reputation. Gove won the day for his future bride: Aroline was allowed to continue as a teacher at the Cobbett School; in February of the next year, she was still reported as a teacher there while becoming “quite sick with diphtheria.”¹²⁰⁴ The collective popularity and notoriety of the Pinkhams continued to grow along with their business and Dan was able to get elected later that autumn with 1,788 votes as one of Lynn’s representatives to the Massachusetts State Legislature for 1879.¹²⁰⁵

The only member of the state legislature who had listed patent medicines as his business credentials, Dan stayed true to his Greenback principles, fighting for the little guy.¹²⁰⁶ From the moment he was sworn into office, he seemed driven to rid the golden-domed temple of state government of the wickedness enacted by the den of thieves who bartered there, catering to the rich and powerful while impoverishing the masses. In a political rally leading up to his election, he complained that the Republican policy was to retain office rather than to advocate principles, and their government was “of the dollar, for the dollar and by the dollar.” He also said he was proud to be accused of being a “discontent” because organized discontent had brought “every political liberty and blessing in the country.”¹²⁰⁷ He introduced legislation to greatly reduce or abolish altogether the licensing fee for peddlers who were already hard-pressed to scratch together a living.¹²⁰⁸ He knew firsthand how tight things were in the life of a traveling salesman and empathized with their unavoidably penurious lifestyles; it also would be to the Pinkham Company’s

advantage if peddlers were financially able to continue the work of distributing the circulars and samples of their products. Dan also spoke passionately against an act to require voters to be required to pay taxes on at least \$500 of property to have the privilege to vote (thus denying the poor from the right). Smirking adversaries who were endorsing a self-indulgent salary raise to as much as \$650 labeled him the legislature's "fish-ball representative" because of a speech he made, chastising them that a pay *decrease* to \$350 was actually what was in order and that they should learn to go on a "fish-ball diet."¹²⁰⁹

Dan's strict temperance views on legislative matters disenfranchised enough of the voters to prevent his re-election in the following year's race. The *Lynn Transcript* explained that he had "made himself obnoxious to them" by voting for the Civil Damage bill that made liquor sellers responsible for any damages caused to person or property because of liquor that had been bought from them. Allegedly over 150 liquor dealers in his district threw their vote to the opposition candidate.¹²¹⁰ The *Boston Express* had predicted his political demise: "How does Dan Pinkham expect his mother to keep her roots and herbs without alcohol? That was a mean piece, Dan, voting prohibition; you were not elected for that, and next year you will be elected to advertise cures for female complaints at home."¹²¹¹ While the total vote count in 1879 went up one percent over the previous year, Dan lost over 300 votes from his election tally of the previous year, dropping to 1,478.¹²¹² He was defeated by Nahant-based political newcomer, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was backed by liquor interests. Defeated in politics but determined in business, he went back to Brooklyn for a third and final trip.

The two surviving letters he wrote to Will in December read very much like he was picking up in Brooklyn where he had left off three years earlier: concerned about being short on money, animated about Lynn politics, and fired up with his newest advertising brainstorms. One in particular scratched on the edge of brilliance, "We better get out a pretty little picture of a healthy woman with something like this right under the picture & an adv[ertisement] ... She is now as healthy a woman as can anywhere be found having taken four bottles of Mrs. Pinkham's Compound..."¹²¹³ The second part of his idea was for all this to be put on a deck of playing cards – the woman's image on the four queens and the message on the card backs. Back home, the idea of a healthy woman's image resonated, though the playing cards did not. The choice of "a healthy woman" was made quickly and easily: the name on the medicine was the obvious choice to become the face of the medicine – Lydia herself. Introducing the woman behind the medicine would go a long way to proving to the naysayers that there really was a Lydia E. Pinkham (Will had been nicknamed "Lyddy" by doubters) and perhaps most importantly, provide the female customers with the comfort of knowing that it was indeed a woman who was behind the advertising and products they were trusting and to whom they were confiding in their letters.

The use of a woman proprietor's image on product advertising wasn't new; for example, Mrs. Noble's modest profile appeared on newspaper ads for *Mrs. Noble's Healing Syrup* and Miss Sawyer's gloomy countenance perched atop her ads for *Miss Sawyer's Salve*, but Lydia Pinkham's advertising focused on females and their specific health concerns, and her image was more lifelike than Mrs. Noble's and frankly, more reassuring than Miss Sawyer's.¹²¹⁴ There were also nameless young beauties with long flowing hair, adorning hair medicine ads for Ayer's and others, but it wasn't the same as what Lydia's face was doing for her vegetable compound. The future would quickly show how phenomenal the decision was to add Lydia's face to the Pinkham advertising – everywhere and on everything. Advertisements with her new portrait started showing up in the newspapers by at least 22 December 1879.¹²¹⁵ The initial image that appeared wasn't flattering at all; most of her hair looked close-cropped instead of wavy with the tortoise shell comb at the top of her head, like it appeared ever thereafter, and her eyebrows were extraordinarily bushy, almost as if some wags at the typesetting bench were already having some fun with it as others did later when she had become one of the best known female faces in the country. It was eye-catching for sure, even if it wasn't for the right reasons. Within a month, a much-improved engraving appeared

in another New England newspaper.¹²¹⁶ Dan had also written in the same early December letter, “By the Etarnal I’d have a pill & comp[ound] sale in Mass[achusetts] anyhow that would astonish the natives. I’d advertise it so thoroughly that it never could die out”; his mother’s face was going to make that dream happen.¹²¹⁷

Unfortunately, Dan was probably not enjoying the launching of his latest brainstorm; while in Brooklyn his health deteriorated quickly and a worried mother gave him her very best, detailed advice. There was no hesitation on her part to do so, just as she had done for Arthur and the significant number of women who had written her letters and even gone to her house for her wisdom and her medicine. She wrote in her notebook:

Dec. 19 Daniel sick in N. York, recommended to take three of my Liver Pills, then steep one half ounce of Pleurisy root & one half ounce of Marshmallows take one half cup at a time three or four times per day.

He came home very sick, threatened with Pneumonia. Advised to steep one ounce of Pleurisy root & one ounce of Bugle weed take one half cup full for common drink when he feels like it. As soon as possible get him into a sweat with hot bricks wrapped in cotton cloth & saturated with alcohol and then flannel wrapped around them. Immediately after the sweat if most of the fever has gone give him three liver pills. In two days he was decidedly better. Advised to gurgle M. Rosemary & Golden seal for canker & take when on feet again one or two bottles Pierson’s B[lood] Invigorator.¹²¹⁸

If there was any guile behind her personal advice to her patients, it never showed with her own son; she could have urged him to go see a doctor but instead she told him just what to do. Whether her advice was correct or not, she was confident in her ability to diagnose and prescribe, and like the many women and a few men who were sending in their testimonials, her son seemed to get “decidedly better.” Unfortunately, it hadn’t gone as well for young Arthur Wellington Lane; he had died back in July of the tumor on his neck.¹²¹⁹ In a kind gesture to his memory, when Charles and Jennie had their first child on 9 December 1879, they named him Arthur Wellington Pinkham, in honor of the young cousin whom he would never know.

By the end of the decade, the Pinkham’s medicine business was a bona fide, honest-to-goodness success story: a dynamic enterprise with many more growing pains and opportunities waiting ahead. In four years, it had emerged from a pot on the cellar stove to a company in its own building, employing five men full time to make and package the product. Each man was an ordinary laborer (the medicine bottling operation didn’t yet have machinery requiring specialized mechanics) earning \$2.00 for their eight hours of work daily, which put them on par with the best-paid non-skilled laborers in Lynn, and the Pinkham plant was being operated full time, twelve months a year.¹²²⁰

With the combination of Dan’s brashness and energy, Will’s inventiveness and determination, and Lydia’s confidence and intelligence, shrewd business decisions were made (and sometimes stumbled into), women had come to trust and buy the medicines of Lydia E. Pinkham, and conventional medicine was openly challenged, as Lydia’s *Guide to Women* showed, “All systems of education that fail to consider the relations of mind and body, and their dependence upon each other, are unworthy the acceptance of the public.”¹²²¹ Who would dare disagree with such a successful woman?

MARY BAKER EDDY & THE SCIENCE OF HEALTH

The heaviest snowstorm in the early winter of 1866 blanketed the already ice-crusted surface of Lynn all day on the 25th of January, through the night, and until noon the next day.¹²²² Just a week later, when Mrs. Mary Patterson walked warily upon the slippery Lynn sidewalk, her thoughts may have been focused more on the unforgiving course of her life than on the unforgiving ice under

her feet. Balancing on ice at 45 years old, she had already lived a lifetime of pain. Since childhood she had endured bouts of being bedridden from crippling backpain and seizures. When just out of her teens, she grieved over the sudden death of her dear older brother Albert, whose promising life and career had been tragically cut short; then, several years later, heartbreak returned with the death of her mother, “Yes, that angel on earth is now in Heaven!” Mary wrote, “... what is left on earth to me? But Oh, my Mother ... I cannot write more My grief overpowers me.”¹²²³ Between the deaths of her brother and mother, her first husband was lost to yellow fever, then a beloved fiancé to disease during the gold rush, and for all intents and purposes, her second husband, the dentist Patterson, was lost to his infidelities.¹²²⁴ Her only child had been taken away from her against her will because of her physical inability to care for him, combined with abject poverty that had nipped at her heels throughout her adult years. And now she was living in Lynn, a hardscrabble factory city far from the family, friends, and bucolic serenity of her New Hampshire home. The emptiness that was her life had spurred her to write a sad little poem she titled, “Alone,” which read in part,

No tender tones, no love-lit smile,
Life's joys to share, or griefs beguile,
Their sunshine o'er my pathway fling;
Those hours have fled with life's glad spring;
And left this heart a sea shell's moan,
Repeating ever, all alone!
Oh! lonely lot, Oh! weary sigh!
Unloved to live, unmourned to die.¹²²⁵

After the poem was published in *The Lynn Bay State* in late December 1864, the hollowness of her life continued to fill with the empty weight of loss. Her father died in the autumn of 1865, followed shortly thereafter by a healer in whom she had finally found confidence after a long, ineffective train of various healers over the many years. She walked along that sidewalk on that cold winter evening, probably alone, without a job, income, savings, a permanent home, or reason to expect her circumstances to soon improve.¹²²⁶ When the ice suddenly slammed her down to the frozen ground, it could have been easily understood and forgiven if the crumpled body refused to get up again.

She had fallen at the junction of Oxford and Market streets – one of the best portions of sidewalk the city had to offer; Oxford street was being praised less than a year previous by one of the local newspapers for its “nice, clean, brick walk which graces the entire length on the north side of the street,” but none of that mattered when it was covered with ice.¹²²⁷ Mary went down hard.

The lifeless body received the same two-step emergency medical response as the many other Lynn accident victims before her: get the victim quickly sheltered then quickly doctored. She was carried to the nearest likely refuge, in this case the mansion of shoe factory tycoon Samuel M. Bubier, and the closest available doctor was called upon, who on this night and location was Alvin M. Cushing, the homeopath.¹²²⁸ Emergencies were no time for discussion and debate about the relative merits of the physician called upon or their method of healing – the new homeopath in town happened to be living a block away from where the accident occurred, so his primary qualification was the quickness of his arrival.

While the real accident was the crash of a body against frozen ground, subsequent competing accounts have turned the incident into a collision of opinions, medicine, religion, and emotions.¹²²⁹ What is clear is that Mary Patterson was seriously injured and everyone involved in that cold February night drama was genuinely worried and solicitous for her recovery.¹²³⁰ She had been knocked unconscious by the fall and at the Bubier’s home, the suffering woman’s body went into spasms.¹²³¹ She complained of pain in the back of her head and neck, pains with which she had been all too familiar. For the better part of four decades she had tried many of the popular healing methods for the spinal affliction that had brought her so much incapacitating pain and concomitant indigestion. She grew up in a household that had visits from the traditional village doctor and where

the Graham diet was the solution to dyspepsia.¹²³² As a young widow she was cajoled by her sister to attend a hydropathic spa for her debilitating pains, but it just made her weaker.¹²³³ She accepted homeopathic ministrations, even from her second husband, Daniel Patterson, the dentist and part-time homeopath; she was dosed with morphine, much to her displeasure, and even tried to gain relief from magneto-electric healers and others she dismissed as “various humbugs,” but her life continued to be controlled by frequent, irregular intervals of pain and seizures.¹²³⁴ If the woman lying across the icy sidewalk had had control of her senses and could have requested a particular type of doctor, it would be hard to imagine what kind she would have chosen, they had all disappointed her so, except for Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, who had practiced his own version of animal magnetism; unfortunately, he had died just weeks before her fall.

Alvin Cushing administered arnica, a popular homeopathic remedy for bruises and general painfulness and tenderness brought on by injury; he used the equivalent of several drops of arnica (to the third decimal of attenuation) in half a glass of water, probably dosing it to her a teaspoonful at a time, every fifteen minutes “until she was more quiet.”¹²³⁵ Whether the fountain of Mary’s fortitude was supernal or internal, she endured the night as she had through all the other miserable nights that punctuated her mortal sentence, and in the morning, she insisted on being brought back to her apartment a few miles away. The doctor gave her a tiny one-eighth of a grain of morphine, “not as a curative remedy, but as an expedient to lessen the pain” while getting her back to her home; he then called for a long sleigh (a heavier sleigh with a longer bed for transporting merchandise and which could also be used to give the ill a recumbent ride) with robes and blankets.¹²³⁶ The morphine dose had more of a sedative effect than the doctor had anticipated; she slept until nearly two o’clock in the afternoon; it was “so long,” Cushing explained, “I began to fear there had been some mistake in the dose.”¹²³⁷

If her terrible accident had occurred a few weeks earlier, Mary would surely have gotten a telegram off to Phineas Quimby, the one doctor that had brought her relief. When she went to him for the first time, she had to be carried up the steps to his office in Portland, Maine.¹²³⁸ In short order he had affected a recovery so profound, she was able to walk up 182 steps to the dome of Portland’s city hall to demonstrate her new-found pain-free mobility, thanks to what she declared was the good doctor’s power to heal.¹²³⁹ Quimby’s blend of animal magnetism, clairvoyance, and mind cure created a busy practice, but none were more convinced, more devoted and grateful, than Mary Patterson.

As he had done with many other patients, Quimby sat beside Mary, stared into her eyes, and told her that “she was held in bondage by the opinions of her family and physicians, that her animal spirit was reflecting its grief upon her body and calling it spinal disease”; in other words, the disease wasn’t real but a product of her mind, which had been heavily influenced by those around her, who insisted she was sick,

He then wet his hands in a basin of water and violently rubbed her head, declaring that in this manner he imparted health electricity. Gradually he wrought the spell of hypnotism, and under that suggestion she let go the burden of pain The relief was no doubt tremendous. Her gratitude certainly was unbounded. She felt free from the excruciating pain of years.¹²⁴⁰

Another female patient’s account added that Quimby laid one hand on her stomach and one on her head to establish an electric current, then “rubbed her head vigorously”; the patients often scheduled their treatment with Quimby in the morning so that they could spend the afternoon “disentangling each other’s hair from the mesmerist’s snarling.”¹²⁴¹ Quimby’s promotional pamphlet explained that he gave no medicines, but rather cured by explaining the true nature of the patient’s illness (like he did with Mary Patterson) and that if he succeeded in correcting the error of their thinking, the (magnetic) fluids would be changed, which established the truth – health – because “The Truth is the Cure.”¹²⁴²

Quimby also claimed that he could cure patients at a distance through his clairvoyant powers, called “angel treatments,” simply by arranging with his patient the exact date and time he would focus on sending, and the patient on receiving, the magnetic currents of Truth.¹²⁴³ If only Quimby could give one more long-distance angel treatment to his devoted disciple, Mary Patterson, during her hour of need; but it was impossible: he was already buried in a Belfast, Maine, cemetery.¹²⁴⁴ He had been dead for a fortnight and Mary had already sent a commemorative poem to one of the Lynn papers in heartfelt sympathy and commemoration of his passing. So there she was, in bed in her apartment, enduring great pain, with a drawer of Cushing’s medicines at the ready and a bible on top – she reached for the bible instead of the medicines for her cure and it worked: as she thereafter recounted her dramatic recovery, Mary had been restored by the Truth she gleaned. On the third day, instead of being found in what some thought was to be her death bed, they discovered she had risen and was walking among the living once again.

Her recovery wasn’t a miracle – she determined there were no miracles – but it was an epiphany. She had learned a lot from her time with Quimby that she valued, but her recovery in her room after the big fall gave her further knowledge – answers that Quimby couldn’t give. He had adamantly avoided adding religious doctrine to his curative practice, but Mary discovered that day, and further developed over time, a distinctly spiritual aspect to her understanding of health.¹²⁴⁵ In her room just a few days after her terrible, painful fall, her reading of a passage in the New Testament illuminated that eternal truths were perfect for healing. She read the account in Matthew 9:2 (“And, behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy; Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.”) and as she did, “the healing Truth dawned upon my sense; and the result was that I arose, dressed myself, and ever after was in better health than I had before enjoyed. That short experience included a glimpse of the great fact that I have since tried to make plain to others, namely, Life in and of Spirit; this Life being the sole reality of existence.”¹²⁴⁶ Jesus affected a cure as clearly as Quimby, but he had done it without rubbing the palsied man’s head or touching his solar plexus; Quimby had learned some important truths, but Mary Patterson was continuing to learn where her mentor had left off. She was on the trail blazed by Jesus, “the most scientific man of whom we have any record.”¹²⁴⁷

Over the months and years ahead, Mrs. Patterson gained scientific certainty that all illness, all pain, and much more, were all mental phenomenon – caused by man’s mind.¹²⁴⁸ God, she explained, had no body or personality; God was Life, Truth, Love, and limitless Intelligence, composed of the only real substance – Spirit.¹²⁴⁹ In stark contrast, man most commonly thought of himself as just the opposite: mortal, sinful, fearful, imperfect, and made of matter. Satan was no more corporeal than God; “an evil and artful mind is all the satan there is,” Mary wrote.¹²⁵⁰ Theology and medicine supported the illusion that the material world was real – it wasn’t, she explained, because God was not material but Spirit, and therefore only things of the spirit could be real. The material body and sickness, pleasure and pain, were not real, and thus Jesus brought about a healing of the palsied man not with medicine, but with Truth; and Mary Patterson recovered suddenly from her fall when she recognized the same principles that Jesus understood.¹²⁵¹ In her magnum opus, *Science and Health*, published in 1875, she wrote, “Sickness is error, its remedy Truth”¹²⁵² Praying to God to heal the sick had no effect because faith was a poor substitute for the science of Truth.¹²⁵³

The scriptures explained that man sprang from the ground and woman from Adam’s rib, and Darwin claimed man came from the beasts, but Mary Patterson’s metaphysical science corrected that the materiality of man was only a belief and an error. She posited that if the Bible could put forth the mythology that man was created from matter like dust or a rib, then the notion that a monkey was our great-great-grand-father seemed no less far-fetched.¹²⁵⁴

She wrote that sustaining one’s life with food, drink, and air were also errors fabricated by the mind.¹²⁵⁵ Disease wasn’t a reality, she pointed out, but a belief only, disappearing with mortality;



Mary Baker Eddy with Child. Mary Baker Eddy with a child unknown to her, between August 1867 and July 1868.
(Courtesy of The Mary Baker Eddy Library.)

"The body manifests only what mind embraces."¹²⁵⁶ Believing in and fearing disease were the remote causes of all disease and ignorance was the greatest foe to the ability of Mary's newfound metaphysical science to remove it.¹²⁵⁷ "To be cheerful in sickness is well, to be hopeful is better, but to understand the nothingness of disease destroys it utterly."¹²⁵⁸ She used the example of the renowned Niagara Falls tightrope walking daredevil, Charles Blondin, to illustrate the importance of knowing Truth and conquering fear, explaining that he wouldn't have been able to walk on a mere rope "over Niagara's abyss of waters" without "understanding it could be done," which then caused him to lose his fear.¹²⁵⁹

The science of metaphysical healing that Mary would share with the world focused on what she explained were correct, eternal principles that physical healing missed entirely. She didn't doubt that the "noble men and women" who were working as physicians did so with the intention to heal the sick; she simply urged that they change entirely their science and method if they were to actually succeed in their efforts. "Physician, heal thyself" applied well; to become a successful physician, become a metaphysician: "we only urge them to make their endeavors more effectual by changing their basis of action from body to mind, and from personal sense to science."¹²⁶⁰

In this unreal physical world, the doctor was committing "an unconscious offence against ... his patient's happiness" and at the same time "mak[ing] a sure job for himself, if not a fatal one under (his) efforts" by encouraging the reality of an unreal sickness.¹²⁶¹ Mary wrote, "a doctor's belief in disease harms his patients more than calomel, morphine, ether, or the forceps"¹²⁶² She demonstrated this principle with the tragedy of Elizabeth Homan of Lynn, who had died, Mary claimed, from the fear of taking ether, "Had those surgeons understood the action of mind on the body, they would have allayed her terror before administering the ether ... Such ignorance, yea, cruelty, should arouse the community; diplomas give no more claim to a dupe or a victim, than the assassin's steel."¹²⁶³ Mary Patterson's new metaphysical or Christian Science was radical by her own admission: it tore apart the robes of religion, the frock coats of medicine, and the capes of philosophy, all in one determined rip, and she didn't care one bit because she was convinced it was the Truth.¹²⁶⁴

She had come to Lynn to be with her husband, but within months of her fall and recovery, Daniel had wandered off once more into the countryside, leaving his wife to recover physically and survive financially on her own again. She had few skills upon which she was inclined to draw for income in her early Lynn years, having only written some articles and poems for the local newspapers and provided comfort to nervous patients in her husband's dental office.¹²⁶⁵ She had studied allopathy and homeopathy and even practiced the latter for several years, but she had grown skeptical about such material healing methods, so in good conscience she would have been hard-pressed to continue practicing a form of healing in which she didn't personally believe.¹²⁶⁶ Probably at the urging of her husband while he was still in town, the Pattersons submitted a petition to the mayor for compensation for her fall on Lynn's icy sidewalk; it was an action taken by several others who had also suffered from what they perceived as the city's inadequate care of its sidewalks and roadways, but when Daniel was gone, she withdrew the claim.¹²⁶⁷

Mary had come from a moderately prosperous, well-heeled family, but she found herself immersed among shoemakers in a rough-and-tumble factory town and she was struggling right along with them.¹²⁶⁸ She moved from house to house, a guest of friends until friendships wore thin, and from rentals and boarding houses, sometimes until she was evicted for non-payment.¹²⁶⁹ In the seven months following her fall, she lived at seven different Lynn area residences and at each her principal concern was neither her health or finances, but her ability to write all that she was learning and discovering about metaphysical healing.¹²⁷⁰ Soon after her own recovery from the fall, she was applying some of her metaphysical knowledge to the healing of a painful finger infection experienced by the son of some friends with whom she had been staying.¹²⁷¹

Mary was anything but just another boardinghouse lodger as could be seen from the list of otherwise mundane guests at the Clark's place where she stayed in August. Seated around the

Clark's dining table were the landlady, a heel finisher, a shoe operative, a boot and shoe salesman, a shoe leather handler, a stitching room foreman, a teamster, a sailor, a boot maker, some of their wives, and ... a metaphysical healer.¹²⁷² Full of thoughts about life, health, sickness, and God that the other tenants had never heard before, she was often the center of dinner conversation and debate.¹²⁷³

Spiritualism was often part of boardinghouse life and atmosphere, and Mary found many open minds among those with spiritualist proclivities. They listened to her metaphysical teachings because they were willing to go beyond what conventional wisdom and the mortal world could reveal and this made them excellent prospective listeners and sometimes students.¹²⁷⁴ The potential for a large following of her metaphysics was strong in Lynn if she could teach the spiritualists the truths of her science. The city continued throughout the 1870s to be a cauldron full of spiritualist intensity bubbling at the surface. In January 1871, *The Little Giant* and the *Lynn Transcript* each reported stories more fabulous than the other, of stunningly accurate spirit paintings and spirit photographs of two deceased children whose likeness had previously been enshrined only in their grieving parents' memories. The Robinsons had brought a spirit painter to Lynn who took a week to paint a picture of their little daughter Grace who had died ten years earlier; it was accurate down to the dress that had been bought for her in Philadelphia, the stockings her grandma had knit for her, and the shoes with a patch on the toe that her papa had made for her.¹²⁷⁵ Lynn photographer William R. Appleton had two beautiful pictures on display in his photography parlor of another deceased child who had never sat for a picture taking during her short life.¹²⁷⁶ Such unexplainable phenomena fueled the cauldron's fire. The willingness of the deceased to communicate with, work through, and even appear to the living was so compelling to believers, séances proliferated in parlors, celebrated spiritualists performed at Odd Fellow's Hall, and Lynn's spiritualists banded together in 1872 to form another society of believers.¹²⁷⁷ The *Transcript* noted in early February of 1873 that séances had become quite numerous in the Lynn area.¹²⁷⁸ Mrs. Stoddard and son confounded the spectators at Odd Fellow's Hall and nothing could be found by the reporter or the two assigned witnesses that the Stoddards had employed any trickery or sleight of hand. While the reporter wasn't willing to say he was absolutely convinced, he nonetheless concluded "That there is a power aside from mere *physical* force or strength, which can untie knots, ring bells, play upon instruments, &c., &c., is very evident. ... The cry of 'humbug' will not now satisfy the people."¹²⁷⁹ The famous Davenport Brothers performed there near the end of the year, but unlike the Stoddards, they failed to impress: "After drumming their huge placards all over town on each day they obtained but a handful of patrons They have for twenty years traveled and given these séances ... If the exhibition we saw ... is a specimen of them, it is indeed surprising that they have not long before this been driven to earn their daily bread in some more honest and honorable way."¹²⁸⁰

Despite the potential solution to her impecunious existence, Mary wasn't willing to patronize or ally with spiritualists to gain disciples for her metaphysical science. By her own admission, she observed and even participated in some séances earlier in her career, but only with the purpose of proving them a deception. During one séance back in 1864, she assumed the role of a trance medium: she "shivered from head to foot, closed her eyes, and began to talk in a deep, sepulchral voice" purported to be that of her dead brother, Albert.¹²⁸¹ It was nothing but a ruse to demonstrate how easy it was to fake the return of the dead. She also tried to distance herself from spiritualism with straightforward language:

No proof was ever or ever will be gained that after the change called death there is a reunion of thought or recognition between the so-called dead and living. ... When mediumship was discussed, many years ago, we investigated it thoroughly, and learned we could produce most of the phenomena connected with it, and gave it as our candid judgment that the entire phenomena was invented and produced by mind ... and had nothing to do with the departed.¹²⁸²

This is not the work of spirits, and I am not a medium¹²⁸³

Despite her adamant exposés and editorials, she showed empathy for those who had lost loved ones and acknowledged those who had passed; in an 1865 poem titled, “Lines on Visiting Pine Grove Cemetery” she described the feeling if not the reality of deceased spirits:

Ah! Wherefore the memory of dear ones deemed dead
Should bow thee, as winds bow the tall willow’s head?
Beside you they walk while you weep, and but pass
From your sight, as the shade o’er the dark wavy grass.¹²⁸⁴

Mary was alone, but maybe not all alone after all. She found friends and followers among the spiritualists despite their differences.¹²⁸⁵ Her first student of metaphysical healing was Hiram Crafts, a shoemaking spiritualist from East Stoughton, Massachusetts who, with his wife, lodged at Clarke’s boardinghouse during the seasons when the shoe factories were filling orders. When the 1866 season was over in November, he urged Mary to live with him and his wife in their home south of Boston so that Mary could teach him how to become a metaphysical healer. She accepted the invitation.¹²⁸⁶

Under her tutelage, the enthusiastic protégé learned about metaphysical healing and abandoned spiritualism in favor of what she taught from the scriptures and the manuscripts she was busy writing when not teaching him.¹²⁸⁷ By late May of 1867, some six months after he started to learn how to be a metaphysical healer, the student was already posting a newspaper advertisement promoting his services as the doctor H. S. Crafts, promising, “... *I can cure you* and have never failed to cure Consumption, Catarrh, Scrofula, Dyspepsia and Rheumatism, with many other forms of disease and weakness” His ad came complete with the testimonial of a satisfied patient.¹²⁸⁸ His initial success and foray must have brought some satisfaction to both the student and the teacher, but Crafts’ wife felt quite differently. Still a determined spiritualist, she was displeased with her husband’s abandonment of his shoemaking craft for the hope of building a healing business and she harbored resentment towards their houseguest, Mrs. Patterson, whom she thought rather imperious and condescending and, given that Mrs. Patterson pulled Mrs. Crafts’ husband away from their shared belief in spiritualism, the unwanted guest was also something of a homewrecker.¹²⁸⁹ It was time for Mary Patterson to find somewhere else to live.

With her choices narrowly limited to staying somewhere at little or no expense, she traveled to where friends were willing to put her up, or the rent was low, or to homes where her healing skills were requested for or by someone who was sick. The home that some friends had recommended she go to was in Amesbury, far up in the northeast corner of Massachusetts. Upon her arrival, she found no room available to her, so she went to alternative lodging at the house of “Mother Webster.” The kindly widow landlady was also a drawing and healing medium and her home was another haven for spiritualism, complete with séances where the spirits channeled through her to create spirit drawings and heal the sick.¹²⁹⁰ Webster had a son-in-law who was in the habit of bringing his children up from New York City to visit their grandmother each year but he came in advance of them in order to clear out his mother-in-law’s house of “broken-down Spiritualists and sick people.” During that late summer of 1868, he found Mary among the undesirables. Mary refused to leave, so she was summarily put out on the street with her trunk late one night in the pouring rain. Abandoned, evicted, homeless, alone, and separated from her only child for 17 years – her life story continued to be a Gothic melodrama. While she sat out on the stoop under the porch, with a slammed door behind her and wet darkness in front of her, two other lodgers came out of the house and joined her.¹²⁹¹ Together the three trudged down the street to the small home of another spiritualist, Sarah O. Bagley.

Mother Webster’s house wasn’t the only thing she left behind during this period of her life; she also changed her name use from Mary Morse Patterson back to Mary Baker Glover and made the decision to divorce her husband who had left her two and a half years earlier.¹²⁹² She obtained a divorce in 1873 on the official basis of abandonment, but she explained to the judge that her

husband had also been guilty of adultery. She felt that she could better explain being divorced for adultery and “return to my widowhood” (by reassuming her deceased husband’s name) than to be regarded as “a married woman without a husband.” The more painful insult for many divorced women of the era was made by inequities of the law that prevented a married woman from collecting on a debt due to her.¹²⁹³ The change of names marked Mary Glover’s decision that it was time to move on with her life as well as to protect her efforts to make money, now that she had to fend for herself. By this new old name, Mary Baker Glover advertised for the first time her services to teach how to heal the sick with science instead of medicine:

Any person desiring to learn how to heal the sick can receive of the undersigned instruction that will enable them to commence healing on a **principle of science** with a success far beyond any of the present modes. No medicine, electricity, physiology or hygiene required for unparalleled success in the most difficult cases. No pay is required unless this skill is obtained. Address MRS. MARY B. GLOVER, Amesbury, Mass., Box 61.¹²⁹⁴

Her ad first appeared in the popular spiritualist newspaper, *Banner of Light*, in their June 20, 1868 issue, just a few months before she was tossed out of Mother Webster’s by the disdainful son-in-law. The tiny ad was smothered by a page full of ads directed at followers of spiritualism: ads for upcoming séances; Ouija board planchettes; medical, test, business, and healing mediums; Mrs. A. E. Cutter, the Homeopathic and Mesmeric Physician; *Dr. Hall’s Voltaic Armor Bands and Soles*; and much more. Living among spiritualists for years had apparently brought her a level of comfort or hope that her future would benefit by continued association with them.

During the short time that she lived at Sarah Bagley’s, she taught metaphysical science to her next two students: Sarah, her new landlady, and Richard Kennedy, her fellow evictee, a 19-year-old box factory laborer. Despite the satisfaction she must have felt to have two others enthusiastically learning from her metaphysical science, her funds remained perilously low, so when she got an urgent request from the Wentworth family back in Stoughton to come live with them, she felt compelled to accept. She had been introduced to the Wentworths by Hiram Crafts during the previous year; she had been credited with healing Mr. Wentworth of sciatica and his tobacco habit. Mrs. Sally Wentworth was already practicing as a magnetic healer, but she became Mrs. Glover’s next student.¹²⁹⁵ Mary stayed with them for a year and a half, healing family members and their friends, as well as teaching Sally Wentworth the truths of her science. Throughout her stay, she kept in touch with Sarah Bagley and Richard Kennedy back in Amesbury, encouraging, teaching, and cajoling them long distance in their studies. She told Sarah that demand for her healings in the Stoughton area had become so frequent that she felt almost “torn asunder” by all the requests: “somehow they keep me at it continually.”¹²⁹⁶ When she finished her stay with the Wentworths, she returned to Amesbury to help Sarah and Richard finish their training in metaphysical healing. Mary Baker Glover and Richard Kennedy had also decided to go into business together: he would perform the healings and she would continue to write her manuscripts and teach other students. Amesbury was much too small to sustain such an ambitious effort and Stoughton was no better. In order to succeed, their business partnership required lots of people to heal and people to teach. Mary knew well where there were many of both: in May of 1870 they moved to Lynn.

After a brief stay at one Lynn lodging, they settled into second floor rooms over Miss Susie Magoun’s private school for young children at the corner of South Common and Shepard streets. The young boxmaker-turned-healer nailed his new professional shingle on a tree outside the front door to Miss Magoun’s school; it simply but confidently announced, “Dr. Kennedy.”¹²⁹⁷ The unlikely partnership of the 49-year-old divorcee and her 21-year-old trainee initially succeeded because their roles were distinctly different while complimentary: Richard Kennedy would be the healer who restored patients to full health and Mary Baker Glover was the teacher who taught students full truth.

Kennedy's quick popularity was probably achieved in part because of his ingratiating personality: young, handsome, affable, and tenderly helpful with the little children in Miss Magoun's school, he was a charmer tailor-made to attract women.¹²⁹⁸ Miss Magoun told the mothers of her schoolchildren (women of means who could afford to send their children to the private school) of his attributes, which caused the promotional grapevine for the doctor to begin to grow, soon resulting in his waiting room being full of patients.¹²⁹⁹ In the privacy of his office, the charming young healer would then instruct his patient (most of whom were female), to remove her hair combs and pins, undo the twists and flips, and let her hair down. He then wet her hair and rubbed her head, running his hands through her tresses, in effect overlapping the more soothing aspects of a masseuse, a hairdresser, a phrenologist, and a magnetic healer. He then placed one hand just below her bosom and above her navel, massaging the solar plexus, while his other hand continued to stroke her head. The two hands thus placed and in motion created a very intimately magnetic connection between the doctor and his patient, while he soothingly influenced her thoughts by further entrancing her mentally and verbally.¹³⁰⁰ His animal magnetism caused cures and converts and even longer lines of patients waiting for his healing touch. By mid-July, Mrs. Glover was writing to Sarah Bagley, "Richard is literally overrun with patients."¹³⁰¹

Mrs. Glover had decided to focus her time and efforts on writing and teaching while leaving the healing to those who learned from her. What healings she did were usually performed as favors, demonstrations to her students, or those difficult cases that her students were unable to resolve with the level of knowledge they had so far attained.¹³⁰² So, while Kennedy performed the healings, Mrs. Glover taught students metaphysical truths from the manuscripts she was constantly writing and revising. Kennedy healed the body and Mrs. Glover the mind; both left many of their followers enthusiastic for more.

She quickly came to realize that it would be less burdensome on the private time she cherished to ponder scriptures and write her various manuscripts, if she were to teach multiple students together in classes rather than individually. It was important for people to see that she wasn't some singular savant or mystically empowered healer who could only be admired but not emulated; if others who had been taught by her could perform their own healings, then it would be seen as a knowledge attainable by everyone who turned to her for learning.¹³⁰³ Receiving a fee for teaching students to heal wasn't the primary part of some calculated business plan, but it was nonetheless helpful to benefit financially by charging a fee for the instruction. For the instruction she provided Richard Kennedy over the course of two years back in Amesbury, he agreed to pay \$1,000 in \$50 quarterly installments over five years.¹³⁰⁴

On 13 August 1870 she took out an ad in the *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter* for her first class, explaining simply that it would be held at the second floor office of Richard Kennedy, which location, after just a few months, was already well-known: "Mrs. Glover, the well-known Scientist, will receive applications for one week from ladies and gentlemen who wish to learn how to heal the sick without medicine, and with a success unequaled by any known method of the present day, at Dr. Kennedy's office."¹³⁰⁵ No matter how serious, focused, and driven their instructor was to teach them the metaphysical secrets of life, the process of learning in that first class during the late summer nights wasn't easy:

The students who were drawn together were workers; their hands were stained with the leather and tools of the day's occupation; their narrow lives had been cramped mentally and physically. ... They could not come to Mrs. Glover in the daytime, for their days were full of toil. At night, then, these first classes met, and it was in the heat In the barely furnished upper chamber a lamp was burning which added somewhat to the heat and threw weird shadows over the faces gathered round a plain deal table. Insects buzzed at the windows, and from the common over the way the hum of the careless and free, loosed from the shops into the park, invaded the quiet of the room.

Yet that quiet was permeated by the voice of a teacher at whose words the hearts of those workmen burned within them.”¹³⁰⁶

The tuition for her first Lynn class was set at \$100 each. Two of the students in that first class were Charles S. Stanley, a dry goods dealer, and his brother-in-law, George H. Tuttle, a sailor. Both had signed up for the inaugural class because of pressure they received to do so by an enthusiastic wife and sister; nonetheless, they both made considerable financial commitments to their new teacher, which was to pay \$100 in advance and 10% annually on the income they would receive from practicing or teaching the science and further that they would pay her \$1,000 if they *did not* practice or teach the science that she was going to teach them.¹³⁰⁷ Subsequent classes had the rate pushed to \$300 per student; it was undeniably steep, especially for the factory wage workforce of Lynn, often earning between \$500 to \$800 per year, but she provided the classes free or at reduced rates when she felt the student had an unavoidable shortfall.¹³⁰⁸ She later acknowledged it was a surprising amount for a tuition that wasn’t quite three weeks long, but on the other hand, the value of the knowledge the course would provide about the “divine power which heals” seemed priceless, making \$300 a bargain.¹³⁰⁹ A small fee would trivialize the value of the lessons, but paying a large sum would make the knowledge gained a prized treasure.¹³¹⁰ Besides, she explained, she felt led by “a strange providence” to charge the large fee.¹³¹¹

In the first two years after their arrival in Lynn, Mrs. Glover taught four 12-week classes to about a half dozen students each time. Her classes were a hodge-podge of male and female, simple and smart, low-income laborers and factory workers and middle-income factory foremen and small business owners, as well as those anxious to attend and those who were cajoled to participate by enthusiastic spouses and friends. And the results were similarly mixed. There were those students who became enthusiastic followers and successful healers and others who groused that Mrs. Glover’s lessons taught little and gave them no healing skills.

Her devoted students showed their affection and allegiance by giving her gifts, using terms of endearment, and coming to her defense when necessary. Shortly after she and Kennedy began their partnership in Lynn, grateful patients were giving her gifts of a high-priced straw hat and sash and a container of fresh cherries, and on Christmas Eve of that first year, Richard Kennedy and another student surprised her with presents of a framed New Hampshire landscape, a silver pitcher, and a silver jewelry casket containing an amethyst ring.¹³¹² So admiring and appreciative was George W. Barry from her second class, a workshop foreman suffering from consumption, that he asked for the privilege of calling her “Mother,” a term that had sometimes been used by Civil War soldiers for their nurses who compassionately cared for them on the battlefield, like their mothers had done back home.¹³¹³ Several of her loyal students even put her up in their homes for a few weeks or months, but she was a challenging tenant; sometimes she would suddenly want an audience from among the other denizens of the home to whom she could recite and discuss her most recent manuscript writings on metaphysics, and then shortly thereafter be demanding complete silence and solitude so that she could think, read, and write. Even Barry, who revered her as a mother, later reflected that the months she lived with his family “were the worst of his life.”¹³¹⁴ The stress of such a demanding and mercurial houseguest challenged some of her few faithful followers at a time when she needed every friend she could get.

Her metaphysical manuscripts were even more consistently challenging than was Mrs. Glover herself. Samuel Putnam “Putney” Bancroft, a student in Mrs. Glover’s second class, observed that her training materials were “pretty strong meat for babes in science … It is no wonder some of us failed to digest this food.”¹³¹⁵ The challenge of comprehending her metaphysics was a theme often repeated even by those who liked her.¹³¹⁶ But some of the earliest conflicts that cropped up in her classes were not merely about complexity; at least a few students wanted to learn how to manipulate patients like Kennedy and didn’t seem to expect to be offered Mrs. Glover’s theology instead.

There were more strange looks and buzzing filling Mrs. Glover's small classroom during those late summer nights than those that were coming from flickering oil lamp shadows and the bugs that were assaulting the windows. Charles Stanley didn't like what Mrs. Glover was teaching and George Tuttle didn't understand what she was talking about, or much care. Stanley was a determined Baptist who wasn't interested in Mrs. Glover's metaphysics; he just wanted to learn how to heal like Kennedy; manipulating patients made sense to him, but metaphysics did not. He was prickly and disputatious, and Mrs. Glover expelled him from the classes for "fraud and falsehood" before the second week of lessons had been completed.¹³¹⁷ Tuttle was there because of his wife's insistence that he learn to heal like Kennedy had done to her. After a few lessons, he was allegedly flustered to find that he had cured a girl of dropsy.¹³¹⁸ Mrs. Glover's noted in her records that Tuttle was expelled for bad conduct.¹³¹⁹

As nettlesome as such disaffected students must have been, their focus was just to be done with the whole experience; in contrast, another former student from her third class in April 1871 wanted to bury what he denigrated as the "so-called science" of Mrs. Glover. This fired-up malcontent was Wallace W. Wright, a fourth son of the same Reverend Nathan R. Wright who had watched his three oldest boys go off to war. Wallace Wright was well-educated (he was a bookkeeper while a student of Mrs. Glover) and quite comfortable to bring his complaints and derogatory attacks to the city's newspapers. On 13 January 1872 he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Lynn Transcript* with the alleged purpose of preventing others from making the same mistake he did, of spending \$300 on a three-week course of lessons teaching the "so-called scientific method of healing the sick, as taught and practiced in Lynn . . ." He claimed to have eventually realized the science was actually "*mesmerism* (or magnetism, we will call them identical), *and nothing else....*"¹³²⁰

Mrs. Glover was no shrinking violet; she, too, was intelligent, determined, and very comfortable with a pen in her hand. In the next week's edition, her reply to the editor started coyly, "Mr. Editor: - I *casually* noticed in the Transcript an attack by W. W. Wright on the Moral and Physical Science that I teach, in which he states it is mesmerism"¹³²¹ She then promised the public that if they called on her, she would answer all their questions, or in her absence, "Dr. Kennedy, with whom I am in business, will answer these questions of Moral Science." Among her countering statements, she claimed that "Wright had threatened . . . that if he did not get back his tuition plus an additional \$200, he would prevent my ever having another class in this city. Said he, "My simple purpose now is revenge, and I will have it." She concluded her letter with her compelling mission statement, "Well knowing as I do that God hath bidden me, I shall steadfastly adhere to my purpose to benefit my suffering fellow beings, even though it be amid the most malignant misrepresentation and persecution." She would continue to do God's work for suffering humans, no matter what words her vengeful alumnus would write about her and her Moral Science.¹³²²

Wright wasn't about to stop with her rebuttal; he renewed his arguments in the next issue of January 27th. The editor of the *Transcript* seemed to anticipate this was going to go for multiple rounds and appended the title of Wright's response with "- No. 2." Typical of many New England weekly newspapers of the decade, the *Transcript* was just four pages long, with only the second page dedicated to news and letters to the editor. The page was divided into eight columns and each letter from the teacher and the former student ran almost a full column, on average about ten percent of the page; it was a big investment of space, but it provided controversy and verbal warfare about a hometown issue and must have been popular reading for the editor to keep the back-and-forth going for as long as the warring parties were willing to verbally duke it out in public. Wright stabbed at the so-called science's theology:

... it tells us that man is a delusion; that man, the noblest work of God, the result of His creative genius, the flowers in the fields, the mighty forests, the hidden wonders of the world, are all delusions, and the work of imagination. Therefore it is right, if

this science is right, to stifle the affection which springs God-bidden from the heart of the child toward its parent: it is right to laugh at the graves of those who are near and dear to us; and it is right to sneer at the wondrous works of God presented on every hand. ... Does anyone wonder that I have withdrawn from this *greatest* of delusions?¹³²³

Mrs. Glover responded from the same high ground she had tried to maintain through the entire exchange – dispassionate, firm, and true to her message – even in these letters, she wrote with the pen of a teacher. She offered to continue sharing her views with the readers of the *Transcript*, but only as they were in justice to the science she was learning and teaching, “and not as a reply to any libel.” And she proceeded to teach that science as an explanation to the distortions of Mr. Wright. She illustrated with Moral Science’s interpretation of how Jesus Christ was able to accomplish the healings and other wonderous acts he did, “All forms of suffering and disease, and even the winds and waves, obeyed the man, Jesus ... this wasn’t mesmerism, it was God – a moral force reduced to science.” When she finished her expatiation on Jesus Christ, she humbly but decisively explained what she didn’t know and what she did:

I ... know no more of the practice of mesmerism than does a kitten ... [and] would be loath to ... attempt to teach what I did not understand. Whereas I do claim to understand the Moral and Physical Science that I teach; and this I add, however, only in justice to the science – that in times past I have demonstrated it in healing the sick, at least sufficiently to test it, and beyond what my students have yet reached, although some of them are healing beyond what other methods are able to do.¹³²⁴

She closed her letter by mentioning that she was preparing a book on Moral and Physical Science that would soon be available to the public and in so doing, her writing seems to have waxed personal and revealing, that she believed the road ahead was going to be no smoother than the part she had already traveled, “This work is laborious, and I have not much opportunity to write, hence the delay in publishing ... I think the mass of minds are not yet prepared to digest this subject.”¹³²⁵

In the third installment of what was beginning to look like a serialized column, the erudite Wright came out of his corner swinging, trying with all his might to pull Mrs. Glover off her placid, unnerved high ground and to bury her metaphysical work:

... This so-called science takes the scientific (?) ground that there is no reality to disease; that it is all the work of imagination. The [manuscript] says “sickness or sensation in matter is not a reality, but is an illusion. ... Are cancers, tumors, tubercles, &c., the result of the *imagination*? Are broken bones, gun-shot wounds, unintentional poisons, *imaginary*? Do dogs *imagine* they are mad? Or horses think they have got the heaves, and cows the hoof disease? ... Some may think I have dropped from the sublime to the ridiculous, but this science, if traced out, takes that course; hence my digression.

... Does Mrs. Glover live without food? Does she live without air? Will she permit her jugular vein to be severed, to test whether blood is necessary in order that she may live? Will the doomed victim of consumption believe there is no decay in his lungs? Or no racking cough or pain? Can this science make the dying soldier on the battlefield believe the bursting shell or deadly minnie [ball] has not sent him to the gates of heaven? What vain deceptive humbuggery and as such I denounce it!¹³²⁶

Wright then proceeded to issue a challenge to Mrs. Glover in front of all of Lynn and beyond to prove or disprove, once and for all, whether the teachings of her science (as he had described them) were the Truth or a giant humbug, buzzing loudly. He promised that if she was successful, he would retract all he had said and humble himself by asking forgiveness publicly for all his efforts against her and Moral Science, *but* “Her refusal to do this, by silence or otherwise, shall be considered a failure of her cause. The challenge consisted of five tests:

First. To restore the dead to life again as she claims she can.

- Second. To walk upon the water, without the aid of artificial means, as she claims she can.
- Third. To live twenty-four hours without air, or twenty-four days without nourishment of any kind, without its having any effect upon her.
- Fourth. To restore sight when the optic nerve has been destroyed.
- Fifth. To set and heal a broken bone without the aid of artificial means.¹³²⁷

It was electric – the newspaper readership had to be fascinated or at least piqued – what would happen next? Would this Mrs. Glover dare to do any one of these feats not even imagined by Barnum?

Her decision was to not dignify his challenge with a response. There was no putting an end to Wright's attacks and therefore nothing to be gained by trying; however, five of her zealous students rallied to her defense on the 17th of February, six weeks after it all started. They stated that since they were not able to induce their former teacher to reply to Wright's most recent spate of falsehoods, they would take it upon themselves to do so. Wright's articles, they wrote, were "gross misrepresentations and misapplications" of the Moral Science that Mrs. Glover actually taught and, though they "read and re-read" Wright's last article, they had not found one true statement except when he quoted from Mrs. Glover's manuscript. They also attested to the fact (as they described it), that Moral Science wasn't mesmerism. They closed with the statement that they were not looking to provoke further discussion; therefore, nothing more would be written by them after that one open letter to the readers.¹³²⁸

But Wallace Wright was determined to have the last word and the editors were likely pleased to insert "Moral Science alias Mesmerism. – No. 4," on February 24th:

Perhaps the communication from the deluded quintette, ... does not call for a reply, but such a cloud of smoke from the field of battle on which their leader has found an untimely grave hovers about their bewildered brains, that I feel it a duty to extend the hand of friendship to rescue them from their perilous condition ...

By her silence in regard to the challenge contained in my letter on the 10th inst., every reader of these articles will at once perceive that Mrs. Glover and her so-called science are virtually dead and buried.¹³²⁹

Wright hoped he had finished Mrs. Glover and her so-called science, but she had apparently just been holding her breath for the past seven weeks – she was still writing, still teaching, still healing, and still as determined as ever.

Her mettle had to be strong because it wasn't done being tested. Even though in her first response to Wright she had anointed "Dr. Kennedy" as the alternate spokesman for Moral Science when she was unavailable, trouble had been brewing between the two partners. Mrs. Glover had become increasingly concerned about Kennedy's healing methods – his twofold use of physical and mental manipulation – Wright was happy to call it mesmerism or magnetism, but either way, it wasn't Mrs. Glover's metaphysics. As she developed her scientific theology, he was developing an increasingly successful and lucrative practice that gave him significant control of his patient's bodies and thinking – a serious problem as she saw it, "Controlled by his will, patients haste to do his bidding."¹³³⁰ She pressed him to give up the rubbing but made notes that he was becoming increasingly distant and difficult. When she first met Kennedy, he had a "glorious nature [and] noble soul"; then when she began warning him about his reliance on mesmerism and manipulation, he was continually asking for forgiveness; but in his final stage, he had become unrepentant, with "hardness of heart ... resolve[d] to take [his] own course."¹³³¹ Just a few weeks after Wright's final attack, when Mrs. Glover and her followers hoped the bad news to their movement was over, their most highly visible and successful metaphysician tore up his contract with Mrs. Glover and told her he would no longer make payments to her from his earnings. She placed a brief notice in the May 8th *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*: "The business relations heretofore existing between Mrs.

Glover and her student, Richard Kennedy, are closed. Mary M. B. Glover.”¹³³² Within a few days, Kennedy left their lodgings at Mrs. Magoun’s.

Stanley. Tuttle. Vickary. Wright. Kennedy. Mrs. Glover tried to catch her breath.

... I am a fish out of water, when I am dragged away from wisdom and love into the grosser abyss of folly and hate, then I am not a fish at home. Truth is, I am so tired by the malice of my students, that up to this time, or a little prior to it, I have done nothing but love and praise, that I am losing my happiness and consequently my health in the dark labyrinth into which I gaze and stand upon the brink ... will my students plunge therein?

Oh, how I have worked, pondered and constantly imparted my discoveries to this wicked boy [Kennedy] that I shall not name all for what! God grant me patience.¹³³³

She had her students strike out the one sentence in their copies of her manuscript that mentioned the use of rubbing and in her book three years later, she warned against his methods,

... and now comes his opportunity to do evil; for, if he can change their belief relative to sickness, he can also change it with regard to an individual, or upon any subject. But, remember, it is only the manipulator and mal-practitioner that can do this, and not those who heal with the Truth of Science. First, because the latter do not manipulate the head Since witnessing the evil one student [Richard Kennedy] did in the name of science, we have utterly objected to students rubbing the head.¹³³⁴

It was obvious that her students had mixed reasons for paying the large fees and attending the early classes; some comprehended and yearned for the metaphysical truths of Moral Science, but others had been focused solely on the compensatory potential of learning the healing methods that were part of it – especially the physical and mental manipulation techniques that had made Richard Kennedy so successful. Mrs. Glover had now removed him and that dangerous element and focused on what it really took to be a successful metaphysical healer: “For Spirit to be supreme in demonstration, it must be supreme in our affections, and we must be clad with divine power.” The keys to gaining that divine power were purity, selflessness, faith, and understanding Moral Science.¹³³⁵ Although she had her shortcomings like any other, she was a paragon of these virtues and those attributes were very visible to Lynners, whether or not they admired or reviled her for them. She had never hidden her light under a bushel: she had been the women’s leader in one of the local temperance societies shortly after she arrived in Lynn and she had publicly endorsed Reverend Cook’s efforts when he was haranguing the city’s shoe factory owners for the immoral conditions in the workplace.¹³³⁶

I would hereby tender my sincere thanks to the Rev. Mr. Cook for the truly Christian stand he has taken as watchman on the walls of Zion to “cry aloud and spare not” those crimes in community least rebuked, and therefore the more fearful and devastating. *Purity is the baptism of scientific Christianity*; it should be insisted upon; and may his pulpit eloquence shatter the hoary fabric of ancient Sodom, and place mankind upon an eminence where the beams from the sun of truth first strike. Mrs. M. M. Glover¹³³⁷

When Victoria Woodhull, the famous free-love advocate, spoke in Lynn, it was Mrs. Glover again who publicly challenged her blasphemy against the sanctity of marriage, social morality, and personal virtue.

Did the lecture of Victoria Woodhull meet the taste and indicate the tone of character of those who attended it? Must we admit there are in our very midst men and women claiming respectability who could be made even to listen to the most detestable and loathsome inculcations of vice from one who outrages decency, insults human nature and disgraces the name of woman? That she should be allowed a public hall in which to disclaim her abominations almost discourages humanity in its ennobling efforts. Was the fate of Sodom a fable? No, it was the inevitable result of its sins; and we

should entertain no hope of escaping its doom if we should deserve its punishment. ... The effect of such a lecture as was delivered on Thursday evening at [the] Music Hall is not understood. ... no mind listened to it and went away ... that was not injured by it. Let it not be forgotten that *the prostration of virtue is the downfall of individual and of national honor and enlightenment.* Mary Baker Glover¹³³⁸

Although Woodhull responded with outrage over Glover's tirade, saying it was full of "sickly sentimentalism ... mock modesty and ... sham morality," Mrs. Glover meant every word of it.¹³³⁹ In an age when personal opinion was most often hidden in the newspapers by obscure pseudonyms, she boldly signed her own name to her statements, unfearful of being recognized for her stand for purity and righteousness. She knew first-hand the pain of being a casualty to the sexual immorality of a spouse and was aware that promiscuous behavior was occurring among several of her students – they were not preparing to be clad in divine power, but rather with dark and sinister skills. In a city and world sullied by thoughts of sensuality, pain, and sin, it was vitally, momentously important to her that she publish pure Truth and spread it among the masses.

She poured herself tirelessly into the effort of completing her book, spending more time on the work of writing than any other element of her life. Putney Bancroft recalled, "I have known her when nearly crushed with sorrow, but she wrote on. I have known her when friend after friend deserted her, but she wrote on. I have seen student after student bring ridicule and reproach upon her, but still she wrote on."¹³⁴⁰ She held no more classes from April 1872 until the same month in 1875 so that she could focus on the book. She continued to hop between lodgings during this time, on the basis of where she could stay for little or nothing and which houses were conducive to the silence and isolation she required to focus on her book.¹³⁴¹ When her monumental work was finally completed, she then engaged in an author's second great travail, finding a publisher, and like many other authors, her manuscript received multiple rejections in the fall of 1873 and the spring of 1874.¹³⁴² She had heard that thud in the past as well; George Clark told of taking a prospectus of her book along with his own manuscript to a publisher in Boston back in 1867. His swashbuckling autobiography, *Seven Years of A Sailor's Life*, was quickly accepted because it was deemed an easily sell to young, adventure-hungry readers, but the publisher rejected Mrs. Glover's book because they "saw no possibilities in it for profit."¹³⁴³

Not finding a publisher, the book was finally printed at a job printer in October 1875 under the carefully selected title, *Science and Health*; the first edition run of 1,000 copies was paid for by the Christian Scientist Publishing Company, which really meant Mrs. Glover and some of her supporters. She gave other disciples the assignment to go door-to-door, peddling the new book for \$2.50 each; the going was tough with competition from all the other peddlers constantly knocking on doors, selling all sorts of books and other goods during the straitened times of the Long Depression: after many months only 200 of the copies of *Science and Health* had been sold.¹³⁴⁴

Virtually identical book announcements were advertised in the *Lynn Transcript* and the spiritualists' medium, the *Banner of Light*, a few weeks apart in November. Although the book deeply delved into the metaphysics of Moral Science, the advertisements focused on the book's use as a tool for healing:

Science and Health.

A BOOK OF ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED PAGES, by

Mary Baker Glover,

Of New Hampshire, the discoverer of a NEW SYSTEM OF SCIENTIFIC HEALING that applies to all diseases. The

Master Work of the Age!

And textbook for the ages. It explains the action and effect of mind on the body with the familiarity and skill with which a surgeon handles his instruments; shows the principle and how applied of its wonderful cures without medicine, manipulations or hygiene explains mind-reading and mediumship as mental phenomena; defines supersensual man, shows the control the soul holds over sense, how Christ healed the sick, etc., etc. It is a science that brings to light the perfectibility of man. ...

Price \$2.50. Sold at Herbert's Bookstore ..."¹³⁴⁵

The book was divided into eight chapters with the last two, "Physiology" and "Healing the Sick," most clearly focusing on health and illness as most understood it before buying the book. But healing was actually a central theme throughout, with emphasis on becoming pure of mind in order to be receptive to the influence of Soul, which would then enable one to overcome false notions of thought, like pain and sickness – in themselves and others.

As the adventurous new book owner explored the depths of the book's instruction (not an adventure for the casual reader), the world that unfolded was far different from the one in which they had been living.¹³⁴⁶ For example, the ad mentioned that cures could be accomplished without hygiene; the book went on to explain that the daily washing of a baby is "not more natural or necessary than to take a fish out of water and cover it with dirt, once a day, [so] that it may thrive better in its natural element. Cleanliness is next to godliness, but washing should be only to keep the body clean, and this can be done with less than daily scrubbing the whole surface."¹³⁴⁷ In another teaching moment, the text went on to explain that under extreme cold, heat, and fatigue, "we say, the body suffers, but this is belief only, and not the Truth of being ... mind alone suffers ... *if you destroy the belief in regard to the suffering, it disappears* ... catarrhs, fevers, consumptions, etc., goes with the belief." Mrs. Glover then proved the principle to her reader by telling the story of a woman she cured of consumption. The woman had explained to Mrs. Glover that she couldn't breathe when the wind came from the east. Mrs. Glover just "sat silently by her side a few moments, and [then the woman's] breath came gently ... deep and natural." She then told the woman to look at the weathervane on a nearby building and the woman saw it was pointing due east; the wind had not changed, but her difficult breathing had gone; therefore it wasn't the wind that produced it, Mrs. Glover taught; it was her explanation alone that had "broke[n] this mental hallucination and she never suffered again from east winds."¹³⁴⁸

She patterned her views on healing after the life and example of Jesus Christ, whom she called "the most scientific man of whom we have any record."¹³⁴⁹ When he healed the sick, it was spirit triumphing over matter, "the purity and exaltation, yea, the harmony of his own being neutralizing the discord of theirs," making his healing skills and theology one; hence his ability to cast out error and devils when he healed. Jesus wasn't performing miracles ("miracles are impossible"); rather it was his use of Truth that cast out error and healed both moral and physical sickness.¹³⁵⁰

The same soapbox evangelism that Mrs. Glover had used in the newspapers about the immorality of factory life and free love flowed right onto her book's pages as well. In the chapter on marriage could be found, "Owing to the shocking depravity of mankind, chastity is looked at suspiciously; it requires more moral courage for woman to meet the low estimates in society of virtue, than to help lift its standard from the dust." And she had one more thumping for the free love advocates, coupled with another push for purity: "'they declare their sin as Sodom, and hide it not, but the boldness of depravity will show its deformity' ... Woman should be loving, pure, and strong."¹³⁵¹

Mrs. Glover felt it was just as important to explain what Moral Science *wasn't* as to describe what it was. She dedicated much of her 82-page second chapter (almost 20% of the book), titled, "Imposition and Demonstration," to explaining it wasn't clairvoyance, spiritualism, or mesmerism. Clairvoyance, for example, "foresees the future and repeats the past that is daguerreotyped on mortal mind only, and based on no Principle or Truth"; it was mind-reading alone but, she insisted, her science revealed Truth.¹³⁵² Distinguishing the new science she was introducing to the world from other mental sciences and techniques was absolutely critical, she believed, and she was absolutely correct. The newspapers, the country, and the decade were inundated with all forms of mental science and supernatural healings – myriads of mystical, marvelous, miraculous cures and healers, spirits and prophecies, séances, Ouija boards, and crystal balls. In the year *Science and Health* was published, G. N. Johnson, the Healing Medium, Prof. C.S. Taylor, Fortune Teller, and Mrs. Lizzie Hill, "the well-known CLAIRVOYANT," all made appearances in Lynn.¹³⁵³ Miss Nellee, the Business and Test medium, Prof. George Greggs, "the greatest astrologer of the age, Mrs. N. D. Brown, "TRANCE MEDIUM and Clairvoyant Physician," Mrs. E. A. Blair, "the world-renowned Spirit-Artist and Medium," and Madame K. H. Hill, an independent clairvoyant, were among the many more that followed.¹³⁵⁴ Mrs. Newman, the Magic Teacher and Mind Reader could perform Soul Readings, revealing the Past, Present and Future. She and her husband would heal the sick and, "like the Master and His Disciples of old," [make] the Blind receive their sight, the Dumb speak, the Deaf hear, [and] the Lame walk and leap for joy."¹³⁵⁵ The promised cures, the frequent references to the Savior's healing practices, the reliance on spiritual and mystical healing methods, and the absence of surgical tools and oftentimes medicines, made them, at least superficially, sound like Moral Science or, from the perspective of the spiritualists and mesmerists, made Moral Science sound like them.

There were those who laughed at her peculiar views, others that simply dismissed them altogether, and the spiritualists argued and harassed her as she tried to speak at the Templar Hall in Lynn.¹³⁵⁶ And the opinionated didn't stop opining when she went home. In March 1875, just a half year before the book was published, Mrs. Glover purchased the modest house at 8 Broad Street, Lynn. In order for her to afford the expense of her own home, it was essential to have boarders. She reserved the first-floor parlor for a classroom and the small bedroom in the attic with a skylight for her personal use.¹³⁵⁷ She put a sign over the second-floor windows that read, "Mary B. Glover's Christian Scientists' Home," flanked by images of an open bible and a cross and crown.¹³⁵⁸ Over the next few years, Moral Science classes were resumed in her house and a significant number of healings were recorded by those who boarded and visited within its walls. The purple and gold sign came to signify a place in Lynn that was a sanctuary and a blessing for friends and open-minded guests and boarders, but for the suspicious and close-minded it marked the gates of hell. Gossips and bigots spread rumors that the youthful-looking, curvaceous divorcee was a loose woman practicing free-love, having lots of young men constantly visiting her new house; and that she was a séance-holding medium and a mesmerist who hypnotically kept respectable women in her thrall, and last but not least, that she was a witch with a bad attitude. Rocks were thrown at her windows and parents rushed their children past her house as if avoiding a chamber of secret horrors.¹³⁵⁹ A woman who considered lodging at Mrs. Eddy's house was cautioned to stay away, as if its proprietor was notoriously dangerous.¹³⁶⁰ Putney Bancroft's uncle, a deacon in the Congregational Church, similarly warned his 29-year-old nephew that his reputation and possibly his very life would be jeopardized by the evil works of Mrs. Eddy.¹³⁶¹

All of this was hard to endure, but she had dealt with difficult all her life, physical pain most of all. Back in 1871, she had fallen down an entire flight of stairs in the building where she had a third-floor apartment. Kennedy carried her bloodied, unconscious body back upstairs and she received metaphysical care from Putney Bancroft. In a few hours she walked back downstairs under her own power, had dinner, and resumed her work as if nothing had happened. She had come a long way in the five years since her fall on the ice.¹³⁶² By mid-decade, with physical pain

apparently under better control, what was really starting to get to her was the combination of thoughts of illness and pain that transferred to her as part of the healings she performed, the constant calls upon her healing skills (which were so much in advance of her students), and the malicious mental attacks that she was certain were emanating from her enemies.

Mrs. Glover had learned from Quimby that as he established a rapport with the patient and became able to read the nature of their disease, it transferred to him and he could feel it. "Thus, after a successful healing session he would have to do some vigorous physical and mental exercise to rid himself of the phantom backaches and neuralgias he had just 'cured'." Back in her days as Mary Patterson, she was "convinced that in her attempts to cure her nephew Albert's addiction to tobacco, she herself took on the urge to smoke."¹³⁶³ In July 1870 Mary wrote that her own health had been significantly impacted by the sicknesses of those around her but that dealing with those discomforts was worth it if it helped her patients return to health.¹³⁶⁴ In 1875 when Mrs. Glover's student was able to effect only a partial cure of a small girl who had been seriously injured by a fall down a stairwell, he went to get help from his mentor. As soon as Mrs. Glover was informed, the little girl suddenly and totally recovered.¹³⁶⁵ By April 1877 she felt so beset by the many demands of her students and patients that she decided to go away for several weeks with her new husband to his brother's house in Connecticut. Virtually no one knew where they were, so no one could direct any thoughts there. She pleaded with one person in whom she had confided her location, not to tell people where she was,

... I am at length driven into the wilderness ... my doors are thronged ... those who call on me mentally in [their] suffering are in belief killing me! ... do not let them know they can call on me thus if they are doing this ignorantly and if they do it consciously ... it would be no greater crime for them to come directly and thrust a dagger into my heart they are just as surely in belief killing me and committing murder.¹³⁶⁶

As bad as these challenges and setbacks sometimes were, they paled in comparison to malicious animal magnetism, the invisible weapon of her enemies. Mesmerism and animal magnetism had been synonymous since the days when Charles Poyen visited Lynn 40 years earlier, but even though it was a product of the mortal mind and therefore not real, it had been weaponized; Mrs. Glover explained that disaffected students, first and foremost, Richard Kennedy, had used it at will to mentally transfer evil thoughts to his victims, herself included. She believed not only that minds could be read, but controlled without their consent or even their knowledge.¹³⁶⁷ The malpractice thus engaged in was used as a weapon of revenge, as in his attacks upon Mrs. Glover, or as a weapon of self-serving ambition, as was apparently the case with Kennedy over some of his students.¹³⁶⁸ The mental poison transferred through animal magnetism was later described in *The Christian Science Journal* as "more destructive to health and morals than are the mineral and vegetable poisons prescribed by the matter-physicians."¹³⁶⁹

Mrs. Glover had hoped that metaphysical science would be used by her students "to promote their success in healing; but this has not always been the case."¹³⁷⁰ In fact, "The greatest hindrance this science can meet will arise from backsliding students, those claiming to practice it who do not adhere to its *moral obligations*."¹³⁷¹ She carefully outlined the malicious animal magnetizer's evil procedure and nefarious goal, apparently to forewarn and forearm especially her female readers against an attack: First, the mesmerizer manipulates the head of the patient he subtly plans to victimize until a mesmeric connection had been established between the two of them, "then [hypnotically] direct[s] her action, or influence[s] her to some conclusion . . . You will find [that] the more honest and confiding the individual, the more she is governed by the mind of the operator."¹³⁷² Once hypnotized, the victim's will wasn't their own, but the mesmerizer's: "The simplest object in the hands of a mesmerized subject, for example, may shock him with a belief of danger; a napkin becomes to him a serpent that stings him."¹³⁷³ Mesmerism "coils itself about the [mesmerized] sleeper, fastens its fangs in innocence, and kills in the dark."¹³⁷⁴

Mrs. Glover fought off malicious mental communications by experimenting with large doses of morphine to see if she could overcome its dangerous effects.¹³⁷⁵ Although her body went into an extended deep sleep when Alvin M. Cushing had administered only a scant one-eighth grain on the night of her icy fall, Mrs. Glover explained that when she injected herself with "some large doses" of morphine, her metaphysical development overcame its narcotic effects altogether.

Many years ago my regular physician prescribed morphine, which I took, when he could do no more for me. Afterwards, the glorious revelations of Christian Science saved me from that necessity and made me well, since which time I have not taken drugs, with the following exception: When the mental malpractice of poisoning people was first undertaken by a mesmerist, to test that malpractice I experimented by taking some large doses of morphine, to see if Christian Science could not obviate its effect; and I say with tearful thanks, "The drug had no effect upon me whatever. ... I have neither purchased nor ordered a drug since ... and to my knowledge, not one has been sent to my house, unless it was something to remove stains or vermin."¹³⁷⁶

Given its dangerous, addictive, and potentially lethal properties, Mrs. Glover apparently reasoned that if she could overcome morphine, she could overcome anything that Kennedy or other mesmerizers could use to destroy her. However, some of her close friends and students in the late 1870s testified that she was using opiate medication, and in 1910, near the end of her life, her personal secretary also indicated she had an "old morphine habit," so it isn't clear whether she was using morphine solely as a grand experiment to thwart Kennedy's malicious mind control or as an occasional painkiller to numb the stresses of her life.¹³⁷⁷ Either way, she was trying to keep him away.

In between buying her house and publishing her book, Mrs. Glover started up another class, her first in three years. One student in particular showed great promise: Daniel Harrison Spofford; his wife, Addie, had been in Mrs. Glover's first class in 1870, then moved down to Knoxville, Tennessee and set up a metaphysical healing practice there while her husband ran a shoe business. Addie had a long-term affair with Richard Kennedy and possibly with Wallace Wright with whom she had been in practice in Knoxville for a time. Back in Lynn, broke and without his wife, Daniel accepted Mrs. Glover's invitation to take her classes for free. He became her ardent follower and even became attracted to her, although there were some twenty years between them. Daniel sued Addie for a divorce in 1876.¹³⁷⁸

Once he had taken the course and honed his metaphysical skills, he advertised himself as "Dr. Spofford, Scientific Physician. (No medicine given)"¹³⁷⁹ Within months of his start, he already had a testimonial appearing in the *Lynn Transcript* from a very satisfied customer:

Wonderful Cure. Editors Transcript, Lynn, Mass.: - Will you please insert the following in your paper, relative to the healing of my daughter, who, together with others in this town, have been miraculously benefitted by the same physician. [signed]
John L. Ladd, Groveland, Mass., 11 Nov. 1875.

This is to certify that I have been in poor health for nearly six years; my greatest trouble being pressure in my left side and top of my head: breathing with the greatest difficulty, on account of a feeling of suffocation. For the past two years I have been unable to lie down in bed from the same cause. I have not spoken aloud nor walked a step alone for the past nineteen months. Cloudy or rainy days always made breathing more difficult; could bear no excitement whatever, nor any fire in winter, and have passed through two winters with the windows of my room open day and night, never once closing them, though the thermometer in my room has at times marked many degrees below zero. ... In this time I have been attended by four different physicians, without receiving any permanent benefit. About six months ago I was visited by Dr. D. H. Spofford, Scientific Physician, of Lynn, Mass., "a student of the author of Science and Health," and am now, after ten visits, and without taking any medicine,

very much improved in health. I can now walk, ride, talk as well as I ever could, lie down and sleep well nights. ... Clara E. Ladd.¹³⁸⁰

For extra credibility, the testimonial was then witnessed by a pastor, his wife and two deacons of the Congregational Church. "Harry," as he was called by Mrs. Glover, had quickly become her best student and one of her favorites. He, in turn, idolized his leader to an extent that bordered on infatuation and attraction.¹³⁸¹ In April 1876 he announced he was stepping away from his practice to take on the publishing, general management, and circulation of her book, *Science and Health*, but he reassured the public, "Students of the author of this work are constantly entering the field as practitioners, which enables him to make this change without depriving the sick of this superior method of treating disease. He would also recommend to his numerous patients and others who are sick, Dr. A. G. Eddy . . ."¹³⁸²

Asa Gilbert Eddy came into Mrs. Glover's life by way of a family that had experienced one of her healings; they recommended he visit her to receive a healing as well. He was a humble sewing machine salesman with a heart ailment who had found his way down to the Boston area from his home in Vermont.¹³⁸³ Within four weeks of his healing by Mrs. Glover, he had become a metaphysical healer himself. Keenly aware of the limitations of his childhood education, he tried to learn quickly and his notebooks were filled with his efforts to educate himself in rules of spelling and capitalization, and the proper spelling and meaning of words, including many medical terms like *neuralgia* (not *newraligia* as showed up elsewhere in his notes), *vaccination* not *vaxcination*, *diarrhea* not *diareah*, and *womb*, not *woomb*.¹³⁸⁴ He had grown up with a mother who believed in spiritualism and took her son to séances; she was also a regular client of "Sleeping Lucy," the clairvoyant healer who diagnosed her patients while in a trance.¹³⁸⁵ Despite his youthful belief in spiritualism and frequent visits to the popular Sleeping Lucy, he had no interest when she temporarily took lodgings in Lynn in 1877 to offer her special version of clairvoyant healing; Asa Gilbert Eddy had firmly entrenched himself as A. G. Eddy, "Christian Scientist" – the first to go by this title.¹³⁸⁶

On New Year's Day of 1877, Asa Gilbert Eddy and Mary Baker Glover were married. In February the newly renamed Mary Baker Eddy had another of the seizures that had plagued her off and on throughout her life, and it was a particularly violent one. Gilbert, as she referred to her new husband, successfully used metaphysical healing to bring her out of it. Five and a half months before their marriage, Mary described to her cousin how grateful and impressed she was by the man that had shown through while she had been rendered unconscious by another seizure; she wrote, "I was astonished at his skill, he was calm, clear and strong, and so kind I fell in love with him!"¹³⁸⁷ But as the relationship between Mrs. and Mrs. Eddy blossomed, the devotion of other men crumbled. In the spring of 1877, George W. Barry, her loyal assistant and grateful former patient who had requested the privilege of calling her Mother, sued Mrs. Eddy for virtually everything he had done for her, from the important responsibility of copying her manuscript to the menial task of carrying a bucket of coal.¹³⁸⁸ His lawsuit sought \$2,700 and if he won, she would almost certainly lose her house.¹³⁸⁹

More stressful news was on its way; at the end of May, another loyal lieutenant had decamped: Daniel Spofford metamorphosized from dedicated disciple to hardened enemy. He had been one of the most successful metaphysical healers, second only to Mrs. Eddy herself, but a pound of success carried with it two pounds of ambition, and when Mrs. Glover married Mr. Eddy, it was clear that Spofford was no longer number two. The rebuffed Spofford wrote to Mrs. Eddy, "you have proven yourself unworthy to be the standard bearer of Christian Science, and God will remove from you the means for carrying on this work I consider that I have a perfect right to appoint meetings, or place in practice those you have taught . . ."¹³⁹⁰

During the next year, the Eddys published a second edition of *Science and Health*. The cover featured a gold-stamped image of Noah's Ark floating safely under the storm clouds and atop

the terrible waters that God had brought – it was emblematic of the spiritual refuge Mary Baker Eddy needed during the rains of 1877 and the coming flood of 1878: she had to batten down the hatches as her ship endured the badgering winds of the courtroom, the punishing rains on her soaked finances, and the unfathomable depths of media sarcasm.

As Barry and Spofford defected, new support came from Edward J. Arens, who had recently been taught metaphysical healing by Gilbert Eddy. The Prussian cabinetmaker was fired up with neophyte enthusiasm to come to Mrs. Eddy's aid and defense. Although bereft of any legal training, he went to court on her behalf with the plan of collecting on debts that deadbeat former followers had refused to pay.¹³⁹¹ The pugnacious pettifogger took on Mary Baker Eddy's biggest foes: Richard Kennedy and Daniel Spofford and early turncoats, Charles Stanley and George Tuttle.

The first legal action in February of 1878 was against Richard Kennedy for not fulfilling all the financial commitments stipulated in his contract with Mrs. Eddy. The judge found in her favor, but Kennedy appealed and requested a trial by jury, which would take place in November. Flush with the early success, Arens chased the recovery of unpaid tuition and royalties from Daniel Spofford; the case was dismissed but he had become embroiled in another lawsuit against Spofford. Arens represented one of Mrs. Eddy's followers who claimed Spofford had used mental malpractice upon her, willfully causing her great mental and physical distress.¹³⁹² The press couldn't resist the golden opportunity to draw the parallel to the charges of demonic control exercised by Tituba and the other witches of 1692, not to mention that the Spofford trial was being held in the Salem courthouse. *The Boston Daily Globe* quickly called it "THE IPSWICH WITCHCRAFT CASE" with equally racy subheadings, "Unable to Escape from The Control" and "He Can Destroy and Blight Our Homes."¹³⁹³ The *Newburyport Herald* ran with the same witchcraft theme a few days later:

... the bill in equity is a curiosity such as might have been looked for in the court records of two hundred years ago. The witchcraft delusion is not yet dead, even officially ... :

"The plaintiff humbly complains that the said Daniel H. Spofford ... is a mesmerist, and practices the art of mesmerism, and that by his power and influence he is capable of injuring the persons and property and social relations of others, and does by said means so injure them. That the said Daniel H. Spofford has at divers times and places, since the year 1875, wrongfully, maliciously, and with intent to injure the plaintiff, caused the plaintiff, by means of his said power and art, great suffering of body, severe spinal pains and neuralgia, and temporary suspension of mind, and still continues to cause the plaintiff the same. And the plaintiff has reason to fear and does fear that he will continue in the future to cause the same. And the plaintiff says that said injuries are great and of an irreparable nature, and that she is wholly unable to escape from the control and influence he so exercises upon her, and from the aforesaid effects of said control and influence."

Edward J. Ames [Arens] has power of attorney with Mrs. Eddy to appear for the plaintiff, and he says that Spofford wields an awful influence ... He can, by his will, destroy and blight our homes, and this influence he can make felt all over the Universe. What good the Court can do does not appear, inasmuch as prison walls could not restrain such power, and since death would not be likely to terminate it. Nevertheless the Court has granted a hearing and granted an order of notice on Spofford. So the old madness is revived, and a witchcraft case is to be heard in the highest Court of Massachusetts.¹³⁹⁴

The papers used the sensational story not only to expose the fantastical allegations against Spofford but to poke at the surreal healing gifts of the woman behind it all: "It appears that, several years ago, Mrs. Mary B. Eddy of Lynn, then Miss Mary B. Glover, had a revelation from Heaven, as she alleges, by which she was endowed with the power of miraculously healing all manner of

diseases, incurable or otherwise.”¹³⁹⁵ The suit against Spofford was thrown out of court and the publicized vilification was an eyes-wide-open nightmare for Mrs. Eddy.¹³⁹⁶

Arens’ last effort in June went south as well. The defendants, George H. Tuttle and Charles S. Stanley, were two students from the first Lynn class of Mrs. Glover back in 1870, but money owed was still money desperately needed, so the lawsuit was attempted.

Mrs. Glover-Eddy claimed to have imparted to the defendants a knowledge of the art of healing by the exercise of the “Christian science,” wherein the power of the mind shall effect the mind of the patient. The defendants were to practice the art and pay to the plaintiff \$100 in advance; 10 per cent of the annual profits and \$1000 in case the practice was discontinued. One-half of the advance was paid. The suit was to recover \$50 due on the advance, the 10 percent. of the business done, and the \$1000 forfeit for discontinuing the practice. The referee decided … [that] *inasmuch as no instruction of value was given* [the] plaintiff is not entitled to anything¹³⁹⁷

Mrs. Eddy’s science and healing method were repeatedly challenged and mocked in the newspapers of 1878 and she was publicly excoriated, pressed under the heavy stones of ridicule. Things still managed to get even worse when her husband and pseudo-attorney were suddenly arrested for murder.

The story of Daniel H. Spofford’s murder couldn’t help but to read like a dime novel, packed with loathsome evildoers, seedy settings, and startling plot twists. The story opened with the realization that Spofford had disappeared for two weeks and was reported to be murdered. The two men who at that time were most visibly supportive of Mary Baker Eddy were accused, arrested, and imprisoned for the nefarious murder. A dubious character from Boston’s underbelly had come forward to report the two men had hired him to kill Spofford. He met with them in the anonymity of a secluded section of railyard but he had secreted an accomplice in a nearby railcar to hear and be able to verify to the police the murderous errand the two men had required of their hit man. After collecting some of the fee in advance of the ultimate crime, the would-be assassin reported the whole plan to the police. Things looked bad for Eddy and Arens, but then the twists and turns unraveled, revealing the informants were the criminals and the accused were innocent. Spofford wasn’t dead, but had just been hiding away in a brothel for a few weeks, apparently genuinely fearing for his life, based on the warning of the informant who claimed being hired to murder him. Then the informant’s accomplice spontaneously provided a voluntary confession that his entire testimony was a lie – there was no railyard meeting and no discussion of murder for hire. In the heat of the tabloid potboiler, however, Mary Baker Eddy, her husband, and her science were all being stewed in the fire that was fueled by the newspapers. Throughout the traumatic year 1878, her reputation and everything she held sacred had been lambasted, skewered, kicked, and brass-knuckled. Yet remarkably, the more it rained and the higher the flood waters rose, the population of her ark continued to grow.

People continued to take the classes, attend her talks, and read her book, and the sick, hurt, and lame continued to claim cures, instantaneous and eventual, because of the extraordinary if incomprehensible skills of Mary Baker Eddy and her metaphysical healers. Mrs. Eddy realized that Christian Science wasn’t easily understood or readily accepted and she seemed to fully expect it was going to take time; she had written in *Science and Health*, “We have faith this book will do its work, though not fully understood, in the nineteenth century.”¹³⁹⁸ The life blood of Christian Science was healing and the stories of her success spread, along with the number of gratefully cured, whether they became followers as a result or not.

Mary Baker Eddy didn’t equate herself with Jesus Christ, but during the years she spent in Lynn, she had definitely followed in his footsteps. She healed the poor and even beggars, and suffered the children to come unto her with their simple faith and need for healing. She healed cripples, all manners of sickness and injury, and several accounts survive suggesting that she even raised the dead. In 1870, while visiting the Slade home, Mrs. Slade “came running into the room

as white as ashes," exclaiming there was a cripple at the door who looked so "dreadful" that she slammed the door in the poor man's face. Mrs. Eddy went to the window and later described, "there was – well it was too dreadful to describe; his feet did not touch the earth at all; he walked with crutches." She gave him a dollar bill through the window ("all I had in my pocket"), which he had to take with his teeth. The wretch crutched his way to the next house and the woman there, though frightened as well, let him come in a few minutes to lie down. He fell sound asleep and upon waking up he was "perfectly well." At a later date in a store, the now healed man ran up to the woman who let him sleep, acknowledging her kindness but also recognizing he had been healed by Mrs. Eddy.¹³⁹⁹ Unlike many of the healers in town at the same time who ambitiously drew attention to their healing prowess and miraculous cures in newspaper ads, advertising trade cards, posters and broadsides in store windows, and advertisements painted on or glued to fences and buildings, she took the road less traveled, healing without fanfare and even telling the patients once healed, "Go, tell no man."¹⁴⁰⁰ Hers was a passive, even reluctant ministry; like Jesus, she had wanted to focus her time on teaching Truth to as many as would listen or read it, but as with Jesus, many would remember her healings more so than her message.

As was often claimed by various healers, many of the individuals she healed had allegedly been given up by other healers as hopeless. Resorting to various healers and alternate methods was a practice frequently acknowledged by patients during the nineteenth century, especially by those whose pain and desperation continued unabated while their patience had worn thin with the current healer. Thus, Mrs. Eddy was called upon by Mrs. L. C. Edgecomb of Lynn to help her baby boy whom the physicians had given up, "saying they could do no more for him"; he had become emaciated from diseased bowels "until he was reduced to almost a skeleton, and growing worse constantly," unable to eat anything "but gruel, or some very simple nutriment." Mrs. Eddy picked him up from the cradle, took him in her arms, "kissed him, laid him down again and went out." Immediately after Mrs. Eddy's visit, the baby "ate all he wanted," which included "a quantity of cabbage just before going to bed, from which he never suffered in the least."¹⁴⁰¹ Another child was given up by the doctors for dead – and then Mrs. Eddy arrived:

One little child was put into my hands. I did not come soon enough. Utterly helpless, utterly prostrated, and the doctors said he was gone. The little arms hung down, and it looked limp as a corpse, no appearance of life. I could not feel the pulse. The mother was crying and said "He is dead; you have come too late." I said, "Go out a little while." She did and that little creature rose right up, yawned and rubbed his eyes. I sat him down. He walked to the door and his mother took him.¹⁴⁰²

Mrs. Eddy was also called upon to take over cases that her own student healers couldn't resolve; they were often frustrated with their inability to heal as successfully as she did. One of her Lynn students was trying to resolve a very serious case that consulting physicians had previously decided was beyond hope of recovery. The student was also unsuccessful, so he called upon his mentor, Mrs. Eddy. She found the female patient to be suffering greatly: her face was purple and her head was thrashing about. In just a few minutes after Mrs. Eddy's arrival, all signs of pain had disappeared, the woman's face color had returned to normal, and she was healed.¹⁴⁰³ In these situations, Mrs. Eddy would complete the healing and then counsel her students to live more spiritual Christ-like lives which meant turning away from the material world. It wasn't medical techniques they needed; they were lacking in spiritual skills.

The metaphysics that Mrs. Eddy had been trying to teach them was to lift their vision from the sensual to the spiritual: mortal eyes saw the body with its imperfections, sickness, and wounds, but spiritual eyes could see immortal, perfect Spirit. Mary Baker Eddy saw life through spiritual eyes, but she lived in a world that stared at itself through mortal eyes; like Jesus Christ, she strove to be in the world, but not of the world, and the world largely didn't comprehend either of them because it didn't see what they saw. The quintessence of the world's confusion over Mary Baker Eddy comes across clearly in memories shared by two patients she had healed at her Broad Street

home in Lynn. Although just a little girl at the time of her healing, Helen Grenier vividly recalled, “I could not understand it. It was so unusual. No questions asked – nothing done to my body -- no medicine and no money - , and yet --- the pain was gone!”¹⁴⁰⁴ Alice Swasey Wool was similarly flabbergasted: “As I went back to the carriage I said to [my] friends that it was the queerest kind of healing I had ever heard of for she did not even look at my tongue or feel my pulse.”¹⁴⁰⁵

In complete candor, Mrs. Eddy didn’t understand fully how healings worked, either. She was learning science and health herself and imparting that knowledge to others:

I used to heal with a word. I have seen a man yellow because of disease and the next moment I looked at him and his color was right; [he] was healed.

I knew no more how it was done than a baby; only it was done every time, I never failed, almost always in one treatment, never more than three. Now God is showing me how, and I am showing you.¹⁴⁰⁶

Some 30 years earlier, Lynn’s Judge James R. Newhall had posited his theory that such cures as Mary Baker Eddy was performing were brought about by the miraculous power of faith; he wrote, “All requisite to charm away a pain in many cases is to fully convince the one on whom you would operate that you have power to relieve him. This *faith* is marvelous in its results. It is the *miraculous* power claimed by some bodies of Christians.”¹⁴⁰⁷ Mrs. Eddy vehemently disagreed; in another teaching moment, she told her students, “It is Love that heals, only Love!”¹⁴⁰⁸ It was the same healing message she whispered to a crippled beggar sitting on the sidewalk in Lynn. The man was badly deformed, “with one knee drawn up to his chin … the other limb was drawn the other way, up his back.” He had a piece of paper pinned on his shoulder which read, “Help this poor cripple.” Mrs. Eddy had no money to give, so she leaned over and whispered in his ear, “God loves you.”¹⁴⁰⁹ Other parts to her healing seem more directed to helping the patient recognize the mirage of pain and illness and the reality that they were healthy. When John Parker Cluff seemed to have rheumatism, Mrs. Eddy “made him run up and down a long flight of stairs in [the] front hall several times to show him there was nothing the matter with him.”¹⁴¹⁰ When Mrs. Eddy took on the healing of little Josephine Green, who was apparently suffering from brain fever, she first held the little girl’s hand and spoke to her in a quiet voice. In about 20-30 minutes she asked the parents’ permission to dress the child; they didn’t understand the reason for asking, but let her do so. Then she said, “let me take the child out.” The Greens protested, since the girl was so sick and it was such a rainy day, “but we could not resist her. We had confidence in that woman.” She took Josephine across the street and back to the house. The child was fine the next day and the doctor who visited her the next morning couldn’t understand how a cure had happened so suddenly.¹⁴¹¹

Sometimes Mrs. Eddy wasn’t even present when the healing occurred. Mr. R. O. Badgely, of Cincinnati, Ohio, had written to Mrs. Eddy about a timber that had fallen from a building onto his foot, crushing the bones and causing great pain. He later explained that when she had received his letter, his foot was “restored at once.”¹⁴¹² Another example occurred back in Lynn when Amos Scribner, Mrs. Eddy’s landlord at the time, was called upon one night to watch over a fraternal brother from the Odd Fellows,

… who had been sick for a long time [with] two kinds of fever and now was said to be dying of brain fever[.] his watchers had become exhausted and the wife would trust no one now with the patient but Mr S[cribner] but because the man was said to be dying Mr S[cribner] did not want to go.

When I heard of the circumstances I said to him go & I will heal him for you. I also told him the signs that he would see as my work on the case progressed. He said well supposing when I get there he is dead[?] I said “he won’t be. & at 9 (this was 7) I will cure him if you will ask every one but yourself to leave the room[.] ...

He had see[n] me heal his wife of ch[i]ld b[e]d fever & his son of cholera infantum & had utter confidence in my ability & said I will go. When he arrived there

the man was very low & [Scribner] soon requested all to leave the room that he might have the man wholly in his care.

Soon the man opened his eyes & said, hello! Amos! Is that you[?] how glad I am to see you. A[mos] said, "would you not like to get up[?] he said, yes, it is rather early to go to bed. & he got up & dressed himself & then wanted something to eat[.] The next day he was out of the house perfectly well.

This case was so well known that people would gather on the corner of streets & talk about [it,] the whole city was shocked by it.¹⁴¹³

Inevitably, stories of healings like these made her reputation grow and she was called upon by people with very different expectations of what she could do and who she was. Some of those who were in enough pain were willing to try anyone that might help and that was the case with Alice Swasey Wool. In about the year 1876 or 1877, she was living in Beverly, Massachusetts, and had become very ill with abdominal pain. The doctor had been unable to relieve her pain or problem, so "someone proposed that I go to Lynn to see the 'medium' who healed without medicine. I said I did not care who it was if they could help me. So I went to Lynn to see her."¹⁴¹⁴

One rich patron wanted not only a cure for his wife, but entertainment. Mrs. Winslow, the wife of a Lynn shoe manufacturer, had been in a wheelchair for 16 years and her husband asked Mrs. Patterson (as Mrs. Eddy was then called) to heal her; he tried to negotiate:

"If you make Abbie walk, ... I will not only believe your theory, but I will reward you liberally. I think I would give a thousand dollars to see her able to walk."

[Mrs. Patterson replied:] "The demonstration of the principle is enough reward. ... I know she can walk. You go to [your] business and leave us alone together."

[Mr. Winslow:] "But I want to see you perform your cure, Mary[.] ... Indeed, I won't interfere."

[Mrs. Patterson scolded the shoe mogul,] "You want me to perform a cure, ... but I am not going to do anything. Why don't you understand that God will do the work if Mrs. Winslow will let Him? Leave off making light of what is a serious matter. Your wife will walk."¹⁴¹⁵

Mrs. Winslow did walk; she and Mrs. Patterson walked along the ocean and around her garden and then about a mile to the train depot to see Mrs. Patterson off. The Winslows wanted her to stay for the winter, but she was quite anxious to leave; she wrote to a friend, "I don't want society, and what's more I won't have it; I detest the hollow heartedness of aristocracy, I loathe the hypocrisy of available friendship or in common parlance "such as pays."¹⁴¹⁶

The humble may not have understood her healing methods any better than the wealthy, but they were in grateful awe when she healed them. While shopping on Market Street, Lynn, an Italian woman ran out from a side street, crying, "My little girl is dead, help me!" Mary Baker Eddy went straightway into the woman's home and healed the child. The Italian mother, overcome with gratitude proclaimed, "O that lady must be a saint, she has healed my child."¹⁴¹⁷ Similarly, the beggar on the sidewalk to whom Mrs. Eddy had whispered, "God loves you," was instantly cured of his crippling condition: standing up perfectly straight and completely cured, he ran up to someone and, pointing to his healer, asked who she was. When the answer came back, "Mrs. Glover," he replied, "no it isn't, it's an angel."¹⁴¹⁸

As grateful as the healed were, only some became Christian Scientists because they failed to understand that healing wasn't meant to be the reward at the end of their ordeal, but an encouragement to continue on their journey to find God.¹⁴¹⁹ Some of Mrs. Eddy's faithful banded together in August of 1879 to organize "The Church of Christ (Scientist)." The church's mission statement was "to commemorate the word and works of our Master, which should reinstate primitive Christianity and its lost element of healing." The names of 26 members were attached to

the charter that was registered by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Mary Baker Eddy had turned – or returned – healing into a religion.



As two temperance advocates and increasingly well-known women living in the same city for more than a dozen years, Lydia Estes Pinkham and Mary Baker Eddy would certainly have known about each other, but even if they met, it would have most likely been a chance meeting, courteous and respectful, but brief. As much as they had both accomplished and as well-known as they both turned out to be, they had come from and were heading down very different paths. Both had dealt with the challenges of being older women (in their mid-fifties during mid-decade) dealing with overwhelming financial hardships, but their methods and even their motives for recovery were considerably dissimilar.

Lydia had the faithful support of her husband and children; Mary had her faith centered in God. Lydia and her family focused on financial recovery, building a proprietary medicine business that was spreading across the nation from advertisement to customers; Mary focused on her writing and teaching, recovering lost truths of healing, and her book and its teachings were spreading from page to believers. Lydia cured prolapsed uterus with *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* but Mary did so with Christian Science.¹⁴²⁰ Lydia Estes Pinkham appeared everywhere she had never been, through the power of her image, while Mary Baker Eddy taught that everything material was really nothing, through the power of Spirit. They had both rebuilt and reshaped their lives with great success, although in entirely different ways: one had an aggressive business plan and the other had a sacred mission.

While neither had set out to accomplish this, both had participated in the ascendancy of women in culture, health care, and leadership. Although they are the best remembered female healers of Lynn, they were joined in this momentous decade by Martha J. Flanders, Esther Hill Hawks, Mary Elizabeth Breed Welch, several other female healers, and even the women who served in elected positions for the first time in the city's history. Lynn women were no longer limited to support roles in health care; with Lydia Pinkham and Mary Baker Eddy leading the way, they were becoming the face and soul of it.

Chapter 8 Notes

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1. Benjamin Franklin Bean's father (George W. Bean) was listed as a cordwainer in the 1850 federal census; Emma's father (George W. Williams) was listed as a last maker in 1860 (created the wooden forms upon which shoes were made). See *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*, p. 286 (verso), dwelling 848 (Bean); *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3*, p. 128, dwelling 895, household 1095 (Williams). George W. Bean removed to California in 1851, probably in search of gold like so many other Lynn men of that time. By 1858 his wife Mary A. Bean was listed as a widow. See *The Lynn Directory, Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, with an Almanac for 1858*, (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1858), p.65.
 2. Benjamin Franklin Bean, 21, married Emma Maria Williams, 20, on 2 August 1865. They were both natives of Lynn. See *Lynn, Massachusetts Register of Marriages, 1861-1869*, manuscript (LDS microfilm 1927902). Benjamin Franklin Bean's full name is revealed in Notice, "Music and Song," *The New York Clipper*, 15 October 1904, but the preponderance of records defers to his middle name, Frank, as in "B. Frank Bean." Emma's name is listed in her birth record; see *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss), Vol. 1 (1905), p.421.)

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3. Benjamin Franklin Bean is listed as a musician in the 1870 and 1880 federal censuses, his 1865 marriage record, and in the *Lynn City Directory* from 1867-1880. Lynn's opportunities for full-time musicians were few from 1865-1880. The Lynn Lyceum only occasionally had performances involving music and the hall burned down on 25 December 1868. The *Music Hall* was not built and open for performances until 22 December 1870. See James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), pp. 29 (Lyceum), and 38 (Music Hall). Frank Bean lead the orchestra in the Music Hall in 1875 (Article, "Base Ball," *The Lynn Record*, 4 September 1875). He probably also frequently commuted by train to Boston to hire on to the musical venues there.
- His main source of revenue as a musician was probably from the jobs he got to provide music at balls, parties, and social gatherings in the Lynn area (Puff, "Music," and Ad, both in *Little Giant*, 19 November 1870). There were enough musicians in Lynn to have five organized bands in 1875, but there were only three people listed as musicians in the 1870 federal census, including Benjamin F. Bean (Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.57). He was the leader of Skinner & Bean's Quadrille Band, later Bean & Butler's Quadrille Band, which performed at a variety of social events, including a New Year's Eve affair in Exchange Hall and a "ghost" party in April at the home of P. W. Butler, a grocer, in the Highlands. (Articles in *The Lynn Record*, "Lynn Drum Corps Assembly," 4 January 1872 [Eve], and "Ghosts" at the Highlands," 12 April 1873 [ghost]). He was probably a violinist in that his position in the band was filled by a violinist when he retired from his quadrille band in 1876 (Article, "Change of Name," *The Lynn Record*, 28 October 1876).
- In 1882 he had moved to California (where he appears with his wife and son Frank) as a musician in San Francisco in 1900 and as a music professor in Los Angeles in 1910. However, he had been listed as a [shoe] heeler in the 1863 and 1865 editions of the *Lynn City Directory*, and as a salesman during the birth of the triplets in September 1871, and in the 1871 *Lynn City Directory* as both a musician and a salesman at the furniture store of Bean & Johnson (John H. Bean & W. M. Johnson), co-owned by his brother. See *The Lynn Directory, Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, with an Almanac for 1871* (Boston: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1871), p. 40. He apparently took on whatever work he could to take care of his family, but music was his first love.
4. Period city directories and census records for Lynn rarely listed occupations for married women even though newspaper accounts and labor statistics make it clear that many married women were in the workforce. Walter Franklin Bean was born on 8 December 1868; see *Lynn, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1861-1869*, manuscript (LDS microfilm 1927788).
5. *Lynn, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1870-1882*, manuscript (LDS microfilm 1927788). David Fogg Drew, the attending physician, reported that there was a single, very large placenta for the three births; see John O. Webster, M.D., "Lynn Medical Society," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1872), Vol.86, p.267.
6. The infants' names are listed in the *Lynn, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1870-1882*, manuscript (LDS microfilm 1927788).
7. Squib, "Triplets," *Little Giant*, 16 September 1871.
8. Article, "Prolific," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 September 1871.
9. Tabulation of the *Lynn, Massachusetts Deaths and Physicians Reports for 1871* (LDS microfilm 1976552) was performed by the author (Rapoza), and tabulation of the *Lynn, Massachusetts Births for 1871* (LDS microfilm 1927788) was performed by Gail B. Rapoza. There were 658 births in Lynn in 1871 and 194 infant deaths. Of the 194 infants dying in the first year of life, 20 died in the first day.
10. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.86, p.267 (Drew). *Lynn, Massachusetts Deaths and Physicians Reports, 1871-1875* (LDS microfilm 1976552) and *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* (Orcutt).
11. In 1870, Lynn City Physician Joseph G. Pinkham complained, "It is to be regretted that more reliance cannot be placed upon the reported causes of death. Physicians are seldom or never asked to give a certificate of death, and the information coming solely from non-medical persons, must of necessity in many cases be inaccurate. ... It is to be hoped that undertakers will hereafter avail themselves of the privilege which the law gives them, and request in each case a certificate of death from the physician last in attendance." See Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., City Physician, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents, 1870* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1871), p.42.
12. The birth date of the triplets was found through the genealogical search section of www.lds.org. James R. Newhall described the Russells as "not ... in very flourishing pecuniary circumstances" The Russells lived in Lynnfield, immediately to the north and anciently part of Lynn. (Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.62).
13. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 23 May 1874. Wilder T. Bowers was a Daguerreian in Saco and Biddeford, Maine in 1849, in partnership with Horatio N. Macomber, as Macomber and Bowers. In 1852 Bowers was operating as a Daguerreian in Detroit, Michigan. He first shows up in Lynn in 1856 on 96 Market Street. In 1870 he was listed as a photographer and his wife was his picture finisher; see Craig's Daguerreian Registry,

<http://www.daguerreotype.com> and *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 607, household 800 (Vickary). He changed studios several times to different addresses on Market Street, but remained in Lynn for almost a half century, selling his gallery in 1901.

14. Advertisements for the New York Circus and John H. Murray's Great Railroad Circus in *The Lynn Record*, 23 May 1874; Article, "Double-Headed Calf," *The Lynn Record*, 16 May 1874.
15. Article, "The Triplets," *The Lynn Record*, 30 May 1874.
16. That all three triplets had very light-colored eyes can be seen by examining the *carte de visite* of the Russell triplets with an 8x magnifying glass; (collection of the author). The babies' names are listed in the birth record.
17. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents, 1870*, p.41.
18. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle; or, Mrs. Mott's Advice to Young Females, Wives, and Mothers* (Boston, Samuel N. Dickinson, Printer, 1834), p.174.
19. Advertisements, "Six Evenings with the Microscope," *The Lynn Record*, 22 February and 29 March 1873.
20. Article, "Six Evenings with the Microscope," *The Lynn Record*, 5 April 1873.
21. Letter to the Editor, "Facts Worth Knowing," *The Lynn Record*, 11 July 1874.
22. Charlie and Theresa Harris, Ooltewah, Tenn., email to Andrew V. Rapoza, 10 November 2008. The Harrises are devoted collectors and researchers of antique baby bottles and very kindly assisted in the identification and explanation of the Russell's baby bottle pictured in the *carte de visite*; (collection of the author). The Burr's Patent Nursing Bottle was patented on 27 August 1867 (Patent No. 68,285) by Milo S. Burr and manufacturer by the M.S. Burr & Co., 26 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass.
23. It was common practice throughout the nineteenth century to save and reuse empty bottles; empty bottles became known as "utility bottles," convenient storage units for many different types of content. Charlie Harris has authored at least two articles highlighting the reuse of liquor, food, and medicine bottles as baby bottles; see "Photographic Proof," *Bottles and Extras*, Summer 2005, pp.2-3, and "Photographs of Significance," *Bottles and Extras* (March-April 2007), pp.34-35.
24. Article, "Inspection of Milk. Copy of General Laws of 1854 in relation to the Sale and Inspection of Milk," *Lynn Reporter*, 14 June 1865. Also see *The Revised Ordinances of the City of Lynn, With the City Charter and Amendments* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1872), p.108.
25. John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Urbana, IL: Illini Press, 1992) p.184.
26. Article, "Statistical," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1876. The population for Lynn in 1875 as found in J[oseph]. G[urney]. Pinkham, M.D., *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn* (undated, bound offprint No. 2499/1 in the collection of the author (Rapoza) of *Eighth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, Public Document No. 30* [Boston: Wright and Potter, 1877]), p.12.
27. There were frequent articles, notices, and advertisements in the Lynn newspapers from June through August 1874 for picnics, picnic grounds, camping, and ice cream saloons as various means for staying cool during the hot weather (see for example, items in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 27 June and 1 August 1874). Interestingly, swimming in the ocean was not often mentioned during the 1870s. This may have been due to moral conventions of the day, but it may also have been because there were so few enterprises and advertisers that benefited financially from promoting ocean swimming.
28. John Duffy, *The Sanitarians*, p.184.
29. Milk statutes in *The Revised Ordinances of the City of Lynn, With the City Charter and Amendments* (Lynn: Thos. P Nichols, 1872), p.108. See also Article, "Inspection of Milk. Copy of General laws of 1864 in relation to the Sale and Inspection of Milk." *Lynn Reporter*, 14 June 1865.
30. Article, "Milkmens Attention!" *The Lynn Record*, 1 March 1879 (legally). Similarly, it was noted in 1875 that "Several cases of milk adulterators have come before our Police Court lately." See item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 12 June 1875.
31. Item in feature column, "Police Court," *Lynn City Item*, 11 October 1879 (extract).
32. Item in feature column, "Quill Scratches," *Little Giant*, 27 July 1872.
33. The feeding mechanism of the Burr bottle is illustrated and defined in U.S. Letters Patent No. 68,285 dated August 27, 1867, for an IMPROVED NURSING-BOTTLE. At the time of filing the patent, Burr claimed that the bottle stopper and mouth guard or nipple shield each being constructed from a *single* piece of "wooden or other suitable" material were the two key improvements warranting the patent; see Patent Number 68,285. An advertisement for the Burr bottle specified the wood used was boxwood. See *The Medical and Surgical Reporter*, S. W. Butler, M.D. and D. G. Brinton, M.D., editors (Philadelphia, PA: Alfred Martin, Printer, 1868), Vol. XVIII, No. 22, after p.486. Charlie Harris also pointed out that the mouth guard was sometimes made of ivory or bone (Charlie Harris, email to Andrew V. Rapoza, 10 November 2008).

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- The bottle's shape shown in the patent is not the corset style. It seems to have been conceived after the patent application was filed but before the whole product (the bottle with the feeding mechanism) called the Burr bottle was produced.
34. Statistical analysis of Lynn, Massachusetts Deaths and Physicians Reports for 1870-1879 (LDS microfilms 1976552-1976555) was performed by the author (Rapoza).
35. See for example, Article, "Cholera Infantum," *The New York Times*, 4 July 1880.
36. Deaths Registered in the Town of Lynnfield, Vol. 265, p.232. See also Article, "Death of Two of the Triplets," *The Lynn Record*, 5 September 1874.
37. Darion Rapoza, Ph.D., President of Entertainment Science, Inc., Research Associate, Information Science and Information Studies, Duke University, and Maria Rapoza, Ph.D., Vice President of Science and Technology Development North Carolina Biotechnology Center, emails to Andrew V. Rapoza, 24, 25, and 26 November 2008. Darion and Maria Rapoza very kindly provided their professional assessment of my theory that the Russell children died from the bacteria present in the baby bottle apparatus. In analyses independent of each other, they both concluded that *Clostridium botulinum* was the most likely form of bacteria to have caused the deaths of the Russell triplets. Darion Rapoza wrote that it "occurs naturally in raw milk (primarily from external contamination of the teat with dirt and feces), grows in milk stored in bottles, forms spores," and the toxins it produces cause symptoms matching the weakened, feeble conditions associated with infantile debility. He further explained that spores are "very, very hard to kill. Their formation is a biological process involving creation of a nearly impervious casing. Reintroduction of milk to the bottle following ... desiccation ... would be expected to rapidly populate the bottle with an active culture of *c. botulinum* as the spores come to life." The toxin that the *c. botulinum* bacteria exude blocks neuromuscular transmission, resulting in "flaccid paralysis," i.e., the baby's muscles would weaken, possibly to the point of being completely limp. "Once the toxin is present in the bottle, it would survive desiccation and any period of time (if not washed out with detergent). In this scenario, the first drink from the bottle ... would be lethal (in hours, not weeks)." Maria Rapoza added, "If *c. botulinum* is the culprit (which is still speculative on our part) I would assume ... that due to the speed of death that it was the bottle itself [or parts of the feeding mechanism] that was contaminated, and furthermore, that is was a concentrated level of pathogen resulting from the design of the bottle, rather than a more diffuse and slower acting contamination of new milk that was put into the bottle."
- The Burr Patent Nursing Bottle was advertised as the most advanced nurser in the market: it was free from "poisonous mineral substances." S. Dana Hayes, the Massachusetts State Assayer and Chemist, was quoted as certifying that the bottle works did "not contain any traces of lead" and that the nipples and tubes were "entirely harmless ... when taken into the mouth, as it is impossible to extract any injurious substance from them by ordinary usage." In 1877 the manufacturer was urging that the bottle and all of its parts should be washed and brushed out with saleratus, soda, borax, or soap water and finally clean water immediately after it had been used so that it would remain "perfectly sweet and clean, and free from acidity and odor." Burr did not want the babies to fuss, resist, or get colicky while using a Burr bottle because of a soured milk residue; the real dangers were still not understood. See Advertisement in Francis H. Brown, M.D., *The Medical Register for New England* (Boston: H. O. Houghton and Company, 1877), after p.413.
38. Etienne Van de Walle and Elisha P. Renne, Editors, *Regulating Menstruation: Beliefs, Practices, Interpretations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), p.40. *The Lynn Record* reported in 1874 that a quarter of those who were born died before they were 7 years old and one half died before reaching 17. Average life expectancy was 33.5 years, with rich men averaging 42, but the poor only averaging 30 years; only 1 in 100 reached age 60 and 1 in 500 to age 80. See Article, "Facts Concerning Human Life," *The Lynn Record*, 25 April 1874.
39. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 7 April 1869.
40. Joseph G. Pinkham, "The Very Frequent and Inexcusable Destruction of Foetal Life in its Earlier Stages by Medical Men in Honorable Standing," *The Journal of the Gynaecological Society of Boston* (1870), Vol. III, pp.376 (emmengogues); John O. Webster, M.D., Secretary, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1871), Vol. 85, p.196 (violent).
41. In research among most of the regularly published Lynn newspapers for these decades, the following numbers of proprietaries advertised for female complaints were found: 1820-29: none; 1830-39: 2; 1840-49: 6; 1850-59: 20; 1860-69: 6; 1870-79: 8. It should be noted that the number of female medicines for a given decade does correlate somewhat with the number of newspapers available and investigated for the given decade. Although consistent increases decade over decade cannot be proven from this survey, it is clear that advertising saturation for female medicines in the thirty early years of the century (1820-1849) Lynn newspapers was far less (total: 8) than for those of the thirty years of the mid-century (1850-1879; total: 34), suggesting an increased demand for such products as the century progressed. Research and survey were performed by the author (Rapoza).
42. Advertisements, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 23 March 1870 (Millard's) and 19 January 1870 (Duponco's).

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43. Pinkham, "The Very Frequent and Inexcusable Destruction of Foetal Life in its Earlier Stages by Medical Men in Honorable Standing," pp.374-377 (emphasis in original).
44. Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., Lynn, "A Case of Poisoning with Gelseminum Sempervirens," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (9 February 1871), Vol. 84, No.6, p.89.
45. "Trial of Asa T. Newhall," manuscript (1870), Massachusetts Medical Society, Committee on Ethics and Discipline. Records, 1861-1875; at the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Boston, Mass.). The eight Lynn practitioners were Daniel Perley, Edward Newhall, Isaac F. Gallooue, James M. Nye, Bowman Bigelow Breed, J. S. Emerson, Joseph G. Pinkham, Charles A. Ahearne, and David F. Drew.
46. "Trial of Asa T. Newhall" (1870). Mary E. Luscomb was the wife of a shoemaker and at the time of her death in 1856, she was already the mother of five children. The oldest one had died at 7 years old of scarlet fever, one month before Mary gave birth to her fourth child. At her death, the other children were 6, 4, and 2, and not quite 11 months. See *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915*, 1854, No. 6: 15 January 1854 (death of James A. Luscomb at 7 years 14 days); *Massachusetts Birth Records, 1840-1915*, 1854, No.319: 15 February 1854 (birth of Ella Luscomb); *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1306, household 1924; *Massachusetts State Census, 1855*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 104, household 143; *Massachusetts Birth Records, 1840-1915*, No. 486: 19 August 1855 (birth of Mary Etta Luscomb); *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1633, household 2185.
- Sarah A. Wentworth was married to a factory worker and the mother of three, ages 6, 5, 2. Both households had small incomes and growing families; quite possibly both couples had decided abortion was the solution to further financial strain. According to the 1870 federal census, Thomas Wentworth, 33, worked in a morocco leather factory; their children were Annie L., 8, Nellie M., 7, and Clarence T., 4. See *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 383, household 504.
47. "Trial of Asa T. Newhall" (1870). Sarah Verity was still alive at least a year after her abortion. See *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 433, household 611. The subject Nellie Sargent could not be clearly identified and located in available records, but no one closely approximating that name could be located on New England death records online (in 2018).
48. "Trial of Asa T. Newhall" (1870).
49. Editorial, no author or title, *The Journal of the Gynaecological Society of Boston*, (1870) Vol.III, pp.269-270.
50. Articles, "Death of Dr. Asa T. Newhall," *The Lynn Record* (honor), and "Death of a Physician," *The Lynn Transcript* (esteem), both 2 January 1875.
51. John O. Webster, "The Law and Criminal Abortion," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 31 August 1871, Vol. 8, No. 9, p.134 (emphasis added).
52. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.33.
53. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879.
54. Article (full title in excerpt), *The Lynn Record*, 1 March 1879.
55. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879.
56. Medical Examiner Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., "On Points of Interest in the Case of Jennie P. Clarke," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (9 September 1880), Vol. 103, No. 11, p.244.
57. Articles "Lynn's Ghastly Mystery," *The New York Times*, 1 March 1879 (little children); "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879 (decomposing).
58. Article, "Still Unknown," *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1879 (25,000). Lynn's population a year later had reached 38,274; see Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.87.
59. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879.
60. Article, "Lynn's Ghastly Mystery," *The New York Times*, 1 March 1879.
61. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879.
62. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879.
63. Article, "The Human Trunk Mystery Solved," *The Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser* (Maitlane, New South Wales, Australia), 25 September 1879.
64. Article, "Lynn's Unsolved Mystery," *The New York Times*, 28 February 1879 (parentage). Article, "A Good Ghost Story," *The Daily Picayune* (New Orleans, Louisiana), 20 July 1879, which cited the story was, in turn, lifted from the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.
65. Joseph G. Pinkham, "On Points of Interest in the Case of Jennie P. Clarke," pp.244-245.

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66. Joseph G. Pinkham, "On Points of Interest in the Case of Jennie P. Clarke," p.245.
67. Joseph G. Pinkham, "On Points of Interest in the Case of Jennie P. Clarke," p.246.
68. Joseph G. Pinkham, "On Points of Interest in the Case of Jennie P. Clarke," p.244.
69. Article, "Another Abortionist Caged," *Lynn City Item*, 5 July 1879.
70. Curve Street no longer exists, but in 1875 connected 28 Neptune Street to 69 Commercial Street. *The Lynn Directory, 1875* (Boston: Sampson, Davenport, and Co., 1875), No XIV, p.11
71. Article, "The Trunk Mystery Revived – Arrest of a Lynn Woman Suspected of the Crime," *Lynn City Item*, 28 June 1879.
72. Article, "Marion A. McLane on Trial – The Preliminary Examination of the Alleged Abortionist," *Lynn City Item*, 28 June 1879.
73. Notice, "Superior Court," *Lynn City Item*, 18 October 1879.
74. Article, "Another Abortionist Caged," *Lynn City Item*, 5 July 1879.
75. Article, "Alleged Abortionist in Court," *Lynn City Item*, 9 August 1879.
76. Notice, "Superior Court," *Lynn City Item*, 1 November 1879.
77. *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915* and *Massachusetts Birth Records, 1841-1915*. Tabulation and research of stillbirths and deaths from 1 day to five years for 1870-1879 was performed by the author (Rapoza). During those years, 7,553 births occurred in Lynn while there were 2,514 deaths including stillbirths and up to five years old; of this total, 1,495 children from birth to their first birthday died (59.47% of all child deaths under five), which was the equivalent of 20% of all the births during the same decade. This age group was followed by stillbirths (453) 18.92%, then from 1-2 years (408) 16.23%.
78. Article, no title, *The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 4 May 1772. "Gaol" (later, jail) was misspelled or incorrectly typeset as Gaol in the original article.
79. Articles, "Dead Body Found," *Lynn Reporter*, 15 December 1869 (skirt); "Still Born Child Found," *Little Giant*, 17 February 1872 (Leslie's); "Dead Infant Found," *Lynn Reporter*, 21 April 1875 and item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 24 April 1875 (drain); Articles, "Body Found," *Lynn Transcript*, 5 August 1871 (chain); "Dead Child Found," *Lynn Transcript*, 25 April 1874 (entombed). Although many cases of infanticide were recorded in the newspapers of the decade, the tragic practice had likely existed throughout Lynn's history. Another instance of infant abandonment on a remote Lynn wayside during the dead of winter in 1827 was published in a Pennsylvania newspaper; see Article, "UNNATURAL!" *The Adams Sentinel* (Gettysburg, PA), 03 January 1827.
80. Articles, "Infanticide," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, (criminal), *Lynn Transcript*, and item in "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, all on 6 May 1876 (decomposing). The field where the body was found was alternately identified as Seldom Good Pasture and Jefferies Field in the Wyoma neighborhood of north Lynn. Article, "Probable Infanticide," *Lynn City Item*, 8 February 1879 (frozen). Note from the author (Rapoza): My apologies for indulging in a little creative license when assigning metaphorical tears of ice to the frozen, unhappy-looking infant corpse.
81. Article, "The Murder of Innocents," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 May 1876. Note the phrase, "their skirts are not free from blood" – the author was pinning the blame for infanticidal crimes squarely on the mothers.
82. Article, "Infanticide," *Lynn Transcript*, 12 September 1874.
83. Article, "Infanticide," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 December 1874.
84. Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., "Some Remarks Upon Infanticide, with Report of a Case of Infanticide by Drowning," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, (1883), Vol.109, p.411.
85. Article, "Waif," *The Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872.
86. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 9 November 1878.
87. Article, "A Deserted Infant," *Lynn City Item*, 28 June 1879. Cambridge street connected Oxford to Liberty Street; see *Lynn City Directory, 1875* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1875), p.10.
88. Rosie Findlay, "'More Deadly Than The Male'...? Mothers and Infanticide In Nineteenth Century Britain", *Cycnos*, Vol. 23, (2), (2006), URL: <http://revel.unice.fr/cycnos/document.html?id=763>
89. Article, "Baby Farming," *Lynn Reporter*, 6 February 1875.
90. Letter to the Editor, "Am I My Brother's Keeper," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874.
91. Letter to the Editor, "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874; (emphasis in original).
92. Article, "Baby Farming," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874.
93. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (August 14, 1873), Vol. 89, No. 7, p.149.

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94. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," p.151.
 95. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Non-population Census Schedules for Massachusetts, 1850-1880*; Archive Collection: T1204; Archive Roll Number: 38; Census Year: 1880; Census Place: Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts, Page 1, Supervisor's District No.60, Enumeration District No.219, line 174. Gallooupe was the informant, but not the scribe.
 96. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," pp.151-152.
 97. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," pp.154-155.
 98. Article, "Sadly Afflicted," *The Lynn Record*, 30 March 1878.
 99. Article, "A Pitiful Case," *The Lynn Record*, 16 October 1875.
 100. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," p.173.
 101. Feature column, "Deaths," *Little Giant*, 3 August 1872.
 102. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," p.154.
 103. John O. Webster, M.D., "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents, 1874* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1874), p.2.
 104. See Articles, from *The Lynn Record*: "Indecent" (exposing) and "Contemptible" (liberties) 22 June 1872; and no title, 20 July 1872 (liberties).
 105. Article, "A Deserved Flagellation," *Lynn Transcript*, 13 July 1872.
 106. Articles, "Criminal," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1876 (enticing) and "Escape and Recapture of a Notorious Character," *The Lynn Record*, 22 July 1876 (lascivious).
 107. Witherell escaped from the House of Corrections at Ipswich just two months into his six-month sentence. He made his way to a friend's house in the Wyoma section of Lynn, where he sent word to his family that he needed food and clothing. He then hid in the woods near Floating Bridge Pond in East Lynn, but he was found and captured by the police. "Witherell begged hard to be released and offered the officers quite a sum of money if they would let him go ..." but the police took him back to prison. See Article, "Escape and Recapture of a Notorious Character," *The Lynn Record*, 22 July 1876.
 108. Article, "A Fiend Incarnate," *The Lynn Record*, 15 December 1877.
 109. Article, "Run Away from Home," *The Lynn Record*, 18 May 1872.
 110. Only Fall River had worse attendance of all the states cities. See editorial, "Cause and Effect," *The Lynn Record*, 5 June 1875, which quoted from the "Report on Education." The number 1,665 Lynn children in violation of the mandatory school law is found in *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, March 1875 (Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1875) No.31, p.48.
 111. Article, "An Appeal," *The Lynn Record*, 16 November 1878.
 112. *The Revised Ordinances of the City of Lynn, with the City Charter and Amendments* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1872), p.130. The Massachusetts state law stipulated the same requirement of children between 10 and 15 years old and the maximum number of hours they could work per day was 10 and 60 hours weekly; see *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor: Account of Its Operations and Inquiries from March 1, 1870, to March 1, 1871* (Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1871), No.150, p.487.
 113. Article, "Ex-City Marshal Shepherd's Report," *Little Giant*, 25 November 1871. While the newspapers gave several accounts during the decade of the 1870s of boys falling down factory elevator shafts, this editorial may have been referring specifically to Tobias Burke, thirteen years old, who fell down the elevator from the second floor of the Washington Street shoe manufactory of J. D. Mullen. It was a distance of 21 feet. The boy was brought to his home on Union Court and a doctor was called, but "the lad sank rapidly owing to the severe nature of his injuries and expired the following day" Article, "Fatal Accident," *The Lynn Record*, 2 January 1875.
 114. Editorial, "Factory Children," *The Lynn Record* 3 March 1877. The
 115. "Cause and Effect," *The Lynn Record*, 5 June 1875.
 116. Statistical research of the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, was performed by the author (Rapoza).
 117. "Cause and Effect," *The Lynn Record*, 5 June 1875.
 118. Article, "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 15 August 1874.
 119. Article, "Finger Crushed," *The Lynn Record*, 24 April 1872.
 120. Article, "Accident," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 December 1873.
 121. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 16 February 1878.
 122. Article, "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 16 March 1872.

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123. Article, "Accident," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 August 1872.
124. Article, "Accident in a Stitching Room," *The Lynn Record*, 13 March 1875. It is unclear whether Hannah Coleman was related to John Coleman, mentioned earlier in the elevator accident.
125. *MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Lynn* (Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston: 1985), p.19.
126. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.70. Several of the shoe manufacturers' exhibits can be found in Francis A. Walker, Ed., United States Centennial Commission. International Exhibition, 1876. *Reports and Awards*, Vol. V. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), pp.12, 56, 69, 80, 84, 87, 92. The framed display is in the collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society.
127. Article by G. W. M., "Shall Lynn Progress!" *Lynn Weekly Record*, 10 March 1869.
128. Article, "Wooden Lynn," *Little Giant*, 28 October 1871.
129. Article, "Horse Cemetery," *Lynn Transcript*, 7 February 1874.
130. Articles, "Our Sidewalks," *The Lynn Record*, 3 March 1877 (sidewalks) and "The Munroe Street Nuisance," *The Lynn Record*, 20 July 1878 (morboco).
131. Advertising trade card for the Arcade Saloon (ca. 1867-1871 based on the proprietor's residence in the Lynn city directory for those years; collection of the author). Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 14 (Eureka) and 21 (Palace) September 1872; Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1871 (Goat); Article, "Police Court," *The Lynn Record*, 22 August 1868 (Eagle).
132. Article, "The Gymnasium," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872.
133. Advertisements, *Little Giant*, 29 October (Filene's); Item in feature column, "Starry Notes, *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1879 (butterflies); Article, "Birds," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 March 1875 (birds). The 1875 article explained that there was fear that some of the favored birds were facing extinction, so popular had killing them become for fashion.
134. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 2 December 1871.
135. Puff, "New Apothecary Store," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 July 1872. Also see item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," (Proctor) and puff, no title (Tozzer), both in *Lynn Transcript*, 22 June 1872.
136. Puff, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 22 June 1872.
137. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 13 January 1877.
138. Advertising trade card: Johnson the Butcher (ca. 1878; collection of the author); Article, "A Young Alligator," *The Lynn Record*, 1 July 1876.
139. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 30 June 1877. The destructive Colorado potato beetle first appeared in Lynn during the summer of 1876, so Bergengren was just presenting a creepy window display, but for some, a disturbing memory. See James R. Newhall, *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879, Being The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement* (Lynn: 1880), p.217.
140. Assortment of nine advertisements found in *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1871; all on the first page.
141. Advertisements, *Little Giant*, 18 February 1871.
142. Advertisements, *Lynn Reporter*, 9 January 1875 (cows) and 12 December 1874 (pianos).
143. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 25 January 1879.
144. Advertising trade card (est.1878 based on card style and city directory address match in the same year) for Griffin's Fancy Bakery, collection of the author). The card lists 34 types of crackers and fancy crackers and the per pound price of each type.
145. References to peddlers were found throughout the 1870s decade in the Lynn newspapers. This selection of peddlers were located in the *Lynn Transcript*, 26 November 1872 (cigar, peanut); 16 August 1873 (chair); 12 December 1873 (fish); and the *Lynn Reporter*, 1 May 1875 (pipes), 15 May 1875 (apples), and *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 28 August 1875 (refreshments).
146. Item in feature column, "Noted and Quoted," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 August 1874.
147. Letter to the Editor, by C.D., "Hucksters Rapped Over the Knuckles," *Little Giant*, 18 May 1872.
148. Letter to the Editor, no author or title, *Little Giant*, 12 August 1871.
149. Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 8 March 1873.
150. Items in feature column, "Brief Notes," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 28 July 1875.
151. Notice, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1871.
152. Article, "Is He a Fraud?" *The Lynn Record*, 7 February 1874 (emphasis in original). The itinerant in question was Lucien E. Shipman, 26 in 1874; married and the father of two children, aged 4 and 1. Although there is no excuse for nonpayment of a bill, at the height of the economic depression, peddling to support a family must have been quite a challenge. He died in 1881 and the medicine continued to be made by the Geo. L. Claflin &

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- Co., in Providence. An advertising puff, extoling the medicine's virtues as a preventive of gangrene and fungoid growth in wounds and amputations, is found in the *Quad-City Times* (Davenport, IA), 5 December 1876. A trademark was secured for "a symbol of a ship in full sail, in connection with the letters 'man's'" arranged under the image to form a rebus for "SHIP+MAN'S". See *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1879), Vol. 14, 1878, p.526, No. 6,700.
153. Article, "Queer Complications," *Lynn City Item*, 5 April 1879. Also see Letter to the Editor, Mrs. V. A. Cooper, *Lynn City Item*, 29 March 1879.
154. Article, "Pedlar of the 'Wigwam Tonic' in a Quandary," *The Lynn Record*, 14 June 1873. The peddler was identified as Joseph Pine, of Haverhill, who sold "Wigwam Tonic for a living." The article later describes his sale of "a bottle of bitters to one of the workmen, and since that time he has not seen hide nor hair of the pocket-book."
155. Article, "Terrible Death," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 March 1872.
156. Articles from *The Lynn Record*, "Those New Turnouts," 7 June 1873 (description of some barges), and 18 July 1874 (contained a list of seventeen barges, including the Gipsey Queen, Jolly Joker, and the Lady of the Lake; advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 24 August 1872 (Belle). Newhall noted that outdoor social gatherings in this time period were quite popular; there were 37 picnic parties in the single locality of Echo Grove during the summer of 1871 and that it was just one of several similar places of resort in and near Lynn. See Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.45. In July 1873 a Spiritualists' Picnic sponsored by the Children's Progressive Lyceum No. 1 of Boston was held at Echo Grove, complete with speakers and dancing to Carter's Quadrille Band; see Advertisement, *Banner of Light*, 28 June 1873.
157. Article, "Base Ball," *Lynn Transcript*, 20 June 1874 (Clippers and Kirtlands); Articles, "Base Ball," *The Lynn Record*, 11 October 1873 (Third Story) and 8 April 1876 (Quicksteps); Article, "Base Ball Grounds," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 May 1874 (Live Oaks).
158. Articles, "Base Ball Grounds," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 May 1874.
159. Articles, "Notes from the Base Ball Field," *The Lynn Record*, 8 May 1875 (grandstand); "Base Ball," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 June 1874 (circus).
160. Article, "Base Ball," *The Lynn Record*, 6 April 1878.
161. Article, "Base Ball," *The Lynn Record*, 22 June 1878.
162. Article, "Base Ball – Opening Game," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 May 1874. In July of the year, the Live Oaks played in a prize tournament at Watertown, New York, competing against the Syracuse Stars, the New York Flyways, a team from Kingston, and the Guelph, Canada, Mapleleafs; and they beat everyone and took first prize. Over the four games, the Lynn's Live Oak team scored 47 runs to 16 by all other teams combined. The telegraph apparently got the message home to Lynn before them because when they arrived at Lynn's train depot, Central Square was filled with an enormous crowd of fans and well-wishers, ready to celebrate. A procession was formed, headed by the Lynn Brass Band, together with the Live Oak nine, resplendent in their game uniforms of white shirt and pants, red stockings and cap, with the words "Live Oak" across the chest, carrying a bat over their shoulder and looking "finely." The procession marched through several downtown streets and halted in front of J. N. Pike's Base Ball Emporium, where they were greeted with fireworks, a bonfire, transparencies, and a collation. Pike's store was decorated for the occasion with suspended flags and an American eagle with two small flags in its claws, much like the city's buildings had been decorated to celebrate the victorious end of the Civil War ten years earlier. See Article, "The Base Ball Tournament at Watertown," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 July 1875.
163. Article, "Wrestling Match," *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
164. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 8 July 1876 (emphasis as in original). For Barnum's other appearances, see advertisements in *The Lynn Record*, 3 May 1873 and 22 and 29 May 1875.
165. Article, "The Sea Serpent," *The Lynn Record*, 6 November 1875.
166. Article, "The Sea Monster," *The Lynn Record*, 3 March 1877.
167. Article, "Cat and Kitten Show," *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
168. Article, "Baby Show at G.A.R. Fair," *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
169. Article, "The Spelling Mania," *The Lynn Record*, 10 April 1875.
170. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 27 March 1875 (Baptist) and 3 April 1875 (Universalist, Music Hall).
171. Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 September 1872.
172. Ticket for the play, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at Lynn's Music Hall. (Collection of the author.)
173. Puff, "Buffalo Bill," *The Lynn Record*, 2 January 1875. The pricing for the Buffalo Bill show was listed as the "standard pricing"; shows over several months before and after that performance consistently listed the orchestra and general pricing of 75 and 50 cents or added the third tier of 35-cent gallery pricing as well. See,

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- for example, Music Hall performance advertisements in *Lynn Transcript*, 10 October, 2 and 21 November 1874, and 13 March 1875.
174. Article, "Electricity Harnessed," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 December 1871.
 175. Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 27 March 1875. Walter K. Menns is listed in *The Lynn Directory, 1875*; see pp.114, 185. He apparently lived in Lynn only in 1875. He had previously been in the photography business with his father in Chelsea (1872), and subsequently ran a watch, clock, and chronometer shop in Everett (1889). The lighting he used was likely arc lighting.
 176. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 6 April 1878 (baseball); Article, "Telephone," *The Lynn Record*, 5 May 1877 (Valpey).
 177. Article, "Telephone," *The Lynn Record*, 5 May 1877.
 178. Article, Telephonic Communication," *Lynn City Item*, 4 October 1879.
 179. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn), 29 December 1879.
 180. Compilation of the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts (tabulation performed by Andrew and Gail Rapoza); see Ward 5, p.138 (Bubier), Ward 6, p.146 (Tapley), and Ward 1, p.16 (Pinkham). The written instructions for census takers defined Personal Estate to be inclusive of all bonds, stocks, mortgages, notes, livestock, plate, jewels, or furniture; but exclusive of wearing apparel. See *Instructions to Assistant Marshals* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p.10.
 181. Articles, "Personal," *The Lynn Record*, 7 October 1876 (Bly); "Personal," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 23 April 1870 (Lamper). Joseph B. Lamper, Mary's husband was a flour and grain dealer and with real and personal estate valued at \$130,000 (as listed in the 1870 federal census), they were among the most affluent families of Lynn.
 182. Albert W. Edgerly, "Progression Backward," An oration spoken by a High School Graduate on graduation day in the So. Com. M. E. Church on May 21st, 1870, Lynn, Mass. (MS, Lynn Public Library). Edgerly's adult life was a wandering journey of grandiose plans, racist platitudes, and haphazard teachings. He established a social movement called Ralstonism that claimed 800,000 followers; it was patterned in part on the growing Victorian interest in eugenics, also referred to in the late nineteenth century as social Darwinism. Edgerly viewed his followers as the founding members of a new race, based on Caucasians, free from "impurities," and he advocated the castration of all non-Caucasian males at birth and warned that watermelons were poisonous to Caucasians.
Edgerly wrote over eighty self-help books that provided superficial, fatuous, and vapid thoughts on a hodgepodge of subjects that included facial expressions, ventriloquism, punctuation, exercise, sexual magnetism, and "artistic deep breathing." The Magnetism Club of America, another Ralstonite organization, was founded to give its members control over the minds of others in contradistinction to Christian Science, which reviled mind control. Correct diet and proper physical exercise would help readers attain "personal magnetism", which would give them control over the thoughts of others. There was a proper way to move (in graceful curves rather than at sharp angles) and on the balls of the feet. Edgerly claimed there was a scientifically correct way to bathe (a dry bath), gesture, sit, stand, sleep, talk and even to have sex.
At the turn of the 20th century, Edgerly endorsed William H. Danforth expanded his Purina animal feed company by getting Edgerly's endorsement to produce cereal foods for humans; the new enterprise was named the *Ralston Purina Company*. Edgerly also intended to establish the community of Ralston, New Jersey based on the Ralstonian principles; the project, earmarked to contain sixteen farms, seven palaces, and a temple in the middle, fell far short of completion. See Ralstonism in Wikipedia.
 183. *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, March 1877 (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877), Part IV., p.157.
 184. *The Census of Massachusetts: 1875*, (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1876), Vol. 1, Population and Social Statistics, p.3 (population); p.440 (disabilities).
 185. *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, p.176 (emphasis as in original).
 186. *Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, p.181.
 187. William Kingsford, Letter to the Editor, *The Lynn Record*, 30 June 1874.
 188. *MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Lynn*, pp.18-19.
 189. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No. 150, p.243.
 190. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No. 150, p.242.
 191. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols, 1880), p.341.
 192. James R. Newhall, *Centennial Memorial of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Embracing an Historical Sketch, 1629-1876* (Lynn: City Council, 1876); p.76.

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- 193. Compilation of the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts (tabulation performed by Andrew and Gail Rapoza).
 - 194. The Census of Massachusetts: 1875, Vol. II: Manufacturers and Occupations (Boston: Albert J. Wright, 1877), pp. 397, 400.
 - 195. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, No.51, Interview 36: H., p.609. This chapter's study of Lynn labor has incorporated the following interviews from this report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics: Interviews 36: H.; 37: T.; 38: G.; 41: W.; and 43: S. While the interviews were recorded anonymously, each identified by only one initial as shown here, all of the descriptive information provided by each of these interviewees fit the profile of a Lynn resident; however, even if some of these descriptions were of shoe workers living elsewhere in Massachusetts, there is nothing in them that would have been inconsistent with the experience of shoe workers in Lynn, and thus are used in the observations herein.
 - 196. *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston: Wright & Potter, March 1875), No.31, p.242, No.54.
 - 197. *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1875), No.31, p.241, No.63.
 - 198. *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1875), No.31, p.242, No.64.
 - 199. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 38: G., p.610; an almost identical opinion was shared in Interview 36: H., p.608.
 - 200. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 43: S., p.614.
 - 201. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 February 1872. The article speculated that the severity of Berdge's injuries would necessitate amputation, but it confirmed that Parrott's middle finger was amputated at the first joint, "considerable flesh" having been stripped from it by the machinery. Coincidentally, both men were 52 years old at the time of their accidents.
 - 202. *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor*, No.180 (Boston: Wright & Potter, March 1872), p.423.
 - 203. Article, "Singular Accident," *The Lynn Record*, 22 January 1876.
 - 204. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 37: T., p.609.
 - 205. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 36: H., p.607.
 - 206. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 41: W., p.611.
 - 207. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 43: S., p.613.
 - 208. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 41: W., p.611 (monotonous); Interview 43: S., p.613 (exercise).
 - 209. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No.150, Interview 37: T., p.609.
 - 210. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures* (Boston: W. H. Halliday and Company: 1871), p.37 (packed); Article, "Music Hall Crowd," *Little Giant*, 11 March 1871 (woman).
 - 211. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.2.
 - 212. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.5.
 - 213. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.20.
 - 214. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.56.
 - 215. Joseph Cook used the ink and silks allegory in one of his talks; see *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.24.
 - 216. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.21; see p.51 for his concern for the safety of the factory children.
 - 217. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.29.
 - 218. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, pp.25-26. Cook did not share the names of the physicians he interviewed.
 - 219. James R. Newhall wrote that many were upset by Cook's "unwarrantably dark picture of the culture and morals of the young men and women who labored in the shoe manufactories; and as unjustly assuming that there was almost, if not entirely, criminal laxity in the management of the establishments." See Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.42.
 - 220. John Taylor Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism: The Lectures of Reverend Cook in Lynn, Massachusetts* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1982), p.15, explained that Cook had a mental breakdown in 1861 and was sent to the McLean Asylum in Somerville and was there for two years.
 - 221. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.68 (careless) and p.74 (foulest).
 - 222. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.18.

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223. Article, "Destitution," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 September 1871.
224. Article, "Destitute Travelers," *The Lynn Record*, 13 July 1872.
225. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.13.
226. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 14 March 1874.
227. Rev. Daniel Wise, *Bridal Greetings* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1850), pp.146-149. Copy in possession of the author (Rapoza) was presented as a wedding gift in 1883 (emphasis in original).
228. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 19 July 1873.
229. Article, "A Failure," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 28 June 1876.
230. Article, "Chinese Laundry," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 13 May 1876.
231. Article, "Chinese Laundry," *The Lynn Record*, 31 August 1878.
232. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 9 March 1878.
233. Advertisements, *Lynn Transcript*, 25 September 1878 (Protestant), 5 October 1875 (American), and *The Lynn Record*, 12 July 1873 (active); (emphasis added). The middle-aged American woman who was willing to take just about any kind of work was Catherine Greenleaf of North Common Street, Lynn, who had been advertising her Indian Vegetable medicines since at least 1865.
234. James R. Newhall, *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879, being the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement, Embracing the Oration*, by Cyrus M. Tracy (Lynn: City Council, 1880), p.48. Lynn also published the *Centennial Memorial of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Embracing an Historical Sketch, 1629-1876*; it was another town history volume synchronized with the national centennial celebration. It did not commemorate any national history, milestones, or significant events, but instead was exclusively about its own development as an active contributor to the history of America.
235. Advertisement (heraldic) and Article, "Lynn at the Centennial," *The Lynn Record*, 8 April 1876.
236. Article, "Soup Houses," *The Lynn Record*, 18 January 1873.
237. Letter to the Editor, "The Future of Lynn," *The Lynn Record*, 12 April 1873.
238. Letter to the Editor, "The Labor Question," by "X," *The Lynn Record*, 5 July 1873.
239. Article, "Suicide of a Lynn Man," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 August 1873.
240. Article, "Suicide," *Lynn Transcript*, 13 September 1873. The deaths of his two wives were listed in *Massachusetts Death Records* as Catherine M. Atkins (died) 20 August 1853 of consumption, and Angeline Curtin Atkins (died) 10 May 1868, of childbirth.
241. Article, "Effects of Hard Times," *The Lynn Record*, 15 November 1873.
242. Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 15 November 1873.
243. Items in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 15 November 1873 (snowstorm) and 6 December 1873 (coldest).
244. *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1871), No. 150, p.246.
245. Article, " "For Sale" ," *The Lynn Record*, 19 December 1874.
246. Letter to the Editor, by X, "An Eye-Opener," in "The People's Column," *The Lynn Record*, 28 November 1874.
247. Letter to the Editor, by Equity, "What are the Industrial Classes Coming to?" *The Lynn Record*, 16 May 1874.
248. Article, "The Impoverished Class," *The Lynn Record*, 27 November 1875. For another example of the same sentiment, see Article, "Employment Wanted," *Lynn Transcript*, 31 October 1874.
249. Article, no title, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 26 June 1875.
250. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 24 August 1878.
251. Article, "Employment Wanted," *Lynn Transcript*, 31 October 1874.
252. Article, "The City Missionary's Report," *The Lynn Record*, 23 November 1872.
253. Article, "City Missionary's Report," *Lynn Transcript*, 24 April 1875.
254. Article, The Cold Weather, *Lynn Reporter*, 10 February 1875 (chilling); squib, no title, *Lynn Reporter*, 13 February 1875 (coast); Article, "Aid for Destitute Children," *Lynn Reporter*, 20 February 1875 (tatters).
255. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.16.
256. Article, "Shameful Treatment," *Lynn Transcript*, 9 October 1875.
257. Article, "The Impoverished Class," *The Lynn Record*, 27 November 1875.
258. Article, "The Cold Snap," *The Lynn Record*, 4 December 1875.
259. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 4 December 1875.

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260. Articles, "Base Ball," *Lynn Transcript*, 3 June 1876 (Stars) and "Obituary," 26 August 1876 (disbanded).
261. Article, "Polo in Lynn," *The Lynn Record*, 14 October 1876.
262. Article, "Wrestling," *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1876.
263. Items in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 11 November 1876 (play), and 18 November 1876 (ventriloquist).
264. Item in feature column, "Starr Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 22 November 1873.
265. Article, "Bitten by Rats," *Lynn City Items* 24 May 1879.
266. Letter to the Editor, "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874.
267. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.99.
268. Article, "Notes from City Hall," *Little Giant*, 27 April 1872. The phenomenon of battling tenement neighbors was also discussed in an untitled item in feature column, "Starry Notes," in *The Lynn Record*, 21 December 1872.
269. Article, "Complaints, etc.," *Little Giant*, 20 April 1872.
270. Notice, "In Bankruptcy," *Lynn Transcript*, 28 February 1874.
271. Notice, "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes," *Lynn Transcript*, 17 October 1874.
272. Notice, "Legal Notice," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 January 1875, indicated the bankruptcy notice was submitted to the newspaper on 26 December 1874.
273. Notice, "Bankruptcy Notice," *The Lynn Record*, 16 January 1875. Tabulation of Notice, "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1873" and Notice, "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1872 in the 15 May 1875 edition of the *Lynn Transcript* was performed by the author (Rapoza). Newhall's retrospective on the dangers of real estate investment after the Panic could have been written with Isaac Pinkham in mind, "Many who owned small estates near business centres found themselves suddenly rich – and it should be added that if they invested their sudden gains in other real estate, and continued to hold it a couple of years, they probably grew just as suddenly poor again, for equalizing depression followed the inflation." See James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.54.
274. Notice, "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1873," *Lynn Transcript*, 15 May 1875.
275. Bankruptcies among the 1875 building trades included James Merritt, Frederick A. Philbrick, and George W. Josselyn, carpenters; John R. Swain, and Phendes H. Hurd, house carpenters; Isaac C. Cross, mason & stucco work; and Albert T. Thurston, brick mason. See 1875 bankruptcy notices in *The Lynn Record*: 10 April, 1 May, 8 May, 29 May. Luther P. Whipple was the real estate agent; his bankruptcy was listed in *The Lynn Record* on 24 July 1875. Tabulation of the "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1873" in the 18 September 1875 edition of the *Lynn Transcript* was performed by the author (Rapoza) and occupations cross-checked against the Lynn city directory for 1875.
276. Notice, "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1873," *Lynn Transcript*, 18 September 1875.
277. Items in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 17 June 1876 (Littlefield & Ruth, who were partners in the grocery business); Notice, "Notice of Foreclosure," *The Lynn Record*, 3 June 1876 (Wilson).
278. Tabulation of the city's unpaid taxes in the 26 August 1876 edition of the *Lynn Transcript* was performed by the author (Rapoza).
279. Notice, "City Collector's Notice, Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1875," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1876.
280. Notice, "City Collector's Notice, Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1875," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1876.
281. Notice, "City Collector's Notice, Estates to be Sold for Unpaid Taxes of 1875," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1876 (Josselyn, Abbot & Blake, Johnson, and the Bigelows); Notice "City Collector's Notice. Estates to be sold for Unpaid Taxes for 1876," *Lynn Record*, 28 July 1877 (Pinkham). The 1877 City Collector's Notice was so large, three city newspapers split the responsibility of listing the names of all the tax delinquents; *Lynn Transcript*, covered Wards 1, 2, and 3; *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, Wards 4 and 5; and *Lynn City Item*, Wards 6 and 7. This practice was continued in the 1878 and 1879 editions of the city's newspapers due to the continued large number of unpaid taxes.
282. Letter to the Editor, "The City and the Laborers," *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878.
283. Article, "The Dandelion Digger," *The Lynn Record*, 12 May 1877.
284. Editorial, "The Times," *The Lynn Record*, 21 July 1877.
285. Letter to the Editor, "The City and the Laborers," *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878.

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286. Article, "Wyoma," *The Lynn Record*, 25 April 1874.
287. Article, "Indians on the Beach," *The Lynn Record*, 22 August 1874.
288. Charles H. Kent, "Annual Report of the City Marshal," *City Documents* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1875), pp.3-4.
289. Daniel N. Barrett, "Annual Report of the City Marshal," *City Documents* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1872), pp.14-15.
290. William Stone, City Marshal, "Annual Report of the City Marshal for the Year 1879," *City Documents, 1879* (Lynn: Record Steam Book and Job Print, 1880), p.7, lists the number of persons provided with lodgings for each year, from 1871 to 1879. The number doubled from 1872 (1,017) to the year of the Panic (2,132), peaked in 1874 and stayed high until dropping 47% in 1879, which meant the city was still dealing with providing temporary lodging for 1,757 homeless. The effects of the depression years still had not entirely worn off by decade's end.
291. An item in the feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 18 November 1876, stated "Loafers around Central Depot may be counted by the hundreds." The article, "About "Tramps"," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 October 1875, reported it was being said that the tramps were multiplying like locusts.
292. Allen G. Shepard, "Annual Report of the City Marshal," *City Documents* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1871), p.54.
293. Article, "Accommodated," *Lynn Transcript*, 11 October 1873.
294. Article, "A Hard Case," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 22 December 1875.
295. Article, "Good," *The Lynn Record*, 14 March 1874.
296. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 16 January 1875.
297. Article, "Tramping for Work," *The Lynn Record*, 16 January 1875.
298. Article, "About "Tramps"," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 October 1875 (creatures); Editorial, "A Reign of Terror," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 4 August 1874 (beggars, pests). These combine with Article, "Tramps," *The Lynn Record*, 7 August 1875, to provide the combination of characteristics of the tramps.
299. William Stone, "Annual Report of the City Marshal for the Year 1879," p.15.
300. Article, "About "Tramps"," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 October 1875 (creatures).
301. Article, "Dry and Hungry," *The Lynn Record*, 25 July 1874.
302. Editorial, "A Reign of Terror," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 4 August 1874.
303. Article, "Assault by a Supposed Tramp," *The Lynn Record*, 24 February 1877.
304. Article, "Assault by a Supposed Tramp," *The Lynn Record*, 24 February 1877.
305. Letter to the Editor, "Her Experience," *The Lynn Record*, 22 July 1876.
306. The annual reports of Lynn's City Marshals revealed larceny rates from a low of 54 in 1870 to a high of 124 in 1872; most years of the decade exceeded 100 larcenies each year.
307. Article, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 19 December 1874. Other fowl heists were mentioned at homes on Roger McDonald's and Levi Gove's hen coops in Articles, "Breaking and Entering," *The Lynn Recorder*, 1 January 1876 (McDonald) and "Stolen," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 19 January 1876 (Gove); other coops on Liberty and Bedford streets were ransacked as well; see item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 25 November 1876.
308. Police-issued card of goods stolen on 7 April 1871 (Nellie and Charlie); collection of the author (Rapoza). The other items were listed on other small printed cards (averaging 2½" x 4") that were issued during the terms of Marshal Daniel N. Barrett (1871).
309. Article, "Various Matters of Interest," *The Lynn Record*, 18 November 1876.
310. William Stone, "Annual Report of the City Marshal for the Year 1879," pp.16-17.
311. Article, " 'Haunted' Houses," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 14 May 1870.
312. Article, "Malicious Mischief," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 25 May 1870.
313. Article, "Ruffianism," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 4 May 1870.
314. The number of crimes and size of the police force can be found in the annual reports of the City Marshal.
315. Item in feature column, "And-so-forth," *Lynn Transcript*, 25 April 1874.
316. Items in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 17 August 1872. Selling adulterated milk occurred in Lynn in 1871, 1872, and 1877; see "Annual Report of the City Marshall" in *City Documents*, 1872 (p.55), 1873 (p.12), and "Report of City Marshall," 1878 (p.9).
317. Charles C. Fry, "Report of the City Marshal," *City Documents* (Lynn: Rufus Kimball, 1878), p.9.

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318. Article, "Attempted Suicide," *The Lynn Record*, 2 February 1878.
319. All the listed crimes and the years they occurred are found in the city marshal's report within *City Documents*, 1871-1879. In 1873 the Comstock Laws were passed, the full name of which was "Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles for Immoral Use." Anthony Comstock confiscated more than 200,000 obscene pictures and photos, as well as more than 4,000 boxes of pills and powders used for abortions.
320. Letter to the Editor, "Lynn Post-Office as a Trysting Place," *Little Giant*, 27 January 1872.
321. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.152.
322. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.124.
323. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, pp.123-124.
324. Item in feature column, "Noted and Quoted," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1876.
325. Article, "Judge Newhall's Cases," *Little Giant*, 20 April 1872. The subject of this story may have been Ivory W. M. Pierce, 38, shoe factory worker, married with three children in 1872. See *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 1094, household 1369 (Pierce).
326. Article, "Superior Court," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 June 1872.
327. Article, "Large Seizures," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 June 1872. The same incident was covered in another Lynn newspaper with the additional insight, It is understood by some that Mr. H. is the manufacturer of these beverages. This is untrue, he is only a seller. The liquors are supplied him by parties at Boston highlands who are the manufacturers. See Article, "A Heavy Seizure," *Little Giant*, 29 June 1872.
328. Article, "Seizures," *Lynn Transcript*, 28 June 1873. Article, "Seizures," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 August 1873 (small quantity).
329. Charles C. Fry, "Report of the City Marshal," (1878), p.14.
330. William Stone, "Annual Report of the City Marshal for the Year 1879," p.15.
331. William Stone, "Annual Report of the City Marshal for the Year 1879," p.15.
332. Both advertisements are found in the *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870.
333. Article, "City Marshal Barrett's Curiosity Shop," *The Lynn Record*, 15 March 1873.
334. Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1872), p.49.
335. Article, "The Late Double Tragedy. A Terrible Murder and Swift Retribution. A Fiend in Human Shape Slaughters His Wife and is Shot Dead by the Officers of the Law. Fierce Encounter With the Murderer While Fleeing From Justice," *Little Giant*, 23 December 1871.
336. Article, "The Late Double Tragedy," *Little Giant*, 23 December 1871. The *Lynn Transcript* covered the murder by printing a transcript of the investigation and witness testimonies that was conducted after Vannar was killed. The *Transcript* added details not found in the *Giant* account; the fact that it was a half-pint bottle, which suggests that the contents were whiskey; also the description that it looked like he had dipped his hands into a pail of blood, and the reasons he muttered that were apparently his motivation for the murder. See Article, "Crime in Lynn. Terrible Murder and Swift Retribution!" *Lynn Transcript*, 23 December 1871.
337. Article, "The Late Double Tragedy," *Little Giant*, 23 December 1871. See also the article, "Crime in Lynn", *Lynn Transcript*, 23 December 1871, for the details about Pevear's factory and crime scene comments, the speed of Vannar's attack on Thurston, and the bullet wound to Thurston's hand.
338. A. W. Chase., M.D., *Dr. Chase's Recipes, or, Information for Everybody: An Invaluable Collection of About Eight Hundred Practical Recipes for Merchants, Grocers, Saloon-Keepers, Physicians, Druggists, Tanners, Shoe Makers, Harness Makers, Painters, Jewelers, Blacksmiths, Tinniers, Gunsmiths, Farriers, Barbers, Bakers, Dyers, Renovators, Farmers, and Families Generally* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: R. A. Beal, 1870), p.133.
339. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 26 October 1872.
340. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Years 1856-7* (Boston: William White, 1870), p.627, Chapter 280, Sections 1 and 2.
341. C. A. Lovejoy, M.D., "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Inaugural Address of Hon. Samuel M. Bubier, Mayor of Lynn* (Lynn: Rufus Kimball, 1877), p. 1.
342. Allen G. Shepard, "Annual Report of the City Marshal," p.53.
343. Article, Suicidal Attempt," *The Lynn Record*, 12 November 1878.
344. Articles, "Suicidal Attempt," *The Lynn Record* and "Attempt at Suicide," *Lynn Transcript*, both 26 October 1872.

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345. Article, "A Drug Clerk's Mistake," *Lynn City Item*, 2 August 1879.
346. Records of the Essex South District Medical Society, manuscript (at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA), Book II, 10 March 1874. Galloupe also reported having used it between 200-300 times by 1870, including in the case of a man with domestic and financial troubles who had not been averaging a half-hour's sleep each night. See B. B. Breed, M.D., Secretary, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1871), Vol. 84, p.195. Breed's meeting minutes were for 1870 but were printed in the 1871 edition.
347. Article, "Sudden Death," *Lynn Transcript*, 25 April 1874.
348. Articles, "Attempt to Commit Suicide," *The Lynn Record*; "Tired of Life," *Lynn Reporter* (walking); "Attempt at Suicide," *Lynn Transcript* (strap), all on 17 April 1875.
349. F. E. Oliver, M.D., "The Use and Abuse of Opium," *Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1872), pp.162-177.
350. F. E. Oliver, M.D., "The Use and Abuse of Opium."
351. Articles, "A Sad Tragedy," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 February 1875 (Dunbar), "Suicide," *The Lynn Record*, 3 June 1876 (Johnson), "A Sad Occurrence," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 3 June 1876 (Johnson), "Suicide," *Lynn Transcript*, 3 June 1876 (Johnson). Dunbar committed suicide in the woods. Two empty bottles were found in her pocket; one marked "laudanum" and the other "ether"; nearby lay a penknife with which she had inflicted a fatal throat wound, apparently after swallowing the contents of the two bottles. Johnson's family called upon physicians Pinkham, Lovejoy, and Galloupe to revive him, but their combined "most strenuous efforts" were unsuccessful.
352. Thatcher's treatment and Ingalls' recovery are found in Thomas Thatcher Graves, M.D., "Case of Poisoning by Laudanum Successfully Treated by Belladonna," *The Boston Medical and Surgical*, John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (August 14, 1873), Vol. 89, No. 7, p.149. Vol.87, p.279. Other coverage of the Ingalls incident can be found in Article, "Attempted Suicide," *Lynn Transcript*, 17 August 1872. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 17 August 1872. Ingalls was subsequently committed to the Insane Asylum in Worcester. See Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 20 September 1873. Ingalls died from the effects of alcoholism in 1895 in a bathtub at the Salem Jail; although admired for his veterinary skill and having achieved some considerable wealth at one point, he lived a reclusive life and sometimes slept in the livery stables in Lynn. When he was arrested two bottles of alcohol were found on his person. See article, "SUDDEN DEATH," Daily Evening Item, 25 February 1895.
353. Article, "Recovered," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 April 1872; item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 6 July 1878.
354. Article, "Attempted Suicide," *The Lynn Record*, 23 December 1876.
355. Article, "Attempted Suicide," *Lynn Reporter* 2 January 1876.
356. Article, "False Rumor Corrected," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 January 1874.
357. Articles, "Suicide," *The Lynn Record*, 24 July 1875 (severely); "Suicide," *Lynn Transcript*, 24 July 1875 (pants); "Suicide," *Lynn Semi Weekly Reporter*, 21 July 1875.
358. Article, "Suicide in Lancaster Block," *Lynn City Item*, 6 September 1879.
359. Article, "Essex Medical Society," *Lynn Reporter*, 20 March 1875.
360. Article, "Personal," *Lynn Transcript*, 4 November 1876.
361. Article, "Ho! For the West! *Lynn Transcript*, 16 September 1871.
362. Article, "Scouts of the Prairie," *The Lynn Record*, 15 May 1873. The Buffalo Bill troupe had a return engagement in Lynn at the Music Hall in January 1875.
363. Items in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record* 13 April 1878.
364. Article, "Lynn Emigration Society," *The Lynn Record*, 25 May 1878.
365. Article, "Lynn Emigration Society," *The Lynn Record*, 25 May 1878 (Washington); notice, "Personal," *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878 (Texas).
366. Squib, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1876.
367. Article, "The Last Indian Battle," *Lynn City Item*, 1 February 1879.
368. Article, "Railroad to Wyoma," *The Lynn Record*, 11 August 1877.
369. Article, "Shall Wyoma have a H.R.R.," *The Lynn Record*, 18 August 1877. The article, "Railroad to Wyoma" of 11 August 1877 had referred to the meeting location as Wyoma Hall, but the article on the same subject in the same newspaper one week later called it Pinkham Hall. The name was in transition.

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370. Article, "Glenmere Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878. In the meeting covered by this article, William H. Pinkham was chosen its chairman; in the prior week he had presented resolutions on behalf in support of General Benjamin F. Butler's support of labor; see Article, "Greenback Club," *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878. Daniel was on the club's Executive Committee in October 1877; see Article, "Greenback Club," *The Lynn Record*, 6 October 1877.
371. Article, "Gen. Butler's Speech on Labor!" *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878.
372. Articles, in *The Lynn Record*, "Glenmere Notes," 15 June 1878 and "Glenmere Greenbackers," 15 June 1878, referenced two meetings held at the "Pinkham's laboratory." The latter article referenced the club as the "Greenbackers of Ward Two."
373. Article, "Gen. Butler's Speech on Labor!" *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878.
374. Article, "Greenback Club," *The Lynn Record*, 15 June 1878.
375. Articles, "Greenback Club," *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878 (astonished), and 15 June 1878 (applause).
376. Article, "Soap," *The Lynn Record*, 27 January 1877.
377. *Lynn Directory, 1880*, Vol.XVII (Boston: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1880), p.35, listed the Allards at the rear of 5 Albany Street, and p.326 listed the Spinneys at their single-family home on 12 Hannover Street that they had lived in for at least a decade. The Allard's home was a triple decker house; *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, listed four households totaling 21 people living at that property; only the Spinneys lived in their home.
378. Autograph album of Mattie L. Spinney, Lynn, Mass., 1873-1911, (collection of the author).
379. Autograph album of Lucy V. Allard, Lynn, Mass., 1875-1884, (collection of the author).
380. Articles, "The Epizootic Aphtha," *Little Giant*, 14 January 1871; "The Cattle Plague," *Lynn Transcript*, 14 January 1871 (about the spread through rural Essex county).
381. Article, *Little Giant*, 21 January 1871.
382. Article, "The Cattle Disease. Danvers Center, January 1871," *Little Giant*, 28 January 1871.
383. Article, "A New Arabic Malady," *The Lynn Record*, 11 May 1872.
384. Article "Death in the Stables," *Little Giant*, 28 June 1872.
385. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 26 October 1872. The 1872 epizootic continued to make its way across the country all the way to New Mexico in early 1873.
386. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.56.
387. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 26 October 1872.
388. Article, "The Horse Disease," *The Lynn Record*, 2 November 1872.
389. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.56.
390. Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 9 November 1872.
391. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.56.
392. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.56 (comical); Article, "The Horse Disease," *The Lynn Record*, 2 November 1872.
393. Article, "The Horse Distemper in Lynn," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872.
394. Article, "The Horse Distemper in Lynn," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872.
395. Article, "The Horse Distemper in Lynn," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872 (grocery); Article, "The Horse Disease," *The Lynn Record*, 2 November 1872 (handcarts).
396. Notice, "Particular Request," *The Lynn Record*, 9 November 1872 and item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 16 November 1872.
397. Items in feature column, "Starry Nights," *The Lynn Record*, 15 May 1873 and 25 July 1874.
398. Squib, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 4 October 1873.
399. Article, "Don't Kill Your Horse," *The Lynn Record*, 7 December 1872.
400. Article, "Cure for the Epizootic," *The Lynn Record*, 9 October 1875.
401. Editorial, "The Terror by Night," *Lynn Transcript*, 4 January 1873.
402. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents, 1871*, p.43.
403. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 August 1871. William Philpot was born 8 August 1870 (Ancestry.com, *Massachusetts, U.S., Birth Records, 1840-1915*, No.476) Note that the portion of Alley Street that extends from Blossom Street to Pleasant Street was a part of Harbor Street in 1871.

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404. Lynn death records do not record the death of William Philpot, but his passing is mentioned in Article, “Small Pox,” *Lynn Transcript*, 2 September 1871, and he is not listed in the family unit in the 1880 census, but a subsequent son, born 1874, was also named William. The city physician’s annual report for 1871 provides some conflicting data, but states there were two deaths due to smallpox in that year. An adult male had also died of smallpox on 21 November 1871.
- Ordinances of the City of Lynn* (Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols, 1879) Section 12, p.64, stipulated that “All funerals shall take place between sunrise and sunset, unless otherwise permitted or directed by the mayor or city physician,” but contagious disease burials received the special permission for nighttime burials. See “Death from Small Pox,” *The Lynn Record*, 18 January 1873; it specified the burial of a child of John Moorely, dead of smallpox, occurring at midnight. Others are mentioned further in text covering the smallpox epidemic of 1872-1873.
- The ordinances defined the unique duties of the special undertaker included taking “personal and exclusive charge and oversight of all interments of persons dying of small-pox, varioloid, or other contagious disease, or of any such disease as may render proper the isolation of the patient or his remains; and he shall provide for use on such occasions, at the expense of the city, a funeral car [wagon] and all needed implements, and constantly keep the same by the themselves and under his immediate care; and he shall not suffer said car or implements to be used for any other purpose than as herein provided. And he shall also take the personal charge of all infected clothing, furniture, and other matters connected with the case of the deceased party, and shall cause the same to be destroyed or otherwise properly and securely disposed.”; see Section 5, pp. p.61-62. For these extensive, demanding services with equipment that had to be restricted to use in contagious disease cases, the compensation of the special undertaker was five times greater than the general undertaker. The general undertaker received four dollars to bury teenagers and adults and three dollars for children under age twelve, but the was to be compensated twenty and fifteen dollars, respectively; see Section 7, p.63.
405. Article, “Board of Health,” *Lynn Transcript*, 1 February 1872.
406. Item in feature column, “Starry Nights,” *The Lynn Record*, 9 November 1872.
407. Articles in *The Lynn Record*, “Needs Investigating,” 16 November 1872 and “That Case of Varioloid,” 23 November 1872.
408. Article, “The Small Pox,” *The Lynn Record*, 30 November 1872, listed all cases covered by the array of doctors, along with the street addresses of most of those cases.
409. Many instances of fumigating houses were recorded in the small pox reports of February 1873, as the epidemic was winding down. See Articles in *The Lynn Record*, “Recovered from Small Pox,” 1 February 1873, and “Small Pox Report,” 8 February 1873.
410. Henry Austin Martin, M.D., *On Animal Vaccination*, (Boston: 1877), p.13. City Physician Joseph G. Pinkham arranged the purchase of pox matter from Henry A. Martin’s Roxbury farm. See Notice, “City of Lynn. FREE VACCINATION!” *The Lynn Record*, 16 November 1872. Thomas Thatcher Graves, the recently retired house surgeon of the Marine Hospital in Chelsea, newly arrived in Lynn during the previous year, advertised his availability for vaccinations using a fresh supply of bovine vaccine lymph, “guaranteed Not Humanized, and free from taint of any kind” Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 6 January 1872.
411. Notice, “Correction,” *The Lynn Record*, 23 November 1872.
412. In his advertisement, Thomas Thatcher Graves, claimed to be the recently retired house surgeon of the Marine Hospital in Chelsea. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 6 January 1872.
413. Article, “Prevention is Better Than Cure,” *The Lynn Record*, 16 November 1872 (Haywood); advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 16 November 1872 (Cushing).
414. Notice, “Cow Pox Virus,” *Lynn Transcript*, 15 February 1873.
415. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 21 December 1872. The New England Medicine Company was alternately or later known as The New England Vaccine Company.
416. Article, “Found Drowned,” *The Lynn Record*, 22 March 1873. The body was identified as that of Joseph T. Lewis, a 67-year-old man who had been suspected of having dementia; he had been missing since 9 December 1872.
417. The fact that the quarantine flags were red was mentioned in John O. Webster, M.D., “Annual Report of the City Physician,” *Lynn City Documents*, 1873 (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1874), p.2.
418. Editorial, “The Terror by Night,” *Lynn Transcript*, 4 January 1873. There were 62 cases of small pox in 1872 and 42 in 1873. The latter comprised 7 cases of variola and 35 cases of varioloid. See Article, “City Physician’s Report,” *The Lynn Record*, 8 February 1873 (1872) and Webster, “Annual Report of the City Physician,” *Lynn City Documents*, 1873 p.2 (1873).
419. Article, “Hadn’t Been Vaccinated,” *Little Giant*, 2 March 1872.
420. Article, “Additional Small Pox Cases,” *The Lynn Record*, 11 January 1873.

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- 421. Editorial, "To Breath or Not to Breathe," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872.
 - 422. Article, "A Kindly Christian Act," *The Lynn Record*, 4 January 1873.
 - 423. Articles in the *Lynn Transcript*, "Small-Pox," 9 November 1872 (varioloid) and no title, 23 November 1872 (escaped).
 - 424. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 30 November 1872.
 - 425. Article, "A Bundle of Small Pox," *The Lynn Record*, 25 January 1873.
 - 426. Article, "New Small Pox Cases," *The Lynn Record*, 18 December 1872.
 - 427. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 23 November 1872. Article, "Horrible, If True," *The Lynn Record*, 30 November 1872.
 - 428. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 4 January 1873.
 - 429. Article, "Spreading Small Pox," *The Lynn Record*, 4 January 1873.
 - 430. Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 14 December 1872. The residence was 36 Rockaway Street, where John Carter, Oliver and Julia Cyr and their two children, Maggie Conway all had some form of the pox; Maggie and one of the Cyr children died of it.
 - 431. Notices, "A Card," in *The Lynn Record* and *Lynn Transcript*, both on 7 December 1872.
 - 432. Article, "Matters in Wyoma," *The Lynn Record*, 21 December 1872. Other references during the decade to the red flag being used to mark houses containing someone with contagious illness. See Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 January 1872; and Squib, "Varioloid," *Little Giant*, 22 January 1878.
 - 433. Article, "Death of Mrs. Phillips," *The Lynn Record*, 4 January 1873.
 - 434. Article, "Death of Captain James McDavitt," *The Lynn Record*, 8 February 1873.
 - 435. Article, "Small Pox Reports," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 February 1873.
 - 436. Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 February 1873.
 - 437. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 1 February 1873.
 - 438. Editorial, "To Breath or Not to Breathe," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 November 1872.
 - 439. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.16.
 - 440. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.43.
 - 441. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.21 and item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 7 August 1875 (pipes). Also note in the unnumbered front matter of *The Lynn Directory, 1875*, the Salem Lead Company advertised its lead pipe as the standard pipe for New England.
 - 442. Squibs, no title, in "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 7 August 1875 (yellow) and no title, *Little Giant*, 12 August 1871 (auburn); Editorial, "Our Water Supply," *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1874 (reddish); Article, "Breed's Pond Water," *The Lynn Record*, 21 March 1874 (milky).
 - 443. Editorial, "The Reason Why," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 25 August 1875.
 - 444. Letter to the Editor, "Board of Health vs. Pure Water," *The Lynn Record*, 8 November 1873 (swamp water); item in feature column, "Boiled Down," *Little Giant*, 16 April 1871 (wrigglers; emphasis in original); Letter to the Editor, "Our Mud Puddle," *The Lynn Record*, 11 October 1873 (foul).
 - 445. Letter to the Editor, "Editor of the Giant," *Little Giant*, 24 June 1871 (laundry)
 - 446. Letter to the Editor, "Our Water Supply," in "The People's Column," *The Lynn Record*, 6 February 1875.
 - 447. Article, "Great Medical Achievement. Old School Played Out! – Homoeopathy Nowhere! – Thomsonianism Triumphant!" *The Lynn Record*, 27 February 1875.
 - 448. Article, "Sad Catastrophe at the Sagamore House," *The Little Giant*, 22 April 1871.
 - 449. Article, "Slow Poison," *The Lynn Record*, 31 July 1875. A month prior, the same newspaper described pond water-related problems to the soda fountain equipment of both Bergengren's establishment and Bly & Newman's on Munroe Street; both had dirt collecting in the bottom of the tumbler washer. The proprietors shut off the water every few minutes, in order to remove the sediment left by the ... pond water." See squib, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 26 June 1875.
 - 450. Article, "The Big Swindle," *The Lynn Record*, 18 October 1873 (horse; doctors); letter to the editor, "Our Water Supply," in "The People's Column," *The Lynn Record*, 6 February 1875 (cattle); article, "Epidemic," *The Lynn Record*, 1 November 1873 (prospect).
 - 451. Article, "How Wonderful!" *The Lynn Record*, 22 November 1873.
 - 452. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, pp.21-22.

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453. Article, "A Change of Base," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 August 1875. The article included a report of the independent survey findings conducted by Geo. B. Currier, city assessor, Wm. A Kelley, morocco manufacturer, and D. K. Millett, fruit & confectionary dealer, on 18 April 1875.
454. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.43.
455. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.16.
456. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.17.
457. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.28.
458. Pinkham's study found the number of privies cleaned out by contractors was 468 in 1874, 359 in 1875, and 346 up to 25 August 1876. The number of cesspools cleaned out was 28 in 1874, 29 in 1875, and 25 up to 25 August 1876. See Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, pp.28-29 (outhouses); pp.24-25 (cesspools).
459. Article, "Effluvia," *Little Giant*, 27 July 1872.
460. Articles, "Local Complaints," *Little Giant*, 11 May 1872 (High School) and no title, *The Lynn Record*, 12 August 1876 (Breed's).
461. Article, "Advice to Mothers," *The Lynn Record*, 27 July 1872.
462. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 26 January 1870.
463. The store of May & Withey, 141 Union Street, advertised among a wide stock of household goods, "CUSPADORES [spittoons] of all kinds, from 30c. to \$5.00 each." See advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 4 July 1874.
464. Article, "Clothing Soiled," *The Lynn Record*, 18 May 1872.
465. Article, "Sanitary measures," *Lynn City Item*, 7 June 1879 (carcasses); item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872 (offal); Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.29 (swill boys).
466. Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 25 May 1872.
467. Article, "An Offensive Piggery," *Lynn City Item*, 12 July 1879.
468. Article, "Marsh's Piggery," *Lynn City Item*, 27 September 1879.
469. Articles, "City Council," in *The Lynn Record*, 20 July 1872 (slaughterhouses) and 6 July 1872 (bone, soap).
470. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.25.
471. Letter to the Editor, "Editor of the Record," *The Lynn Record*, 5 October 1872.
472. Records of the Essex South District Medical Society, Book II, 9 December 1873 (Webster); Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.23 (Pinkham).
473. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.22 (7.5 miles); pp.26-27 (factory drainage); B[lowman]. B[igelow]. Breed, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *City Documents*, 1869 (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1870), p.54 (poisonous).
474. Article, "Health in Lynn," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 19 January 1876.
475. Article, "Severely Afflicted," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 3 March 1876. The article listed the father as David Keath, but the *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915* (available on ancestry.com) clarified the family name as Keefe, parents David (morocco dresser) and Fannie. The Keefes lived on the epidemic-prone Waterhill Street. See *The Lynn Directory*, 1875, p.154.
476. The children of John (shoemaker) and Margaret Frahill, of 35 Murray Street (just a few houses away from Waterhill Street): William, 1, Lizzie, 4, and James 5, all died in October 1876; The mulatto children of Stephen N. (laborer) and Georgianna Harris of 8 Mailey Street: Emma, 3, Stephen, 5, and Rachel, 11, all died between 13-18 November 1876. See *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915*. The same magnitude of tragedy by diphtheria also struck the family of James A. Snow, losing all three of their children in November 1878. See Article, "Sadly Afflicted," *The Lynn Record*, 2 November 1878.
477. This incident is recorded as Case 49 on a foldout chart, "One hundred and four cases of Diphtheria occurring in Lynn in 1876," between pages 64 and 65 in J[oseph]. G[urney]. Pinkham, M.D., "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," bound in *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn* (undated, bound offprint No. 2499/1 in the collection of the author (Rapoza) of *Eighth Annual Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health, Public Document No. 30* [Boston: Wright and Potter, 1877]), p.65 (80%).
478. Article, "Homeopathy," *The Lynn Record*, 21 October 1876.
479. Article, "Diphtheria," *The Lynn Record*, 17 February 1877 (sure cure; the spelling of diphtheria was missing the first "h" in every instance of the advertisement; advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 17 February 1877 (Sulpho Carbolate)).

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480. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 24 September 1877 (scarlatina) and 3 March 1877 (sulpho-carbolate).
481. Item in "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 1 February 1879.
482. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," p.65 (80%). Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.29 (night soil).
483. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," p.68.
484. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," foldout chart, "One hundred and four cases of Diphtheria occurring in Lynn in 1876," between pages 64 and 65
485. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," pp.68-69.
486. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," pp.69-70.
487. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," p.63. Statistical analysis of the 1876 mortality rates from diphtheria performed by the author (Rapoza) using the *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915* for Lynn.
488. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," p.70.
489. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.59.
490. Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.61.
491. The "Annual Report of the City Physician" of several of the decade's years contained complaints from the incumbent city physician about his workload, wages, or both. To review those concerns, see the annual report for the indicated years: Joseph G. Pinkham (1872), John O. Webster (1874), R. Fletcher Dearborn (1875), Charles A. Lovejoy (1877), Coeleb Burnham (1878), and Chauncy C. Sheldon (1880).
 George Cahill, the city physician for 1879 resigned in August of that year out of sheer exasperation about the demands of the job and the lack of support of the city leaders. He was thoroughly frustrated with the time-consuming demands on his time to serve the "very exacting and unreasonable ... demands" of the poor throughout the city and at the almshouse and his consequent inability to adequately tend to his private practice. He had made 96 professional visits to the almshouse and 910 visitors to the poor throughout the city, including several involving midwifery and surgical operations from January until his resignation on August 11th. He also complained about the negligence of the city government to enforce a general vaccination for all the children in Lynn. See Article, "The City Physician. The Text of His Letter of Resignation – A Peculiar Document – Recommendations that Might Better Have Been Made Months Ago.," *Lynn City Item*, 16 August 1879.
492. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents, 1870*, p.45.
493. Although some of the medical school degrees for the fifteen physicians were located in various on-line nineteenth century sources, the majority were located in Francis H. Brown, M.D., *The Medical Register for the State of Massachusetts* (Boston: Wm. Parson Lunt, 1875)
494. John A. McArthur was listed in Newburyport, MA, as a partner in the firm of Bent (Israel) & McArthur (John A.), daguerreotypists in 1855 and again in 1858, as a daguerreotypist in 1856, and as an ambrotypist and photographer in 1860. See Caleb Niles Haskell, *The Newburyport Directory* (Newburyport: Hosea T. Crofoot), (1855), p.91, (1856) p.71, (1858), p.57, and (1860), p.105.
495. Article, "Surgical Operation," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 23 January 1876. See also Article, "Skillful Surgical Operation," *The Lynn Record*, 29 January 1876.
496. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 January 1874.
497. Article, "Prompt Action," *Lynn Transcript*, 28 October 1876.
498. Bowman B. Breed, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 84, p.195.
499. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1871), Vol. 85, p.24 (mother's); "Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., Lynn, "A Case of Convulsions, with Prolonged Tonic Spasms, Mainly of Flexor Muscles, in a Child of Four Months, Treated Successfully with Hydrate of Chloral," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 7, No.11, p.173 (convulsions).
500. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.25.
501. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.195.
502. Bowman B. Breed, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 84, p.194.
503. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1872), Vol. 86, pp.267-268.

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504. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 86, p.267.
505. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.185.
506. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.24.
507. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.24.
508. Daniel Perley, M.D., "Rare Case of Gall Stones Discharged Through the Side," *Boston Medical Surgical Journal* (Boston: H. O. Houghton and Co., 1876), Vol. 94, p.710. This is the same Matthew Plumstead who signed a sham anti-slavery petition in 1839.
509. Article, "A Singular Case," *Lynn Transcript*, 28 November 1874.
510. Article, "Dr. Haywood," *The Lynn Record*, 7 June 1873.
511. Article, "Amputation," *Lynn Transcript*, 7 May 1873.
512. Article, "Death of Dr. Haywood," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 June 1873.
513. Article, "Snatched from the Grave," *The Lynn Record*, 13 September 1873.
514. Article, "Ovariotomy," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 August 1874.
515. Article, "Out of Danger," *Lynn Transcript*, 15 August 1874.
516. Drs. I. F. Galloupe and T. T. Graves, "Case of Sloughing of the Scrotum; Recovery without Castration," *Boston Medical Surgical Journal* (Boston: H. O. Houghton and Co., 1876), Vol. 94, p.744.
 After leaving his Lynn practice, Graves' career went from professional to sketchy to criminal. He moved to Danielsonville, Connecticut, where he practiced dentistry. At various periods in his career he had practiced conventional, homeopathic, and eclectic medicine, and as a specialist in nervous diseases. He professed to have traveled in Europe and the Orient, but it is only clear that he spent a few winters in Florida. In about 1884 he returned with a patent medicine that he advertised heavily. In 1886 he set up in Providence, Rhode Island, establishing a mail-order medicine business, mailing them in wooden boxes. He used this method to send a bottle of whiskey that he had infused with poison, to a rich widow who was his patient. He had prevailed upon her to make him a trustee and agent over her \$1,700,000 estate in her will. He was arrested, convicted, and hanged in 1893 for his crime. See John D. Lawson, LL.D., Editor, *American State Trials* (St. Louis, MO: Thomas Law Book Company, 1921), pp.256-258.
517. Perley presented a paper to the Lynn Medical Society in 1871 about his recent European trip, most likely because it contained some account of hospital visits that were included in his itinerary. See Bowman B. Breed, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. 84, p.196. Galloupe and his wife, accompanied by his brother and family and some other friends, sailed from Boston to Liverpool in late August 1872, to spend three months touring through several countries in Great Britain and continental Europe. The "well known and popular physician" planned to visit the hospitals of several countries over that time. Article, "Personal," *The Lynn Record*, 24 August 1872.
518. Letter to the Editor, "The Lancet Applied," *Little Giant*, 1 June 1872.
519. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.195.
520. J. A. McArthur, Letter to the Editor, "Short Communications. Cuticura," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878), Vol. 99, p.385.
521. J. A. McArthur, M.D., 33 So. Common St., Lynn, Mass., promotional flyer (1882), "Syr: Hypophos: Comp: McArthur," (solely; emphasis in original, and R_x); J. A. McArthur, M.D., *Consumption and Tuberculosis. Notes on their Treatment of the Hypophosphites* (Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge & Sons, 1880), p.54 (dollar). Some of the most heavily advertised hypophosphate-infused proprietary medicines were Scott's *Emulsion of Pure Cod Liver Oil with Hypophosphites* and Fellow's *Syrup of Hypophosphites*.
522. Promotional flyer, "Syr: Hypophos: Comp: McArthur, TREATMENT" (undated, but went out with the 1882 promotional flyer above).
523. Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., Lynn, Mass., "Treatment of Chronic Nasal Catarrh," *The Saint Louis Medical and Surgical Journal* (St. Louis, MO: R. P. Studley & Co., 1869), pp.64-65 (emphases added).
524. Benjamin F. Chesley advertised as "Dr. B F. Chesley, Psychopathist and Medical Odycian," with "Chronic Diseases of the Brain and Nerves a Specialty. Acute pain relieved instantly." Psychopathist was a mid-nineteenth century description of a psychiatrist. "Odycian" may have been a creative spelling of odyssean; if so, his medical odyssey may have been his own allegory for the journey he was trying to take: he had gone from serving as a soldier during the war, to a brief stints as a grocer, then as a shoe cutter in Lynn – until he

announced that he was a psychopathist and medical odycian. (Advertisements, *Lynn Transcript* and *The Lynn Record*, both 16 August 1873.) Although Chesley ambitiously advertised in two Lynn newspapers, the window for public viewing was short; just four issues from mid-August to early September 1873. In his ad's last installment, he made one last push for attention with a unique news item, "SPECIAL NOTICE!! Atmospheric influences and other conditions render the month of September a period unusually favorable for the treatment of those diseases peculiar to females, namely: Prolapsus Uteri, Leucorrhoea, Chloris, etc. Particular attention will be given during that month to permanently curing the above named diseases. N.B. – Immediate relief given in all cases." (Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 6 September 1873.) His skills with women's diseases clearly had nothing to do with psychopathy; perhaps it was a hint about the origin of his medical odyssey: he might have thought he knew something about diseases of the generative organs from his own sufferings. He had been stricken with stricture of the urethera for 16 years and his agony exploded 5 weeks before his death to include a perineal abscess; the two disorders were likely manifestations of venereal disease. See Ancestry.com *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013), No. 4267, 31 July 1874.

- 525. A clairvoyant healer but not a spiritualist, Lucy Ainsworth Cooke had demonstrated the ability to "diagnose physical ailments, find missing wallets, or help sheriffs solve mysteries" by entering a trancelike mesmeric sleep, under the hypnotic efforts of her controller. See Paul P. Harris, *My Road to Rotary: The Story of a Boy, A Vermont Community, and Rotary* (Chicago, 1948). In addition to her clairvoyant guidance, she sold a large assortment of medicines, including by mail order: Rhubarb Lozenges, White Pond Lily Syrup, Pitch of Sassafras, Diaphoretic Drops, Cedar Ointment, Restorative Powders, Dandelion Compound, and Woman's Friend. See <http://vermonthistory.org/research/vermont-women-s-history/database/cooke-lucy>. She advertised for patients in 1877, when staying at the residence of shoemaker Nathan C. Stowe on Shepard street. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 9 June 1877. During his term as the city physician, the frustrated Burnham exhibited less patience with his patients, complaining that "many of them [the city's poor] make begging their business and deception their study." See "Annual Report of the City Physician" *Lynn City Documents, 1878*, p.2.
- 526. In his 1874 "Annual Report of the City Physician," Webster complained that the value of his services for the year had been \$2,000, but he received only \$400 from the city; he proposed the salary for the next year to be doubled to \$800; see p.3 of that report. Advertisements in Virginia, South and North Carolina, Maryland, and New York for G. Lovatt all included the promise, "No Cure No Pay"; for example, see Advertisement, *Poughkeepsie Journal* (Poughkeepsie, NY, 1 June 1).
- 527. Compilation of healers practicing within Lynn for any length of stay during the decade of the 1870s (from one day to all ten years) by research of Lynn newspapers, city directories, Essex County directories and histories, and federal census records, performed by the author (Rapoza). There were certainly more (probably far more) than these numbers reveal, since everyone did not advertise in newspapers and city directories or get memorialized in local histories.
- 528. Article, "Lynn, Mass.," *Banner of Light* (Boston, MA), 25 January 1873.
- 529. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 15 April 1876. Oliver's occupation was listed as pianofortes & musical instruments; see *Lynn City Directory, 1875*, p.205, and had been thus listed in the city's directories since 1854, and before that he was still in the music business, building organs.
- 530. Article, "Woman in Male Attire," *The Lynn Record*, 7 July 1877; also see Item in "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 21 July 1877.
- 531. Article, "Municipal Court – Forsaith, J.," *The Boston Globe*, 19 April 1878.
- 532. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 July 1877.
- 533. Referred to in newspaper accounts "Mrs. G. F. Page," "Mrs. Amanda A. Paige" and "Minnie" (usually a diminutive of Mary), the identify of the Newman's first notable Lynn patient is not easy to determine. She was probably the wife of George F. Page, a clerk at a business on 19 Market Street, boarding on Summer Street in 1873. See *Lynn Directory, 1873. And A Directory of Swampscott 1873* (Lynn, MA: Wm. T. Webster, 1873), p.205.
- 534. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 July 1877.
- 535. Article, "Municipal Court – Forsaith, J.," *The Boston Globe*, 19 April 1878.
- 536. In court testimony, a witness shared that there were 11 or 12 members of the Newmantonian Scity, with every member contributing to the common fund, all living together in peace and harmony, like the Shakers.. Article, "Love, Joy and Larceny. "Dr." Newman Before the Lynn Police Court," *The Boston Globe*, 1 June 1878.
- 537. 1880 federal census: *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, p.18 (verso), dwelling 177 family 204, boarders at 168 Maple Street; Lorenzo J. Lougee, 37, worked in a shoe factory; living with him was Annie M., 32, and Ella S., 10. It bears mentioning that the two Lynn families who ended up in court, fighting the Newmans, were both listed as residents of

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- Marianna Street in Lynn. The Pages lived at No. 22 and the Lougees at No. 12. Marianna Street, just a couple of houses apart from each other. See Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 July 1877 (Page) and Article, "Love, Joy and Larceny. "Dr." Newman Before the Lynn Police Court.," *The Boston Globe*, 1 June 1878 (Lougee).
538. Article, "Love, Joy and Larceny. "Dr." Newman Before the Lynn Police Court.," *The Boston Globe*, 1 June 1878.
539. Article, "Lynn. Dr. Lovejoy Newman – His Career in Lynn and How it Terminated.," *The Boston Globe*, 26 October 1878. After they completed their sentences, the Newmans reunited and continued their pseudo-religious healing practice, which continued to get them into court. See Article, "The Globe Extra! 5 O'Clock, To Higher Life, Mrs. Levi Phinney Says She Received a Call. Left Her Husband to be Treated by a 'Christian Healer'," *The Boston Daily Globe*, 9 June 1896. In the last few years of his life, Lovejoy Newman changed his career to painter residing in Lowell, Massachusetts with Lizzie; he died in 1903. See the Lowell city directories, especially for 1903 and 1904.
540. Article, "Lynn, Mass," *Banner of Light* (Boston, MA), 5 February 1870.
541. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 7 November 1874.
542. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 July 1877.
543. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 28 August 1875.
544. George W. Musso's 1846 marriage record and the 1850 federal census listed his occupation as a confectioner and the census listed his father, James, in the same business. *Massachusetts Vital and Town Records* (Provo, UT: Holbrook Research Institute, found on Ancestry.com), p.331 (marriage); *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850: Newburyport, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.582 (verso) dwelling 606, family 796 (James). *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, p. 525, dwelling 3231, family 4482 (cordwainer); *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870: Newburyport, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.43 (recto) dwelling 294, family 400 (physician).
545. Article, "Lynn: A BOLD TRAMP," *The Boston Globe*, 8 March 1877.
546. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 26 August 1871.
547. Russ H. Gilbert, *The Story of a Wigwam* (Onset, MA: no publisher listed, 1904), p.24.
548. Article, "Reception to Mrs. Dickinson," *The Medium and Daybreak* (London, England), 28 November 1873, p.557. For her appearances in Lynn following her two European tours, see Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 24 May 1873 and 10 July 1875.
549. J. J. Morse, Letter to the Editor, *The Medium and Daybreak* (London, England), 3 January 1873, p.9.
550. Article, "Personal," *The Lynn Record*, 14 September 1872.
551. M. E. B. Sawyer, *History of the Mediumistic Development of Miss Sarah E. Appleton, the Wonderful Writing Medium* (Manchester, NH: C. F. Livingston, 1872); 16 pages.
552. George Dillingham is listed as a brick mason in the 1870 federal census for Norridgewock, Somerset, Maine; Francenia was keeping house (p.45, dwelling 362, family 377)
553. Article, "Lynn. A Friendly Gift," *The Boston Globe*, 6 December 1878 (china); Item in feature column, "Wax Threads," *Lynn City Item*, 3 May 1879 (festival).
554. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 10 November 1877 (Mediums); *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872 (Clairvoyant).
555. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 10 November 1877.
556. Like many nineteenth century medical descriptions, "congestion of the brain" was used describe a wide variety of conditions related to the head ranging from scarlet fever, to cerebral hemorrhage, to headaches, to infrequently, sinus congestion.
557. A. Hartham, M.D., Letter to the Editor, "Correspondence," *Mind and Matter* (Philadelphia, PA), 27 September 1879. (Note: date of the paper reads, "M.S.32" for the 32nd year of Modern Spiritualism, which era was considered to have been ushered in by the rappings experienced by the Fox sisters in 1848. Also note that A. Hartham was not a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and therefore would not have been authorized by that organization to use the professional abbreviation M.D.) A. Hartham may have been Anna H. Hartham, who in 1880 was an 82-year-old widow boarding in West Boylston, Worcester County, Massachusetts.
558. Isaac F. Galloupe, M.D., "A Case of Uterine Fibroids," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston, MA: Houghton, Osgood and Company, 1878), Vol. 98, No.7, p.201.
559. Isaac F. Galloupe, "A Case of Uterine Fibroids," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1878), Vol. 98, No. 7, pp.201-203.

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560. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 30 August 1873.
561. Puff, "Successful Treatment," *The Lynn Record*, 6 September 1873.
562. Article, "Religious," *The Star* (Cincinnati, OH), 3 April 1875). He went to China as part of the missionary effort of the Methodist church. In 1879 he returned to Lynn. Having accomplished the goal of erecting the hospital, "he was obliged to leave that climate on account of the ill health of Mrs. Tarbell." See Article, "Lynn," *The Boston Globe*, 2 January 1880.
563. Notice, "Cancer Notice," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 April 1871.
564. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 7 January 1871. For his earlier career as a newspaper editor and publisher, see William Henry Perrin, J. H. Battle, Weston Arthur Goodspeed, *History of Medina County and Ohio* (Chicago, IL: Baskin & Batty, 1881), p.292. Also see *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860: Medina, Medina County, Ohio, p.142 (recto) dwelling 1082, family 1099 (Editor & Publisher) and *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870: Montville, Medina County, Ohio, p.18 (recto), dwelling 145, family 145, where he is listed as a "Cancer doctor."
565. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 7 January 1871.
566. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 October 1869 (patients); Puff, "Cancers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 October 1869 (Martin).
567. Lynn city directories list him as a painter living at 67 Chatham Street from 1858-1873 and he advertised in *The Lynn Record*, 3 August 1873 as a HOUSE SIGN AND FANCY PAINTER. but in 1875 he is listed as a physician, specifically a cancer doctor, until 1890.
568. Article, "Large Cancer Removed," *The Lynn Record*, 14 November 1874. It could be argued that this was a promotional puff by the newspaper, but there was no advertisement for Weeks in that issue or in the week before or after, so it appears to be a more genuine endorsement than the standard *quid pro quo* editorial contribution frequently found in issues with new or long-running advertisements.
569. Article, "Skillful Operation," *The Lynn Record*, 17 April 1875.
570. Article, "A Wonderful Cure," *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878.
571. Article, "Dr. J. C. Weeks," *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
572. Claims of his worldwide reputation are found in Puff, "Removal of Cancers," *The Lynn Record*, 26 January 1878 and Article, "A Grateful Patient," *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1876. Similarly, there was an allusion to his reputation being nationwide; see Puff, "Surgical operation," *Lynn City Item*, 13 September 1879.
573. Article, "Dr. J. C. Weeks," *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
574. Article, "A Grateful Patient," *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1876 (New Jersey); Puff, "Surgical Operation," *Lynn City Item*, 13 September 1879 (Nova Scotia).
575. Article, "A Grateful Patient," *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1876.
576. Notice, "A Grateful Testimonial," *The Lynn Record*, 26 January 1878 (italicized emphases added; capitalization as in original).
577. Article, "A Wonderful Cure," *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878 (emphasis added).
578. Urann did not use his first name in his advertisements, but several mentioned he was based in Boston and that he was a Magnetic and Electric Physician. Frederick W. Urann, 59, a magnetic physician was living in Boston in 1880, with his wife, Lydia J., 63, and daughter, Clara A., 36. See *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States*, 1880: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, p.5 (recto), dwelling 33, family 33, boarders at 15 Upton Street.
579. Puff, "Dr. Urann," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 19 February 1870. The region of his travel is from research of newspaper advertisements performed by the author (Rapoza) using Newspapers.com.
580. Advertisement, *The Daily Journal* (Ogdensburg, NY), 8 March 1864.
581. Advertisement, *Vermont Watchman and State Journal* (Montpelier, VT), 27 November 1867.
582. Article, "Dr. Urann," *The Plattsburgh Sentinel* (Plattsburgh, NY), 2 October 1868. This success story was repeated in *The Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 16 February 1870.
583. Puffs, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1879 (Or-ra-gon-set) and 16 June 1879 (U-ta-wa-un).
584. Puffs, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 June 1879 (Cascade) and 16 June 1879 (Rocky).
585. Puff, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1879.
586. Galen W. Lovatt was from Brooklyn, according to his college enrollment. See *The Medical Eclectic*, (New York, 15 July 1876), Vol. III, No. 3, p.216. Lovatt zig-zagged through much of the midwestern, southeastern, and northeastern U.S. during the 1870s. Even when traveling as far away as Davenport, Iowa his office was being mentioned as located in New York. While Omaha may have been his hometown, it also may have been an early and short-lived effort to establish an aura of Indian credentials: his portrait gave more of an

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- impression of a New York Physician than an Indian Physician; compare to the long-haired visage of Joshua Liverpool. The region of his travel is from research of newspaper advertisements performed by the author (Rapoza) using Newspapers.com.
587. The New York Medical College was officially the Eclectic Medical College of the City of New York and Lovatt was a student matriculated at the school during the winter semester of 1875-76. *The Medical Eclectic*, (New York, 15 July 1876), Vol. III, No. 3, p.216.
588. Advertisement, *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, NY), 27 May 1871 (cancers); Advertisement, *The Wilmington Morning Star* (Wilmington, NC), 23 April 1874 (PURELY; emphasis in original); and Puff, *Buffalo Morning Express and Illustrated Buffalo Express* (Buffalo, NY), 30 December 1873 (manner).
589. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 1 September 1877. Lovatt died in New York City in 1893, apparently murdered over money he had won in a poker game. See Article, "Was He Killed?" *The Boston Daily Globe*, 9 November 1893.
590. Items in feature column, "The Courts," *Indianapolis News*, 15 June 1872.
591. Item in feature column, "Our Court Calendar," *Indianapolis Journal*, 3 August 1872.
592. Article, "Indian Medicines. Dr. Liverpool Under Arrest, Charged with Criminal Malpractice," *Fitchburg Sentinel* (Fitchburg, MA), 9 January 1880; emphasis in original.
593. Article, "Treatment Not Proper," *The Boston Globe*, 23 June 1893.
594. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 24 October 1874.
595. Liverpool registered both of his medicines with the United States Patent and Trademark Office: "Dr. J. Liverpool's Sanguinarium – the Great Indian Remedy." And "The Big Double Medicine of Wakadahahee." – Joshua Liverpool, Boston, Mass.; both applications were registered 7 November 1874, just two weeks after his visit to Lynn. See *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1876), Vol. 8, p.99.
596. Article, "Indian Medicines. Dr. Liverpool Under Arrest, Charged with Criminal Malpractice," *Fitchburg Sentinel*, 9 January 1880.
597. Article, "Treatment Not Proper," *The Boston Globe*, 23 June 1893.
598. Three other Lynn men soliciting for paid watcher opportunities had maintained their primary jobs for years but were apparently seeking additional income. They were Robert M. Johnson, healer, James Lyon, shoe cutter, and Moses Yell, leather cutter. Yell was 65 years old when he advertised, "although somewhat advanced in years, is young in spirit." See advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878 (Johnson); notice, *The Lynn Record*, 5 August 1875 (Lyon); and puff, "Watcher and Nurse," *The Lynn Record*, 16 October 1875 (Yell). Their occupations were spot-checked against the Lynn City Directories for 1867 and 1875; all three maintained their respective occupations since 1867.
599. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 25 March 1871. Alley's career history were located in the Lynn City Directories for 1867, p.27 (bill poster); 1869, p.23 (carpenter); 1871, p.28 (no occupation); 1873, p.26 (small pox nurse); and 1875, p.26 (small-pox nurse).
600. Notice, "Notice to the Sick," *The Lynn Record*, 6 October 1877.
601. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 24 November 1877.
602. Puff, "Magnetic Treatment of Disease," *The Lynn Record*, 1 December 1877.
603. Married on 26 April 1872, it was the second marriage for both Solomon and Sarah Alden. New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1911–1915*.
604. Notice, "Scandal Monger," *The Lynn Record*, 30 March 1878.
605. Trade card of Dr. E. L. Lyon, from the collection of the Lynn Historical Society and Museum (emphasis in original). One side of the card provides an historical list of years for U.S. presidential inaugurations; the most recent listed was Rutherford B. Hayes, 1877, followed by the question, "Who will be Next?" Since the next election, which occurred on 2 November 1880, had not yet been decided, this trade card dates between 1877-late 1880. The only evidence that has been found for Lyon's appearance in Lynn during this time are his newspaper ads that began on 2 October 1880, which include his address as 3 Nahant Street, Lynn, the same address listed on the trade card.
606. Advertisements, *The Vanguard* (Dayton, OH), 27 June 1857 (Spiritual); and 18 April 1857 (foul-mouthed)
607. *The Rochester Directory* (Rochester, NY: C. C. Drew, 1871), p.446 (emphasis in original).
608. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874.
609. Trade card of Dr. E. L. Lyon, from the collection of the Lynn Historical Society and Museum.
610. *The Essex County Directory for the Year Commencing May 1, 1873* (Boston, MA: Briggs & Co., 1873), Advertising Section p.67.

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611. Notice, "Scandal Monger," *The Lynn Record*, 30 March 1878.
612. B. Joy Jeffries, A.M., M.D., *Animal and Vegetable Parasites of the Human Skin and Hair* (Boston: Alexander Moore, 1872), pp.89-91.
613. Records of the Essex South District Medical Society, manuscript (at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA), 1 September 1868, p.264.
614. Article, "Singular Death," *The Lynn Record*, 3 July 1875. The article left the doctors deadlocked with "some poisonous insect," but Heron's death record listed it as the result of being "Poisoned (by Spider)." See Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013: Death Registered in the City of Lynn, Line 321, 30 June 1875, Robert Heron. It is interesting to note that six years later another Lynn man (James McMahon, age 50) was bitten on the arm, by a black spider. He did nothing about what seemed to be an insignificant incident, but on the second day, the bite wound became swollen and excessively painful. Again medical attention could not arrest the spread of the poison and he expired three days after being bitten. Because authorities claimed that no spider's bite could cause death or even much pain, the official cause of death was listed as malignant erysipelas. See James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.84-85. Although rare, Northern Black Widow spiders are indigenous to New England, and others of the widow family, as well as the brown recluse, could have been carried to Lynn in cargoes arriving from other places.
615. Advertisement, *The Boston Globe* (Boston, MA), 28 January 1879; see also Advertisement, *Quad-City Times* (Davenport, IA), 28 June 1879.
616. Article, "ANOTHER BRITISH "BEAT." How William Kingsford M.D., Flourished on Beacon Hill as Queen Victoria's Pet Physician – A Worthy Compeer for Ogilvy," *The Boston Globe* (Boston, MA), 5 August 1878.
617. Article, "Dr. William Kingsford," *The Lynn Record*, 10 August 1878.
618. Kingsford was listed as divorced in the 1880 federal census; for his death record see Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013: Death Registered in the City of Lynn, Line 720, 16 November 1880, William Kingsford.
619. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 29 June 1870.
620. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 15 September 1877.
621. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872 and 17 March 1877.
622. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872.
623. The foot salve trademark is listed in *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1877), Vol. 12, p.627. The wash was for cleansing and healing and "will also rid them of all kinds of vermin." Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 18 April 1873.
624. Diane Potenzo and Keisha Donovan, compilers, *Words For Our Time – Anytime* (Kennebunk, ME: Color Copy and Design, 1999), p.5.
625. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 17 March 1877 (emphasis in original).
626. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 11 April 1874.
627. Gen. A[ugustus]. J. Pleasonton, *The Influence of the Blue Ray of the Sunlight and the Blue Colour of the Sky* (Philadelphia, PA: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1877), pp.6-8 (grapes), 24 (songbird, mule).
628. Pleasonton, *The Influence of the Blue Ray*, p.12.
629. Pleasonton, *The Influence of the Blue Ray*, pp.24 (insanity), 26 (consumption).
630. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 31 March 1877.
631. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.75.
632. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 17 March 1877 (kerosene). Two versions of the McArthur's Hypophosphites bottle have survived.

The older version is a cobalt blue bottle, designating him the "maker" and was packaged in Lynn; it measures 6 11/16" (h) including a 1 3/4" neck with a 2 5/16" square base. The label for the Lynn version read, "FORMULA OF DR. CHURCHILL OF PARIS ... PREPARED BY / J. A. McARTHUR M.D. / WEEKS & POTTER / BOSTON / GENERAL AGENTS" (see label facsimile, J. A. McArthur, M.D., *Consumption and Tuberculosis. Notes on their Treatment by the Hypophosphites*. Second Edition [Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1880], p.34). The bottle's four sides had a label on one panel, then rotating clockwise, the three remaining panels read: DR. MCARTHUR MAKER // CHEMICALY PURE // SYRUP OF HYPOPHOSPHITES. Per Lynn's *Special Manufacturing Schedule, 1 June 1879 – 31 May 1880*, p.3, McArthur had three men employed on ten-hour shifts (\$2.00/hour for a skilled mechanic and \$1.00 for an ordinary laborer) producing the hypophosphite syrup in Lynn, at least throughout the twelve-month period of the census. It also recorded that he had \$2,000 real and personal capital invested in the business. The value of

the materials had been \$6,000 and the value of the product was \$12,000 (over \$304,484 in 2020 USD). The schedule is located on Ancestry.com. *U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. McArthur died on 28 September 1887. Early in 1886 he sold his interest in the product, “due to poor health and a desire for absolute rest,” to the McArthur Hypophosphite Co., located in Boston (item, no title, *The Cincinnati Lancet-Clinic*, 10 April 1886, Vol.55, p.431). There is no reference to the company in his will, which was written on 10 September 1887, but his will provided a \$50,000 trust for his wife and daughter, in addition to other holdings; this large amount was likely the result of proceeds from the sale of the company plus several real estate transactions in which he was also engaged in the few years before his death. (See Will of John A. McArthur, Lynn, physician, 1887, pp.597, in Essex County, Mass., Probate Court, *Wills and Probate Records, 1635-1991* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.)

The Boston version of the medicine bottle was similar to the Lynn version, but it was a clear bottle that was slightly shorter (6 ½") with a shorter neck (1 3/16") and a slightly wider base (2 5/8" square). Note that the bottle is portrayed in clear glass form (the interior of the cork being visible) on the back cover of the October 1886 booklet for the syrup, *Can Consumption be Cured?* (collection of the U.S. National Library of Medicine: <https://collections.nlm.nih.gov>). This bottle's four sides had a label on one panel, then clockwise, the three remaining panels read CHEMICALY PURE // SYRUP OF HYPOPHOSPHITES // DR MCARTHUR'S. The same version of clear glass bottle was used when the company was relocated to Ansonia, Connecticut at least by 1901; however, the Boston and Ansonia locations of manufacture are differentiated on the respective labels. Another significant difference between the two clear bottle labels is that the Boston label reads, “FORMULA OF DR. CHURCHILL OF PARIS … PREPARED BY / McARTHUR HYPOPHOSPHITE CO. / BOSTON” while the Ansonia label reads, “FORMULA OF DR. J. A. McARTHUR LYNN MASS. … PREPARED BY / THE / McARTHUR / HYPOPHOSPHITE CO. / ANSONIA, CONN.” Both provide directions for a dose of “Two to four teaspoonfuls after each meal, to be increased or diminished as prescribed by Physician” (emphasis added). Examples of the cobalt Lynn bottle (unlabeled) and the labeled Ansonia bottle are in the collection of the author.

- 633. Puff, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 10 March 1877.
- 634. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 28 April 1877.
- 635. Item, “Concerning ‘Blue Glass’” in feature column, “Editor’s Table,” *Popular Science Monthly*, (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1877) May 1877, Vol. 11, p.110.
- 636. Carruthers does not appear in the 1878 Lynn city directory but does in the 1879-80 Somerville City Directory (Boston: Greenough & Co., 1879), p.43 (no occupation listed); he then appears in Somerville with the occupation of clockmaker in the 1880 federal census: *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, p.3 (recto), dwelling 19, family 23, boarders at 20 Morrison Street.
- 637. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 19 April 1873. The origin of Dr. Usher’s line of medicines has not yet been determined, but it likely reflects the frequent practice of traveling healers and apothecaries to be given wholesale purchase rights for certain medicinal products. Johnson’s ad continued in the *Transcript* for only four issues.
- 638. Article, “Fowler, the Phrenologist, Likely to Run Afoul of Anthony Comstock,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 10 June 1881.
- 639. Prof. O. S. Fowler, *Creative and Sexual Science: or Manhood, Womanhood, and Their Mutual Interrelations* (Philadelphia, PA: National Publishing Co., 1875).
- 640. Article, “Fowler, the Phrenologist, Likely to Run Afoul of Anthony Comstock,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 10 June 1881.
- 641. Article, “More Concerning the Vile Humbuggery of Prof. Fowler, the Phrenologist,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 16 June 1881.
- 642. Article, “Fowler, the Phrenologist, Likely to Run Afoul of Anthony Comstock,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 10 June 1881.
- 643. Article, “Adultery,” *The Lynn Record*, 27 November 1875.
- 644. Article, “Criminal,” *The Lynn Record*, 4 December 1875.
- 645. Article, “She Was Bound to Investigate,” *The Lynn Record*, 27 November 1875.
- 646. Item in feature column, “Starry Notes,” *The Lynn Record*, 18 May 1878.
- 647. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn for the Year 1878* (Lynn: John Macfarlane & Co., 1879), p.10.
- 648. Notice, “Electricity is Life,” *Fort Scott Daily Tribune and Fort Scott Daily Monitor* (Fort Scott, KS), 24 May 1886.

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649. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 30 October 1875.
650. For reference to her 30 years of witnessing the suffering of women, see Article, "Prevention Better than Cure," *The Lynn Record*, 6 November 1875.
651. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 30 October 1875.
652. Article, "Prevention Better than Cure," *The Lynn Record*, 6 November 1875.
653. Advertisement, *Mind and Matter* (Philadelphia, PA), 5 August 1882. In 1877 Abbie Cutter also organized and was elected President of a society of "representative women" in Louisville, Kentucky for the promotion among women of knowledge of "the human system the laws of life and health, and the best means of relieving sickness and suffering." The society was chartered to "provide instruction upon all subjects belonging to the science of man, especially hygiene, physiology, physiognomy, and anatomy, in their practical bearings upon the prevention and cure of disease, the training of children and youth, and the general improvement of the human race." To accomplish this objective, the society would procure "a collection of apparatus, illustrations, engravings, etc., as a physiological museum, to which the members of the association shall have access, and a suitable library for the use of the members." At the first meeting, one hundred women joined. See Article, "Ladies' Physiological Society. The Organization at Louisville, KY," *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL), 21 July 1877. Her contributions to health education and women's health were overshadowed by her discoveries after her death of her deceptive practices: "Mrs. Cutter was a spiritualist and medium of considerable reputation. She was also a magnetic healer. That is she was an impostor and a fraud, and left among her effects evidence that for years she had lived and thrived by practicing the most gauzy deceptions upon the creditors. She had a trunk full of slates and on one side of each of them was scratched with some sharp instrument messages from various important personages now dead. These slates were such that when wet the writing on them was invisible, but on drying again became plainer than ever. The scheme of working the slates was evidently to wipe off both sides with a wet sponge, let people examine them and then lay the slate on the table with the side bearing the writing turned down. In a few moments they would be dry, and when picked up, the side which had been turned down was covered with a message from the dead." See Article, no title, *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald* (St. Joseph, MO), 27 May 1888.
654. Compilation of homeopathic healers practicing within Lynn for any length of stay during the decade of the 1870s (from one day to all ten years) by research of Lynn newspapers, city directories, Essex County directories and histories, and federal census records, performed by the author (Rapoza).
655. Article, "Medical," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1872 (homeopaths); Walter L. Burrage, A.M., M.D., *A History of the Massachusetts Medical Society, 1781-1922* (Norwood, MA: The Plimpton Press, 1923), p.348 (rivals). The Massachusetts Medical Society members of Lynn, Swampscott, Nahant, Saugus, and Lynnfield first applied for permission to withdraw from the Essex South District Medical Society to establish a Lynn chapter in May 1870 and they petitioned again in February 1872. While the request was approved in June 1872, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* was including the meeting reports of the Lynn Medical Society as early as 1871 (reporting some meeting transactions of the Lynn group from 1870), which reports have been referenced throughout this current chapter. In a January 1872 meeting of the Lynn Medical Society, a motion to thank Daniel Perley for performing in the office of president "for the five years of the Society's existence," indicating that the local offshoot of the state and district societies was functioning at least in 1867. Although the state society apparently did not finalize its approval for the formation of the Lynn Medical Society until June 1872, the doctors in the Lynn area had been meeting as a unit separate from the district medical society since at least 1867, while still participating in meetings of the district society. See John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1872), Vol. 86, p.267.
656. Article, "Medical," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1872.
657. Articles, "Essex county Homeopathic Medical Society," *The Lynn Record* 22 May 1873 (delegate); "E. C. H. M. S.," *The Lynn Record*, 22 August 1874 (Bowel).
658. Article, "Homeopaths at Echo Grove," *The Lynn Record*, 21 July 1877.
659. Article, "Physicians' Picnic and Excursion," *The Lynn Record*, 22 July 1876.
660. Article, "Leucorrhœa: its Concomitant Symptoms and its Homœopathic Treatment. By A. M. Cushing, M.D. Thos. P. Nichols, Lynn. 79 pp. 8vo.," *Lynn Transcript*, 12 October 1872 (symptoms); "Leucorrhœa," *The Lynn Record*, 5 October 1872 (first).
661. Article, "Patent," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 26 June 1875.
662. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.23.
663. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Non-Population Census Schedules for Massachusetts, 1850-1880*; Archive Collection: T1204; Archive Roll Number: 38; Census Year: 1880; Census Place: Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts, Page 1, Supervisor's District No.60, Enumeration District No.219, line 66.

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664. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Non-Population Census Schedules for Massachusetts, 1850-1880*; Archive Collection: T1204; Archive Roll Number: 38; Census Year: 1880; Census Place: Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts, Page 1, Supervisor's District No.60, Enumeration District No.219, line 304; all spelling and word choices (other than those added in brackets for clarity) are as in the original. Since new potatoes have very thin skins, they are also prone to sun damage. A sunburned potato has a green layer under the skin containing solanine, a poisonous chemical that can cause food poisoning even in small quantities; eaten in large quantities even death can ensue. See K. Annabelle Smith, "Horrific Tales of Potatoes That Caused Mass Sickness and Even Death," *Smithsonian Magazine*, 21 October 2013 (<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/horrific-tales-of-potatoes-that-caused-mass-sickness-and-even-death-3162870/>).
665. John O. Webster, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, pp.197-198. What Pinkham described appears to have been a case of mastoiditis.
666. Dr. A. M. Cushing, Lynn, Mass., "Surgery in the Hands of Homoeopaths," *American Homoeopathic Observer* (Detroit, MI: Dr. Lodge's Homoeopathic Pharmacy, 1866), Vol.III,564.
667. Article, "Medical Miscellany," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston, MA: David Clapp & Son, 1871), Vol. VII, No. 11, p.188.
668. Article, "A Medical Surprise Party," *The Lynn Record*, 23 December 1875.
669. Item, no title, in feature column, "Noted and Quoted," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 October 1875.
670. Puff, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1872.
671. All railroad deaths listed were located in Lynn death records; see Massachusetts Records, 1840–1911. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
672. Article, "Terrible Railroad Disaster," *Little Giant*, 2 September 1871 (emphasis in original).
673. Article, "Frightful Railroad Disaster!" *Lynn Transcript*, 2 September 1871.
674. Article, "Frightful Railroad Disaster!" *Lynn Transcript*, 2 September 1871.
675. Article, "Frightful Railroad Disaster!" *Lynn Transcript*, 2 September 1871. Bartoll was a traveling salesman living in Lynn at the time of the accident.
676. Article, "Frightful Railroad Disaster!" *Lynn Transcript*, 2 September 1871. Given the date and context of the medical service being provided and the association with Richard Kennedy, "Mrs. Glover" was Mrs. Mary Baker Glover. Dr. Lodge was Dr. Giles Henry Lodge, an 1825 graduate of Harvard with a medical degree, but he established his career as a Greek translator; he was not on the rolls of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He lived in Boston but also had property in Swampscott.
677. Article, "Committee Hearings. Regulating Medical Practice," *The Boston Globe*, 10 March 1877.
678. Daniel Perley died on 31 January 1881. M. V. B. Perley, Compiler, *History and Genealogy of the Perley Family*, (Salem, MA: privately printed, 1906), p.259.
679. Robert T. Edes, M.D., "What is the Object of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and How Can It Best Be Fulfilled?" *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1878), Vol. 98, No. 23, pp.724-725.
680. Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., "The Sanitary Association of Lynn, Mass," American Public Health Association, *Public Health Papers and Reports* (Boston, MA: Franklin Press, 1881), Vol.VI, p.204.
681. The members of the Sanitary Association are found in Article, "The City's Health. Formation of a Sanitary Association in Lynn – Its Object – The Officers," *Lynn City Item*, 17 May 1879. The occupations of the members from research on Lynn city directories performed by the author (Raposa).
682. Article, "The City's Health. Formation of a Sanitary Association in Lynn – Its Object – The Officers," *Lynn City Item*, 17 May 1879.
683. Joseph G. Pinkham, "The Sanitary Association of Lynn, Mass," p.207.
684. Sanitary Association of Lynn, *Sanitary Tract, No. 3. On the Evils of the Present Privy System*, pp.4-7 (emphasis added).
685. Sanitary Association of Lynn, *Sanitary Tract, No. 3. On the Evils of the Present Privy System*, pp.4-7.
686. Sanitary Association of Lynn, *Sanitary Tract, No. 3. On the Evils of the Present Privy System*, pp.4-7 (emphasis added).
687. Article, "Fire," *Lynn Freeman*, 9 January 1839.
688. Article, "Small Pox," unnamed Boston newspapers, as quoted in *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 May 1860.
689. Article, "A Home for the Homeless," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 September 1860.
690. Bowman B. Breed, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *City Documents*, 1869, p.53.

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691. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents*, 1870, p.44.
692. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Annual Report of the City Physician," *Lynn City Documents* (1871), pp.51-52.
693. Article, "Hospital as well as Hospitality," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 December 1871.
694. Article, "City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 February 1872 (emphasis in original).
695. Article, "Opening of the Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 3 April 1875.
696. Article, "Lynn City Mission," *Lynn Transcript*, 4 October 1873.
697. Editorial, "A New Hospital," *The Lynn Record*, 14 March 1874.
698. Article, "Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 May 1875, described the first meetings as comprising "less than a dozen ladies assembling."
699. Based on the 1870 federal census, members Caroline M. Burrill and William C. Holder were clerks, Mrs. Alfred R. Hacker and Mrs. Amos Beckford Jr., were married to clerks, F. W. Breed worked in a shoe factory, Mrs. Allen B. Breed was married to a farmer, and Mrs. Lucilla P. Pease was a widow.
700. Article, "Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 31 October 1874. John O. Webster had strongly advocated for a new hospital for the city in his annual report to the city council as Lynn's city physician; see Article, "City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 19 April 1873.
701. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *A History of Lynn Hospital, Including a Description of Pre-hospital conditions and causes which led up to the hospital movement in Lynn, by a member of the staff*, (Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., Lynn, 1918).
702. Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 May 1875.
703. Articles, no title, *The Lynn Record* (Old), and "Universalopathy," *Lynn Transcript* (votes), both 21 November 1874. It was significant enough to constitute the entire description of the hospital two years later; see Francis H. Brown, M.D., M.M.S.S., *The Medical Register for New England* (Boston, MA: H.O. Houghton and Company, 1866), p.172. See also Article, "The City Hospital," *Lynn Reporter*, 14 April 1875 (ladies).
704. James R. Newhall, *Centennial Memorial of Lynn*, p.113.
705. Articles, "City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 20 March 1875 (pillows).
706. Articles, "Lynn City Hospital," *The Lynn Record*, 6 March 1875. The article described the house as two stories tall, but it was, in fact, three. Since the third floor was only storage and housing for servants, it apparently did not impress the reporter as important enough to acknowledge.
707. Articles, "Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 March 1875.
708. Article, "Opening of the Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 3 April 1875. There was incongruity between two *Lynn Transcript* articles on the hospital's starting bed count. The first article ("City Hospital," 6 March 1875) stated arrangements "will be made for about six beds at first." The article's dating was almost a full month before the opening and its wording reflected an approximate plan for the future, while the above article of 3 April was published three days after the opening and reported a physical count of eight beds after examination of the facility. So six beds was an early plan, but eight was the actual starting count.
709. Articles, "The City Hospital," *Lynn Reporter*, and "opening of the Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, both on 3 April 1875. Both articles also mentioned that John A. McArthur was also chosen, but had been "obliged to decline" serving; no reason was given.
710. Articles, no title, *The Lynn Record* (Old), and "Universalopathy," *Lynn Transcript*, both 21 November 1874 (votes).
711. Articles in the *Lynn Transcript*, "Opening of the Lynn City Hospital," 3 April 1875 (matron) and "Lynn Hospital," 1 May 1875 (sunset).
712. Article, "City Hospital," *Lynn Reporter*, 7 April 1875.
713. Articles, in the *Lynn Reporter*, "Declined Serving," 7 April 1875 (vote) and "The City Hospital," 14 April 1875 (fidelity).
714. Article, "The City Hospital," *Lynn Reporter*, 14 April 1875. The exact wording of the resolution passed by the Lynn Medical Society and sent to the Lynn Hospital Association on 7 April 1875 can be found in Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 May 1875.
715. Article, "The Hospital Difficulty," *Lynn Transcript*, 17 April 1875.
716. The specific members of the Lynn Medical Society who refused to work at the hospital are listed in Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 May 1875; the homeopaths and McArthur were taken from the record of their actual service at the hospital between 1 April 1875 – 16 March 1876, as found in Article, "The Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1876. It is also interesting to note that John A. Webster does not show up on the rolls of either camp once the amendment of his making was challenged by the Lynn Medical Society. He did continue to practice in Lynn until 1877, but no further discussion has been located of his involvement

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- in the Lynn hospital or the Lynn Medical Society between the hospital's opening in 1875 and his departure from Lynn in 1877. He relocated to his native state of Maine, residing in Augusta for the rest of his career.
717. The line item medical and surgical record of the hospital from 1 April 1875 – 16 March 1876 is found in Article, "The Lynn City Hospital," *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1876.
718. Francis H. Brown, M.D., M.M.S.S., *The Medical Register for New England* (Boston, MA: H. O. Houghton and Company, 1877), p.172.
719. Article, "Free Dispensary," *Lynn Transcript*, 17 July 1875. The article goes on to explain that Cushing had opened a free dispensary in the Lynn City Hall six years previous, but had to abandon the effort because he was the only doctor staffing it.
720. Article, "The New Medical Dispensary," *The Lynn Record*, 17 July 1875.
721. Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 30 October 1875.
722. Editorial, "The Lynn Hospital," *The Lynn Record*, 21 April 1877.
723. Squib, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 12 May 1877 (emphasis in original).
724. Article, "The City Hospital," *Lynn City Item*, 26 April 1879.
725. Article, "The New City Physician," *Lynn City Item*, 23 AUG 1879.
726. The *Boston Globe* observed that winter had set in for good some days before Thanksgiving and that the mean temperature for the month had been only 25 degrees Fahrenheit, 11 degrees below the average of the previous fourteen years. "It is certain that no more disagreeable, gloomy November has been known within the memory of the most garrulous of octogenarians, loving to boast of the great Winters of the good old times. ... the coolness of the early morning, yesterday, was a thing to be read of and not experienced. The thermometer marked eight degrees above zero in the first hours of morning; and even at noon the weather was cold enough to make men hurry on their several ways, mindful of tingling cheeks and ears." See Item in feature column, "Local Intelligence." *The Boston Daily Globe*, 2 December 1873. Two days before the fatal Homan surgery, a light snow fell in the Boston area, and the next day opened "dull, with prospect of rain." See Item in feature column, "Review of the Week," *New England Farmer* (Boston, MA), 6 Dec 1873 (SAT)
727. Article, "Correspondence. Letter from Boston," *The New York Medical Journal* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1874), Vol. 9, p.186.
728. Article, no title, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 25 December 1873, Vol.89, No.26, p.644.
729. Inquest testimony from various physicians of the Massachusetts Medical Society showed consistent support of the behavior of their society brethren, Graves and Bixby. Dr. Walter Burnham (Lowell): "Do not think I would give ether against the patient's will. If the patient first consented and then resisted, I should continue the ether; after a little time they often become insane and refuse; I never regard their entreaties then." Dr. David H. Storer (Boston): "As a general rule the objection of a patient would have no influence on my action of the case." Dr. William Wheeler (Chelsea): "If she did not consent to take the ether, I should use every argument to induce her to take it. After commencing the operation should pay no attention to a resistance on the part of a patient." See Article, A. M. Cushing, M.D., "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette, Monthly Journal of Homeopathic Medicine* (February 1874), Vol. 9, p.66.
730. Article, no title, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 25 December 1873, Vol.89, No.26, p.644.
731. Article, "The Homan Case," *Lynn Transcript*, 13 December 1873.
732. Article, "The Homan Case," *Lynn Transcript*, 20 December 1873 (emphasis added).
733. Cushing's description of Bessie Homan's homemaking chores on November 25th probably reflected her effort to prepare for Thanksgiving, despite her abdominal pain and discomfort; see Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.62. In a proclamation, President Ulysses S. Grant had declared November 25th, 1873, a day of national thanksgiving; since Lincoln inauguration of the tradition, it had quickly developed into a popular national holiday. *The Boston Daily Globe* described the holiday preparations in the Boston area in 1873, "Thanksgiving day has come and gone ... the revered turkey was trotted out with all the alacrity which good housewives are wont to expect, and those who could afford it and some who could not indulged in the gustatory part of the day's recreations with no small apprehension as to the effect the food might have on their discharge of duties for the remainder of the week. The weather was of that pleasant combination of bracing air, leaden sky and fleecy snow which seemed all that the season demanded. With a few exceptions, the streets were deserted, save at the morning hour when the church-goers were out." See Article, "Thanksgiving. How the Day was Passed in Boston." *The Boston Daily Globe*, 28 November 1873.
734. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.63.
735. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.64.
736. Article, no title, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 25 December 1873, Vol. 89, No.26, p.644.

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737. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.65.
738. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.68.
739. Genealogical information on John W. Homan's family was compiled from Lynn city directories, Lynn birth, marriage, and death records (1846-1871), and federal census records (1850-1880), performed by the author (Rapoza). There were certainly more (probably far more) than these numbers reveal, since everyone did not advertise in newspapers and city directories or get memorialized in local histories.
740. John W. Homan's work history as found in Lynn city directories (1860, 1865, 1870, 1873) and federal census records (1860, 1870), and Massachusetts state census (1865).
741. Article, "Anaesthetics. Inquest on the Death of the Late Mrs. Homan of Lynn., *The Boston Globe*, 12 December 1873.
742. Article, "Anaesthetics. Inquest on the Death of the Late Mrs. Homan of Lynn., *The Boston Globe*, 12 December 1873.
743. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.63.
744. Testimony of Mrs. Emma S. Hemeon, sister-in-law of Elizabeth Homan (emphasis in original). Other inquest testimony from various physicians of the Massachusetts Medical Society showed consistent support of the behavior of their society brethren, Graves and Bixby. Dr. Walter Burnham (Lowell): "Do not think I would give ether against the patient's will. If the patient first consented and then resisted, I should continue the ether; after a little time they often become insane and refuse; I never regard their entreaties then." Dr. David H. Storer (Boston): "As a general rule the objection of a patient would have no influence on my action of the case." Dr. William Wheeler (Chelsea): "If she did not consent to take the ether, I should use every argument to induce her to take it. After commencing the operation should pay no attention to a resistance on the part of a patient." See Article, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette, Monthly Journal of Homeopathic Medicine* (February 1874), Vol. 9, p.66.
745. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.67.
746. Article, "Anaesthetics. Inquest on the Death of the Late Mrs. Homan of Lynn., *The Boston Globe*, 12 December 1873.
747. Testimony of Mrs. Emma S. Hemeon, sister-in-law of Elizabeth Homan; see A. M. Cushing, M.D., Lynn, Mass., "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *The New England Medical Gazette* (Boston, MA: January 1874), Vol.9, No.1, p.66.
748. Article, "Anaesthetics. Inquest on the Death of the Late Mrs. Homan of Lynn., *The Boston Globe*, 12 December 1873.
749. Article, "The Homan Case," *Lynn Transcript*, 13 December 1873.
750. Article, "Correspondence. Letter from Boston," *The New York Medical Journal* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1874), Vol. 9, p.187.
751. Article, "Correspondence. Letter from Boston," *The New York Medical Journal* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1874), Vol. 9, p.187.
752. Article, Cushing, "Death from Ether – and Debility?" *New England Medical Gazette*, Vol. 9, p.64.
753. Article, "Correspondence. Letter from Boston," *The New York Medical Journal* (1874), Vol. 9, p.187 (emphasis added).
754. Notice, "City of Lynn. In Board of Mayor and Aldermen," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1872.
755. Article, "The Beer Election," *Lynn Transcript*, 11 May 1872.
756. Article, "Organization of the New City Government, Mayor Buffum's Inaugural Address," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 January 1872.
757. Article, "Lynn City Mission," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 May 1874.
758. Article, "Municipal," *Lynn Transcript*, 11 July 1874.
759. Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the Year 1875 (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1875), Chap. 99 – An Act to Regulate the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors.
760. Article, by "Pharmacist," "The New License Law," *Lynn Transcript*, May 1875 (emphasis in original).
761. Article, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 3 June 1876.
762. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 3 August 1872.
763. Puff, "New Apothecary," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 April 1873.
764. Article, "A Splendid Soda Fountain," *The Lynn Record*, 29 May 1875.
765. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 11 May 1872.

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766. Articles, "Radient," *Little Giant*, 15 June 1872 (Radiant); "Extravagant Mouse," *The Lynn Record*, 22 June 1872 (mouse). Sixty-one years old, Proctor was one of the longest serving apothecary in Lynn in 1872. The workmen found 11 fifty-cent pieces of postal currency "of the oldest design, together with one ten-cent piece of scrip."
767. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 19 July 1873 .
768. Puffs, *The Lynn Record*, no title, 9 September 1876 (Tube Rose) and "The Old Corner," 1 January 1876 (fancy).
769. *Lynn City Directory*, 1875, p.384.
770. Article, "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 8 February 1879.
771. Article, "Shocking Accident," *Little Giant*, 14 October 1871.
772. Article, "Serious Accident," *Little Giant*, 12 October 1872.
773. Article, "The Gale," *The Lynn Record*, 19 February 1876.
774. Article, "Run Over," *The Lynn Record*, 19 February 1876.
775. Bergengren's Swedish background and New York practice as found in Nils William Olsson, "Swedish Pharmacists in America," *Swedish American Genealogist*, Vol.11, June 1991, No. 2, p.149. He was listed as a physician in Gloucester in *The Gloucester & Rockport Directory for 1870-71*, (Boston: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1870), p.18.
776. William V. Kellen, *Massachusetts Reports 153: Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, January 1891 – May 1891* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1892), "Smith v. Bergengren," p.158.
777. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 14 November 1874.
778. Legal Notice, *Lynn Transcript*, 26 December 1874.
779. Article, "Central Drug Store," and puff, *Lynn Transcript*, 17 April 1875.
780. Squib no title, *The Lynn Record*, 10 April 1875.
781. Puff, "Central Drug Store," *The Lynn Record*, 3 April 1875.
782. Article, "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 30 September 1876. The article does not specify that Bergengren attended the victim, but unlike the standard accident story that described a victim being taken to a drugstore followed by a physician's arrival, this account simply had the victim arrive at the physician-apothecary's store then being taken home.
783. Articles in *The Boston Globe*, "A Trio of Accidents," 10 July 1869 (Elbridge, Nichols); "Lynn," 30 November 1879 (Hill); and "About Towns," 12 August 1879 (Hayes). The "Central Drug Store" puff in *The Lynn Record* of 3 April 1875 explained that "the doctor [Bergengren] does not intend to practice his profession in this city, any farther than devoting attention to his drugstore on Central Avenue ..." so his drugstore was ostensibly the only place he would act as a physician.
784. Articles in *The Lynn Record*, both titled "Personal," 13 April 1878," and 8 June 1878. He departed Boston in April on the steamer *Maratan* of the Cunard line, landing at Liverpool, then went to London, Manchester, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and Paris. In his absence, his apothecary business was capably conducted by Herbert Goodridge, "the popular clerk of the establishment," who later became a druggist in his own Lynn store. The June 1878 article reported that Bergengren had returned to Lynn.
785. Articles, "Painful Accident," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 July 1876; "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 22 July 1876. The two articles each contributed some details and nuances to the account.
786. Article, "New Names," *Little Giant*, 22 April 1871. Cubebs are a dried herb berry that were used as a diuretic and for gas, and gonorrhea, cancer, and loosening mucous.
787. Article, "Improving (?) the Complexion," *The Lynn Record*, 20 October 1877.
788. Joseph G. Pinkham, Letter to the Editor, "Prescription Changes," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1871), Vol. 84, p.118.
789. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 8 May 1875 (dandelion); advertisement and puff, *The Lynn Record*, 3 April 1875 (decomposed).
790. See trade card for Jockey Club House Bitters from the collection of the Lynn Historical Society and Museum; the card shows the well-established product image of a jockey on a horse drinking a glass of the bitters, provided to him by the young woman at the window above him. The image is surmounted by "Jockey Club House Bitters from J. H. Dudley & Co. Proptrs, Dudley & Co., Wine Store, No. 4 Sagamore Hotel, Lynn." Dudley is located in two Lynn city directories: 1869 (p.76) as T. E. Dudley, boarding at the Sagamore Hotel and 1871 (p.91) as Thomas E. Dudley, Dudley & Co., Wines and Liquors,44 Monroe, house 14 Green Street.
791. Advertisements, *Little Giant*, 4 and 11 February 1871.

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792. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 27 March 1875.
793. Item in feature column, "noted and Quoted," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 March 1875.
794. Item in feature column, "Brief Notes," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 11 September 1875.
795. Atkinson promoted his medicines heavily in Lynn papers in 1873-1874 and most of these medicines can be found advertised in multiple editions *Lynn Transcript* and *The Lynn Record* during that time. See the multiple advertisements in *The Lynn Record*, 12 July 1873, for mention of most of those listed here, and *Lynn Transcript*, 3 January 1874 (Citrate).
796. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 14 October 1876.
797. Items in feature columns, "Wax Threads," *Lynn City Item*, 12 July 1879 (Stimpson's); "Special Notices," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 January 1875 (Thompson's).
798. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1879.
799. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 8 February 1879 (Inhaler).
800. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 22 December 1877.
801. Advertisement, "Brief Commendatory Quotations," *Lynn Transcript*, 31 May 1873.
802. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 3 April 1875 (English, Russian, French); *Fitchburg Sentinel* (Fitchburg, MA), 17 May 1882 (Swedish).
803. United States Patent Office, Patent 124,660, Frederick W. A. Bergengren, of Stockholm Sweden, "Improvement in Medical Compounds for Skin Diseases," 19 March 1872.
804. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 18 May 1872. At the time of this advertisement, Bergengren was still in Gloucester and this product was available in Lynn through the apothecary Alonzo D. Faulkner.
805. United States Patent Office, Patent 124,660, Frederick W. A. Bergengren, of Stockholm Sweden, "Improvement in Medical Compounds for Skin Diseases," 19 March 1872. Boracic (boric) acid and chlorate of potassa (potassium chloride) can be dangerous to humans if taken in excessive quantities, causing symptoms from diarrhea and vomiting to death.
806. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 18 August 1877.
807. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 10 November 1877 (Wilder) and 19 May 1877 (Bergengren). The other remedies listed were advertised in issues of the *Lynn Transcript* during the month of January 1873 and often just mentioned that they were available at "drug stores generally." While this was usually the case for those listed, sometimes that was a marketing ploy to build demand and spur the stores into ordering the remedy so frequently being requested by patrons who were searching for the products so promisingly advertised.
808. Article, "Merited Distinction," from *Bristol Times*, as quoted in *Lynn Transcript*, 4 November 1871.
809. Article, "The New Town Hall At Ayer," *Groton (Massachusetts) Journal*, as quoted in *Lynn Transcript*, 4 September 1875.
810. Advertisement, "Factory Facts," *The Lynn Record*, 15 June 1878.
811. Advertisement, "Poverty and Suffering," *The Lynn Record*, 8 June 1878. Another testimonial told the story of a mother whose nursing baby's bowel trouble was corrected because the mother drank *Hop Bitters*; see Advertisement, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 14 September 1878 (emphasis added).
812. In November 1873, Howe took Rooms 7 and 8 at the Kirtland House; see Article, "Good News for the Sick," *The Lynn Record*, 22 November 1873. Less than a year later, he came back to Lynn, staying at the Sagamore House; see Puff, "On a Brief Visit," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 August 1874.
813. Puff, "Interesting to Consumptives," *The Lynn Record*, 29 August 1874.
814. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 8 August 1874 (Havens) and *Little Giant*, 2 September 1871 (King). The *King of Pain* was a remedy for internal and external use, created by John S. Lefavour of Beverly, Massachusetts. Charles E. Newhall was listed as a perfume manufacturer in *The Lynn Directory*, (1871), p. 183.
815. Squib, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 31 March 1877.
816. Squib, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 31 March 1877.
817. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 31 March 1877 (largest) and 19 May 1877 (Vegetine).
818. Advertisement, *Saugus Evening News*, 2 June 1877 (emphasis in original).
819. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 27 October 1877.
820. Article, "Doctors and Apothecaries," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 January 1876.
821. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 30 December 1871.
822. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 8 February 1873.

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823. Advertisement, "Rhodes Ultimatum," *Lynn City Item*, 15 February 1879 (Ultimatum).
824. Puff, "Did You Ever Try 'Em," *The Lynn Record*, 21 November 1874 (Page).
825. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 7 August 1875.
826. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 15 August 1874 (emphasis in original).
827. Advertisements, *Lynn Transcript*, 3 January 1874 (Jennings); *Cambridge Chronicle*, 29 June 1867 outlines the promised therapeutic effects of the medicine.
828. Puff, "Liquid Inhaler," *The Lynn Record*, 10 April 1875.
829. *Lynn City Directory*, 1875, advertising page 389. Meerschaum pipes were specified in Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 3 January 1874.
830. Bottle, *Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters*, labeled example in the (collection of the author). Sargent bought the rights from Isaac M. and Amanda Leonard, of Georgetown, Massachusetts. In the 1870 federal census, Isaac Leonard was listed as a patent medicine peddler with a household of wife Amanda (listed in the census as Margaret) and five children from 13 to 2 years old, but a personal estate valued at only \$100; selling the rights to Sargent was probably a much-needed cash infusion (Georgetown, MA, p.28 dwelling 238, family 293). The first Lynn newspaper ad by Sargent for LEONARD'S BITTERS was in the *Lynn Record* on 27 March 1875; Amanda Leonard died on 13 April 1876, so in addition to being impoverished, Isaac's 36-year-old wife might have already been seriously sick when he decided to sell the rights to Sargent. See Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013): death of Amanda G. Leonard, 13 April 1876.
831. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 27 March 1875 (emphasis in original).
832. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 24 April 1875.
833. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 10 June 1871 (emphasis in original).
834. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 14 September 1872
835. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 12 October 1872. Livingston was born in New York in 1808. He was listed as a carpenter in the 1873 Lynn city directory, living a few doors down from his son, James Henry Livingston, publisher of the short-lived *Family Guide*. Alex was still occupied as a carpenter, and by then a 72-year-old widower, in Saugus in 1880 with his daughter, Alice A. [Livingston] Losee. See the *Lynn City Directory*, 1873. (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1873), p.165 (listed as Alexander Livingstone), and the 1880 federal census for Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.278 (verso), dwelling 495 family 582. No more advertising has been found in the Lynn newspapers for Dr. Alex[ander] Livingston or his medicines after the advertisements of September and October 1872. He was consistently listed as a carpenter in the 1860 and 1870 federal censuses for White Creek, New York, as well as 1873 in Lynn and 1880 in Saugus, but his medicine career was ephemeral at best.
836. Advertisement, *Springville Journal* (Springville, NY), 27 July 1867, is a detailed description of Clark's book.
837. George Edward Clark, *Seven Years of A Sailor's Life* (Boston: Adams & Company, 1867), p.40.
838. Article, "Great Fight in Lynn," *Little Giant*, 16 December 1871. The Lynn city directories for 1869 (p.58) and 1871 (p.69) listed Clark as a lecturer, likely meaning he was lecturing about his life experience and adventures, but the grueling boxing match hints that lecturing might have been a little too tame or insufficiently remunerative to keep his attention for long.
839. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 25 October 1873 (Magnetic Healer), 3 May 1873 (ropy).
840. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1873.
841. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 June 1873. A bottle of Zanzibare sold for \$1.00 per bottle, a box of *Magnetic Catarrh Snuff* was listed for 25 cents per box and *Magnetic Salve* sold for 50 cents per box; see Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 19 April 1873.
842. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 15 March 1873.
843. Article, "A Nuisance," *The Lynn Record*, 15 March 1873.
844. Editorial, "Home Industry" *The Lynn Record*, 16 October 1875.
845. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 17 May 1873 and 14 June 1873.
846. Advertisement (illustrated), *The Lynn Record*, 17 May 1873.
847. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 17 May 1873.
848. Puff in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 17 May 1873. Another puff in "Starry Notes," of the same paper in its 19 July 1873 edition indicated that Dr. Clark proposed to visit Maine in the latter part of August in a trip that would combine business and pleasure.

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849. Puff in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 14 June 1873. The transition in Clark's identification can be seen by comparing puffs in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, for 3 May 1873 (Yankee Ned) and 14 June 1873 (Dr. Clark).
850. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 20 March 1875. Walter D. Etherington was listed in the 1875 Lynn city directory (p.101) as an edgesetter, one of the specific roles in the factory assembly of shoes. In the 1880 federal census (Lynn, MA, Ward 6, p.352, verso, dwelling 135, family 138) he was still listed as a shoe factory worker and 64 years old.
851. Joseph Lakeman was listed in the 1870 federal census (Lynn, MA, Ward 5, p. 617, dwelling 807, family 1054) as 57 years old and working in a shoe factory.
852. Article, "Cure for Cancers," *The Lynn Record*, 22 February 1873.
853. His advertisement for this remedy, which was a cure for rheumatism, cancers, humors (both inward and outward), neuralgia, and piles, was advertised for at least four years; see Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 22 February 1873, 4 April 1874, 17 June 1876.
854. Editorial, "Home Industry" *The Lynn Record*, 16 October 1875. Parker was listed as a mariner in *Lynn City Directory, 1875*, p.209.
855. Puff, "Benefits of Advertising," *The Lynn Record* 22 June 1878.
856. Advertisement (illustrated), *The Lynn Record*, 16 March 1872. The units had been sold exclusively by R. G. S. Shelton, a Lynn auctioneer at the corner of Union Street and Railroad Avenue.
857. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 4 May 1872 (every one). The 1880 federal census (Lynn, MA, Ward 3, p.116 verso, dwelling 294, family 380) listed his return to work as a shoe cutter. The 1878 Lynn city directory listed him without an occupation, which likely meant he had ceased to make the magneto-electric machines.
858. Advertisement (illustrated) and Article, "Important to the Sick," *The Lynn Record*, both 9 January 1875.
859. Advertisements, *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870 and *Lynn Transcript*, 7 January 1871 and 3 April 1875 (all for Seavers); *Little Giant*, 25 March 1871 (Roserine). Franklin A. Phillips was listed as a photographer in the Lynn city directories of 1873 (p.213), 1875 (p.216), and 1876 (p.224).
860. Advertisements, *Little Giant*, 17 December 1870 and 16 March 1872 (Heiskell's); 24 June 1871 (Roserine); 8 July 1871 (Soule's).
861. Article, "New Mineral Spring," *The Lynn Record*, 31 August 1878.
862. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 25 January 1879.
863. *The Lynn Directory, 1867* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1867), No.10, p.53. Chamberlain's store was at No.2 Sagamore Hotel; Dudley's was No.4.
864. Puff, "Fireworks," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 29 June 1870.
865. Puffs, "Cholera Infantum," *The Lynn Record*, 26 July 1873 (twenty), and "A Valuable Remedy," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 29 June 1870 (samples); Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 26 July 1873 (tomb).
866. Advertisement (illustrated), *The Lynn Record*, 26 July 1873.
867. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 26 July 1873 (Lowell) and Item in feature column, "Starry Notes, *The Lynn Record*, 13 September 1873 (Medford), indicate prices awarded to Chamberlain's medicine. Puff, "A Valuable Remedy," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 29 June 1870 (mysterious).
868. John O. Webster, "Children's Disease in Massachusetts," p.155.
869. Article, "Tape Worm Removed," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 August 1874.
870. Puffs, "A Reptile 147 Feet Long," *Lynn Semi Weekly Reporter*, 25 September 1875, and "A Live Reptile," *The Lynn Record*, 25 September 1875.
871. Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013): Death of Abraham B. Newhall, 24 September 1874.
872. Brown Thurston, Compiler, *Thurston Genealogies* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston, 1892), p.335. In May 1877 there had been a report that Albert "Theodore" Thurston of Lynn had been killed by the Indians in the Black Hills, but it was not true; John A. Thurston received a letter from his son on 28 April, mailed from Fort Thompson, Dakota Territory, that he and all with him were well and in no danger. Tensions were high at that time, less than a year after Custer's Last Stand occurred in that region. See Squib, no title, *Saugus Evening News*, 12 May 1877.
873. George was listed as a bookkeeper in the 1869 Lynn city directory (p.201) and as working in a shoe factory in the 1870 federal census (Lynn, MA, Ward 6, p.272 verso, dwelling 505, family 687, dated July 1870).
874. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870.
875. Broadside (illustrated; no date, circa 1872), "USE MRS. THURSTON'S CELEBRATED WORM SYRUP"; (collection of the author).

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876. Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013): Death of Eliza S. (Downing) Thurston, 16 September 1870. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 24 June 1871 (Newhall). The 1871 federal census (p.246) listed George B. Thurston as the manufacturer of *Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup*.
877. Flyer, "Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup," no date; (collection of the author).
878. Broadside (illustrated), "USE MRS. THURSTON'S CELEBRATED WORM SYRUP"; (collection of the author). Four of the testimonials mentioned having used the product for 6, 8, 10, and even 30 years, all of which predated George Thurston's sale of the product and Eliza Thurston's death, so these all point to Mrs. Thurston either selling or at least generously distributing the medicine she was making for her own children. It is also interesting to note, given that he was a carpenter and not a doctor, Alvah Philbrook's testimonial stated, "I have used it in several families besides my own I prescribed for them to use Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup."
879. Article, "Accident," *Little Giant*, 9 December 1871.
880. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 26 February 1876.
881. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 9 March 1878.
882. Puff, "What's Eating You?" *The Lynn Record*, 16 March 1878.
883. Box (bottle packaging) for *Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters and Blood Purifier*; (collection of the author; gift from Dick Watson). Puff, Thurston's Specifics," *The Lynn Record*, 13 July 1872 (price). Capturing the loyal patronage of the veteran's organization, the masons, the templars, the cordwainer's mutual benefit associations, or other fraternal or professional groups, promoted the same protective commercial stance against outside competition to Lynn brands as the newspaper advertisements and editorials tried to encourage on a city-wide, buy-local stance. Thurston's use of the G.A.R. acronym, whether legitimately earned or not, was designed to engender that kind of support and loyalty. *The Veteran's Call*, a newspaper published by Lynn's General Lander Post of the G.A.R., had "an unusually large number of local advertisements – a fact which speaks volumes for the merchants of Lynn." It demonstrated a symbiotic relationship between local merchants and veterans: veterans wanted recognition, support, and benefits, and merchants wanted their sizeable patronage. See Article, "The Veteran's Call," *The Lynn Record*, 8 March 1873.
884. Puff, "Thurston's Specifics," *The Lynn Record*, 13 July 1872.
885. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 27 April 1872; this was the first appearance of this bitters being advertised in a Lynn newspaper.
886. Advertisement, *Little Giant*, 11 May 1872.
887. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 3 January 1874 and Broadside, "THURSTON'S XXX DEATH TO PAIN"; (collection of the author).
888. The Croscups (Armanella, 45, [unreadable entry], Joseph C., 23, shoemaker, and George W., 16, leather cutter) first appear in the 1865 State Census (Lynn, MA, Ward 5, no page number, dwelling 333, family 479), immigrants from rural Granville, Nova Scotia. Armanella and George were boarding at the Daisy Cottage on High Rock in 1869 (*Lynn City Directory, 1869*, p.66), then at 19 Mudge Street in 1875 (*Lynn City Directory, 1875*, p.81) and 1878 (*Lynn City Directory, 1878*, p.94). George tried running a variety store in 1876 (*Lynn City Directory, 1876*, p.89), but had returned to shoemaking by 1878. In 1905, Armanella and George lived in Cumberland, New Jersey, where her occupation was listed as the "widow [of] Joseph, patent medicines"; see *Boyd's Directory of Cumberland and Salem Counties, New Jersey, 1905-1906*, (Philadelphia, PA: C. E. Howe Co., 1905), p.399. Her gravestone, engraved Armanella Croscup, 1815-1912, is in Siloam Cemetery, Vineland, New Jersey.
889. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 25 October 1873 (emphases as in original).
890. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 7 November 1874.
891. Puff, "Mrs. Croscup's Catarrh Bitters," *The Lynn Record*, 25 October 1873.
892. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 25 October 1873 (Vegetable); *Lynn Transcript*, 7 November 1874 (Clovertine).
893. Article, no title, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1 June 1871), Vol.84, New Series Vol.7, No.22, p.375. Lynn physician Thomas Graves displayed awe and confusion about female biology in a reported he sent to *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1876 about the peculiar story of a patient who had been pregnant 306 days – 26 days over the traditionally defined full term. Three days before her sailor husband left on a long ocean voyage on 8 April, 1875, the 17-year-old bride ceased menstruating and had intercourse with him two times. About two or three weeks after her husband shipped off, she called upon Graves to provide some medicine for nausea that she had begun to have. Graves had no doubt as to her complete fidelity during her husband's absence, so considered it an unaccountable departure from nature's normal path and he excitedly submitted his report of the incident to *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* the following year,

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- apparently just weeks after she had given birth. See Thomas Thatcher Graves, M.D. Harv[ard], of Lynn, Mass., "A Case of Gestation Extending Three Hundred and Six Days, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (30 March 1876), Vol.84, New Series Vol.94, No.13, p.353.
894. Records of the Essex South District Medical Society (1805-1870), manuscript (at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA), p.249, 2 September 1867 (pessaries); John O. Webster, M.D., Secretary, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 85, p.24 (forceps); B. B. Breed, M.D., Secretary, "Lynn Medical Society," item in feature column, "Reports of Medical Societies," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1871), Vol. 84, p.194 (hemorrhage).
895. Arthur H. Nichols, M.D., "Sewing Machines," *Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1872), pp.180-221; this report included the survey results of Breed, Pinkham, and Webster under the subtitle, "The Sewing-Machine Industry in Massachusetts," pp.188-211. Back in December 1870, Bowman B. Breed expressed his opinion in a meeting of the Essex South District Medical Society that continuous operation of sewing machines by foot power caused menorrhagia (abnormally heavy menstrual bleeding); see Records of the Essex South District Medical Society, manuscript, p.286, 6 December 1870.
896. The Lynn garter factory report is found in Nichols, "Sewing Machines," *Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts*, pp.201-202.
897. Joseph G. Pinkham, "Diphtheria in Lynn in 1876," p.50.
898. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 28 September 1872 (shamefully); Article, "A Wife Beaten," *the Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872 (shocking); Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 19 October 1872 (severely).
899. Articles by the same title, "Wife Beating," *The Lynn Record*, 30 November 1872 (ill-treats) and 7 December 1872 (Complaint).
900. Article, "Woman's Suffrage Convention," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 7 May 1870. David N. Johnson and Joseph G. Pinkham, M.D., were listed in Article, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 November 1873.
901. For Hutchinson Family performances at woman suffrage meetings, see Articles, "Woman Suffrage Meeting," *Lynn Transcript*, 29 November and 6 December 1873; "Woman Suffrage," *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1876.
902. Article, "The Woman Suffragists in Lynn," *Lynn Transcript*, 11 November 1873.
903. Article, "Woman's Suffrage Convention," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 7 May 1870.
904. Article, "Equal Rights," *Little Giant*, 11 November 1871.
905. Article, "Equal Rights," *Little Giant*, 11 November 1871.
906. Article, "The Radical Club," *Little Giant*, 6 January 1872.
907. Article, "The Radical Club," *Little Giant* 27 January 1872.
908. Article, "'Radical Club' Lectures," *Lynn Transcript*, 3 February 1872.
909. Article, "The Radical Club Lectures," *Little Giant*, 8 February 1872.
910. Article, "Victoria Woodhull's Lecture," *The Lynn Record*, 8 November 1873.
911. Article, "Behind the Scenes," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 November 1873.
912. Article, "Victoria Woodhull's Lecture," *The Lynn Record*, 8 November 1873.
913. Article, "Behind the Scenes," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 November 1873.
914. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts*, p.38.
915. Wm. H. Pinkham, "Progression," an oration delivered May 20th 1870 at the Methodist church, Lynn, Massachusetts on the occasion of his high school graduation. Records of the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company; MC 181, Vol.3365, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (hereinafter LEPMCSL).
916. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 31 July 1875.
917. Article, "The Election," *The Lynn Record*, 19 December 1874. Not too distantly related to the clairvoyants were the fortune tellers who made frequent stops in Lynn. One example was "Donna Inez Jonitaz, the Celebrated Spanish Fortune Teller and Independent Clairvoyant," who was set up in Room 3 of the Lynn Hotel; available at 50 cents per reading. See Advertisement, *Lynn Giant*, 22 July 1871.
918. Beede and Tozzer wer both clerks at Holder's apothecary and went into business together with their own drug store by mid-decade, although the business was known only by Tozzer's name. Puff, "New Apothecary Store," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 February 1872.

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919. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 27 June 1874. Advertisements for her medicines covered the period 1866-1876, during much of which time (1873-1876), she was also listed as running an “intelligence office” – an early version of employment office, finding domestic help for wealthier households. See *The Essex County Directory, for the Year Commencing November 1, 1874* (Boston: Briggs & Co., Publishers, 1874), p.190; *The Lynn Directory, 1875* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1875), p.122; *The Lynn Directory, 1876* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1876), p.129. “Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf” had also been actively engaged in labor negotiations during the strike of 1860. See Articles in *The Bay State*, “The Strike,” 8 March 1860, and “The Shoemaker’s Strike In Lynn,” 15 March 1860.
920. Notice, “What Can a Woman Do?” in feature column, “Special Notices,” *Lynn Transcript*, 18 September 1875.
921. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 22 April 1876.
922. Article, “Dress Reform,” *Lynn Reporter*, 20 February 1875.
923. Advertisements, *Lynn Transcript*, 12 and 19 April 1873.
924. Puff, no title, and Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 22 April 1876. Selina D. Mason, listed as a “Doctress” in the death record, died of Intestinal disease on 12 April 1876, age 65 years, 7 months. See Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013, Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, No.186, 12 April 1876.
925. Edward C. Atwater, *Women Medical Doctors in the United States before the Civil War: A Biographical Dictionary* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2016), pp. 49-50 (Welch); 159-160 (Hawks); 113-114 (Flanders).
926. Grace Greenwood, “Women Doctors,” *The Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture* (New York, NY: Wood and Holbrook, September 1869), Vol.14, No. 3, p.108.
927. “Register of Graduates: Eclectic Medical College of the City of New York,” *The Medical Eclectic* (New York, NY: 15 July 1876), Vol.3, No. 3, p.222. See also Article, “Death of Dr. Haywood,” *The Lynn Record*, 21 June 1873. Haywood advertised that she “Pays special attention to Diseases of Women and Children”; see Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 2 December 1871. Note that she was listed in ads with her husband in 1871 and 1872 as Mrs. Dr. Haywood, making her sound like a bona fide doctor, but actually referencing that she was Mrs. Haywood, married to Dr. Haywood, and therefore was “Mrs. Dr. Haywood [who] Makes a specialty of Diseases of Women and Children.” See, for example, Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 16 March 1872.
928. Article, “Sad Accident,” *The Lynn Record*, 4 September 1875.
929. Mrs. Isabel P. Haywood, M.D., “Treatment of a Burn with Cotton” *The Medical Eclectic* (New York, NY: 15 January 1876), Vol.3, No. 1, p.108.
930. Article, “The Lynn City Hospital,” *Lynn Transcript*, 6 May 1876.
931. Records of the Essex South District Medical Society, Book II, manuscript, 27 May 1873. The district society meetings rotated its meetings between Salem and Lynn; this vote occurred when meeting in Lynn.
932. Article, “A Baby Bewitched,” *The Lynn Record*, 20 January 1877.
933. Town of Rockingham record book (manuscript); Vol.9, p.435. Bellows Falls was and still is a village within the town of Rockingham, Vermont. They were married by Alexander S. Campbell, Justice of the Peace who was also the town clerk that recorded the marriage. It is unclear why they elected to get married in this town which seems to have no connection to either of their lives in any other respect. The marriage wasn’t listed in the Lynn newspapers but it was announced to their abolitionist friends in Notice, “Married,” *The Liberator* 22 September 1843, two weeks after the wedding. Elopement could be suspected, but there is no proof or easily explainable rationale for doing so, unless there was some resistance to the union from Lydia’s parents.
934. Rev. Charles Nelson Sinnett, *Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, New Hampshire, and His Descendants East and West*, (Concord, NH: Rumford Printing Co, 1908), p.230. His occupation as a housewright was stated in legal notices associated with his estate disbursement; see for example, Notice, *Lynn Record*, 14 July 1841. It should also be noted that a house built by Daniel Pinkham, called the Daniel Pinkham House, at 400 The Hill in Portsmouth, New Hampshire was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972. It was estimated to have been built in 1813–15 (1815 was the year Isaac was born) in the wake of a major fire in Portsmouth in 1813.
935. Rev. Charles Nelson Sinnett, *Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, New Hampshire*, p.237.
936. Charlotte and Christine’s birth year and place of nativity are as found in the 1850 federal census for Saugus, Essex, Massachusetts, p.199, dwelling 50, family 72.
937. In her 1849 will, Nabby Pinkham identified all of her daughters by name, but only used a term of endearment to describe “my beloved son, Isaac Pinkham”; see ancestry.com, Probate Records of Nabby Pinkham, Saugus, Massachusetts, Case No.50346.

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938. Letter to the Editor, (under the pseudonym, O. A. N.), "Burrill's Hill and Other Places" *Daily Evening Item*, 10 August 1892. The writer stated, "Fifty-eight years ago last May[,] Isaac Pinkham & Co. tried to blow up Dungeon rock, but did not succeed. I was there and saw it." The reference to "& Co." was likely referring to the others who conspired in the effort to open up the treasure cave by gunpowder; the Pinkham medicine company did not come into existence until more than forty years after the gunpowder explosion.
939. The marriage of Isaac Pinkham and Mary Shaw as listed in *Saugus, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849* (Salem, MA.: Newcomb & Gauss, 1907), p.55. Isaac's business dealings in Northwood as listed in Julian F. Trask, *First Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor of the State of New Hampshire* (Concord, NH: Edward N. Pearson, 1896), p.31.
940. Copy of Records in Pinkham Family Bible, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 157, Vol.2899.
941. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841* (Lynn: Benjamin F. Roberts, 1841), p. 59.
942. Rev. Charles Nelson Sinnott, *Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, New Hampshire*, pp. 167 (Dr. Joseph Gurney Pinkham) and 230 (Isaac Pinkham).
943. Notices in *Lynn Record*: no title, 14 July 1841 (petition of Nabby Pinkham to be permitted to sell property to pay debts) and 11 August 1841 (a statement of the commissioners appointed to examine the claims of creditors), and "Administratrix's Sale," *Lynn Record*, 18 August 1841 (notice of the public auction of the Pinkham property).
944. After Lydia Pinkham's death in 1883, newspapers around the country passed on death notices from two unidentified sources, although one may have been the obituary, "Mrs. Lydia Pinkham Dead," *Lynn Record*, 25 May 1883, which stated that Lydia taught school in Lynn and Wareham, Massachusetts, 65 miles to the south, near Cape Cod, and the other listing her teaching assignments as Lynn and "the neighboring town" of Wenham. While it's not a definitive conclusion, the fact that one of the sources accurately identified Wenham as a neighboring town, lends credibility to the claim and that Wareham was a similar sounding but mistaken location of her teaching assignment.
945. William H. Pinkham, "Progression," oration delivered 20 May 1870 at the Methodist church, Lynn Common (manuscript), "Journal of Lydia E. Pinkham," LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Vol.3365.
946. Articles, no title, *Lynn Record*, 23 February 1842 (Convention), and "Treasurer's Account, Collection and Donations at the Annual Meeting, *The Liberator*, 25 February 1842 (donation).
947. Charles Estes, compiler, *Estes Genealogies 1097-1893* (Salem, MA: Eben Putnam, 1894), p.25 (Eunice) and Obituary, no title, *The Liberator*, 26 June 1841 (Ruth, indicating she died on May 17th, age 26); *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, Vol. 2 (1906), p.567 (Mary and Mary Adaline).
948. See "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham, including minutes of Freeman's Institute. 1848-1865," LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Vol.3365. (Note: the date was misread by whoever gave this part of the microfilm that title; the Freeman's Institute began in January 1843. Lydia Estes, the scribe, wrote her maiden name because she was not married when making these entries. She did not marry until September of 1843.)
949. In addition to Lydia's and Isaac's participation in abolition meetings and events as documented in chapter "1850-1859: Labor Pains" of this book, they also made cash donations to various anti-slavery functions. See items in *The Liberator* (Boston, MA): the amendment to the Annual Report of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts A. S. [Anti-Slavery] Society in "Treasurer's Account," 25 February 1842 (Lydia), and the list of contributions to the "New-England A. S. [Anti-Slavery] Convention," 23 June 1843 (Isaac).
950. The *Health Journal and Independent Magazine* survived for only two issues. Its three editors were also actively involved in the Lynn Freeman's Institute; Barlow wrote its constitution, Wright lectured for it and Gove lead a discussion on the equality of woman at one of its meetings. See "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham, including minutes of Freeman's Institute. 1848-1865," LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Volume 3365.
951. Autograph album, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.538. Most of the album's entries are dated and cluster from December 1841 through March 1843, then there is a five-year gap, during which time Lydia married Isaac, three of her sons were born, and her father died. She was three months pregnant when Frederick Douglas signed on 26 May 1848, then there is another gap of 8½ years, followed by the last gap of 20 years.
952. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 346, p.59 (deed, William Pinkham to Isaac Pinkham) and mortgage, Bk.345, p.113, (Isaac Pinkham to William Pinkham. Both instruments described the property as 96 rods, which is roughly 3/5 acre.
953. Aroline Chase, Letter to Abby Kelley, New York, May or June 1843, manuscript (Kelly-Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA). Aroline was the niece of William's wife, Rebecca Chase Estes, the sister of Aroline's father, Isaiah Chase.
954. Copy of Records in Pinkham Family Bible, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 157, Vol.2899. (Note: the family bible lists Charles' birth date as 9 December 1844 at 7:00 PM; this date is corroborated by his gravestone

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- inscription, but *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, Vol. 1, p.326, incorrectly listed it as 23 December 1844, two weeks later.)
955. Copy of Records in Pinkham Family Bible, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 157, Vol.2899. For age and cause of death, see *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, Vol. 2, p. 567.
956. One late twentieth-century published reference to the image of Lydia and her baby identifies it as that of "Lydia Pinkham, age twenty-five, with baby Charles"; however, the assumption that the baby was Charles can be strongly challenged by other evidence. The mistaken identification of Charles as the subject infant was made on the basis of a note penciled on the back of an enhanced mid twentieth-century black-and-white print copy of an accompanying tintype image located in the LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.3365, which collection was donated to the Schlesinger Library over the period 1968-1971. The print is of a large tintype also found in the collection. The writing on the back of the print copy identifies the image simply as "Lydia E. Pinkham Age 25." That notation was jotted down about 120 years after the photograph was taken and about nine decades after Lydia's decease, and was therefore likely nothing more than a rough guess of Lydia's age in the image; the late twentieth-century author assumed that the notation stated fact.
- The original image was not a tintype, but a daguerreotype: the tintype (first appearing in the 1850s) was an early copy of an original daguerreotype (the earliest form of photography, dating from the late 1830s); whose case and border can be seen in the tintype copy; the Schlesinger photo archivist agreed with this assessment. Secondly, if the infant in the image was Charles, born 9 December 1844, then the narrow-waisted Lydia was almost 26 and about five to six months pregnant with her second baby, Daniel, born 7 July 1846.
- Photographic evidences and period tradition point to the baby's identity as Daniel Rogers Pinkham, Lydia and Isaac's second son (and the first of two by that name), on the occasion of his death on 7 July 1847. This Daniel died at 13 months and 20 days, a very reasonable estimate of the age of the baby in the image. Lydia is not seen cradling a sleeping infant in a maternal, nurturing way as was often portrayed in mother-infant daguerreotypes; instead, she is propping up the baby that has been placed on top of a flat surface, the same surface that her left hand is resting on (note the tufted surface along the entire bottom of the image). The mother's left hand is also positioned over the baby's legs to prevent his body from sliding forward while being propped up by Lydia's right hand.
- The infant's left eye is closed but the right eye appears partially closed and his mouth is partially open, possibly indicating something other than an infant in a natural state of sleep. The image also provides the suggestion of slightly sunken eyes, which would be consistently symptomatic of cholera infantum, which was Daniel's cause of death.
- These interpretations of the photography and physiology provide a new conclusion for the infant's identity and timing of the photograph as Daniel in 1847 rather than Charles in 1846. This assessment is further justified by the tradition of *memento mori* that was popular in the U.S. in the mid-nineteenth century. Having just lost their son, getting a photograph quickly taken before the baby had to be buried, provided their last opportunity to have a lasting memory of the child they had just lost. It is the only photographic image of any of their five children that has survived in the company collection and therefore further justifies the conclusion that it was considered a necessary expenditure by grieving parents, despite their straitened circumstances.
- Pink coloring was added to the cheeks and lips of mother and baby (and blue to Lydia's pupils rather than her irises), a common technique in early images, to artificially bring some life to an otherwise lifeless image, and in this instance, a literally lifeless baby. This artistic embellishment was far more sincere and appropriate, however, than that of a mid-twentieth century treatment of the subject photograph, which enhanced Lydia to have full makeup and coquettish beauty while airbrushing her baby out of the picture altogether, leaving Lydia's right hand suspended awkwardly in the air, bracing up nothing but a completely faded memory.
957. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts 1780-1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), pp. 94-95.
958. Notices, "Assignee's Notice," *Lynn News*, 11 February 1848 (Pinkham) and "Assignee's Notice," 25 February 1848.
959. Notices, "Assignee's Notice," *Lynn News*, 17 December 1847 (Allen, Allen), 24 December 1847 (Palmer), 7 January 1848 (Kimball, Ambler), 14 January 1848 (Newhall).
960. Article, "Pauper Abstract," *Lynn News*, 21 January 1848.
961. Article, no title, *Lynn Pioneer*, 27 March 1848.
962. Notices, in the *Lynn News*, 25 February 1848: "Deaths," (William's); "Assignee's Notice," (Newhall).
963. The second Daniel Rogers Pinkham was born on Broad Street, Lynn 19 November 1848; see *Births Registered in Lynn, 1849-1960*, LDS microfilm 1927899, entry 394 (Note: although this volume of births describes coverage of births starting in 1849, it has many 1848 entries as well).
964. Isaac Pinkham's occupation was frequently listed as "trader," a generic term used in the nineteenth century that aligned most closely to the term "businessman" used frequently today. In context with Isaac, it was most

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- frequently used to refer to his real estate business, but from 1851-1855 it was used interchangeably to refer to his business in real estate and as a produce dealer. For example, see his occupation as trader listed in the birth record of Willliam, his fourth son (Birth's Registered in Lynn 1849-1860, entry 442, LDS microfilm 1927899, 30 December 1852) predated and postdated by evidences of him engaged in the produce business (see Ad, Lynn News, 7 November 1851 and 1854 *Lynn City Directory* (Lynn: Thomas Herbert, 1854), p.128).
965. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 18 April and 7 November 1851 (butter), 18 April 1851 (potatoes), and 10 April 1851 (maple); Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 10 April 1851 (subscriber).
966. Elizabeth Estes was admitted to the McLean Asylum on 8 August 1849 and three months later, Luther V. Bell, physician and superintendent of the facility stated she was "not competent to the management of her person or property by reason of insanity." See (*Massachusetts, Essex County, Probate Records; Supreme Judicial Court (Essex County)*, Case No. 38592). She was subsequently listed as an insane patient at the McLean Asylum in Somerville, Middlesex County, Massachusetts in the 1855 and 1865 Massachusetts state censuses and the 1870 US federal census and as a patient of the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane in Concord, Merrimack County, New Hampshire in 1880. Elizabeth Estes is listed as "an insane person" in many real estate transactions executed on her behalf; see for example, *Massachusetts Land Records, 1620-1986*, Deeds, 01 June 1851 (Vol.446, p.270), 21 June 1851 (Vol.447, p.163 and 164), and 02 June 1851 (Vol. 447, p.200).
967. Anne and Christina Pinkham relocated from Nabby Pinkham's home (see *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 50, household 72) to Isaac Pinkham's home in the 1855 Census (see *Massachusetts State Census, 1855*: Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 50, household 72).
968. *Massachusetts State Census, 1855*: Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 349, household 513. At 34 years old, Guilielma Pinkham married widower Thomas Ripley, 55, a mason. They proceeded to have five children: Rebecca, in 1847; John Quincy Adams, 1848; Eliza Maria, 1849; William E., 1850; and Isaac, 1854. Isaac died of debility on 2 September 1854, just 9 days before his father died (at 63) of dysentery. Oddly, the 1855 census listed only two of Guilielma's four surviving children living with her at the Pinkhams. In that census taking often fell short of accurate data recording, it is certainly possible that 9-year-old Rebecca and 5-year-old William were living at the Pinkhams as well and were inadvertently not reported on the census record; however, it's equally possible that they were under the guardianship or other family of friends who were helping Guilielma to cope with her challenges as a single mother. In any case, no record of Rebecca or Isaac were located in the 1855 Massachusetts census.
969. *Massachusetts State Census, 1855*: Lynn, dwelling 349, household 512 and 513. Abba Trow, 24, and Reuben Pinkham, 8, also resident in the Pinkham dwelling, have not been identified. The Pinkham house was located on 30 Estes Street, according to the 1854 *Lynn City Directory*, p.128.
970. Isaac Pinkham was listed as paying \$34.05 in taxes, which was the 508th largest amount paid out of 4,082 adult male taxpayers in Lynn. At a tax rate of \$7.50 per \$1,000 valuation, the combination of his real and personal property was assessed for \$255.38. See Article, "Lynn Taxes and Tax Payers," *Lynn News*, 31 August 1855. Notice, *The Liberator*, "Collections," 3 February 1854 (donation).
971. Notice, "A Card," *Lynn News*, 23 February 1855.
972. *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, November 1855, as quoted in Article, "The Shoe Business of Lynn," *The Bay State*, 15 November 1855.
973. Article, "The Shoe Business of Lynn," *The Bay State*, 15 November 1855.
974. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution*, pp. 95, 225. It was an economic pattern that Lynn experienced with the shoe industry for decades before and after the 1850s. One Lynn observer noted in 1866, "While the shoe business is good, all goes on swimmingly, ... when the reverse comes, the laborer is not prepared for it." See Article, "The Future of Lynn," *Lynn Reporter*, 21 July 1866; No.1 in a series authored anonymously under the pseudonym, *Ecce Te Ipsam* (See Yourself).
975. Notices, all in the *Lynn News*: "Messenger's Notice," John Coaen and Warren C. Philbrick, carpenters, 19 October 1855; Thomas B. Brown and Timothy N. Alley, former partners, (shoe firm) of Brown & Alley, 26 October 1855; Thomas Vincent, (cordwainer), 2 November 1855; "Sheriff's Sale," Francis Parton, (gentleman), 2 November 1855; Daniel W. Cheever (peddler), Luther Cate (cordwainer), 16 November 1855; "Assignee's Notice," Moody Dow (innholder, Lynn Hotel) 23 November 1855. Occupations in parentheses as located in the 1854 Lynn directory.
976. Notices, *Lynn News*: "Messenger's Notice," 16 November 1855 and "Assignee's Notice," 28 December 1855.
977. Land Records, Worcester Northern District Registry of Deeds, for Lunenburg, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 559, p.304 (deed, James Gilcrest to Lydia Pinkham).
978. Isaac had refused to administer his deceased mother's estate for the same reason of avoiding estate entanglement with his own insolvency; Herbert B. Newhall, one of the creditors was assigned in Pinkham's

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- place, since Isaac was “neglecting and refusing” to do so. See Notice, no title, *Lynn News*, 16 December 1856, and Petition Papers, Probate Records for Nabby Pinkham, on ancestry.com.
979. Statistical analysis of the population and occupation of the Lunenburg population for 1855 was performed by the author (Rapoza) on the basis of the 1855 Massachusetts state census for the town.
980. The Lunenburg Historical Society Inc. has a copy of a photograph of the Pinkham homestead (likely postdating the Pinkham occupancy); it displays a single or 1.5-story Cape Cod style house with a small single or 1.5-story barn immediately behind it, with a stone wall separating part of the frontage from the narrow dirt road passing in front of the property.
981. *Valuation and Taxes of the Town of Lunenburg, for the Year 1856* (Fitchburg, MA: E. & J. F. D. Garfield, 1857), p.25, lists property values for Isaac Pinkham as follow: a house and barn, \$550, a home lot, \$1,250, and 2 horses, at \$75.
982. The *Valuation and Taxes of the Town of Lunenburg, for the year 1856* shows most properties possessing barns and some combination of oxen, cows, swine, and horses. The \$35/horse valuation of the Pinkham horses was on the low end of the scale; horses on properties listed immediately before and after the Pinkhams were valued at \$150, \$90, \$80, and \$60 each.
983. Newspaper article, “Lunenburg,” newspaper not identified, attributed to 1910; from a clipping provided by G. Barry Whitcomb, curator of the Lunenburg Historical Society Inc., in correspondence with Andrew V. Rapoza on 6 August 1991. Further references to the Pinkhams engaged in medicine-making activities in Lunenburg can be found in Lunenburg: The Heritage of Turkey Hills, 1718-1978 (Lunenburg Historical Society, 1977), pp.130-131; also see Articles, *Fitchburg Sentinel* (Fitchburg, MA): “Lunenburg,” 16 July 1911, and “Lunenburg Industries Thrived During Early Period Of 1830’s,” 5 February 1970.
984. Land Records, Worcester Northern District Registry of Deeds, for Lunenburg, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 571, p.330 (deed, Lydia Pinkham to William Murnane).
985. In two land transactions, they were listed as “of Wayland”; see Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 547, p.204 (deed, Isaac Pinkham et ux to John B. Tolman, March 1857); Bk.577, p.154 (quitclaim deed, John B. Tolman to Lydia E. Pinkham, September 1858).
986. For some of the impact of the Panic of 1857 and the subsequent depression on Lynn leading up to the strike of 1860, see <https://www.masshist.org/blog/1373>
987. Typed notes, “Lydia Pinkham and Bedford,” provided courtesy of the Bedford Historical Society.
988. Land Records, Middlesex South Registry of Deeds, for Bedford, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 783, p.323 (deed, Joseph B. Hodgeman to Lydia E. Pinkham, 7 November 1857).
989. Land Records, Middlesex South Registry of Deeds, for Bedford, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk. 784, p.278 (mortgage, Uriah Goodwin to Lydia E. Pinkham, 16 November 1857).
990. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk.561, p.275 (deed, Isaac Pinkham and Lydia E. Pinkham to Joseph B. Hodgman, November 1857).
991. Other histories about the Pinkhams have attributed the “To Secure Success in business” maxims to Lydia’s authorship but this is not correct. It does not take professional forensic handwriting analysis to recognize that this writing sample is a perfect match to the letter Isaac Pinkham wrote to Gardner Tufts during the Civil War. Compare “To Secure Success in business” (LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Vol.3365.) to Isaac Pinkham, [letterhead: “Massachusetts Soldiers’ Relief Association, Washington, D.C.”], Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 25 February 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).
992. “To Secure Success in business” LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Vol.3365.
993. Land Records, Middlesex South Registry of Deeds, for Bedford, Massachusetts (manuscript): , Bk.829, p.170 (foreclosure, Phinehas W. Chamberlain, administrator, 18 November 1859).
994. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.216, dwelling 1420, family 1874.
995. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.217, dwelling 1427, family 1883; she was listed as a boot stitcher in this record.
996. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences* (Lynn, MA: self-published, 1954), pp.34-35.
997. Article, “The Plucky Pinkhams,” *The Weekly Union* (Manchester, NH), 19 November 1881, newspaper clipping located in “Lydia’s Scrapbook,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556. This was probably *The Weekly Union* of Manchester, New Hampshire (later the *New Hampshire Union Leader*); only the clipped article and a typed transcript are found Schlesinger Library. There is a gap for this month in 1881 in the microfilmed copies of *The Weekly Union*. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising* (Lynn: Lydia E. Pinkham Company, 1953), Vol.1, p.4, suggests *The Weekly Union* was a Boston area paper, but there is no evidence that a paper by this name existed

in the Boston area in the late 1870s or early 1880s. The article does not specify which boys sold popcorn and fruit and only lists the timing as during “their father’s earlier poverty,” previous to the Panic of 1873 and the location of their sales as “Lynn and vicinity” to help pay home expenses. The period of Isaac’s earlier poverty was from 1855-1860; during this time the Pinkhams had only returned to Lynn in 1859, during which time Arthur Pinkham documents his father Charles worked at the stamping factory in Cambridge and commuting there by foot from Lynn. This would leave the other two brothers, Dan and William to sell the popcorn and fruit, when they were approximately 9-11 and 6-8 years old, respectively.

998. In 1856 the price of a gallon of whale oil was \$3.00 while the price of a gallon of kerosene was \$1.00, according to John H. White, Jr., *The American Railroad Passenger Car, Part 2* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p.415. The Civil War contributed significantly to the shift from whale oil to kerosene when Confederate ships sunk a number of New England whaleships. Camphene (composed of alcohol, turpentine, and camphor oil), the other significant lighting fuel, fell victim to an 1862 government tax on alcohol; the \$2.00/gallon tax crushed the benefit of camphene’s low 50-cent/gallon retail cost. Kerosene consequently filled store shelves as the convenient, cost-effective choice of lighting fuel. See, “The ‘Whale Oil Myth,’” at pbs.org/newshour/economy/this-post-is-hopelessly-long-w.
999. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk.612, p.190 (partition of the property of Rebecca Estes’ family; Lydia was bequeathed East field lots 16, 17, and 18, and West field lots 1, 13, 14, 15, 29, 33).
1000. Charles Street appeared on the 1860 plat map of the Pinkham properties drawn up by Alonzo Lewis, it was renamed Lander Street in about 1882, probably in honor of Frederick W. Lander, the much-admired Union general, for whom the Lynn GAR building was also named. See *The Lynn Directory 1882* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1882), p.22.
1001. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): , Bk.633, p.282 (mortgage, Isaac Pinkham et ux to Elbridge G. Hawkes, Feb 1862); Bk.638, p.258 (mortgage, Isaac Pinkham et ux to Isaac H. Estes, June 1862); Bk.640, p.39 (deed, Isaac Pinkham et ux to Isaac H. Estes, July 1862).
1002. Broadside by the Massachusetts Soldiers’ Relief Association, “TO THE PEOPLE OF MASSACHUSETTS.” Washington, D.C., August 15, 1862; collection of the Library of Congress; see <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.06902300/?loclr=blogtea>.
1003. Article, “Fire in Saugus,” *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 March 1863.
1004. Isaac Pinkham was first listed in a Lynn city directory as a manufacturer of kerosene in 1863; see *The Lynn Directory (1863)* (Lynn: Adams, Sampson, & Co., 1863), p. 151. Isaac and Charles were both listed as Oil Manufacturers in *Massachusetts State Census, 1865*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 41, household 54. At this time the Pinkhams were boarding in the house of Peter Morrill, a stone cutter.
1005. In 1863, the soap manufactories of George E. Emery were at 238 and 240 Chestnut Street; that of Noah L. Furbush was at 242 Chestnut, and the kerosene oil manufactory of Isaac Pinkham was at 234 Chestnut; see *The Lynn Directory (1863)*, pp.89 (Emery), 94 (Furbush), and 151 (Pinkham). In 1876, long after Isaac Pinkham had relocated from this neighborhood, Joseph G. Pinkham reported that the two soap factories polluted the ground as well as the air, “Two soap factories (bone-boiling establishments) situated on Chestnut Street, drain into Bog Meadow. There is much complaint, in the neighborhood, of the disagreeable odors proceeding from these factories … The meadow in the rear of the factory is very foul” See Joseph G. Pinkham, *The Sanitary Condition of Lynn*, p.27.
1006. In the 1865 state census, Lydia was identified by the nickname, “Liddy E. Pinkham.”
1007. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.35.
1008. Gipsey Pond appears on D. G. Beers, J. H. Goodhue, and H. B. Pursell, *Map of the City of Lynn, Mass., Atlas of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, PA, D. G. Beers & Co., 1872); *Map of the City of Lynn* (Boston, MA: Sampson & Murdock Co., 1920).
1009. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.34.
1010. Much of the property through which Daniel and William streets were cut had been owned by Isaac and Lydia around 1870; Williams Street retained its name to this day (2019), but after Isaac lost his real estate, Daniel Street’s name was changed to Springvale Avenue. The Pinkhams lost their real estate holdings before they had the opportunity to name another street for their youngest child, Aroline.
1011. Statistical analysis of the grantor records of Isaac and Lydia Pinkham 1848-1888 as found in Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript), performed by the author (Rapoza).
1012. Notice, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 January 1864 (Charles); note that the notice is dated 5 November 1863 but was run in the newspaper from 23 January – 6 February 1864. Notice, “Freedom Notice,” *The Lynn Reporter*, 9 April 1867 (Daniel). A published emancipation was a frequently used public notice; for example,

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- Oliver A. Plumer emancipated his son Charles B. Plumer in "Notice," *The Lynn Record*, 26 August 1876, and George Lummus emancipated his son, Edward A. Lummus, in Notice, no title, *Lynn Record*, 7 November 1838.
1013. Advertisements by Isaac Pinkham, *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870 (Healthy), 5 August 1871 (gravel; emphasis in original); 11 May 1872 (40 house lots); see also 4 November 1871, which mentions new, graded streets.
1014. Article, "Matters in Wyoma," *The Lynn Record*, 18 January 1873 (aged); Article, "Enterprise in Glenmere," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 16 March 1870 (railroad), which in part promised, "a branch of the horse railroad will soon be built to connect that portion of the city with the central part, thus affording easy access to the manufactories where the laboring class find employment ... With horse cars running at frequent periods, the objection that it is too far out of the way' would be over-ruled ... and ... Wyoma would be, as it were, at our doors." Neither of these articles stated the author, but they read in the same style and with the same unabashed enthusiasm with those pieces that were identified as from Isaac Pinkham or "P" [Pinkham]. The steam railroad prediction is in Article (under the pseudonym, P., attributable to Isaac Pinkham), "Wyoma Village," *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872. It mentions the "healthy locality" reminiscent of Isaac's advertisement in *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870.
1015. Advertisement by Job Skay, *Little Giant*, 29 October 1870.
1016. Article, "Improvements in Wyoma," *Lynn Transcript* 18 May 1872.
1017. Statistical analysis of the population Lynn, Ward 1 population for 1865 and 1870 was performed by the author (Rapoza) on the basis of the 1865 Massachusetts state census and the 1870 federal census for that ward. It is interesting to note that the ward only increased by two houses and four families from 1860 to 1865; by comparison, the demographic change from 1865 to 1870 was a quantum leap.
1018. The Pinkham house location in 1872 appears on the map of the city of Lynn Massachusetts created by D. G. Beers & Co., engraved by Worley & Bracher, in 1872; collection of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass. The number of occupants was established in *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 1, dwelling 118, household 141 and 142; Isaac was listed as a builder, living in the last home enumerated for Ward 1 (apparently because it was the last house on the south end of the ward boundary) with Lydia, their four children, and four boarders. The property was identified as 185 Boston Street, but in 1870, Boston Street extended the route of what in 2019 is the combination of Boston Street and Broadway, spanning from the Saugus River to the Peabody line; therefore, the house numbering was also quite different back in 1870. The 1871 Lynn city directory lists the Pinkham house as number 185 Boston, but Church Court intersected Boston at number 184; this is consistent with the 1870 map listed above, showing the Pinkham and Lane houses. The house of Samuel Lane, next door to the Pinkhams, was numbered 181 Boston Street; see *The Lynn Directory, 1871: Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, also a Directory of Swampscott*. (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1871), p.151 (Lane) and p.205 (Pinkham).
Recollection of the existence of the grand circular staircase, dumbwaiter, and leaded glass door were contributed by courtesy of the home's owner in 2019, Steven Quigley. The fountain remains in the front yard, just as it was in 1872, being used as a planter and a fountain. A detailed, oversize photograph of the house in LEPMCSL, MC181, Folio Box 2, shows it filled with flowers on all three tiers, with water spraying out of the top of the fountain. Mr. Quigley, was quite surprised to learn that the top of the planter had once operated as a fountain. The photograph also show part of a large barn behind the house.
1019. 1870 federal census, Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 1, dwelling 118, household 141.
1020. Article, "The Municipal Election – Official Vote," *Lynn Reporter*, 19 December 1868 (for his 1869 term); *Twentieth Annual Report of the Committee on Accounts on the Receipt and Expenditures of the City of Lynn for the Year Ending Dec. 31, 1869* (Lynn, MA: Thos. P. Nichols, Printer, 1870), p.32, and *Annual Report of the School Committee* (for 1869), Lynn City Documents (Lynn: 1870), pp.45-46 (for his 1870 term); Articles, "School Committee," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 8 January 1870 and 12 January 1870, and Article, "The City Election," *Little Giant*, 17 December 1870 (for his 1871 term). For his efforts in the citizens' Reform Caucus for the Buffum re-election campaign, see Article, "Citizens' Reform Caucus," *Little Giant*, 10 December 1870.
1021. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk.843, pp.161, 52, 83 (24 NOV 1871; 18 DEC 1871; 8 JAN 1872); he is also listed as a Justice of the Peace in the Lynn city directories for 1875 (p.355), 1876 (p.365), 1878 (p.398), and 1880 (p.449).
1022. Sarah Stage, *Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 1973), p.28.
1023. William H. Pinkham, "Progression," oration delivered 20 May 1870 at the Methodist church, Lynn Common (manuscript), "Journal of Lydia E. Pinkham," LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 180, Vol.3365.

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1024. Articles, "High School Examination," and "High School Alumni," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 25 May 1870 (William).
1025. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.35. It should be noted that Isaac's grandson, Arthur W. Pinkham, further wrote in this citation that his father was a conductor on the Lynn and Boston Railway and that it was an unenjoyable job because he "had the last run from Chelsea down over the marshes at about midnight. It was a tough assignment because all his passengers were usually drunk and wouldn't pay their fares. There was just one good thing about the trip. It ended at the car barns in Wyoma, about a block from where he lived." However, this was not the case. In the 1869 Lynn city directory, p.169, Charles was indeed listed as a conductor of the B&LRR, but was boarding at 300 Summer Street; it was a location quite close to the rail line, but far from Wyoma. Arthur Pinkham, born in 1879 wrote *Reminiscences* in 1954, 85 years after the event, which happened ten years before he was born; in 1954 there was a car barn and rail line in Wyoma, so Arthur assumed the recollection handed down to him was for that location, but it clearly was not. The horse railway did not go through Wyoma until 1883; see James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn* (1864-1890), p.330. During his brief time as a conductor, Charles was living in downtown Lynn at 300 Summer Street, about three blocks from the passenger station for the B&LRR that went to Chelsea.
- Robert Collyer Washburn, *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham* (New York, NY: The Knickerbocker Press, 1931), p.86. Washburn failed to provide any documentation for the statements in his book, which was published 61 years after the time that Charles was engaged as a salesman (see the Lynn city directory for 1869, p.178), but in that selling flour sifters aligns with the job description of "salesman," listed therein, the oddly specific nature of the goods being attributed to him probably had some basis in fact.
- Charles took on several money-raising opportunities after his 1869 stint on the horse railroad, including flour sifter salesman, assisting Dan in his grocery store, and buying and selling some real estate; then he apparently went back to the horse railroad in 1876. His brother Daniel, working in Brooklyn, urged in a letter, "Tell Charlie to let the H.R.R. [Horse Rail Road] job go to the Devil and be out here by Saturday morning as I shall then expect him." See Daniel R. Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William H. Pinkham, Lynn, Mass., manuscript, 26 October 1876. (The entire manuscript collection of correspondence from Daniel to William are located at the Schlesinger Library.)
1026. Obituary, "Death of Daniel R. Pinkham," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 2927.
1027. Cash Book (1873-1882), LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.69o. This cash book for Daniel Pinkham's grocery store had multiple handwriting styles indicating several authors, the principal being Daniel, but also including what appear to be examples of Charles, Will, and especially in the latter section of the book, with dates of 1880-1882, the more controlled, consistent handwriting of their mother, Lydia. Clustered appearances of Charles' name were handwritten in a few places in the cashbook for no apparent reason other than perhaps to doodle away some of the slow time in the store.
1028. Obituary, "In Memoriam. William Henry Pinkham," written by W.H.G., attributable to William H. Gove, the brother-in-law and close personal friend. LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 2927.
1029. Isaac, Charles, Daniel, and William were all listed as living at the Pinkham's house on 185 Boston Street, Lynn, in the Lynn city directories of 1871 (pp.205-206) and 1873 (p.216) and Isaac's son-in-law, Samuel Lane was living next door (1871, p.151; 1873, p.158). (Note that wives, unless they were the head of house, and daughters and small children were not listed in these directories, so Lydia and Aroline Pinkham, and Frances Lane and her children, Arthur and Ernest, were all living at these respective addresses with the adult males in the family, even though they were not listed in the directories. This is further borne out by their presence in the 1870 and 1880 federal census for these households.)
1030. Statistical analysis of the grantor records of Isaac and Lydia Pinkham 1848-1888 as found in Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript), performed by the author (Rapoza).
1031. Article, "Improvements in Wyoma," *Lynn Transcript*, 18 May 1872 (stipulated the cost and construction by Lane); its location on Boston Street as identified on the 1872 D. G. Beers & Co, map of Lynn, Massachusetts, Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
1032. Article, "Improvements in Wyoma," *Lynn Transcript*, 18 May 1872.
1033. Article (under the pseudonym, P., attributable to Isaac Pinkham), "Wyoma Village," *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872.
1034. Articles, "Fine Time at Wyoma Village," *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872, and no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1872. In the quarter ending June 1870, Isaac Pinkham was listed as the recording scribe of the yet unnamed unit that would then become Wyoma's North Lake Division; see *Quarterly Journal of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance, State of Massachusetts*, July 1870, Volume 5, No. 15, p.256. The society was committed to completely abstaining "from the manufacture, traffic, and use as a beverage of any spirituous or malt liquors, wine, or cider." In May 1881, Isaac Pinkham was also one of three featured speakers at the

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- Excelsior Division of the Sons of Temperance; see article in feature column, "WYOMA. Excelsior Division," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1881.
1035. Article, "Fine Time at Wyoma Village," *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872 (songs); Notice, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 7 June 1873 (Cuppy).
1036. Robert Collyer Washburn, *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*, p.115. Washburn failed to provide any documentation for the statements in his book, which was published 55 years after the spelling bee occurred, but it appears to be the type of oral history anecdote that he could have gleaned from Lydia's daughter, Aroline, wife of William Gove, who lost the spelling bee; she was still living when Washburn's book was published.
1037. Article (under the pseudonym, P., attributable to Isaac Pinkham), "Wyoma Village," *Little Giant*, 16 March 1872.
1038. Article, "Matters in Wyoma," *The Lynn Record*, 21 December 1872.
1039. Articles in the *Lynn Transcript*, "Aid for Chicago," 14 October 1871 (Isaac, Daniel), and "Terrible Disaster," 14 October 1871 (kerosene).
1040. Article, "Fire Inquest," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 January 1871.
1041. Brock was first a teacher for three years in New Hampshire, then went to Boston where he was engaged in a grocery business, then for seven years running a butter and cheese wholesale concern, followed by two years as the landlord of a Boston hotel. See William Richard Cutter, *Genealogical and personal memories relating to the families of Massachusetts* (Originally published New York, 1908; reprinted for Clearfield Company by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, MD, 2008), Volume 1, p.396.
1042. Articles in *The Lynn Record*, Lynn Hotel, West Lynn," 16 March 1872 (renovations); "Billiard Hall," 19 April 1873 (billiard). See also Article, "Municipal," *Lynn Transcript*, 5 September 1874, for Brock's petition for a license to keep a billiard saloon. By 1876, Brock was advertising the re-opening of the hotel with the attached billiard hall expanded even further to include a bowling saloon; see Ad, *The Lynn Record*, 4 March 1876.
1043. Article, "Compliment to a Landlord," copied from a letter by Joseph D. McDouall, Business Manager of the Edwin Booth dramatic troupe, *Little Giant*, 28 September 1872.
1044. Letter to the Editor, "Lynn Hotel," allegedly submitted by 'Many Boarders of Lynn Hotel' in rebuttal to the accusations of one Charles K. Steel of New York, *The Lynn Record*, 21 September 1872.
1045. Article, "Police Record," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 September 1873.
1046. Article, "A Generous Act," *The Lynn Record*, 27 December 1873.
1047. Article, "The Lynn Trotting Park," *The Lynn Record*, 19 December 1874.
1048. Article, "Wyoma Trotting Park." *The Lynn Record*, 8 May 1875. See also Letter to the Editor, (under the pseudonym, P., attributable to Isaac Pinkham), *Lynn Transcript*, 21 November 1874 (fence).
1049. Notice, "City of Lynn. Lynn and Boston Railroad. Notice of Hearing," *The Lynn Record*, 19 December 1874.
1050. Article, "Accidents," *The Lynn Record*, 27 February 1875.
1051. Letter to the Editor, (under the pseudonym, P., attributable to Isaac Pinkham), *Lynn Transcript*, 21 November 1874 (fence).
1052. Article, "Wyoma Trotting Park," *The Lynn Record*, 13 March 1875.
1053. Article, "Opening of the New Trotting Park," *The Lynn Record*, 22 May 1875. See also Article, "Trotting at Wyoma Park," *The Lynn Record*, 17 July 1875.
1054. Article, no title, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 14 August 1875 and Notice, "In Bankruptcy," *Lynn Transcript*, 30 October 1875. Apparently, the horse track continued to only limp along; in mid-1877 it was reported, "Matters at Wyoma Park are not very lively this season, and this state of things has existed pretty much ever since the Park opened." See Article, "Turf Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 30 June 1877.
1055. Article, "Wyoma H. R. R. [Horse Rail Road]," *The Lynn Record*, 8 September 1877. The Wyoma Trotting Park had left Brock's hands by at least March 1877, when it was eased to the partnership of McLaughlin & Murphy of Watertown, Massachusetts. See item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 31 March 1877.
1056. For examples of the interest rates experienced in the Pinkham's transactions between 1869-1873, see Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): *8% interest*: (1869) Bk.752, p.45, Bk.763, p.196, and Bk.843, p.53; (1873) Bk.871, p.254; *9% interest*: (1872) Bk.850, p.219; *10% interest*: (1871) Bk.756, p.261, Bk.787, pp.16, 76; (1872) Bk.852, p.184, Bk.859, p.258, Bk.870, p.215.

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1057. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1874) Bk.901, p.5.
1058. Article, "Municipal," *Lynn Transcript*, 24 January 1874.
1059. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1875) Bk.911, p.103; Bk.928, p.235-236.
1060. Obituary, "In Memoriam. William Henry Pinkham," newspaper clipping in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 2927.
1061. For Daniel's appointment as a substitute letter carrier in September 1873, see Item in feature column, "All Kinds in Brief," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 September 1873. William was announced as one of the successful candidates for a teaching position at a Lynn grammar school in Article, "School Committee," *The Lynn Record*, 14 June 1873. Charles was one of twenty men who submitted applications to be appointed Truant Officer, which was prized for its salary of \$800 per year and an allowance of \$200 for a horse and carriage; no wonder twenty men clamored for the job during those financially rough times. Also notable among the applicants was the popular Lynn policeman, John A. Thurston; but School Committee member James S. Oliver was selected for the job. See Articles, "School Committee," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 and 23 January 1875.
1062. William taught grammar school in the evening, according to Obituary, "In Memoriam. William Henry Pinkham," newspaper clipping in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 2927. Lynn City Documents for 1869 and Lynn Statutes and Ordinances for 1879 explain that evening grammar school was held for adult students, ranging from 14 to 60 (1869) and from 12 and up (1879).
1063. Article, "The Alumni Reunion," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 May 1875 (gold); Articles, "School Committee," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 5 June 1875, and *Lynn Transcript*, 11 December 1875 (teacher). *Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lynn for the Year Ending December 31, 1874*. (Lynn, MA: Thos. P. Nichols, 1875), p.47 (dollar).
1064. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1875) Bk.920, p.44 (emphases in original).
1065. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1875) Bk.935, pp.160-161.
1066. Attorney William H. Niles, Esq., who had been living at the Kirtland House, purchased "the estate formerly owned by Mr. Isaac Pinkham, in Wyoma. A newspaper article about his new home that had been the Pinkhams read in part, "those desiring to consult him, after business hours, will find 'the latchstring out.'" See Article, "Personal," *The Lynn Record*, 7 October 1876..
1067. Robert Collyer Washburn, *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*, p.91.
1068. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1875) Bk.945, p.14 (Warren); (1876) Bk.954, p.104 (Portsmouth); also see possessions and defaults in (1875) Bk.924, p.138; (1876) Bk.954, p.87; Bk.956, p.118 and 119; Bk.960, p.274; and (1877) Bk.987, p.150.
1069. For tax deeds (the city's notice of putting up a property for public auction due to non-payment of property taxes), see Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1875) Bk.932, p.99, Bk.933, pp.166, 167, 168; Bk.939, pp.61, 259; (1876) Bk.966, p.80, Bk.984, pp.152, 153, 154, 155, 156; Bk.987, p.150; (1881) Bk.1090, p.56; and (1883) Bk.116, pp.272, 273.
1070. For examples of Nathan Mortimer Hawkes serving in the role of justice of the peace for land transactions involving Isaac and/or Lydia Pinkham, see Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (1872) Bk.867, p.174; (1874) Bk.901, p.5. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, pp.35-36 (cousins).
1071. Land transactions in which Isaac Pinkham signed the deed for a son in his capacity of justice of the peace after his combined loss of Pinkham Hall and his personal home include Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): (January to July 1876) Bk.948, p.246; Bk.953, p.19; Bk.960, p.205; Bk.962, p.73; and Bk.964, pp.67, 204.
1072. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.7.
1073. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.7.
1074. The Keene family plot marker still stands at Grave 10, Lot 256, Linden Avenue, in the Pine Grove Cemetery, Lynn, Massachusetts (as of 2019).
1075. Article, "To Correspondents," *Banner of Light*, 14 March 1874. The pseudonym "L. E. P., Lynn, Mass." is attributable to Lydia E. Pinkham of Lynn, Massachusetts (emphasis in original). Article, "Messages to Be Published, *Banner of Light*, 14 March 1874 (emphasis in original). In the 18 April 1874 edition of the same publication, the following communication from Keene through the medium was shared. Back-dated January 29th, two days after Keene's death, this appears to be the complete message that had been abruptly abridged in the March 14th edition of the *Banner*; as such, it was probably received by Lydia Pinkham with the same

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- satisfaction and enjoyment that a longer version of an anticipated letter from a living friend would receive after having received only a brief initial communication: “(The spirit shook hands with Mr. Wilson.) A raw recruit from the summer-land, but a friend to the cause, nevertheless. I am through all right, and am here to say, Glory to God that I am through, that I now know that I only believed when here – that Spiritualism is a glorious truth. It is the voice of God speaking to his people, and they who hear it are blessed; and they who don’t hear it – why, they don’t receive the blessing, that’s all. I have more to say by-and-by, when I’ve a little better use of the powers that I find myself endowed with. George W. Kean. (Come again soon.) Oh, yes, I shall come again soon. You’ll hear from me in a way that will be unmistakable, I assure you. Jan.29.”
- 1076. Obituary, “IN MEMORIAM. William Henry Pinkham,” newspaper clipping located in “Lydia’s Scrapbook,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556 (emphasis added).
 - 1077. Obituary, “Death of Daniel R. Pinkham,” newspaper clipping in “Lydia’s Scrapbook,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556.
 - 1078. Obituary, “Death of Daniel R. Pinkham,” newspaper clipping in “Lydia’s Scrapbook,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556.
 - 1079. Obituary, “Death of Daniel R. Pinkham,” newspaper clipping in “Lydia’s Scrapbook,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556.
 - 1080. William H. Pinkham is listed as a grammar school teacher in Article “School Committee,” *The Lynn Record*, 14 June 1873. *Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lynn for the Year Ending December 31, 1874*. (Lynn, MA: Thos. P. Nichols, 1875), p.42 lists such teachers as earning \$1 per evening. Even if he were accorded the pay of a second-year teacher (given his time teaching in Weare, NH), he would have been paid only \$2.00 per night. (\$500 fee for second year teachers, divided by four school terms of 42 weeks total). See also *Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Lynn for the Year Ending December 31, 1875*. (Lynn, MA: Thos. P. Nichols, 1876) for his election to represent Ward 1 on the School Committee in 1875 (p.45) and his re-election to one more year in 1876 (p.47).
 - 1081. Obituary, “In Memoriam. William Henry Pinkham,” LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 2927. William most likely worked at the wool-pulling establishment of James M. Brown in Wyoma, just beyond Pinkham Hall and an easy walk from the Boston Street home of the Pinkhams; it was the only wool-pulling business listed in the *Lynn City Directory, 1875*; see pp.336, 408.
 - 1082. Rev. Charles Nelson Sinnett, *Richard Pinkham of Old Dover, New Hampshire*, p.238.
 - 1083. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.68a.
 - 1084. Sharing medicinal recipes was as common among Victorians as exchanging calling cards and tall tales; Lydia and Catherine Greenleaf, her Indian vegetable medicine-making friend of over fifteen years, probably shared medicinal recipes and compared notes on the medical issues of their patients, much as consulting physicians did. Both women made vegetable medicines and both offered free advice; Greenleaf’s advertisements promised, “Advice given free.” Advertisement, *The Essex County Directory, 1866*, Advertising Section, p.73. Greenleaf’s ads repeated the sentence “She prepares all her Medicines herself.” See, for example, Advertisement, *The Essex County Directory, 1866* (Boston, MA: Innes & Niles, Printers, 1866), Advertising Section, p.73.
 - 1085. Broadside, “Nature’s Grand Restorative.” 1828 (collection of the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard Medical School; emphasis in original).
 - 1086. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.6.
 - 1087. Advertisement, *The Right Way* (Boston, MA), 8 December 1866.
 - 1088. Charles Burr Todd, *A General History of the Burr Family: With a Genealogical Record from 1193 to 1902*, 4th Edition (New York, NY: The Knickerbocker Press, 1902), p.372, describes Burr as a wholesale druggist in Boston who had “gained a fortune.”
 - 1089. Advertisements, *The Enterprise and Vermonter* (Vergennes, VT), 4 September 1850 (Dalley’s); *New England Farmer* (Boston, MA), 14 March 1857 (Gardner’s) and 20 July 1867 (Atherton’s); *Boston Daily Journal* (Boston, MA), 3 May 1865; *Rockland Gazette* (Rockland, ME), 25 January 1867 (Litchfield’s).
 - 1090. Advertisement, *The Right Way* (Boston, MA), 8 December 1866.
 - 1091. Burr’s Patent Nursing Bottle was patented on 27 August 1867.
 - 1092. Pinkham biographer, Robert Collyer Washburn, states the Todd origin as fact up front on the third page of his book, but unfortunately, provides no documentation for any of his account; see *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*, pp.3-4, 64. Subsequent Lydia Pinkham biographers copied Washburn’s statement but added no new insight or evidence as to its validity; see Sarah Stage, *Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women’s Medicine*, p.27; and Sammy R. Dana, *Lydia Pinkham: The Face That Launched a Thousand Ads* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2015), p.37. Of the four principal biographers of Lydia Pinkham, only Jean Burton, *Lydia Pinkham Is Her Name* (New York, attributes her discovery of the formula

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- to finding it in her copy of Dr. John King's, *The American* NY: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1949), p.51, *Dispensatory*. If Lydia had that volume, it does not appear in the company archives at the Schlesinger Library.
1093. George Clarkson Todd was associated with the shoe industry throughout his career, with the notable exception of having joined Essex Mining & Trading Company bound for California gold in 1849; see Article, "For California," *Lynn News*, 16 March 1849. He was back in Lynn the following decade, receiving several patents for shoemaking improvements; see items in the *Lynn News*: Article, "Useful Invention," 21 November 1851; Item in feature column, "Waxed Ends," 2 December 1856, and Article, no title, 28 December 1858. The conversion for inflation used 1873 as the starting point on the basis of the first proven year of the vegetable compound being sold to be the likely time that the recipe may have come into the Pinkham's hands as acceptable payment for Todd's debt. It is interesting to note that in 1878, after the vegetable compound had become a successful, profitable proprietary, Todd switched from his long-time profession as a machinist to go into the patent medicine business, continuing to do so at least until 1880.¹⁰⁹³ Perhaps encouraged by the success of the vegetable compound recipe he had provided Isaac, he decided to try to accomplish the same success for himself.
1094. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 19 May 1877. H. F. Thayer & Co. stated that the "lady proprietor" [Augusta Healy] of *Healy's Tonic Pills* was the "original discoverer and manufacturer of *Hurd's Grecian Compound*. The claim was made in this Lynn newspaper ad (which ran for just four issues) and also stated that Healy would be giving "a FREE LECTURE to Ladies only, at Concert Hall, Market street, Lynn" one time (May 23rd) on the subject, "Uterine Displacements and Weakness." No other 1870s ads found for the Healy products mentioned her giving lectures in any other town. The ad and the lecture being offered right in Lynn were likely designed to disparage Lydia Pinkham's original Hurd's and new Pinkham compound medicines. Not only was Healy claiming to have been the "discover" of the Hurd's product but her new uterine medicine in pill form was "far more perfect and superior" to the older Hurd's formulation (and by inference, the new Pinkham compound) "because it is free from Alcoholic stimulants, so pernicious in Prolapsus Uteri" By May 1877, *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* had taken hold in popularity and notoriety in the women's medicine marketplace, but Healy's Tonic Pills was far behind in the Pinkham's shadow.
- An early 1880s version of Pinkham company notepaper firmly claimed (in ornate upper-case letters, next to the bust portrait of Lydia) "DISCOVERER of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Liver Pills, Blood Purifier, Sanative Wash." See note, CHP (Charles Hacker Pinkham) to his wife (Jennie Pinkham), 1 December 1883, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 157. During the same timeframe, H. F. Thayer & Co. was promoting the Mme. Augusta Healy line of products for female diseases as, "Introduced in 1864, five years prior to the introduction of any other New England remedy for the same diseases." (see ad, *Vermont Chronicle* [Bellows Falls, VT], 6 October 1882). The Thayer company tried to use its advertising to compete with the Pinkham company, pushing its claims of being the original maker for prolapsed uterus medicine and the safer current medicine because of its lack of alcohol, but the company and its products never came even remotely close to the success that the Pinkham's vegetable compound became. Wisely, the Pinkhams didn't even acknowledge the existence of Augusta Healy.
- While no familial connection has yet been established, it is interesting to note that the Thayer name appears three times in association with the Hurd product: H[enry] F. Thayer was the name of the business promoting that *Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound* was originated and made by its lady proprietor; Carrie C. Thayer provided her testimonial for *Dr. J. Hurd's Catarrh and Sick Headache Remedy*, and William W. Thayer was the agent for the Impartial Suffrage League publishers of the paper, *The Right Way*, which provided the ad space to Milo Burr for the two Hurd's products in December 1866. Also note that H. F. Thayer & Co. of Boston, the general agents of *Healy's Tonic Pills*, was a different company than Henry Thayer & Co. of Cambridgeport, which sold ingredients to the Pinkhams for their medicine making.
1095. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao. If Hodges paid \$3.00 for the three bottles, the medicine must have been originally priced at a higher retail, like \$1.25 or \$1.50.
1096. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao, pp.59 (Goodwin), 60 (Carter).
1097. The long train of Grecian hair products stretches to *Grecian Formula* still available in the twenty-first century. The many versions of the Grecian-named hair ads in various newspapers can be found on the internet, but the reader is recommended to study especially www.hairraisingstories.com.
- Another product found on this website identified as *Hurd's Hair Restorer*, sold at \$1 per bottle by the Chemical Manufacturing Company of New York City, was advertised in the *New York Independent* in 1855, "This preparation has never failed to produce a new growth of Hair on Bald Heads . . ." A trade card for the product shows a forlorn young woman with long curly hair, and a large area of baldness in the front and center of the head. Trade Card for *Hurd's Hair Restorer*, (collection of the author). Perhaps the original formula Thayer had was for Hurd's Hair Restorer.
1098. Robert Collyer Washburn, *The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*, p.88. All variants of this story (where the family came to realize that Lydia's medicine for uterine complaints should be marketed for sale) further reinforce that *Dr. Hurd's Grecian Compound* was not synonymous with *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable*

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- Compound.* If Hurd's had also been for uterine ailments, the reputation Lydia's vegetable compound had already garnered among women in the area would have rendered it unnecessary and unlikely for it to be named Hurd's instead of Lydia Pinkham's medicine.
1099. Research and analysis of Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao, performed by the author (Rapoza).
1100. See, for example, Puff, "Lydia Pinkham's Compound," *The Lynn Record*, 20 October 1877, which stated the treatment had been tested for ten years (therefore, 1867); her Obituary, "Mrs. Lydia Pinkham Dead," *The Lynn Record*, 25 May 1883, indicated she had commenced to manufacture the compound fifteen years earlier (1868); and an 1877 edition of *Guide for Women* read that the treatment had been tested for over seven years (1870).
1101. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.6. Washburn and Burton both also found or assumed that Lydia was the next generation in a heritage of home medicine makers. Washburn (*The Life and Times of Lydia E. Pinkham*, p.64) stated she had for years made medicines just like her mother had done and Burton (*Lydia Pinkham Is Her Name*, p.50) said she grew up in a farmhouse where the attic always had drying herbs.
1102. Lydia Pinkham's "Book of Ailments" (which designation is on a typed label wrapped over the book's spine), LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, has handwritten on the first page of the blank book, "Medical // Lydia E. Pinkham // Lynn Mar 1878" and entries on the first page of notes starts under the notation, "March."
1103. Lydia E. Pinkham's "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, pp.31 (contracted), 33 (hemorrhage), and 78 (complaint).
1104. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, pp.11 (Brandreth's), 21 (Parson's) 23 (Invigorator), 24 (Diuretic), and 30 (Payne's).
1105. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.11. As with most notebooks in the company archives at the Schlesinger Library, study of the handwriting reveals multiple authors. In the entry on this page, one of Lydia's children detailed, under the heading, "Mother," her onset of pneumonia and the remedies she took to combat it.
1106. Several works reference Lydia Pinkham's "well-worn copy" of John King's *The American Dispensatory*, but her personal copy of that book is not in the Schlesinger Library's collection of the Pinkham company records (this was confirmed by the library's staff). In the absence of Lydia's personal copy, I have referenced the 8th Edition of *The American Dispensatory*, which was contemporary with the period in which Lydia was engaged in making her medicine. It listed four of the compound's five ingredients as native North American species. The dispensatory ascribed benefits for woman's reproductive health to all four of the native species, as follow: [pleurisy root, p.143]: "A number of cases of prolapsus uteri have been cured under the use of one ounce of Pleurisy-root mixed with half an ounce of the root of Aletris Farinosa, and given in drachm doses, three times a day. In uterine difficulties this plant deserves further investigation. It is, undoubtedly, one of our most useful agents." [alcoholic extract of unicorn root, p.968]: "... will also be found valuable in uterine difficulties, as prolapsus, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, etc." [black cohosh, p.1166]: "It also appears to exert a peculiar influence upon the uterus, on which account it has been termed a "uterine tonic." ... has been employed advantageously in ... periodic diseases, leucorrhea, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhea, menorrhagia, threatened abortion, sterility ... and in prolapsus uteri ... [life root, p.1003]: "... a useful agent in amenorrhea, either alone, or in combination with the fluid extracts of black cohosh ... [life root, pp.767-769]: "This plant is known by several other names ... Squaw-weed, and Female Regulator. ... Life Root is diuretic ... and exerts a peculiar influence upon the female reproductive organs ... It is very efficacious in promoting the menstrual flow ... amenorrhea not connected with some structural lesion. It will also be found valuable in dysmenorrhea. In menorrhagia, combined with cinnamon and raspberry leaves, it has been found very serviceable, when administered during the intermenstrual period, as well as at the time of ovulation. It has proved an excellent diuretic in gravel and other urinary affections ..." See John King, *The American Dispensatory* (Cincinnati, OH: Wilstatch, Baldwin & Co., 8th Edition, 1870), pages as indicated above. Fenugreek seeds were not listed in the 1850s-1880s editions of King's work because it was not native to Native America; however, it was used anciently for uterine and vaginal irritation and inflammation and as an emmenagogue.
1107. Bottle Label, Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound (original blue label), 1876 (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original).
1108. The original, blue-labeled bottle of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* collection of the Lynn Historical Society and Museum has this label on the back; typesetting error as in original.
1109. Joseph K. Baldwin, *Patent and Proprietary Medicine Bottles of the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1973). Bottles in this book are identified by Baldwin's own numbering system: Bartholick's (242), Squaw's (3762), Stewart's (3796), Cox's (909), Baker's (180), Walsh's (4097), Lyon's (2519), Sweet's (3847), Weed's (4168), and Belcher's (296). The first year referenced by Baldwin was cited parenthetically in the text of *Promising Cures*.

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1110. See Advertisement for *Vegetine*, "Female Weakness," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 June 1872, stipulating that it "acts upon the secretive organs . . ." The Graefenberg Company was established in New York in 1848 and produced a comprehensive line of vegetable medicinal preparations. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising Volume I: 1875-1953* (Lynn, MA: Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, 1953), p.10 (*Catholicon*). For an excellent description of the local impact being exerted by the Graefenberg company on New York pharmacies as early as 1848, see also Editorial, "The two headed Black Eagle of Austria. - - - Pharmaceutical Piracy.," *The Annalist, A Record of Practical Medicine in the City of New York* (New York, Wm. C. Roberts, M.D., editor), 15 August 1848, Vol.II, No.22., pp.431-433. See also Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Volume I, 1875-1953, p.10 (Lynn, MA: Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, 1953), p.10.
1111. The start-up cost to produce a bottle of the *Vegetable Compound* was probably closer to 50 cents; no receipts exist in the Schlesinger Library collection for the unicorn root and black cohosh until 1878; the later prices of these two items were almost certainly purchased at a discount due to the volume the family business required by that point of the medicine that had been steadily building in sales.
1112. Receipts, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folders 2, 4 (1876); 11 (1878). Lydia Pinkham's "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.22, contains the *Vegetable Compound* formula in Lydia's hand, listing number of pounds of each coded ingredient, to yield 100 bottles of medicine. Dry weights listed below are based on the weights in this formula. See also Receipts: Chas. W. Badger, Drug and Paint Dealer, Boston, 30 March 1876 (alcohol: \$2.33/gallon / 8 pints x 20% of 1 pt); Henry Thayer & Co., Manufacturing Pharmacists, Cambridgeport, Mass., 26 June 1876 (fenugreek seeds: \$1.40/lb x .12 lb/bottle; pleurisy root: \$1.10/lb x .06 lb/bottle; life root: \$0.80/lb x .06 lb/bottle); Gould Bros., Malden, Mass. (unicorn root :\$0.20/lb x .08 lb/bottle; black cohosh: \$0.15/lb x .06 lb/bottle); note that all the weights listed were dry weights of purchased goods, before being macerated in alcohol and water. It is highly unlikely that the absence of receipts dated 1876 for unicorn root and black cohosh means the items were picked locally instead of purchase, although both were native to North America. It is more likely that 1876 receipts for these items simply were not included in the company archives housed at the Schlesinger Library. Consequently, the earliest receipt in the collection, which was early 1878. By this point, the Pinkhams were purchasing the herbal ingredients and other items on the list at significantly lower prices, suggesting either a general downturn in market prices being experienced during the depression or that the Pinkhams had been able to leverage increased order sizes in their price negotiations. (Note: "First Purchase" refers to the oldest receipt for each item found in the LEPMCSL holdings.)
1113. Receipt, Wm. J. Larrabee, Cooking, Office & Parlor Stoves, Crockery Ware, &c., 4&5 Exchange St., Lynn, 29 June 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 5.
1114. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao. The 1876 placements bottles of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* for its first year were: February, 78; March, 508; April, 498; May, 558; June, 414; July, 291; August, 518; September, 549; October, 528; November, 663; December, 150.
1115. Receipt for Geo. F. Sleeper, Bill Poster & Distributor, 7 Franklin St., Lynn, 7 August 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 5.
1116. If there was any form of advertising for *Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound*, it hasn't been found yet in newspapers, flyers, or other paper advertising or forms of merchandising.
1117. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 March 1876. (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original)
1118. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 11 November 1876. (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original)
1119. Article, "P. T. Barnum in Lynn," *The Lynn Record*, 1 February 1873.
1120. Receipts, *Boston Daily Globe*, 8 November 1876, contained the note "8 lines 4 times \$2.50." The cash receipt for the *Davenport Weekly Democrat* [Davenport, Iowa], 21 November 1876, also contained the note, "I agree to pay Richard Bros. \$87 in 1 gross" for 3 squares of space over 12 months, which means William had negotiated for Richardson Brothers to pay for the ad in bottles of medicine, instead of cash, at the exchange rate of 60 cents (wholesale discount) per bottle for a gross of the vegetable compound. See Receipt, *Davenport Democrat*, 21 November 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 6.
1121. Circular, *Guide for Women*, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.3880, Folder 2413. While this is indeed representative of the first booklet put out by the company, this example in the LEPMCSL appears to significantly predate 1893 listed on the folder; it contains testimonials dated 1877.
1122. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* printed for D. B. Meacham & Son, Druggists, Pulaski, N.Y., circa. 1878. This piece was printed as a flyer to be folded and included in mailed advertising. (collection of author: Rapoza)
1123. Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 30 October 1875 (emphasis added).
1124. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao. It is interesting to note that Lydia also sold a pair of gloves and a dress to Verry; there is no other indication that Lydia was also making clothing for sale; perhaps the 57-year-old Pinkham was selling her own clothes to the 19-year-old, or some belonging to her 19-

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- year-old daughter Aroline to raise some additional cash. Lydia also credited a Mrs. St. Clair for purchasing thirteen quarts of milk for \$1.04 in November 1875.
- 1125. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao.
 - 1126. Federal Label Registration (FLR) No.536, dated 15 February 1876.
 - 1127. Receipt, John Macfarlane & Co., 55 Munroe St., Lynn, Fine Printing, Political Printing, 19 February 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 2. Receipt lists 4,000 circulars (printed for distribution in Manchester, NH), for a cost of \$7.00.
 - 1128. Analysis of the distribution and associated costs performed by the author (Rapozza), using the Receipts collection, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202. A sampling of 13 receipts for the year 1876 found seven New England locations represented, some over multiple receipts and batch quantities, but in total as follows: Augusta, ME (no qty stated); Burlington, VT (2,000); Lawrence, MA (16,000); Lewiston, ME (2,500); Portland, ME (no qty stated); Providence, RI (8,000); Taunton, MA (2,500). For those where quantities and distribution costs were specified, the total cost was 33,000 copies for \$49.95.
 - 1129. Receipt, E. Goldthwaite, Brockton, Mass., 6 March 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 2 (emphasis added). For distributing circulars, \$2.00.
 - 1130. Notice, "Mortgagee's Sale," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 18 December 1875, for public auction to occur on 5 January 1876; see also Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk.946, p.46 (Affidavit of Sale, Warren Five Cent Savings Bank [Peabody, MA] of the property of Isaac Pinkham and Lydia E. Pinkham at Public Auction to C. Warren Osborn of Peabody).
 - 1131. Cash Book (1873-1882), LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.69o. The Pinkham's multi-acre Boston Street property had several outbuildings, and among items in a late 1875 estate inventory there were four cows, one calf, and some hens. The cows' milk provided another income stream (even though there is no record that the Pinkhams were licensed by the city to sell milk). The cash book contained multiple entries over 1874, 1875, and 1876 of individuals buying milk, usually in quarts (at eight cents per quart) and sometime pints, and owing Lydia for the product.
 - 1132. Isaac served as a justice of the peace in at least six real estate transactions during 1876, three of which were during the period January-April; see Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts (manuscript): Bk.948, p.246 and Bk.953, p.19. All three of these transactions involved his son, William H. Pinkham, as either the grantor or grantee
 - 1133. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts: Bk.954, pp.68, 87, 104.
 - 1134. Land Records, Southern Essex District Registry of Deeds, for Lynn, Massachusetts: Bk.956, pp.118-119.
 - 1135. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 3 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117. Note: the 38-letter collection of correspondence from Daniel R. Pinkham preserved in the company archives cover three periods: 3 May – 7 June 1876; 3 – 22 October 1876; and December 1879; Daniel went back to Lynn in the two intervening periods between the three periods of correspondence. Letters with at least the day of the week along with the month and day's date were easily identified fully to establish a proper chronology of some of those pieces; other letters with insufficient data are approximated in parentheses.
 - 1136. Letters, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 5 & 7 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117. In an undated letter (but likely on 16 May 1876) he also wrote of distributing about 3,500 circulars in one day.
 - 1137. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 8 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1138. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 22 October 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1139. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 23 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1140. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 22 October 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117 (emphasis in original).
 - 1141. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 22 October 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117 (emphasis in original).
 - 1142. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 7 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1143. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 22 October 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117 (emphasis in original).

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- 1144. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117 (emphasis in original).
 - 1145. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 16 May 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1146. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), Sunday, 14th (probably 14 May 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1147. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 9 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1148. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 8 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1149. Letters, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 15 May 1876 (troubled) and 19 May 1876 (money), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1150. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about 17 May 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1151. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 31 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1152. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 14 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1153. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 24 November 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1154. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 23 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1155. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 17 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1156. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 16 May 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1157. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 22 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1158. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 22 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1159. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), Sunday, 14th (probably 14 May 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1160. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 14 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1161. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 17 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1162. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 1 November 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1163. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), Sunday, 4th (probably 4 June 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1164. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), undated (about June 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1165. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), Sunday, 4th (probably 4 June 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1166. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 22 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1167. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 22 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1168. Letter, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 23 October 1876, LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1169. *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915*, (Bedford, Massachusetts, 1877, No.1: 11 January 1877 Frances E. Lane at 38 years 10 months)
 - 1170. Letters, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), (manuscript), 5 May 1876 and undated (about 22 October 1876), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.

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1171. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 9 December 1876.
1172. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.19.
1173. Advertisement, *The Boston Herald*, 14 April 1877. Also see Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.9.
1174. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.9.
1175. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.19.
1176. Advertisements, *The Lynn Record*, 19 May 1877 (Bergengren) and 27 October 1877 (Wilder).
1177. Notice, "City Collector's Notice," *The Lynn Record*, 28 July 1877.
1178. See Receipt, J. E. Farwell & Co. Book, Card and Job Printing Establishment, Boston, Mass., 16 September 1877 and 16 October 1877; LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 10.
1179. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 20 October 1877.
1180. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 20 October 1877 (emphasis in original).
1181. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 20 October 1877.
1182. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.10.
1183. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.18. The swelling on Arthur's neck was reported as having made its appearance nine months before the article, "Death of a Lynn Boy" (*Lynn City Item*, 12 July 1879) making it early November 1878; however, Lydia's notebook entry, though undated, mentioned the "scrofula swelling" in the directions she provided others, therefore previous to bringing him back to Lynn in early 1877 (2½ years before his decease). Note: scrofula was a term most often used to describe consumption seated in the thyroid glands.
1184. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.22. Although the entry is undated, given the mention of Lydia's blood purifier, it is likely this entry was made after March 1878.
1185. Article, "Death of a Lynn Boy," *Lynn City Item*, 12 July 1879.
1186. Article, "Police Matters," *The Lynn Record*, 27 October 1877.
1187. Receipt, Joseph Nellegar, Apothecary, Albany, NY, 4 January 1878, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 11.
1188. Cash Book 1859-1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.68ao, p.170.
1189. Article, "The Plucky Pinkhams," *The Weekly Union* (Manchester, NH), 19 November 1881 (type transcript, p.4), located in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556.
1190. Receipt, S. W. Gould & Bros., Malden, Mass., 15 May 1878, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Folder 11.
1191. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.11. Although she also had a history of using other medicine brands in her medical directions to others, in that this "Liver Remedy" was not listed by brand, and in conjunction with her compound, it reads like a bottle of liver medicine of her making. There were several more entries in this source where she recorded that a bottle of the vegetable compound and the liver remedy were shipped together to various customers.
1192. Examples of both labels are found in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556. The no-light, controlled humidity environment of a scrapbook encased in an archival box have allowed these labels to retain most of their original brilliance and gives a unique appreciation for how startlingly eye-catching these products (and likely the boxes that contained them, which were likely printed in the same colors, as was done in later versions of Pinkham products) were to their intended audiences. The few examples of the original vegetable compound labeled bottle that still exist have toned down with age and exposure from the brilliant cyan blue to a soft cornflower blue; one more example that this author has observed has turned completely paper bag brown because the blue tint has leached out entirely. This author has never seen an example of the blood purifier bottle with its original label in any degree of red or even washed out to brown. Since the vegetable compound was produced and sold in far greater quantities than the blood purifier (and for two years longer), it is not surprising that an original example of the blood purifier has proved to be a much rarer find, and perhaps altogether extinct.
1193. Puff, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 9 March 1878.
1194. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 30 March 1878 (spelling of SCROFULA and emphasis in original).
1195. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 29 June 1878.
1196. Advertisement, *Newport Daily News* (Newport, RI), 9 August 1878.
1197. Advertisements, *The Boston Globe*, (WORTH / IMPOSSIBLE), 2 June 1879 and 22 December 1879 (Hydra); *The Boston Globe*, 15 December 1879 (WOES); and *New England Farmer* (Boston, MA), 4 October 1879 (SAVIOR); (emphases in all of the originals).
1198. Article, "The Greenbackers," *The Lynn Record*, 1 June 1878.
1199. Article, "Glenmere Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 29 June 1878.
1200. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.6.

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- 1201. Article, "Abuse in Schools," *The Lynn Record*, 14 September 1878.
 - 1202. Article, "School Committee," *The Lynn Record*, 28 September 1878.
 - 1203. Letter to the Editor, (under the pseudonym, Veritas, attributable to William H. Gove), "A Teacher Vindicated," newspaper clipping located in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556.
 - 1204. Article, "Glenmere Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 15 February 1879.
 - 1205. Article, "After the Election," *Lynn Record*, 9 November 1878.
 - 1206. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 1879* (Boston: Rand, Avery & Company, 1879), p.611.
 - 1207. Article, "Butler Rally and Flag Raising at Pleasant Hall," *Lynn City Item*, 4 October 1879.
 - 1208. Item in feature column, "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 18 January 1879. Also see *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 1879*, pp.53.
 - 1209. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 1879*, p.99 (salary). Article, "D. R. Pinkham on Taxes," about 26 April 1879; newspaper clipping located in "Lydia's Scrapbook," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.556 (taxes). See also Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.7 (fish-ball).
 - 1210. Articles, "Gen. Butler Again Defeated," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 November 1879 and "Temperance in Massachusetts. The Civil Damages Bill Passed Against a Strong Opposition," *New York Times*, 26 April 1879 (Damage).
 - 1211. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.7.
 - 1212. Article, "Gen. Butler Again Defeated," *Lynn Transcript*, 8 November 1879.
 - 1213. Letters, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), 3 December 1879 (the year was calculated by the date and day of the week), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117.
 - 1214. See Advertisements, *Little Giant* (Lynn), 22 June 1872 (Noble's) and *Weymouth Weekly Gazette* (Weymouth, Mass.), 2 February 1872 (Sawyer's).
 - 1215. See Advertisement, *The Boston Globe*, 22 December 1879. Research by the author (Rapoza) has been unable to find any earlier uses of Lydia E. Pinkham's image in any form of dated advertising. *The Boston Globe* changed the advertisement format of the Pinkham ad it had run up through the 15 December 1879 weekly issue by removing several of the sensational copy lines and inserting Lydia's image at the top of the ad in the next issue on 22 December 1879.
 - 1216. See Advertisement, *The Morning Journal-Courier*, New Haven, CT, 23 January 1880.
 - 1217. Letters, Daniel R Pinkham, Brooklyn, NY, to William Pinkham (Lynn, MA), 3 December 1879 (the year was calculated by the date and day of the week), LEPMCSL, MC181 Box 167, Folder 3117 (emphasis in original).
 - 1218. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.23: entry dated 19 December (1879).
 - 1219. See *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915*, 7 July 1879 (death of Arthur W. Lane at 13 years, 11 months, 16 days);
 - 1220. *Special Manufacturing Schedule, 1 June 1879 – 31 May 1880*, p.3. In order to be tabulated on the special federal schedule, companies had to manufacture product with an annual value of at least \$500; the Pinkham's company (listed under the name of "Wm. H. Pinkham"), had a listed product value of \$10,000. The schedule is located on Ancestry.com. *U.S., Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880*[database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
 - 1221. Circular, *Guide for Women*, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.3880, Folder 2413.
 - 1222. Squib, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 January 1866.
 - 1223. Isabel Ferguson and Heather Vogel Frederick, *A World More Bright: The Life of Mary Baker Eddy* (Boston, MA: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 2013), p.37 (emphasis in original); reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
 - 1224. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books, 1998), pp.154, 170.
 - 1225. Poem, "Alone," by Mary M. Patterson (under the pseudonym, Mary M. P-), 6 December 1864, in *Lynn Bay State*, 22 December 1864.
 - 1226. Ron Ballard, CSB, "Lecture Outline: Mary Baker Eddy: Lessons of a Healer," <http://ronballardassociation.com/lecture-outline-mary-baker-eddy-lessons-of-a-healer/> .
 - 1227. Article, "Sidewalks," *Lynn Weekly Record*, 18 March 1865.
 - 1228. Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science* (New York, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909), p.84, repeats testimony of Cushing, wherein he stated he started his practice in Lynn on 13 July 1865. *The Lynn Directory, 1867* (Boston: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1867), p.65, lists his office and residence at 13 Munroe Street, which is just a block away from the corner of Oxford

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- and Market streets, where the Mary Baker Eddy memorial plaque was erected. In an interview of Dr. Cushing by Sibyl Wilbur in 1907, Cushing said he was called upon to attend Mrs. Patterson "because at that time I was in the swim. I had the largest practice in Lynn. I drove a fine span of horses and had sixty patients a day." While he might well have accomplished such success by the height of his career in Lynn, it is highly unlikely he had achieved that stature in seven short months in town, nor does it seem likely that someone decided in the crucial moments of emergency that the busiest doctor was the logical choice to find quickly. See "Personal interview in 1907 by Sibyl Wilbur with Dr. Alvin M. Cushing, 14 Vernon street, Springfield, Mass." Archives & Special Collections, The Mary Baker Eddy Library, Boston, MA (hereinafter referred to as TMBEL), LSC009/07.37, p.1.
1229. The single biggest challenge for any interested reader wanting to learn the story of Mary Baker Eddy is navigating between the equally biased vindications and vilifications of the founder of Christian Science. While I used many other books from both camps, I focused on well-vetted facts and avoided statements based on opinion or bias. My first choice was always period printed sources and holograph materials in the collection of Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL.
1230. Two days after the accident, a local newspaper account indicated Mrs. Mary Patterson had been "severely injured" and that Cushing "found her injuries to be internal, and of a very serious nature, inducing spasms and intense suffering." See Article, "Accidents," *Lynn Weekly Record*, 3 February 1866. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy* (Boston, MA: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1913), p.128, wrote that those who had been walking with her were "aghast" then lifted her and carried her into the Bubier house, "where it was seen that she was seriously injured." Cushing's account indicated that he found her "very nervous, partially unconscious, semi-hysterical, .complaining by word and action of severe pain in the back of her head and neck." See Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, p.84.
1231. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn Weekly Record*, 3 February 1866.
1232. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 44-45 (traditional); Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.47 (Graham).
1233. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.127; Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, pp.76-77.
1234. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.70 (homeopathic); Mary [Patterson], Letter to Doct. [Daniel Patterson], 29 April 1853, manuscript A.L08900, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL (morphine); Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Retrospection and Introspection* (Boston, MA: Joseph Armstrong, C.S.D., Publisher, 1900), p.50 (humbugs).
1235. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.128 (arnica). For the homeopathic use of arnica and a description of a dose to the third decimal attenuation, see, E. J. Fraser, "The Sphere of Arnica," *Medical Investigator*, Vol.8, No.2 (1 November 1870), p.56. Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, p.84.
1236. Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, pp.84-85.
1237. Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, p.85.
1238. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.128.
1239. Mary M. Patterson, Article, "What I do not Know, and what I do Know," *Evening Courier* (Portland, ME), 7 November 1862.
1240. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.90.
1241. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.111.
1242. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.129.
1243. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.134.
1244. Phineas Parkhurst Quimby died on 16 January 1866, age 63; he was buried at the Grove Cemetery, Belfast, Maine; see <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/65051330/phineas-parkhurst-quimby>.
1245. On the gradual education of Mary Baker Eddy in Christian Science, see Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim: The Life of Mary Baker Eddy* (Edtna, NH: Nebbadoon Press, 1997), p.143, and Lyman F. Powell, *Mary Baker Eddy: A Life Size Portrait* (Boston, MA: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1978), p.106.
1246. Edward H. Hammond, "Christian Science: What it is and what it does," *The Christian Science Journal*, Vol.17, No.7 (October 1899), p.464.
1247. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health* (Boston, MA: Christian Scientist Publishing Company, 1875), p.41.
1248. Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Retrospection and Introspection*, p.38.
1249. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.17 (personal), 18 (intelligence), 221 (personality), 235 (Life).
1250. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.107.

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1251. Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Retrospection and Introspection*, p.84 (sickness), Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.14 (sickness), 89 and 403 (pain).
1252. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.423.
1253. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.290 (praying), 414 (poor). Eddy's sense of prayer to God is expounded on p.286: "When we pray aright, we shall 'enter into the closet;' in other words, shut the door of the lips and in the silent sanctuary of earnest longings, deny sin and sense, and take up the cross, while we go forth with honest hearts laboring to reach Wisdom, Love, and Truth. ... to desire to be better, and let our lives attest the sincerity of that desire." This puts it upon the individual to strive for perfected alignment with the eternal principles of Wisdom, Love, and Truth – not a reliance on a changeable God to intercede and heal. Eddy continues on p.287: "How empty are the conceptions of Deity that admit theoretically, the omnipotence and omnipresence of God, and then would inform the supreme mind or plead for pardon that is unmerited, or for blessings poured out liberally."
1254. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.259 (monkey), 265-266 (Darwin).
1255. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.405 (food), 419 (drink).
1256. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.22 (reality), 405 (manifests).
1257. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.409 (belief), 417 (ignorance).
1258. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.418.
1259. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.366.
1260. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.365.
1261. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.361.
1262. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.364.
1263. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.361.
1264. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.455.
1265. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.154, and Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.187, each stated that Mary Patterson wrote "potboilers" for the local newspapers, but there is no evidence that she sought or received compensation for the nine poems and articles she had submitted to Lynn newspapers between 1864 and her fall in 1866. Articles and poetry were frequently submitted to papers voluntarily, not always for pay.
1266. Document, "Biography," A10219.001, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL.
1267. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.346, footnote 30. See similar claims against the city submitted by Joseph Jackson and Mrs. Sophia Estes in Articles, "Municipal Matters," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 November 1866 (Jackson) and 2 January 1867 (Estes). A year after Mary Patterson's accident, a Lynn newspaper was reporting despite the various claims and suits that had been brought against the city, they were facing another winter season of danger to people and threatening lawsuits against the city: "Sidewalks ornament with a ridge of snow or covered with glary icy are nuisances, besides being dangerous to pedestrians, and likely to involve the city in expensive lawsuits" and that "there is no more reason why snow and ice should be allowed to accumulate on a sidewalk than that boxes and barrels should be left to obstruct the public travel." See Articles, in *The Lynn Reporter*, "Clearing Sidewalks," 23 January 1867 (lawsuits); "Clearing the Sidewalks," 30 January 1867 (boxes). However, seven years later, the newspapers will still grousing that the sidewalks needed to be fixed: "The worst sidewalks of any place in Essex County ... [it is a] a one-horse, overgrown town ... such a state of things wouldn't be tolerated for a day in places of one-fifth the population ... Lynn provides well for the rich man who can ride along her smooth streets in his carriage, but leaves the poor pedestrian to wallow through the mud ..." See Article, "Our Sidewalks," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 March 1874.
1268. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.171.
1269. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, pp.169-170.
1270. Unpublished research of Mary Baker Eddy's Lynn residences was provided courtesy of Carl Sheasley, Researcher at TMBEL.
1271. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.201.
1272. Sibyl Wilbur, "The Story of the Real Mrs. Eddy," *Human Life*, July 1897, p.8. Powell, *Mary Baker Eddy: A Life Size Portrait*, pp.113-114.
1273. Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim*, p.94.
1274. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.211.
1275. Article, "A Picture from the Other World," *The Little Giant*, 14 January 1871.
1276. Letter to the Editor, "Pictures Taken Under Spirit Influence," *Lynn Transcript*, 21 January 1871.

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1277. The society was named, “The Rational Spiritualists’ Association of Lynn”; see Article, “Organization of Spiritualists,” *Lynn Transcript*, 24 August 1872, and H. H. Lake, Clerk, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 27 September 1873.
1278. Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 8 February 1873.
1279. Article, “Spiritual Manifestations,” *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 February 1873.
1280. Article, “The Davenport Brothers,” *Lynn Transcript*, 8 November 1873.
1281. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.114.
1282. Mary Baker Glover, Article, “Spiritualism,” *Lynn Transcript*, 30 December 1876.
1283. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.153.
1284. Mary M. Patterson, Poem, “Lines On Visiting Pine Grove Cemetery,” *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 9 September 1865.
1285. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.151.
1286. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.211.
1287. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.212.
1288. Advertisement, *Daily Gazette* (Taunton, Massachusetts), 14 May 1867 (emphasis added).
1289. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, pp.216-218.
1290. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.219.
1291. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.222.
1292. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.202.
1293. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.171.
1294. Advertisement, *Banner of Light*, 27 June 1868 (emphasis in original).
1295. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, pp.222 (box), 224-225 (Wentworth).
1296. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.226.
1297. Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy, *Mrs. Eddy: Her Life, Her Work and Her Place in History* (San Francisco, CA: The Farallon Press, 1947), p.167.
1298. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.192.
1299. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.196.
1300. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.204 (let her hair down; wet hair); Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim*, pp.114-115 (solar plexus). Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, described mental malpractice as the destruction of “our moral precepts … by the doctor’s opposite, verbal, and mental argument” and “controlled by his will, patients haste to do his bidding, and become involuntary agents of his schemes, while honestly attesting to their faith in him and his moral character. Talking one way and acting another, he occupies a position the very opposite of Truth” (p.372).
1301. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.244. Gillian Gill noted, “As P. P. Quimby himself discovered, problems sometimes arose in mesmeric healing since the rapport between male hypnotist and female patient tended to become eroticized.” See Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.202.
1302. Gillian Gill pointed out that Eddy’s healings were often demonstrations, as examples and motivators for her students, but that she preferred to spend her time teaching and even more importantly writing. See Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.189.
1303. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.189.
1304. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.239.
1305. Advertisement, *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 13 August 1870.
1306. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.198. This highly evocative passage was not attributed by Wilbur to Mary Baker Eddy or one of the students of the original class, so it may have just been effective imagery created from her imagination, well-constructed from the tertiary facts about the timing and location. Gillian Gill (*Mary Baker Eddy*, p.248) pointed out that Wilbur had interviewed many of the students from the first class, but the problem with this is that most of them had nothing to do with the shoe industry: George S. Tuttle was a sailor; Charles S. Stanley a dry goods dealer; Thomas Clarkson Oliver was a marine painter and Susan, his wife, was not employed; and Mrs. J. R. Eastman was the unemployed wife of James R. Eastman, a tin peddler. So this story assumes that this first class of students were shoe factory workers when, in fact, none fit that particular description.

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- 1307. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.247.
 - 1308. Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim*, pp.108-109.
 - 1309. Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy, *Mrs. Eddy: Her Life, Her Work and Her Place in History*, p.168.
 - 1310. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.222.
 - 1311. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.252.
 - 1312. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, pp.192 (hat, cherries), 193 (Christmas).
 - 1313. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.278. An internet search located several letters and other materials written by Civil War soldiers using the term, confirming Peel's statement. Barry's health and occupation as listed in Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.252.
 - 1314. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.212.
 - 1315. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.254.
 - 1316. Dr. Edward J. Thompson, a Lynn dentist and head of the Linwood Lodge of Good Templars, a temperance society in 1865, when Mrs. Mary Patterson served as the Exalted Mistress of the Legion of Honor, the woman's auxiliary. Thompson explained that "... she was known as an unusual woman holding peculiar religious views ... at which many people laughed" and that on several occasions, he had told the then Mrs. Patterson about her ideas of religion, "It may be all true, but I do not grasp it." See Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.154.
 - 1317. Mary Baker Glover diary, EF109, TMBEL (fraud). Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.251 (second).
 - 1318. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.247.
 - 1319. Mary Baker Glover diary, EF109, TMBEL. George H. Tuttle was listed in her diary as "H. Tuttle." Yet another lawsuit early in the decade was brought against "Mary M. B. Patterson alias Mary M. B. Glover," but apparently not by a student. Otis Vickary, a Lynn fruit dealer and confectioner, sued her for \$150 that he claimed she owed him. The suit was entered at the Lynn Police Court on 3 August 1872. The reason for the debt is not described but no one named Vickary shows up in the list of students recorded by Mary Baker Glover in her diary, EF109, TMBEL.
 - 1320. Wallace W. Wright, Letter to the Editor, "Moral Science, alias Mesmerism." *Lynn Transcript*, 13 January 1872 (emphasis in original).
 - 1321. Mary M. B. Glover, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 20 January 1872 (emphasis added).
 - 1322. Mary Baker Glover, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 20 January 1872.
 - 1323. Wallace W. Wright, Letter to the Editor, "Moral Science alias Mesmerism – No. 2." *Lynn Transcript*, 27 January 1872.
 - 1324. Mary M. B. Glover, Article, "To the Public. Moral Science and Mesmerism." *Lynn Transcript*, 3 February 1872.
 - 1325. Mary Baker Glover, Article, "To the Public. Moral Science and Mesmerism." *Lynn Transcript*, 3 February 1872.
 - 1326. Wallace W. Wright, Letter to the Editor, "Moral Science alias Mesmerism – No. 3." *Lynn Transcript*, 10 February 1872 (emphasis in original).
 - 1327. Wright, Letter to the Editor, "Moral Science alias Mesmerism – No. 3." *Lynn Transcript*, 10 February 1872.
 - 1328. George W. Barry, George H. Allen, Amos Ingalls, Dorcas B. Rawson, Miranda R. Rice, Letter to the Editor, "Moral and Physical Science, Students' Statement." *Lynn Transcript*, 17 February 1872.
 - 1329. Wallace W. Wright, Letter to the Editor, "Moral Science alias Mesmerism – No. 4." *Lynn Transcript*, 24 February 1872.
 - 1330. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.376.
 - 1331. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, pp.238 (glorious), 265 (continually, hardness).
 - 1332. Notice, "Dissolution of Copartnership," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 8 May 1872.
 - 1333. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.267.
 - 1334. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.373. According to Gillian Gill, in Mary Baker Glover's early teachings she had sanctioned the use of rubbing "to focus the patient's mind and offer some physical correlative to the metaphysical change that was taking place in the healing." See Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.202.
 - 1335. Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Retrospection and Introspection*, p.44.

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1336. It is interesting to note that Cook's biggest target was Samuel Bubier, the same man who had let her be carried into his house and put in one of his beds after her terrible fall on the ice a few years previous.
1337. Joseph Cook, *Outlines of Music Hall Lectures*, p.44 (emphasis added).
1338. Mary Baker Glover, Article, "Lynn Morals and Woodhull," *Lynn Transcript*, 14 October 1876 (emphasis added).
1339. Letter to the Editor by Victoria C. Woodhull, datelined Parker House, Boston, 21 Oct. 1876, "Letter from Mrs. Woodhull," *Lynn Transcript*, 28 October 1876.
1340. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.216.
1341. She left the home of Susan Chadwell after just a few weeks in August-September 1872 specifically because the chatty Mrs. Chadwell was taking up too much of the time she wanted to use for writing her book. See Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.266.
1342. Samuel P. Bancroft, *Mrs. Eddy as I Knew Her in 1870* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1923), p.46.
1343. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.202.
1344. Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim*, p.129.
1345. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 13 November 1875. See also Advertisement, *Banner of Light*, 27 November 1875 (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original).
1346. Richard A. Nenneman, *Persistent Pilgrim*, p.128.
1347. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.319.
1348. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.337 (emphasis added).
1349. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.41.
1350. Mrs. Glover delivered a lecture about her science at Lynn's Concert Hall a few months before *Science and Health* was published; her explanation of Christ's healing skills was summarized in this fashion by the newspaper and was then elaborated upon in *Science and Health*, Chapter 1, Natural Science. See Article, "Christ Healing the Sick," *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reporter*, 26 May 1875. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.78 (impossible).
1351. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.314 (owing), 315 (declare).
1352. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.87 (foresees), 80 (mid-reading).
1353. Advertisements, *Lynn Transcript*, 28 August 1875 (Johnson); *The Lynn Record*, 17 April 1875 (Taylor), 22 May 1875 (Hill).
1354. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 21 October 1876 (Nellee) and Puff, "Astrology," 7 October 1876 (Greggs); Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, (Brown); Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 24 June 1876 and Notice, "Spirit Marvels at Oxford St. Chapel," 18 September 1875 (Blair), and Squib in "Starry Notes," *The Lynn Record*, 14 September 1878.
1355. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 14 July 1877.
1356. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.154. (laughed); Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, pp.167-168. (argued).
1357. Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.204.
1358. Sepia-tone real photo postcard in the (collection of the author); also see Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.265.
1359. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p.14. Her figure and youthful appearance were commented upon by many; for example, one young man recalled that she was quite attractive in face and form (p.12). Also see Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.216 (rocks).
1360. Letter, Mrs. Elvira F. Newhall, Lynn, 6 July 1931, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL, LSC009/01-24.07, p.1.
1361. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.290.
1362. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.255.
1363. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.135.
1364. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.255.
1365. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.290.
1366. Letter, Mary [Baker Eddy] to Student [Dr. Daniel H. Spofford], 14 April 1877, Letter L07814, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL (emphases in original).

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1367. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.207.
1368. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, pp.374 (revenge),375(ambition).
1369. *The Christian Science Journal*, June 1887, as quoted in Sibyl Wilbur, *The Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, p.94.
1370. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.369.
1371. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.429 (emphasis added).
1372. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.376.
1373. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.80.
1374. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.377.
1375. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.135.
1376. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), p.328, quoting *Miscellaneous Writings 1883-1896*, published by The First Church of Christ, Scientist, pp.248-249.
1377. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), pp.641, endnote 20 (testified), 541-546 (old morphine habit). In 1906 Miranda Rice, a close friend of Mary Baker Glover, was quote in the *New York World*, "I was one of Mrs. Eddy's first converts and associates ... I know that Mrs. Eddy was addicted to morphine in the seventies. She begged me to get some for her. She sent her husband Mr. Eddy for some, and when he failed to get it went herself and got it. She locked herself into her room and for two days excluded everyone. She was a slave to morphine." See Martin Gardner, *The Healing Revelations of Mary Baker Eddy: The Rise and Fall of Christian Science* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1993), p.86-87. While her anecdote may be true, her conclusion may have just been speculation. This story, for example, could have been the occasion Mary Baker Eddy described of her taking large doses of morphine to see if Christian Science could overcome its effects. Further, besides significant behavioral changes brought on by constant exposure to the drug, morphine addiction has significant impact on the user's physiology that is inconsistent with anything described as happening to Mrs. Eddy. Among the possible side effects would be respiratory problems, often resulting in heavy and forced breathing; drastic change in body weight; decreased metabolism resulting in physical weakness, impaired muscle coordination; kidney failure; rashes; unexplained euphoria; nausea and vomiting. Although other famous authors like Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Louis Stevenson accomplished great literary achievements while being addicted to opiates, it is hard to imagine how, besides being a prolific author, Mary Baker Eddy could have successfully organized and administered an entire religious movement and interacted with individuals and the masses without there being much more awareness and reporting of either her addiction or at least some of the physical impairment that accompanies morphine addiction. Her use of morphine appears to have been episodic rather than addictive; since she had enormous personal resolve to control self, she may have beaten the odds and used only occasionally but not addictively.
1378. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, pp.238-241.
1379. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 5 June 1875.
1380. Letter to the Editor, "Wonderful Cure," *Lynn Transcript* 4 December 1875.
1381. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial*, p.319, footnote 51.
1382. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 22 April 1876.
1383. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, pp.244-245.
1384. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy* (copyright © 1998. Reprinted by permission of Hachette Books, an imprint of Hachette Book Group, Inc.), pp.273-275.
1385. Georgine Milmine, *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy*, pp.170-171.
1386. *Lynn City Directory*, 1876, p.106.
1387. Letter, Mary [Baker Eddy], Lynn [Mass.] to cousin Hattie [Baker], 14 July [1876], Letter L09897, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL (emphasis in original).
1388. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Discovery*, p.278.
1389. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial*, p.22.
1390. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial*, p.26.
1391. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial*, p.39.
1392. Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Years of Trial*, pp.40 (unpaid), 42-43 (represented).
1393. Article, "The Ipswich Witchcraft Case," *The Boston Daily Globe*, 15 May 1878.
1394. Article, "Modern Witchcraft," *Newburyport Herald*, 16 May 1878.
1395. Article, "That Witchcraft Case," *The Boston Daily Globe*, 13 May 1878.

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1396. Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, p.255.
1397. Article, “Glover-Eddy vs. Stanley,” *Lynn City Item*, 18 October 1879 (emphasis added).
1398. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.414.
1399. Yvonne Caché von Fettweis and Robert Townsend Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer* (Boston, MA: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1998), pp.228-229; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1400. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, p.231; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1401. Mary Baker Glover, *Science and Health*, p.353.
1402. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, p.229; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1403. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, p.227.
1404. Letter, Mrs. Helen M. Grenier, Pacific Grove, CA, June 1908, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL, LSC009/01-13.07, p.2.
1405. Letter, Mrs. Alice Swasey Wool to Mrs. E/ P. Driscoll, 31 July 1932, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL L, LSC009/01-41.40, p.2.
1406. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, p.225 (emphasis added) ; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1407. James R. Newhall, *New England Witchcraft* (Salem, Mass.: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), p.30 (emphasis in original).
1408. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, p.80; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1409. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.67-68; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1410. Letter, Raezola Cluff, Colburn, Canaan, NH, 24 August 1949, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL, LSC009/01-07.01, p.4.
1411. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.233-234; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1412. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.231; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1413. Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL, A11060.001.
1414. Letter, Mrs. Alice Swasey Wool to Mrs. E/ P. Driscoll, 31 July 1932, Archives & Special Collections, TMBEL, LSC009/01-41.40, p.1.
1415. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.226-227; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1416. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.226-227; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1417. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.232-233; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1418. Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.67-68; reprinted by permission from The Christian Science Publishing Society. <https://jsh.christianscience.com/biographies>.
1419. Ron Ballard, “Lecture Outline: Mary Baker Eddy: Lessons of a Healer.”
1420. In 1874, Miranda Rice attributed to the healing powers of her teacher, Mary Baker Glover, the completely painless birth of her premature baby and the disappearance of her *prolapsus uteri* troubles of several years standing. See Fettweis and Warneck, *Mary Baker Eddy: Christian Healer*, pp.235-236.

❧ Chapter 9: 1880-1889 ❧

Ashen Complexion

About twenty proprietary medical remedies are now among the notable productions of local industry. ... If a good thing is prepared ... it is well to let one's light shine, blaze or dazzle as may be the need to arrest public attention.

George E. Emery, Letter to the Editor,
“The New Business in Lynn” *Daily Evening Item*,
3 April 1883

No one believes your medicine will cure her ... if it does it will be a great thing in your favor in this vicinity ...

Customer letter to the Lougee Medicine Company of Lynn, Mass. 1887

Alfred Dinsmore’s life was the story of a medicine peddler who traveled many roads except the one that lead to fame and fortune. The die had been cast even before he was born in 1822; his Quaker parents had begat vigorously and Alfred found himself surrounded by fifteen brothers and sisters. Three of his four older brothers stayed home throughout their adult lives and cultivated the family land along with their father, who was still farming in his 80th year.¹ Although the family farm was located in the quiet rural town of China, Maine, the Dinsmores had a little city growing under their roof. Alfred needed, and probably wanted, to get off on his own and find his fortune as soon as he could.

In 1848 he married Hannah Somes, already a widow in her mid-twenties.² Alfred became an innholder in Waterville, not far from China. The location seemed a solid prospect because the train stopped in the town, which was making its mark as a lumber center. Down the road from the inn could be found O. C. Wright (the perfect name for an oculist) who was actually listed in the 1850 census as a “Quack Doctor” and another hapless soul who was also demeaned by the census taker as a “D-d Fool.”³ Alfred employed one of his brothers as the inn’s barkeeper, another man to maintain the guests’ horses, and a young woman who probably shared the several duties of cook, waitress, and chambermaid with Hannah.⁴ The little inn and its staff were poised for success that never came. They were overshadowed by a much larger and more commodious inn a few doors away, and so Alfred and Hannah moved south.

They next showed up in Hallowell, Maine, in 1851, where Alfred was convicted of selling liquor without a license.⁵ Stubborn and apparently not discreet, he was convicted a second time in 1853 for the same offence.⁶ Earlier that year, Hannah gave birth to their first child, Moses.⁷

By 1858 Alfred and Hannah relocated still further south, in Portland, where Alfred became a restaurant keeper. Again, the location seemed ideal for success. The restaurant was surrounded by businesses and boarding houses and once more was only steps away from a railroad station. It was, in fact, a huge station at a junction point of rail lines that coursed through New England and Canada. On the other side of the tracks were the docks that made Portland a major northeastern

port city.⁸ Sailors, travelers, longshoremen, train crews, and the like swarmed the area of the restaurant. Given Alfred's history and the rough-and-tumble nature of his customers, the liquor must have flowed lustily with or without the meals; whether he was licensed to sell the stuff this time is unclear.

While in Portland, Alfred and Hannah became parents to their second and last child, Benjamin Franklin Dinsmore.⁹ The family then disappeared from Portland as the Civil War broke out and Alfred next showed up in 1862, surprisingly, in Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada; not surprisingly, he showed up there in court, this time for selling liquor on Sunday.¹⁰

Dogged by the legal wrangles of selling liquor by the glass, but fully comprehending the widespread thirst for alcohol, Alfred tried his skill at selling medicine by the bottle. In 1864 he advertised his newest occupation as the General Agent for *Sharp's Tonic and Alterative Bitters* and *Sharp's Balsam of Hoarhound and Aniseed*.¹¹ They were prepared by John G. Sharp, an apothecary in Saint John who proudly proclaimed his membership in the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain; it was an impressive credential – it just wasn't true.¹² Sharp's storyline for the bitters was that he had received the recipe from a medical staff officer who served for thirty-five years in India and China and found it of great benefit to the British Army during the last twenty years.¹³ He offered no such dramatic origin for his balsam of horehound and aniseed, but as a druggist, he may have drawn some creative inspiration from the combining of two other balsams he imported from London for sale in his store: *Ford's Balsam of Horehound* and *Powell's Balsam of Annisseed*.¹⁴

Shortly after Alfred Dinsmore became a salesman for Sharp's medicines, Sharp died. Another Saint John pharmacist continued to make Sharp's products and at least a half dozen businesses were crowding the city's newspapers, competing for its sales.¹⁵ But as this sales war was heating up, Alfred saw a much bigger opportunity looming over his shoulder. Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox in April 1865, so Alfred and his family were back in the United States by May. He secreted Sharp's recipes out of Canada and took his family to Cape Elizabeth, Maine, just south of Portland.

By late 1868, Alfred had established the business of "A. M. Dinsmore & Co., Proprietors," in Portland, Maine, advertising *Mrs. Dinsmore's Balsam of Hoarhound and Anise-Seed*, the "Great English Cough Remedy."¹⁶ The Dinsmores borrowed and reborrowed against their home in Cape Elizabeth, perhaps to have funds to get the medicine business going.¹⁷ In addition to money challenges, his personality might also have gotten in the way of his product's success; one of Alfred's older brothers had written to another brother, "I should like to have about a gallon of Alf's Bitters but ... he is too mean for me to deal with."¹⁸

By 1870 the Dinsmore's had moved to a house in mid-state Carmel, Maine, where Alfred was listed as a manufacturing chemist. While this could have meant he was concocting a variety of products from shoe blacking to perfume, medicine was still his driving focus. The singular contribution of this sleepy backwoods location to Alfred's business plan was its proximity to someone who was willing to provide substantial financial support for his venture: Jesse Connor, the wealthy husband of Alfred's sister Sarah. By comparison, in the 1870 census, Alfred's estate was valued at \$2,300 while Jesse's was valued at \$35,000; and Jesse was constantly looking for new business investment opportunities.¹⁹

For Jesse to be won over by Alfred to invest in a patent medicine venture might not have been too much of a leap of faith. Proprietary medicine companies in Maine were already making their fortunes, like those of *Dr. True's Pin Worm Elixir* in Auburn, Maine, and *Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup* for teething babies, out of Bangor; plus, Jesse was surrounded by those seeking their fortune through medicine. Eight or nine of his neighbors were involved in health pursuits: there were two apothecaries, a homeopath and an allopath, each with a medical student apprenticing under their roofs, as well as a "medicine man," a dentist, and a huckster (whether he huckstered

medicines is not recorded).²⁰ Health was a growing industry and Jesse Connor was an opportunistic businessman. He was also prone to a hot temper and the use of blunt language; nonetheless, they had formed the partnership of Connor & Dinsmore “merchants of patent medicines.”²¹ As far as the historical record is concerned, Hannah was always the silent partner in the medicine venture that bore her name. Alfred was all business, making the deals and orchestrating the advertising, while Hannah’s role was making the medicine and pouring it into the bottles; she was remembered as “a most amiable woman, a good nurse, kind in sickness.”²²

The focus of this enterprise was the balsam recipe Alfred had smuggled out of Canada. The name he copyrighted in 1874 was *Mrs. Dinsmore's Great English Cough Balsam of Hoarhound and Anise Seed For Coughs, Colds, Shortness of Breath, Asthma, &c.*, but as there was not a fifth-pint bottle made that would fit all that, their bottle was simply embossed, MRS. DINSMORE'S / COUGH & CROUP / BALSAM / CONNOR & DINSMORE / PITTSFIELD, ME.²³ In 1998 several cases containing over 500 of these bottles were found in the cellar of a stable attached to a house in Pittsfield – all in mint, unused condition, still packed in straw. Many of the bottles had sharp edges, prickles, and thin glass fins – imperfections from the bottle-making molds. Most of the aqua, hinge-molded bottles also suffered from weak embossing.²⁴ Although artifactual evidence for their bitters product has not also resurfaced in another dark corner of a Pittsfield basement, Alfred did also counterfeit *Sharp's Tonic Bitters* into his medicinal repertoire.²⁵

Merchant Charles H. Harris of Bethel, Maine, also bought in to the partnership at its tail end in 1877, but with his finances not much better than Alfred’s, he had brought more enthusiasm than money to the business.²⁶ With the three-man partnership on wobbly footing, Alfred did what he did best: he put his family back in the wagon and zig-zagged across the map once again, this time ending up in Lynn, Massachusetts, the prosperous city that was home to the now well-known brand, *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*. The strategy may have been to establish three points of promotion and distribution for their medicines: Harris to cover nearby New Hampshire, Connor to cover Maine, and Dinsmore, Massachusetts; if this was the idea, the plan failed miserably. The mid-1870s was not a good time to launch the new venture. The country had been hit by the Long Depression that began in 1873 and felt its strain throughout the rest of the decade. The almost complete lack of advertising for the medicines suggests a lack of Connor’s willingness to sink more money into the business. The partnership struggled along from 1872 to 1877. The large cache of unused bottles suggests that the business venture ended abruptly; perhaps the tempers that Connor and Dinsmore had both exhibited doomed the venture before it was able to get firmly established. And while Connor wasn’t investing his money, Harris wasn’t investing himself. Seeing greater opportunity for profit from the medicines than the partnership, it didn’t take long for Harris to spin off his own versions of the products into *Mrs. Harris's Great English Cough Balsam* and *Old Dr. Churchill's English Tonic Bitters*, transforming himself from a merchant in 1870 to a medicine peddler in 1880.²⁷

So once again the Dinsmores were on their own, in a new, unfamiliar area, with a crumbling business and little money. They settled on the western outskirts of Lynn in a sparsely populated part of northern Saugus; there Alfred bottled, labeled, and shipped the products, and Hannah was listed as his “chemist,” which was an impressive way of saying she cooked up the medicine. Their two sons, now in their twenties, were still living at home, but engaged in their own business ventures: Moses was a taxidermist and Benjamin made “segars”; neither had business locations, so were likely both working at home. If the Dinsmore property was a multi-purpose workshop for Moses to eviscerate and mummify animals, Benjamin to make cigars, and Hannah to macerate, soak, and cook up plants for medicines, the pungent place likely could not have been remote enough for their neighbors’ comfort.²⁸

While Alfred and Hannah had focused their early efforts on establishing their *Mrs. Dinsmore's* branded cough balsam, by the time they established themselves in Saugus, they had also rebranded *Sharp's Tonic Bitters*, calling it *Mrs. Dinsmore's English Tonic Bitters*. They saved

money by buying plain, unembossed aqua bottles and just gluing on a label. The label promised it was a “Sure cure for Dyspepsia, Indigestion, Diseases of the Liver and Kidneys, Bowel Complaints, and General Debility … and are peculiarly suited to females”; in the shadow of Lydia, they apparently hoped to catch a little of her success with women.²⁹

It is entirely possible that when the Dinsmore family had first arrived in Lynn, they stayed at the Lynn Hotel, an old establishment that had seen better days. It had become more of a boarding house than hotel and was run by Lemuel M. Brock, an entrepreneur of up-and-down fortune, always looking for the same big break for which Dinsmore had been searching. Brock was also a risk-taker, having tried to resurrect the Lynn Hotel to its former glory, adding a billiard parlor to it, and then trying to start up the horse racing park up in Wyoma. The two men had a lot in common: both had tried hotel-keeping and other risky businesses; both had failed, and both had been hauled before judges for violations of liquor laws. Shortly after the Dinsmores’ arrival in 1877, the two men went into business together; Lemuel became Alfred’s partner, purchasing a half interest in the cough and croup balsam, which one nineteenth century account pointed out “was at that time struggling for an existence among the more widely advertised patent medicines.”³⁰

In 1881, just a few years after the Dinsmores had tried once more to get their medicine business off the ground, Hannah died of Bright’s disease; it was a kidney ailment that her bitters were apparently unable to cure.³¹ The mourners followed her casket out of the Dinsmore’s remote North Saugus house, down the dirt road, and to a waiting grave just a funeral procession away, but no record of her burial has been found; it is as if Hannah Dinsmore just disappeared from life.³²

Probably disheartened over his wife’s death and tired of the wear and tear and nominal success that they had spent their marriage pursuing, Alfred found some closure by selling out to his partner within six months of his wife’s death.³³ Brock bought the entire enterprise, lock, stock, and barrel: the business, the recipe, and all legal rights to the family name and future branding.

With no more reason to stay in the Lynn area, Alfred took his boys back to where life had been kindest to them: St. John’s, New Brunswick. For the final thirteen years of his life, he tried one more time to sell the cough balsam in the Canadian market, picking up where he left off two decades earlier.³⁴ But age finally caught up with him; he had become an old man and his health had been weakening during his final pursuit of fortune. Once again, financial success eluded him; he had nothing left when he died at 72 years old and his final reward was burial in the pauper’s field at a cemetery in Calais, Maine, just over the border from Canada.³⁵ Alfred and Hannah had both left this life quietly, with no profuse, public funerals, elaborate gravestones, or other monuments to lives well-lived. The world took no notice that they had walked the earth, but in death, Hannah became better known than in life, a welcome guest in many homes and the favorite healer of many parents. Alfred’s goal was finally realized: success had come to them in impressive style – it just took a second lifetime to arrive.

FACING COMPETITION HEAD-ON

Lemuel Brock took on his new medicine venture with gusto and confidence. From the outset, he was convinced that success would come from copying the Pinkham company just over the hill from his hotel. Lydia’s face had sedately smiled the way to prosperity for the Pinkhams and Brock was determined that Hannah’s face would do the same for him. It didn’t matter that Mrs. Dinsmore had just died; her image could live on. The first etching of her countenance had been created from a family portrait in a *carte de visite* that had been taken several years earlier. It was an honest, although uncomplimentary drawing of the plain, middle-aged, haggard Hannah Dinsmore. The unflattering rendering was nonetheless pressed into service on a trade card. Brock was listed on the card back as the “selling agent,” but it was also likely that his money had paid for the engraving and the book-shaped cards. The advertising copy inside this first Dinsmore trade card stated that



Promising Cures of the 1880s. Lynn's middle and upper classes toasted the Gilded Age that brought them more of life's finer things and Lynn's medicine makers pushed hard for their piece of the era's prosperity. Of special note are the two Lougee bottles in the back row, showing the illustrated back label and front text label. In the next row, Pinkham's vegetable compound and bloodpurifier are loaded with their long lists of curative promises. On the far left of the grouping is a scarce label-only bottle of Dr. Abbott's Blood-Purifying Sarsaparilla, made in Lynn for just one year. In front of it is Warren Toppan's tiny bottle (probably sample size) of Calcutta Cholera Mixture. In the front row is DIGESTINE (running diagonally; clear BIM bottle with wide mouth for powder contents) and ALASKA COMPOUND CO / LYNN, MASS. U.S.A. which would have contained the *Alaska Catarrh Compound*. (All collection of the author)

the balsam had been in America for 20 years “and has only been advertised by parties that have used it,” which was all too true; the absence of advertising had always stopped Alfred and Hannah’s medicines from becoming a success. Lemuel Brock was resolved to rewrite the Dinsmore story.

Shortly after the rather unimpressive premiere of Hannah’s face, once Lemuel Brock owned the firm outright, he poured money into advertising, introduced new products, and professionalized the branding with standardized colors and a slogan for his flagship balsam (“Cures a Cough in One Day and the Croup in One Minute”). Within months of Hannah’s passing, Brock had already commissioned a new and improved image of Mrs. Dinsmore.³⁶ In the revised illustration, the new Mrs. Dinsmore was a glamorized, polished image, appealing for advertising, even if it was drawn with broad strokes of artistic license. Mrs. Dinsmore had been converted into a proper Victorian lady – successful, self-assured, trustworthy, and intelligent – in short, not at all a reflection of the dowdy Dinsmore, but rather an imitation of Lydia Pinkham’s famous face.

Demonstrating extraordinary marketing flair and retailing savvy, Brock pushed on all fronts to turn his new balsam business into the next patent medicine fortune. He grew his cough balsam into a complete family of products, advertised in newspapers throughout the eastern United States, turned tin into signs, compact mirrors, and tip trays, and ordered many styles of colorful, entertaining trade cards for distribution to the swelling number of collectors. Every decision he made and dollar he spent was calculated to drive sales. His business plan started with the stated goal of placing from 6 to 12 bottles of the balsam in every grocery and apothecary store in the country and his sales literature put his product icon on a pedestal above all the stars and champions of the day:

SARAH BERNHARDT Is the Queen,
SALVINI, The King of the stage at the present time.
WESTON AND O’LEARY Are the greatest walkers yet known.
HANLON, The boss with the oar.
ROWELL Can go as he pleases farther than all competitors.
BEECHER AND TALMAGE The most talked about of Ministers.
ST. JULIAN, The King.
MAUD S., The Queen of the Turf.

But their great efforts will die out or be excelled in a short time, and their names will fade as their works are out-done. But there is a middle-aged lady in our midst, of matronly looks and appearance, whose name and good works will out-live them all, and her wonderful *Cough and Croup Balsam* will out-live her; not for its name, but for its wonderful curing qualities. That woman is [dramatic pause; turn the page] MRS. DINSMORE. [followed by the engraving of her face.]³⁷

Bright yellow bottle labels, packaging, and shipping crates were as bold as Brock, making the Dinsmore products easily recognizable on store shelves. For the new *Mrs. Dinsmore’s Cough Drops*, to be sold at stores individually or by the scoopful, an eye-catching tin had to be designed. The first concept was a large yellow store tin stenciled with the name of the product and a big round window to show off the cough drops inside, which were shaped like little balsam bottles.³⁸ A small copy of Hannah’s improved image was glued on as well. It was a makeshift prototype, but Brock’s sales justified a far better production model: a handsome store tin in Dinsmore yellow, lithographed with Mrs. Dinsmore’s classic presence dominant in the design. Any store shelf or counter would be graced by its presence.

Just two months after Hannah’s death, Brock had sold the Lynn Hotel but continued to use a substantial portion of it to launch his new medicine business.³⁹ An advertising puff in a November 1881 Lynn newspaper described the laboratory he had established in the Lynn Hotel, “where hundreds of bottles are manufactured and put up daily. The work rooms are large, neat and clean, and a good force of workmen are now employed. salesmen [are] being kept on the road continually, while in Lynn the sale is remarkably large.”⁴⁰ By the summer of 1889, his production

requirements had exceeded the space available in the Lynn Hotel, so he transferred his operation to Market Square at the west end of the common. It was only intended as a temporary location while a permanent facility was being built for him a few blocks away at Breed Square on Western Avenue. By July 1890, Brock's enterprise moved into its new two and one-half story building painted in Dinsmore yellow, of course, and festooned with the product names in red across the front of the building in one great promotional banner.⁴¹ Brock's new laboratory was a busy place, producing a product line that came to include *Mrs. Dinsmore's Headache Pills*, *Curine*, a liniment for neuralgia, and for all the troubles that flesh was heir to, *Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator*.⁴²

Brock was predisposed to taking risks; turning around sinking enterprises had become his calling card. The Lynn Hotel, Wyoma Trotting Park, and Dinsmore's medicine business were his major projects, but while the hotel was only a modest success and the trotting park a failure, he had turned the medicine business into a winner. Though it never reached the status and sales of *Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, Brock built up the sales of *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam* from \$3,000 when in partnership with Alfred Dinsmore in 1877 to \$100,000 in 1892 (\$2,844,084 in 2020 USD). According to his sales literature, in 1885 alone, just four years after buying the business, he had sold 216,000 bottles of the cough balsam.⁴³ Flush with success, Brock had built a two-story medicine manufactory, served a term in the state legislature, and invested in real estate, building over fifty homes in one section of Lynn that became known for a while as Brockville.⁴⁴ He had accomplished all this through the power of aggressive advertising, getting Mrs. Dinsmore's face, name, and slogan into newspapers, trade cards, and signage throughout much of the country.

For many consumer goods, advertising had become an essential element to widespread sales; pursuing it heavily and creatively didn't guarantee success, but avoiding it made failure likely. Lynn's newspapers of the decade were filling with advertisements for products from around the country that were trying to add new customers in the growing shoe city. *Royal Baking Powder*, *Elgin Watches*, and *Baker's Breakfast Cocoa* had become national favorites by the power of advertising and *Dobbin's Electric Soap* and *Vegetine* offered their newest series of trade cards to get their names into every Lynn home and mind. *Brown's Iron Bitters* of Baltimore, *Dr. Sanford's Liver Invigorator* in New York City, *Simmons Liver Regulator* out of Philadelphia, and *Warner's Safe Kidney & Liver Cure* from Rochester, New York, all jostled for position in Lynn's newspapers, vying for the reader's eye. Small-time medicine companies with little or no money available for advertising struggled for attention amid the daunting competition. Forman's apothecary advertised locally and boldly, going after balsam giants by inserting the testimonial of a satisfied customer who wasn't afraid to name names:

Mr. Forman - Dear Sir: - I had been suffering from a very severe cough and hoarseness the past winter, and tried Dr. Bull's Cough Syrup, and Cutter Bros.' Vegetable Pulmonary, Adamson's Botanic and other cough balsams, without any benefit. Happening in your store, I was induced to purchase a bottle of your Excelsior Cough Balsam. I used it for one week, and am completely cured. I know of nothing that will compare with it as a cough remedy. [signed] E. M. Travers, Nahant Street.⁴⁵

The customer's testimonial not only shared his endorsement but the problem: he had been persuaded to try three heavily advertised out-of-town remedies *before* he stumbled upon Forman's local hometown brand. Marketing mattered.

Each of Lynn's medicine entrepreneurs had to figure out for themselves how to get their products noticed, bought, and bought again in an increasingly crowded marketplace. Orris P. Macalaster and John A. McArthur both promoted their products with the look and feel of science. Advertisements and packaging for *Macalaster's Obtunder* for tooth pain featured a technical, detailed cutaway illustration of a vial of his painkiller nested in its cylindrical package, complete with a wad of applicator cotton. John A. McArthur knew that making and selling a proprietary

medicine could be perceived as a conflict with medical society principles, so fellow doctors were reassured that it was made “only for physicians” and “there are no printed wrappers or advertisements [around] the bottle.”⁴⁶ To further legitimize its scientific claims among the medical community, *McArthur's Syrup of Hypophosphites* was promoted primarily in professional medical journals, always accompanied by the testimonials of physicians who used it on their patients. Apothecaries Bergengren and Toppan gave their products a foreign flair: ads by the proudly Swedish Bergengren for his *Swedish Botanic Compound*, *Swedish Lung Balsam*, and *Swedish Pepsin Pills* surrounded an illustration of the royal Swedish coat of arms like a wreath of honor. Warren Toppan had no personal connection to foreign locations like Bergengren, but he seemed to link his proprietary products to exotic sources of perceived benefit: *Ceylon Perle Drops* (perhaps for skin as beautiful as that far-away land), the *Calcutta Cholera Cure* (by inference, the cure that subdued that plague at its source), and the *Gorilla Insect Destroyer*, the powerful beast of the darkest jungles – what puny bug could survive in its path? “It is sure death to Cockroaches and Fleas, Flies, Insects and Bugs on Flowers, Plants and Trees. It preserves Carpets, Clothing, Furs, &c., from Moths. It is absolute and certain death to Bed Bugs, and is positively harmless to Dogs, Cats and other Domestic Animals.”⁴⁷ The elderly Benjamin Proctor and the young George B. Thurston tried to get readers to smile about their products: Proctor’s *New England Balsam* was promoted with a cherub hovering with little wings over his medicine banner, and Thurston’s had a bear dancing for his worm syrup. Charles W. Brown brought attention to his ad just by effective use of type sizes highlighting the unexpected:

ROASTED ELEPHANT,

Would, if eaten, undoubtedly impair your digestion and cause dyspeptic difficulties, but

BROWN'S AMARINE B

Used according to direction, will enable you to eat most anything (in reason) and cure you of
 DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION; ALSO OF BILIOUSNESS,
 COSTIVENESS, HEADACHES, LIVER COMPLAINT,
 WEAK STOMACH, AND LOSS OF APPETITE.⁴⁸

Chiropodist Henry Norman illustrated his ads with one big foot, but sometimes there were two of his ads on the page, making it look like the disembodied feet were walking across the sheet. All of these devices were calculated to capture attention and make the reader curious enough to read the copy as well. Then, when they went to the store, they’d remember the dancing bear or hovering cherub or Swedish prefix and perhaps be more likely to buy it.

No device or approach was as consistently copied as the use of the face. Lydia’s face reigned supreme as the most recognizable woman in the United States throughout the decade. *The Lynn Record* shared evidence of her ubiquitous image in the American psyche by as early as 1881; whether it was an apocryphal, tongue-in-cheek anecdote or a news item just received, the story illustrated how widespread her fame had become:

George Washington vs. Lydia Pinkham.

The following incident happened a few weeks ago in one of our largest Sunday schools, not a thousand miles from Nahant street. The teacher had struggled hard to instill into the youthful mind the necessity of living an upright and honorable life, and among other morals and examples, laid particular stress on the many virtues of Geo. Washington, in fact, making him and his life the principal subject of her discourse. The next Sunday, wishing to see if the seed she had so carefully planted had taken root, she asked the boys if they remembered what she was telling them about the previous Sabbath. No one seemed to recollect; a little nonplussed at this seeming forgetfulness, she strove to freshen their memory somewhat as follows: “Now, boys, of course you recollect whom it was I told you about; who was so loved and honored by all! Why, you can hardly help knowing; whose picture do you see hung on the walls

of nearly every house you enter?" Like a flash of lightning from a clear sky came the answer in chorus from the whole class, "Lydia Pinkham!⁴⁹

A perturbed newspaper reader from Lombard, Illinois, wrote in March 1880, just three months after Lydia's portrait began appearing in newspapers, to complain exactly because her face seemed to be everywhere:

Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham,

Madam:

If it is necessary that you should parade your portrait in every country paper in the United States, can't you in mercy to the nation have a new one taken once in a while? Do your hair a little differently, say – have a different turn to your head and look solemn. Anything to get rid of that cast iron smile! You ought to feel solemn anyway that your face pervades the mind of the nation like a nightmare, and that you have become a bugbear to innocent children.⁵⁰

Every time dreamers like Lemuel Brock saw Lydia's image, they heard cash register bells ring. The success of her face was highly motivational as well as instructional and several companies began imitating her image with Lemuel Brock the most devoted disciple of all. He relied a great deal on advertising trade cards and other small paper giveaways to promote Mrs. Dinsmore's face. There was the original trade card image cut and folded into the shape of a book with Mrs. Dinsmore's face on the cover, and several versions of standard trade cards – available in English and in French – and an oversized card with her portrait surrounded by nineteen other portraits of "A Few of The Many Children Saved by The Use of Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam." A series of palm-sized painting books for children was produced with Mrs. Dinsmore's face next to the palette of paints inside, and a practical booklet for adults listing the fire alarm locations throughout Lynn had her face on the back cover. There was also a strangely embossed trade card in the shape of a piece of hardtack, again with her portrait front and center. Stranger still was a large card illustrated with the Great Sphinx and pyramids of Giza, and other ruins in the foreground. A message made of elaborate Victorian letters in a billowing sandstorm swirled out of the lips of the Sphinx: "Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam is The Best." Below the grand Egyptian landscape was the caption: "The Riddle Solved – The Sphinx has Spoken." To top off the surreal scene, a sign painter had scaled a ladder to the top of the tallest pyramid and was painting the message "Use Mrs. Dinsmore's" and in the corner, the inset of Mrs. Dinsmore's face stared out, as sphinxlike as the one that had just shared its secret with the world.⁵¹

Brock would still have more to face; he decided to launch the portrait of another woman whose product rights he had bought later in the decade. Charlotte and Hatfield Soule (a one-time book peddler) were the creators and original owners of *Mrs. Soule's Infallible Moth, Tan, Freckle and Pimple Eradicator* (often abbreviated to *Soule's Eradicator*). Hatfield had disappeared in late 1879 while on a trip to the Midwest. Distraught over her husband's disappearance, in poor health herself, and in need of cash, Charlotte sold the medicine rights to Brock. A Brock promotional booklet for his new medicine products explained, "... she looked for someone who would appreciate her previous efforts and good work, and be willing to pay a fair recompense for the same. We were the lucky ones"⁵² He then broadcast Mrs. Soule's face on the bottle, packaging, and advertising.⁵³ In the same way that he invested in Dinsmore advertising when Hannah was mortally sick and Alfred couldn't afford to do so on his own, Brock was likely Mrs. Soule's silent partner when she was prominently featured in a special edition 1881 advertising effort called *The Holiday Greeting*. The four-page Lynn newspaper, listed as Vol. 1 No. 1 (and likely the only one), was loosely styled on a Christmas theme, with a cherub playing among children's toys on the masthead and a feature story about a little girl and Santa Claus, but it was really nothing more than an advertising sheet with a few fluff pieces. Out of twelve total columns, more than seven were covered in ads, five of which were dedicated to advertising *Dr. J. C. Week's Dyspepsia Cure*, *Dr. Shurtleff's Balm and Hamamelis Compound*, *Soule's Eradicator*, and *Mrs. Dillingham's Magic*.

Cough Remedy, all Lynn medicines. More prominent than anything else in the little newspaper were the faces of Mrs. Soule and the clairvoyant healer, Mrs. J. Francenia Dillingham, maker of the cough remedy and wife of George Dillingham, who put the paper together and took it to the job printer. The circulation was stated to be 10,000 copies, which were surely distributed free.⁵⁴

All these ladies of Lynn – Pinkham, Dinsmore, Soule, and Dillingham – were inevitably joined by other advertisers from out of town who began using faces to bring a sense of reality, sincerity, and likeability to their products. These included Madame Augusta Healy and Mrs. Van Buren, two of Lydia Pinkham's competitors, and the Hungarian gypsy fortune teller, Madam Alplanalb⁵⁵ Although the gypsy's ad was quite small, when it appeared among a sea of text, the eye was drawn to her countenance and then to the enticement of her mystical solicitation.⁵⁶

Faces definitely attracted attention, but in the rapidly evolving world of advertising, graphic devices and techniques multiplied right along with advances in printing technology, producing an ever-expanding array of ways to sell. John Callahan was a good example of a small business entrepreneur who found the advertising look that matched his products. He dreamed of breaking away from the daily grind and low pay as a shoemaker, so he started a medicine business in 1882 that he fancifully called the Alaska Compound Company.⁵⁷ There was nothing about his products' derivation, purpose, or ingredients that connected to that frozen world, but it was a clear difference from everyone else who was then advertising, so calling his medicines the *Alaska Catarrh Compound*, *Alaska Oil*, and *Alaska Blood Purifier*, set them apart in the customer's mind. Next, he needed to emphasize the forbidding but intriguing ice-bound world with advertising images that would be distinctive and memorable. With what was obviously a very limited budget, he selected a single advertising trade card design that had a rudimentary black-and-white image of a polar bear attacking a seal on an iceberg; in the far distance there was a sailing ship with an "Alaska" pennant flying from the main mast. The image was exciting and unusual enough to be sought after by card collectors and it remained the only pictorial advertising for the small company over the few years of its existence. The words "Trade Mark" were printed at the bottom center of the card, suggesting that Callahan intended this polar bear image to be the exclusive identifier of his products.⁵⁸

Trade cards offered color and variety at very economical prices, so even the smallest businesses tried to take advantage of them. Usually about the size of playing cards, give or take some, they were imbued with the collectability that had begun to be fostered with *cartes de visite* of famous people and curiosities, like the Russell triplets. They also had the added dimension of color and the appeal of topics as limitless as the imagination; sometimes just for walking into a Lynn business, a person would be offered a beautiful and free card that featured seashells, flowers, birds, foreign lands, something humorous, a puzzle to solve, sports images, stars of the stage, or many other enticing curiosities. Ad copy was usually on the card's reverse although the product name often appeared on the front. The Digestine Company had a single card designed with a cartoonish depiction of a boy stealing some cabbages from a vegetable garden – likely a thinly veiled metaphor for the active botanic ingredient in their laxative medicine, *Digestine*.⁵⁹ Printer Frank W. Gardiner was quick to embrace the intense attraction trade cards were having on spellbound collectors in Lynn,

CARDS & AUTOGRAPH ALBUMS. For 13c. I will send 40 Cards, Including Snowflake, Marble, Plaid, Damask, Oriental, Morning Glory, Basket, Gold Flake, Bird, Embossed &c., your name on every card. Agents get 14 names, send \$1 and I send 40 cards each name, postpaid. You make 82c. on \$1. One lady agent got 10 clubs in one week, receiving for commission \$8.20. Try it in your neighborhood. For 15c. I send a 48 page Album, illustrated in cards with Mottoes, Scrolls, and Ferns, now having extensive sale in United States and Canadas. Agents send \$1, get 10 Albums, sell for \$1.50, make 50 cents. Grand \$5 offer! I send 35 packs cards, 35 names, and 30 Albums, for \$5 bill. This lot retails for \$9.05; agents make \$4.05 every \$5 invested.
F. W. GARDINER, Lynn, Mass.⁶⁰

Demonstrating the power of these cards, he communicated the entire ad above on a card that was only two by three inches, and was even able to set it within a full-color scene of six ducks at the edge of a marsh grass-edged pond with lily pads.

Many themes were offered in a series, which gave the irresistible encouragement to collect the entire set. George Thurston advertised the benefits of his various medicines on the back of a small card series that showed entertaining scenes of a costume ball at a roller-skating rink – eye-catching representations of an event that was quite popular in Lynn during that decade.⁶¹ Lemuel Brock went all in on advertising with trade cards of many different types; cards advertising his *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam* usually featured images of healthy, happy youngsters since he promoted that medicine as especially beneficial to children; similarly, he used illustrations of beautiful, fair-skinned young women to convey the benefits of *Mrs. Soule's Infallible Moth, Tan, Freckle and Pimple Eradicator*.⁶² Because trade cards were often free and came in a wide array of colors, topics, and styles, collecting them had become a national pastime of women and especially children, who pasted them in large scrapbooks. Lynn businesses of every type offered them to promote their establishments and products, like the People's Drug Store on Union Street, which advertised they had “new, elegant and original” cards to give away at their store.⁶³ Advertisers saw these cards being taken into homes, preserved, and regularly admired, which was a nifty way to keep their message in the public’s eye.

In a brief article titled, “Mania for Cards,” the *Daily Evening Item* captured the fever created early in the decade for collecting these small advertisements, “The mania for advertising cards has assumed such a proportion that Geo. C. Herbert has disposed of over fifty thousand within the last three months. One lady in this city has a super collection of more than two thousand.”⁶⁴ A few days later, it passed along another tidbit, “The Card Craze. A person wrote to a Cincinnati firm for a package of fancy cards, and remarked that there was quite a craze for collecting cards. The firm replied that they had observed it, but that it seemed to have its strongest hold in Lynn.”⁶⁵ Newspapers across the country wrote disparagingly of the craze, complaining about the annoyance that busy shopkeepers were being exposed to by a constant stream of little kids asking for a picture card, but Lynn was certainly not alone in its passion for card collecting. Under the heading, “Card Crazed Criminal,” came a story from nearby Cambridgeport of a letter carrier who had been arrested for opening others’ mail to extract the cards out of them; his excuse for his criminal behavior was that he wanted his boy to have the biggest card collection among his friends.⁶⁶ Cards were printed up for businesses everywhere in the country and Lynn was, indeed, very engaged in the use of advertising cards. Sheltering at his mother-in-law’s house with his wife and little boy, George W. Barry had little to show for his years of toiling in a shoe shop beyond suffering with consumption, but the trade card excitement filled his head with the hope of finally breaking out: he set up a shop that exclusively sold the collectible trade cards. In a bold move that mirrored William Pinkham’s gamble of a few years earlier, Barry invested in a full-column newspaper ad:

CARDS. NEW STYLES RECEIVED THREE TIMES A WEEK! A large and elegant assortment of French and American Advertising Cards. Those making collections are invited to call and examine our stock. GEORGE W. BARRY, 177 Union Street, Opposite Central Depot.⁶⁷

The newspaper reciprocated for his substantial investments with a puff of their own: “George W. Barry announces a very extensive stock of advertising cards, which collectors of the ornamental pasteboards will find it for their advantage to examine. He is constantly receiving new styles.”⁶⁸ In an article encouraging local trade a few days later, they used his shop as an example of the advantage of doing business in Lynn: “At George W. Barry’s store, 177 Union street, a grand display of fancy cards is made, and large sales are being made each day. Those making a collection



Collectible Victorian Advertising. Collecting colorful, fanciful, and entertaining advertising trade cards was a popular hobby in the 1880s-1890s, so much so that in 1881 a Lynn shop focused on them as its primary product for sale (although the business lasted only part of a year because the cards were available everywhere for free). Businesses had many hundreds of designs, themes, and shapes to choose from to promote their products and services. Women and especially children collected them and pasted them into scrapbooks. The cards were a reflection of America in the late decades of the century – bright, promising, and full of endless possibilities. (All collection of the author.)

of cards will do well to call on Mr. Barry and examine his stock. No better collection in Lynn. ..."⁶⁹ As ephemeral as paper trade cards were, they lived on far longer than Barry's store, which survived a year at most, and Barry himself, who lost his battle with consumption three years later, at 33 years old.⁷⁰ Years after Barry's death, Charles Pinkham realized that the public's appetite for these little pieces of inexpensive advertising was continuing on unabated. Wanting to keep his accounts well stocked with a supply of Pinkham collectibles, he sent out a postcard to his customers in 1887 that read, "Shall we send you a package of new fancy cards for distribution?"⁷¹

Trade cards became another point of competition between merchants: grocers M. F. Moody and Frank F. French both sold tea, but Moody gave away trade cards for the purchase of a pound of tea while Frank F. French did the same for just a half pound purchased.⁷² Apothecary Ira P. Jefts gave away cards for any purchase over 25 cents in his store, but his brother, watchmaker & optician George F. Jefts, had nothing low cost in his shop, so he just gave away cards to every customer as his way of increasing foot traffic.⁷³ Druggist Warren Toppan did the same to increase patronage, but he offered an entire set for those who purchased his *Ceylon Perle Drops*, and grocer Lucius C. Sargent did the same for customers purchasing his *Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters*.⁷⁴

John Callahan also understood the opportunity for trade cards to stimulate sales. The polar bear card was the symbol of his entire product line and no other pictures would do, so he chose instead to devise variations on the card backs and to enhance the graphics of the card front. Messages on the back side alternated between testimonials, a special message to women, and an offer for twelve free medical treatments at the laboratory, but the improvement to the card front brought the real dazzle.⁷⁵ He invested in a new version of the polar bear card that had gone from basic in black and white to polished in full color, which improvements made the one-man company appear to be a much more successful business than it was. That card's attractiveness was also appealing to other companies in the U.S. and was thus selected as equally compelling and appropriate to the cold weather marketing campaigns of a furrier and an ice cream company. Callahan's upgraded version of the card allowed the polar bear to continue its attack in full color; the ship, however, had sunk from view.⁷⁶ It turned out to be symbolic of Callahan's own Alaskan adventure. He had tried valiantly but in vain; his business had sunk seventeen years after it had launched, just one of the many patent medicine enterprises that went under water during the century.

LIFE AFTER DEATH

The Pinkham's ship was cruising into the 1880s with a full head of steam, but stormy weather lay ahead. Unexpected turbulence struck as sales volume was picking up. The Pinkhams decided to put labels on plain bottles in September 1880 because their bottle supplier couldn't produce the embossed bottles quickly enough; so they included a note with their shipments to the druggists and wholesalers in hope of avoiding concern about counterfeit product: "NOTICE. – The sales of the Vegetable Compound have increased so rapidly that the Glass Works have not been able to supply me with bottles with my name blown in the glass. For this reason I have been compelled to use, temporarily, plain bottles. Yours, for Health, Lydia E. Pinkham."⁷⁷ At least it was a problem resulting from good news – strong sales. When John V. Craven, owner of the Salem Glass Works (Salem, New Jersey), wrote to Charles Pinkham about another production problem seventeen months later, he was in a panic over his company's blunder – technically, 8,640 blunders: they accidentally made 60 gross bottles embossed "Blood Purifier" and mixed them into an order that was supposed to be all vegetable compound bottles. Craven trembled over the possibility of women getting sick from mislabeled medicine: "Will it hurt anybody to take the Blood Purifier, where they should have taken the Compound? I wait with breathless anxiety [for] your response."⁷⁸

While the bottle mix-up was a headache and a frustration, the Pinkhams had already been hit with far worse. In late 1879, while in Brooklyn, pushing himself hard for the sake of the business,

Dan Pinkham's health was deteriorating. Despite his mother's instructions to take her liver pills and a tea of pleurisy root and marshmallow, his health continued to sink rapidly. He came home in late December with what Lydia thought was pneumonia.⁷⁹ What turned out to be the dreaded consumption had fastened to his lungs and, though periods of remission sparked hope of recovery, his health continued to evaporate. He spent the last winter of his life in the South, at first in Georgia and afterwards in Texas among friends he had made there over a decade previous, but nowhere and nothing helped; consumption pulled him into the grave just as it had done to so many others during the century. The newspaper reported that the night before he died he told his nurse "What he was and what he had been all came of the training of his noble mother."⁸⁰ The Pinkham family's indefatigable 33-year-old salesman and human dynamo died on 12 October 1881 and Isaac and Lydia had to bury their dear son. The pall bearers were all employees at the Pinkham laboratory.⁸¹

The storm of sadness had not passed. Back in December 1880, while his brother Dan was fighting terminal illness, Will had gotten married to Emma Barry. The sad lot of the one brother appeared to have no bearing on the health of the other: Will seemed strong and healthy and looking forward to a happy future with his bride, but the future that was waiting for him was a swift and tragic fall:

He had been for years a model of robust health: tall, large and broad chested; and he never looked healthier or handsomer than on that [wedding] day. Within two or three weeks, exposure to cold and damp, caused a severe cough, accompanied with shortness of breath. Sometime in February, almost daily hemorrhages from the lungs occurred for a week or more. From this time he was never able to do much more work, although he got out and seemed likely to recover. In August he spent some weeks in Lincoln, Vermont, with his wife and made a decided gain; but on his return grew worse again; unfavorable weather and the critical condition of his brother Daniel who died a lingering death in October, of consumption, apparently aggravating the difficulty. Early in October he was prostrated again by violent hemorrhages, one of which was so copious that it came near being immediately fatal; and he was consequently unable to attend his brother's funeral. Rallying, he became able to walk out again, and on November 18, he started with his wife for Santa Barbara, California, with the hope of regaining his health. At first, the journey seemed to benefit him a little, but he suffered severely from the rarity of the atmosphere while crossing the Rocky Mountains, and on arriving at Los Angeles, California, where he stopped, he soon began to fail, and after a week's stay during which he grew weaker and weaker, his life quietly and easily faded away, just before noon, Dec. 8, 1881.

The eulogist, a close friend of Will, was devastated and in shock:

... the fine songs, the jokes, the uproarious fun which came rolling out in that full voice from his broad chest! Can it be that this young man, always hale and hearty, was destined to die of consumption? Why, it seemed as though his lungs might almost serve as bellows to blow the fires of Vulcan; sooner would one have said he would die by stroke of lightning! So hard is it to tell what may befall us!⁸²

Just two months after losing Dan, the family had lost Will, the business and marketing visionary of the medicine business. The 28-year-old's body took ten days to be transported back from Los Angeles to Lynn, accompanied by his new bride who returned a widow, severely weakened by sorrow and fatigue.⁸³ Isaac and Lydia had to bury another beloved son.⁸⁴ Before they could catch their breath, their daughter-in-law, Emma, Will's widow, died of the same disease, four months into the next year.

While there's no question that Dan and Will had been critical to the success the company had experienced, progress was still being made, even while they were languishing in far-off Georgia, Texas, and southern California. Mother Lydia had her hands full with responding to all the private letters from the women of America. In the month she buried her youngest son, she responded to

one such customer, “I am receiving many hundred letters every week that require my personal attention.”⁸⁵ It therefore fell to her oldest son, Charles, to step up in a big way, running the company; had he not done so, things could have quickly gotten out of control.⁸⁶ Rumors and real problems seemed to be conspiring to unravel their positive trajectory. A family medicine company emerging from the kitchen stove into a major business in a city dominated by shoe factories was perfect grist for the rumor mill. In April 1881 a rumor was reported that the Pinkhams were moving their operation back to the Wyoma section of town, and another rumor circulating in December claimed that the company was being sold, like so many other medicine companies had been, to Weeks & Potter, the large Boston medicine distribution company.⁸⁷ But the rumors weren’t true; despite the challenge of having Dan and Will incapacitated by consumption, the family was determined to keep it going, and their Western Avenue location had solidified its position as the growing company’s base of operations; they chose instead to continue improving and building up their facilities right where they were. In October they announced they were introducing steam power to the laboratory (the term they used for their factory), just like the big shoe factories in the city.⁸⁸ The announced purchase of a 25-horsepower boiler and a steam pump was to churn the medicines along the various production steps throughout the laboratory.⁸⁹

Dealing with real problems was far more serious than disproving or disavowing rumors. The Pinkham Company was, in fact, experiencing real financial problems in early 1881; advertising expenses were out of control. While they closed the year with \$167,450 in sales, seventy-two percent of that had to be used to pay off their advertising.⁹⁰

Canadian sales had been showing some promise and, just before he died, Will had outlined his plan to set up a laboratory and warehouse in Canada for distribution to the provinces. Charles fulfilled Will’s vision by setting up the facility in Stanstead, Quebec, in early 1882 and had it managed by one of his workers from the Lynn laboratory.⁹¹

Later in the spring, another rumor was circulating through Lynn that with the deaths of her two sons, Lydia had become the sole owner of Lydia E. Pinkham’s Sons and Co. (the legal name of the company up to that point), which caused pressure to pay her husband’s old bills. To stop the onslaught of debt collectors from their assault on Pinkham assets, Lydia took the Poor Debtors Oath, declaring herself to have no personal funds or property, and that fact was announced in the *Lynn Bee*.⁹² The newspaper’s report just fueled a new rumor nationwide that the company had gone belly-up, causing newspapers around the country to demand immediate payment for the Pinkham product advertising they had been running. Charles reacted quickly by making the advertising agency do a damage control campaign; it reassured the newspapers that the Pinkham business was doing better than ever and paying their bills promptly.⁹³

They really were doing better sales than ever, but had little to show for it. Product sales for 1882 had continued to skyrocket, reaching \$221,126 (\$5,610,783 in 2020 USD) but advertising expenses wiped away a staggering seventy-eight percent of that amount.⁹⁴ Their current advertising agency was running roughshod over the Pinkham’s best interests and was trying to gain control of the company; another agency wanted to buy them out altogether.⁹⁵ The enormous business and financial burdens weighed upon Charles while he personally coped with the deaths of his two brothers and sister-in-law, and the sadness of his grieving, aged, worn-out parents. In December, word came from Canada that a shipment of the vegetable compound had frozen in route: over 265 out of the 288 bottles burst; Charles just couldn’t get a break.⁹⁶

Concern over the lost shipment must have faded quickly when his mother had a stroke a few weeks later. As the winter wore on, she struggled to regain her ability to speak, but her health continued to sink.⁹⁷ In early April she was “very low at her residence, and the machinery in her shop [had] been stopped, because of annoyance to her.”⁹⁸ But even with the sound of silence, her life ebbed; the face of the Pinkham success lingered a paralyzed invalid for another several weeks until her death on 17 May 1883.⁹⁹ Before the tragic event, a woman had been hired to assist with the volume of correspondence that had gotten beyond Lydia’s ability to manage on her own, but

once she became incapacitated by the stroke, the clerk's letter writing skills became essential.¹⁰⁰ When Lydia's will was written in early April, the woman who had once used her copperplate penmanship to gracefully sign correspondence with the slogan, "Yours for Health, Lydia E. Pinkham," was only able to scratch out an X for her legal mark.¹⁰¹ Joseph G. Pinkham, the attending physician, certified Lydia E. Pinkham had died of paralysis that she had struggled with for five months; she was sixty-four years old.¹⁰² Her funeral had been a spiritualist ceremony; near her coffin stood a floral harp with a broken string; the company's advertising agency had sent it, indicating it represented "the press of America," apparently in tribute to the important customer whose patronage had been cut short.¹⁰³

Newspaper presses around the nation had gone into high gear when the news of Mrs. Pinkham's death spread; while some papers offered kind words, many couldn't resist the opportunity for a farewell joke or tease about the woman whose face had stared out from their pages and whose advertising payments had improved their bottom lines. All over the country, hand-over-heart and tongue-in-cheek tributes appeared. Several used creative license to convey the otherwise straightforward news of her death:

[St. Joseph, Missouri]: Now that Lydia Pinkham has left this vale of patent medicine, she is no longer "Yours, for health."¹⁰⁴

[Lyons, Kansas]: Collectors of curiosities will now begin to save wood cuts of Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham. She is "Yours for health" no longer, to ladies with mysterious troubles. She is dead.¹⁰⁵

[Helena, Montana]: ... in spite of her medicine she had to yield to death like everybody else.¹⁰⁶

The Richmond Item offered the most startling report on her death and there was nothing about it that hinted that they were being facetious:

[Richmond, Indiana]: It's a horrifying fact, but a fact, never-the-less, that there is not now and never has been a "Yours for health, Lydia Pinkham, of Lynn, Mass." whose death at the age of 64 years is now announced. Lydia never existed. Two young fellows got up a patent medicine for women and advertised it under the assumed name of Lydia Pinkham, and the announcement of her death is only another advertising dodge.¹⁰⁷

The Biblical Recorder offered its respect and admiration for Lydia, recognizing that she was one of the pioneers among women in the workplace:

[Raleigh, North Carolina]: Women are rapidly finding places in the learned professions and the more lucrative occupations from which they were formally excluded. Many are graduating in medicine. Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, of Lynn, Mass., is a minister of health to thousands who may never touch the hem of her garment or behold the genial light of her modest countenance.¹⁰⁸

But *The Biblical Recorder* was decidedly in the minority; most newspapers reveled in pithy, sarcastic humor to write about one of their biggest advertisers. Rather than focus on the end of her life, they preferred to focus on her immortality through advertising:

[Frankfort, Kentucky]: Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham is dead, but her picture will survive her for years in patent medicine advertisements.¹⁰⁹

[Ellsworth, Kansas]: Mrs. Lydia Pinkham, who died lately, began business by making medicine in a tea-kettle. Her net income of late has been \$300,000 per annum, and she spent \$180,000 per year advertising. The tea-kettle was the starter but printers' ink was what made it boil.¹¹⁰

[Los Angeles, California]: The fact that Lydia Pinkham paid \$180,000 per year for advertising, and grew rich, opens an avenue to wealth for any poor girl in America. All she need do is to get some carpenter to hew out a wood-cut of her bland features and pay \$180,000 a year to the newspapers to publish it.¹¹¹

[Chambersburg, Pennsylvania]: ... her face is still to beam ... upon the frail readers of advertisements and the sick are still to be coaxed by her alleged smile to try another bottle.¹¹²

[Princeton, Indiana]: It is fair to assume that though dead, Lydia will still live in the newspapers, for to keep up the profits her heirs will have to keep up the advertisements, and many people will believe that the medicines of the venerable old lady were so efficacious in her own case that she enjoys perpetual youth and will never die.¹¹³

While the press was dealing with Lydia's death with shows of respect, doubt, or waggish humor, family members were worried about Isaac; they knew how hard it was going to be on the man who had been through so much. Isaac's brother-in-law in Wilbraham, wrote to him the day after Lydia's passing:

Dear Bro. Isaac, The Telegram of the death of your dear wife ... came this morning. – From your letters and the complication of the diseases we were expecting the result. ... remember dear brother you have my warmest sympathy and my earnest prayers. You have been wonderfully sustained in your great losses heretofore, and I am persuaded you will be in this. Tell Charles and Arey to be of good courage. – and trust in Our Heavenly Father for wisdom and strength, for this is the saddest affliction of their lives. It is well their hands and minds are to be left so full of cares, as these will absorb their attention and leave little time for mourning overmuch. – They will now carry on the great work of usefulness to the race, the three departed ones inaugurated and prosecuted so vigorously and successfully. ... Remember you have two homes one at Lynn and the other at Wilbraham. – The inland country air will do you good. Come and see.¹¹⁴

Despite the efforts of family to console and support, Isaac was overwhelmed at the loss of his wife. He had lost his dear companion "who had looked after him with sympathetic understanding and great forbearance ever since the great financial panic when he lost everything...."¹¹⁵ But even in death she continued to take care of her husband. In her will, Lydia left Isaac all of the household furniture and "adornments," and the annual sum of \$2,000 (\$52,819 in 2020 USD) "to be paid to him each year after her death for so long as he shall live."¹¹⁶ Despite the substantial security, it couldn't comfort him in his solitude. He had crumbled in his old age, having lost his "courage, his ambition and even his physical well-being," and didn't want to live alone.¹¹⁷ By the fall of the year, Charles and his family had moved in with Isaac to keep him company. Still, as the months wore on, he missed his dear wife and wanted to see her again and talk with her one more time.

Four months after her body was buried next to her sons, she returned from the Spirit Land to visit her lonely husband. The *Banner of Light* reported that Isaac had attended a séance in Providence Rhode Island where he heard and saw the full form materialization of his wife's spirit.

On Tuesday evening, 18 September 1883, Isaac sat in the parlor of Mrs. Wm. Allen's place on 268 Washington St., Providence, RI, along with about twenty others, friends and strangers. The sole light came from a single flickering burner of the chandelier above the group that surrounded the table. The spirits seemed quite ready to reach out to the living on this night. A Boston correspondent named A. P. Merrill reported what they had seen:

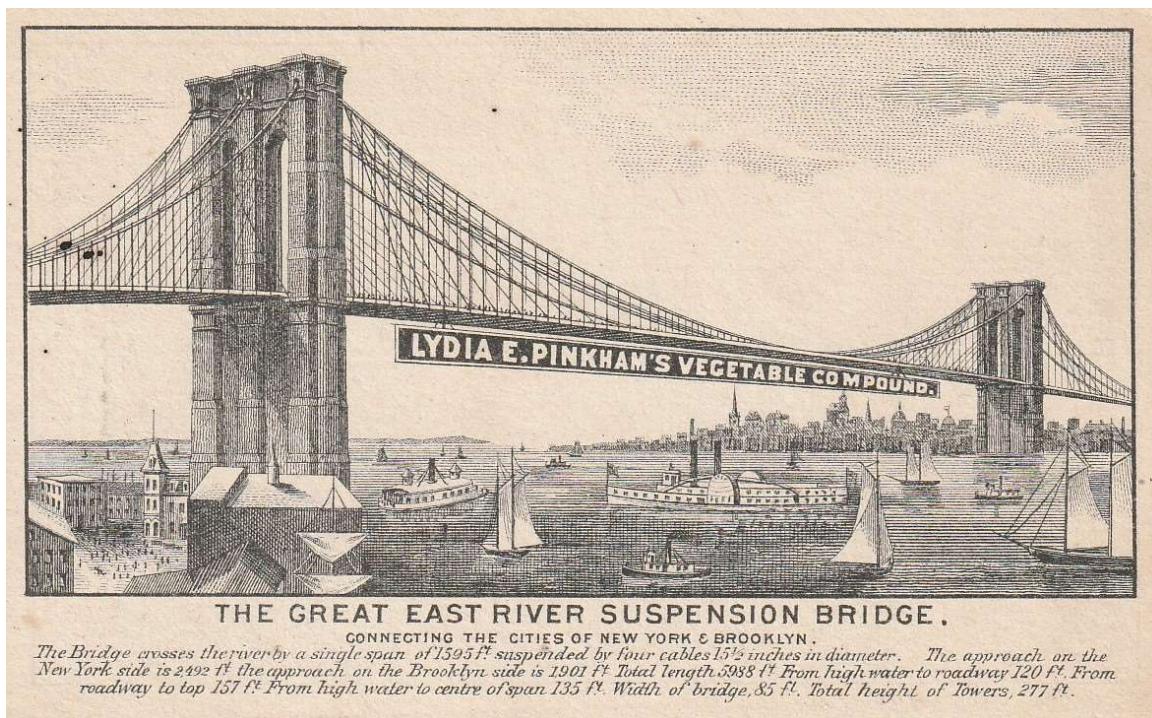
I have been requested to give to your paper an account of the wonderful manifestations of spirit-power witnessed by Mr. Isaac Pinkham of Lynn, Mass., and myself ... After several spirits appeared, talked and walked with their friends, Mrs. Newhall, who passed over about two years since, came from the cabinet and said: 'Pinkham – Isaac Pinkham; you would not tell the medium your name. I am going to, though, Isaac, for she wants to know.' ... In due course of time came Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, very weak. She greeted Mr. Pinkham with a welcome such as none but a wife could give, telling him she was very glad to come, and spoke of the boys, her two sons. She called me to her and kissed us both. We took her by the hands to support her; she advanced a few

steps only. We then introduced her to the company. She then asked me to give an account of what I had witnessed to the *Banner of Light*, that it might be spread through the land, and that her friends in the material [world] might know spirits can and do return, and are constantly round their earth-friends trying to help them. She then stepped between the curtains and dematerialized in full view of all present. ... Every possible opportunity was given for investigation; the light was sufficient for one to see every person in the room. Some talked freely with their friends; one went about and shook hands with the whole company; another passed out into the adjoining room and stood by her husband while he was singing at the piano. Spirit-flowers were made before our eyes, and lace such as spirits weave." This letter bears the endorsement: "The above is all true. – Isaac Pinkham."¹¹⁸

If Charles was going to keep the company alive, he now needed to figure out how to do it largely on his own. His plan to stop the financial hemorrhaging focused on reigning in the advertising and printing expenses. The advertising agency's expenditures were huge and curtailing them, especially during the summer "dull season," was his primary cost-cutting initiative.¹¹⁹ Pinkham advertising had been pushed into every state in the country, plus Canada and parts of South America, but Charles had it pulled back to just major U.S. cities (Boston, New York City, Chicago, and San Francisco) and states where substantial profits were being made. Advertising in the geographical expanses in between was reformulated to be in small-town newspapers that were purposefully selected and carefully monitored for successful sales in the areas those papers served.¹²⁰ Printing expenses were reduced by having several steam presses installed at the Pinkham laboratory to produce some of the company's printed matter, including pamphlets (probably updates to *Guide for Women*).¹²¹ Charles also stopped most magazine and wholesaler catalog ads, horse-car placards, and other signage; the one exception was trade cards.¹²²

Lydia's face had been the only graphic used on the company's advertising for years. Besides appearing in newspaper and magazine advertising, it was printed on advertising trade cards by the millions. The small card with her face was designed to be saved like the *carte-de-visite* of a family member and looked at in collectors' scrapbooks, over and over again, even instructing collectors on the bottom of each card, "PUT THIS IN YOUR ALBUM." Trade cards with Lydia's face flooded the country, making it inevitable that some were occasionally graffitied by mischievous wags to humorously alter her otherwise never-changing, ever-present appearance in scrapbooks, tabletops, and store counters. The iconic portrait of Lydia Pinkham nevertheless continued to be mass-produced and improved, from simple to detailed steel engravings, and still further to a photograph-quality stippled engraving with updated fashionable clothing (trading in her stiff ruff collar for a fine lace fichu) and a facial.

It was of paramount importance for Charles to keep his mother's countenance in the public eye as the face of the company and the queen of the patent medicine marketplace, but given the explosions of color and creativity in the trade card wars, he also recognized the need to continue attracting the attention of existing and potential customers, so he commissioned other card designs as well. One of the first was a tribute to the dream of his brother Dan by having the image of a banner suspended from the Brooklyn Bridge like Dan envisioned when he was alive. The card's image was based on the Currier and Ives chromolithograph, "The Great East River Suspension Bridge." Done in black and white, the trade card looked like a clipping from a newspaper story; while Charles had neither the money nor the permission to actually hang a banner from the bridge when it was completed in 1883, the card made it *look* to customers and collectors everywhere like it *really* happened – and perception was reality.¹²³ Trade cards were one of the least-expensive forms of advertising available and had the additional advantage that, by often being collected, they lasted longer and continued to convey their message every time they were seen. They were a far better spend, Charles had decided, than a proposal he received in mid-1884 to have fireworks color the night sky with the message "Use Lydia Pinkham's Compound." The salesman promised that the "letters of colored fires" would be seen three times during an evening in June by as many as



Daniel Pinkham's Grand Advertising Plan. Advertising trade card, about 1883. A banner was never actually suspended below the Brooklyn Bridge, as Daniel had dreamed, but it did in this illustrated trade card, possibly making it seen by more eyes (and all over the country) in a way that an actual banner could never duplicate. (Collection of the author.)

100,000 spectators near the Bunker Hill Monument; but the grand display, a “way of advertising that has never been seen before in this country,” would have lasted a few seconds and cost \$125 (\$3,203 USD in 2020). Charles telegraphed back in an economy of words, “No. You need not get up anything for us.”¹²⁴

During these years of financial austerity, Charles also had to protect the now successful brand from the efforts of a swindler to sell counterfeit product into the market; customers purchasing the bogus bottles could quickly and easily pull down the brand’s reputation that had been so painstakingly established. Proprietary medicine companies often supplied druggists with a supply of paper labels to replace those on bottles that became unsellable because of some form of soiling, tearing, or perhaps liquid damage from a broken bottle nearby. Late in 1883 some of the most successful medicines had learned that someone was putting out bogus product in their bottles with their labels; *Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was one of those that had been counterfeited. The swindler had bought empty vegetable compound bottles from a junk dealer, filled them with a concoction of “sour beer, tinged, or scented with a little of the genuine article,” put the new labels on them, then posing as an agent for the company, sold the product to drug stores he visited. It was a small, one-man operation but he was ambitious and did the same swindle to several other major medicine brands and it was his undoing.¹²⁵ By the efforts of Charles Pinkham and the other affected medicine companies, the swindler was quickly located, arrested, tried, and sentenced to twenty-five months imprisonment.¹²⁶

Charles continued pushing on to reduce costs, even to the extent of having the telephone company remove the phones in the Lynn laboratory; he also closed the Quebec laboratory since sales had dwindled.¹²⁷ It didn’t help that the Stanstead manager had also been a weasel: he misappropriated company funds to buy turkeys, broke into a government warehouse to steal merchandise, and was caught trying to smuggle four Chinese in a wagonload of hay over the U.S. border.¹²⁸ The austerity controls Charles had put in place had the desired results: advertising

expense dropped twenty points to fifty-seven and fifty-eight percent, respectively in 1883 and 1884 and to only forty-five percent of sales in the next year.¹²⁹ On Thanksgiving of 1885, Charles surprised his sister Aroline with a \$6,000 check under her dinner napkin at the family table – he and she were the two principal stockholders in the company and this represented her half of the first dividend check the company had been able to issue.¹³⁰

In the decade's remaining years, Charles continued to push down on advertising expense (getting it reduced as a percentage of sales to twenty-seven percent in 1888 and eighteen percent in 1889), while looking for opportunities to diversify the company's product mix and increase business.¹³¹ In October 1886 the company had moved into a newly constructed three-story laboratory building because the business had outgrown the outbuilding serving as a makeshift laboratory near the house, despite its several additions over the past few years.¹³² With a larger facility, steam-powered equipment, greater capacity, and an improved net worth, Charles was able to try expanding the company's product line. In 1887 he created the Pinkham Perfumery Company for the creation of perfumed sachets, which were used by women to sweeten the scent of clothing, undergarments, and linens. Containing such gentle ingredient scents as powdered red rose leaves and small cut vanilla beans, the sachets were advertised lightly and sold the same way.¹³³ In 1890 the company sought out ladies and young girls who would take orders for the perfumes "from their friends who do fancy work."¹³⁴ The natural ease and comfort of women talking up the perfumes to other women was the same rationale the Pinkhams had used in seeking female sales agents for *Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* for women's private medical issues.

Doing a favor for a friend translated into another business venture for Charles. Jacob Welch had accomplished having the biggest furniture store in Lynn and he felt he could accomplish the same success in the medicine business, like his friend Charles Pinkham was doing. Perhaps he was motivated to switch from furniture to medicine by visiting the Fifteenth Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in Boston during the autumn of 1884. It was a special event, featuring invited exhibitors based on the merit and importance of their inventions and creations.¹³⁵ Welch may have gone there to see the exhibits in category No. 17. – Furniture and Upholstery, but then wandered through No.21, Household Goods, past No.24. – Machinists' Tools and Machinery, and other categories, until he found himself in Class No. 26. - Medicines, Medicinal Foods, Dental and Scientific Instruments Used in Medical Practice. There, among fine displays in glass cases by the impressively successful J. C. Ayer & Company proprietaries and Codman & Shurtleff's surgical and dental instruments, he would have stumbled upon the tiny one-man Lougee Medicine Company of Boston, a manufacturer of proprietary medicines.¹³⁶

The proprietor, 70-year-old Robert W. Lougee, displayed three medicines for suffering humanity: his *Vitalizing Compound*, the *Juniper Kidney Cure*, and a *Clover Cure* "for female weakness," and he had a compelling backstory of how they came to be.

When a "bright and active boy" of thirteen, "unusually intelligent and observing for his years," he had been the assistant of an Indian doctor "in the wilds of the Granite State" (New Hampshire), tasked with gathering roots and herbs for his medicines, "the potent arcana of the forest that formed his dwelling-place." Among those remedies was one that later became Lougee's *Vitalizing Compound*, when the boy had become a man. "Thus for more than half a century he has in a quiet and unostentatious way put this remedy to practical and beneficent use in the vicinity of Boston, improving it from time to time as experience dictated, but never divulging the secret of its manufacture."¹³⁷ Even if the account of his medical roots and accomplishments was true, his narrative had skipped over his years as a shoemaker, nurseryman, and real estate agent; nonetheless, he and his medicines were at the Mechanics' Fair, looking for buyers or investors.¹³⁸ Just as the old Indian doctor had bequeathed his secret recipes to the young boy, Lougee now stood ready to share them with the next "unusually intelligent" entrepreneur. Lougee's products did not take a gold, silver, or bronze ribbon at the judged event, but even better, he found in Jacob Welch a prized

investor. Welch sold his \$25,000 interest in the furniture business in 1885 and brought the Lougee Medicine Company to Lynn.¹³⁹

The formulas that Lougee turned over to Welch were full of the botanic ingredients he had learned about as a youthful assistant to that Indian doctor; they ranged from pumpkin seeds in the *Clover Cure* to juniper berries in the kidney cure. The *Vitalizing Compound* was an especially involved compound of ten ingredients steeped in whiskey: one pound each of wormwood, mandrake, and burdock root; two pounds each of wintergreen, buchu, sarsaparilla, black cherry bark, blood root, and Peruvian bark; and one quart of burnt sugar, all to stand in a barrel of whiskey for about ten days.¹⁴⁰ Now the two men would work at making this medicine business together, just like the Pinkhams had been doing less than a mile away.

Welch took what Lougee had started and redesigned it around a compelling new Lynn testimonial that he hoped would be symbolic of his medicines' efficacy and profitability:

Lynn, Mass., April 12, 1887. Eight years ago our daughter, Lena, then eight years of age, had a severe attack of Diphtheria, resulting in blood-poisoning, which developed into Scrofula. A malignant ulcer appeared upon her throat, eating away the flesh, and exposing the cords and muscles of the neck, till there was danger of some of the arteries being severed, and she would bleed to death. Another equally virulent ulcer attacked the right leg at the knee, seriously affecting the entire limb. The flesh under the knee was completely eaten away, laying bare the cords and tendons, presenting as did also the throat, a most repulsive and sickening sight. She was completely prostrated; her sufferings were most intense, and her condition in every sense was truly pitiable. ... Five years ago last March an experienced and skillful Lynn physician was called, and by his advice she was taken to the country. There she received treatment for three months, after which time, unimproved, she was brought back to Lynn. Another skilled physician of this city then took the case, and at the expiration of two weeks advised her removal to the Massachusetts General Hospital, with the remark, "It is a critical case."

Five doctors at the hospital told the family to just make Lena as comfortable as possible because that was all that could be done for her at that point. The most recent Lynn physician they had consulted was a particular Boston surgeon specializing in Scrofula, but his efforts didn't help either, so the parents then took their daughter to a lady physician who treated her for 15 months. While she relieved Lena's suffering somewhat, no cure was accomplished.

Then we resorted to patent medicines. She took *nearly two hundred bottles* of one remedy in fifteen months, and followed this with *forty bottles of another*. As she continued to fail ... Dr. R. W. Lougee was sent to us. ... Upon taking Dr. Lougee's *Vitalizing Compound* she began at once to improve, and our pardonable skepticism as to its great virtues was speedily removed. Soon the ulcers began to heal and the cavities to fill with new and healthy tissue, built up by this truly wonderful remedy. To-day nothing remains to indicate the frightful condition of which we have spoken ... Her recovery is looked upon ... as little short of a miracle, and our gratitude to Dr. Lougee for his agency in that blessed consummation is unspeakable. We hope the knowledge of his great specific, rightly named the *Vitalizing Compound*, may be spread far and wide. ... Our residence is 677 Boston street. We will be pleased to answer all inquiries.

Mr. R. C. Judkins.

Mrs. R. C. Judkins.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this twenty-fifth day of April, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven. Harmon Hall, Justice of the Peace.¹⁴¹

To keep this miracle in the minds of every shopper, the nine-inch-plus bottle of *Vitalizing Compound* was adorned with an equally large label featuring a striking image of a healthy, vibrant Lena Judkins preparing to place a floral crown on the head of the venerable, seated doctor. In equally dramatic and varied Victorian type styles the message surrounding the trademarked image

read, "Dr. Lougee Your Vitalizing Compound Saved My Life."¹⁴² Lena's parents' glowing testimonial of gratitude concluded with the final praise, "Is it not eminently fitting that our daughter, whose life he has thus saved, should crown the aged physician with an immortal wreath of honor?"¹⁴³

Unfortunately, from the outset, the Welch's new medicine business sputtered, despite the miracles it performed upon Lena. Sales and cures came in fits and spurts, while expenses, especially from advertising, oozed steadily like a festering wound. There were occasional customers that said they received some benefit from the medicines, but more letters came in from those who did not and were looking for their money back. The money was returned to a man from Ossipee, New Hampshire, who had written,

I baut this bottle full of your Medicine and they gave me one trial bottle down to rochester on the fair ground[. I] carred it home and took it acording to Derections the man that sold it to me Booked my name and residence and all and thare was a soap man with him[.] they both told me to take it and if it did not do me any good they would return the money if I sent them the bottle to Dr Lougee Lynn Mass. I took both bottles and I want [wasn't] so well as I ws when I begun to take¹⁴⁴

Similarly, another dissatisfied customer from Claremont, New Hampshire, wrote, "Sins [since] your Medicine has no effect on me I shall expect the dollar by return mail. the medicine does not help me at all."¹⁴⁵ Like the others who bought with hope, a man from Concord, New Hampshire, wrote to "Dr Lougee" as deferentially as a patient consulting in person with his doctor, even though he was very worried about his situation:

I comence to take your Medicine having Been troble with Schofler [probably scrofula] for a Number of years very Bad. Having a Soure [sore] on my side that had not been heald for 8 years. I have taken 2 Bot[tles] of your Vitalizing Compond and the out side of my Bodie came out all coverd with humor and it Itched all the time. Please Inform me if this is the way the Medicin work on Schofler it is almost a week Since it came out so. I can not see any thing that done it But the Medicin.¹⁴⁶

Asking for medical advice by mail, especially from the doctor whose medicine was purchased, was a very standard practice, especially from rural customers. Even when local physicians were available, the corresponding relationship with an unseen medicine maker was a private indulgence for answers they couldn't otherwise get. "... I want to know what simple laxative I can take that will be right while taking the compound," one Lougee customer wrote, "I have weighed over 200 and I do not want to increase my weight. Some say the Medicine will increase the weight. I cannot ask my Doctor these questions, for he would hold his hands up in indignation. He is terribly opposed to Patent Medicines."¹⁴⁷ A man who was beside himself with worry about his wife's condition had hoped that Lougee's *Vitalizing Compound* would provide the miracle for his wife that it had for Lena Judkins, so he sent his jumble of questions, anxieties, and confusion for the doctor to sort out and respond to with wisdom and certainty:

Dear Doctor, We have a very bad case in our family almost as bad as that of Miss Judkins. My wife has a very bad ulcer on her ankle, it broke out nearly three years ago, eight Doctors have prescribed for it, but they do her no good. She has been a great Sufferer[.] her flesh is all gone and She is now very low and helpless. a short Time Since a boy in our village handed me one of your circulars and after reading of the case of Miss Judkins, I bought a bottle and She commenced taking it. She is now on the Second bottle, we See but little change for the better yet, Since She commenced taking it She has been troubled very much with diarrhea does it work in that way? Would you continue to use the ointment and wash prescribed by one of our local physicians or would you dispence with it entirely and use nothing but the compound? Please write us and give what instructions you may think necessary. No one believes your medicine will cure her, and if it does it will be a great thing in your favor in this

vicinity can you not favour me a little in the price I have paid out So much I am getting discouraged, I am a poor man[.] do it operate as physic? Does it have a tendancy to make the mind wandering? Please answer and oblige¹⁴⁸

Lougee's notations on the bottom of the letter described his response. He advised the man's wife to continue taking the medicines of the local physician and that he would also send one dozen of the *Vitalizing Compound* at the discounted price of \$10.00 C.O.D., but he also explained that they "should not expect any marked improvement short of a dozen bottles. Its laxative effect [is] not unfavorable if it did not weaken the patient. ... Of course it has no tendency to cause the mind to wander. That is the result of weakness."¹⁴⁹

Along with customer correspondence came all sorts of problems to resolve and unsolicited propositions to answer: from retailers complaining about slow sales of the Lougee product; somebody trying to sell the rights of her liniment recipe to Lougee; negotiations for better medicine prices or payment terms; propositions to manufacture their bottles; offers to print up Lougee advertising cards, fans, etc., and advertise their products in newspapers, programs, and on the fence of the Medford Baseball Grounds; traveling agent's requests to be employed as salesman for their products; and the inevitable disputes over payments and orders – it was a cacophony of voices from a Babel of written words.¹⁵⁰ Reports from their sales teams in the field revealed part of the Welch plan for product promotion and sales – take it right to the people – at county fairs that dotted southern New Hampshire and northern Massachusetts, especially in the fall. Lougee salesmen set up at the Cattle Show in Peabody, Massachusetts, and at fairs in Newport, Claremont, and Bradford, New Hampshire, with mixed results. At the close of a fair in Bradford, the Lougee salesman sounded encouraged by his sales and his brainstorm to stick a circular in each wagon parked on the fairgrounds; "The fair closed to night and I made a Success, for both days, every wagon on the fair ground has carried home a circular. On the 29th I sold seven [bottles] and to day fifteen making a total for Bradford 31 at retail and six to Mr. Hadley the merchant."¹⁵¹ Disheartened just a few days later, he reported wryly from Newport that there had been more vegetables than people in attendance, "The fair closed tonight we had a poor attendance plenty of Squash, Potatoes, &c. I sold through the Fair 1½ Doz[en] ... The Druggist here would not order but will as soon as people call for it."¹⁵²

By August 1888, Welch had used up all his money to build up the business, but had poor results – only about \$7,000 in sales.¹⁵³ He spent far more than he should have on advertising and bankrolling old doctor Lougee twelve dollars weekly, as well as the medicine production costs and the expenses and salaries of his traveling agents, kept cutting into dwindling capital; then he made matters only worse for himself by occasionally lending the business some of his own money.¹⁵⁴ Disillusioned and despondent, Welch arranged with Charles Pinkham to take over the manufacture of his medicines at the Pinkham laboratory. The Lougee Company formulas and business records were turned over to Charles and all of its stock and fixtures were loaded into the Pinkham laboratory; then Welch went to New Hampshire where a few weeks later, in a final act of utter desperation, he committed suicide by cutting his throat.¹⁵⁵ He had left his wife and two children with almost nothing on which to live; their future lay in Charles' hands and stacked up on his laboratory floor.

In honor of his friend's memory and for the sake of Welch's wife and children, Charles tried to make the Lougee products work, but he was necessarily guarded to not invest Pinkham company money in the Lougee business and aggressive advertising. At Charles' recommendation, Welch's family turned over the company to the advertising agency after less than two years, but when the agency tried to strike a deal with Charles to buy it, he declared he wouldn't put any money into the concern or back it for a single cent.¹⁵⁶ Throughout the decade he had stayed on his mission to control expense and stay away from risky business.

While Charles was unable to invigorate the Lougee company, bringing new life to the previously dying Pinkham company had been an amazing accomplishment for the man whose education had stopped part way through high school and whose prior professional experience had been as a factory worker and streetcar conductor. His success had also enabled his mother's face and name to live on long after her death.

His personal response to all the success and financial security he had accomplished was an interesting measure of his character. He used some of the funds to pay off long-forgotten debts because it was the right thing to do: for example, he paid off a 13-year-old debt owed by his father and did so with generous interest; he also paid another debt of just three dollars that he had incurred on his wedding day ten years earlier.¹⁵⁷ Promises kept, rewarded by a soul at peace and a reputation for integrity.

In 1889 he used some of the operating capital in the creation of another inexpensive trade card, and the exercise revealed another aspect of his character: like his father, he was a devoted family man. He had the trade card feature his two daughters, based on a photograph of them. But the proud father was very picky about the trade card's details and the businessman in him leveraged his account's importance to get exactly the results he wanted: "Better keep closer to the photograph," he wrote, "Eyes on taller child should be very dark indeed, very dark brown ... The smaller child should have more of the mischievous expression of the photograph. Her legs should be decidedly chubby and plump: much more so than the other's." The illustration was adjusted and the trade card printed, but Charles didn't like the result so he had them go back and make more changes, "The face of the taller child has not quite the right look; instead of looking demure it is rather painful, as though she had just been crying."¹⁵⁸ Eventually a second version of the trade card was created to his satisfaction.

His obsession on a perfect trade card of his daughters probably provided a therapeutic escape from the additional sorrow that had befallen him earlier in the year: on 22 February 1889, his father Isaac died at the age of seventy-four. Unlike the press coverage of his famous wife, Isaac's death gathered virtually no attention beyond Lynn. When Lydia had passed, a Connecticut newspaper made a telling observation about Isaac when they tried to extend their condolences: "The husband of a great woman lives in the shade. ... Nobody knows anything about Mr. Pinkham, and a general desire on the present sad occasion to telegraph him ... is checked by the utter lack of information ... concerning him."¹⁵⁹

The Pinkham home on Western Avenue that a dozen years earlier was filled with life but not money, was now filled with money but not life. With a patent medicine that was finally finding strong favor in homes across the nation, Aroline and Charles were able to move their families into splendid mansions. The Goves moved to Salem and Charles and his family eventually moved into a grand new custom-built residence across the street and up the hill a little from the quiet mansard-roofed house that the humbled Pinkhams had moved into after they had lost everything in Wyoma. The tragedies, sacrifices, and ultimate triumph of the Pinkhams had become a story for the ages.

BLACK EYES

What was remarkable about the Pinkhams was not that they had been poor or that they had been rich, but that they had been both and in that order. Rags to riches was an oft-dreamed wish and a popular plot line, but seldom experienced. Much of Lynn in the decade was instead a repeating cycle of beer, blood, and bad marriages.

There was nothing unique or even unusual about the seamy side of this city. Even though it became associated decades later with the childish rhyme, "Lynn, Lynn, the city of sin; you'll never come out the way you went in," the description of it as a "city of sin" was said of many nineteenth century cities, including Washington, D.C. (the "city of sin and folly"), San Francisco, Brooklyn,

Wichita, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and of course, New York ("that great city of sin").¹⁶⁰ Writers used the pejorative description as a Victorian allegory of the original cities of sin, Sodom and Gomorrah. In that biblical context, the sins of Chicago, with its fiery punishment of 1871, gave it the moniker, the "Doomed City of Sin."¹⁶¹ Other Massachusetts cities had crime rates that exceeded Lynn's numbers; in 1883 for example, Lowell had a larger percentage of arrests relative to its population (five percent) than Lynn (three percent); sixty-nine percent of Lowell's arrests in that year were drunks, compared to Lynn's forty-nine percent.¹⁶² Reporting on a surprising suicide in April 1881, *The Lynn Record* stated, "Lynn still holds the lead for sensations [but] is no more immoral than her sister cities."¹⁶³ Certainly not the devil's favorite playground among cities, Lynn just had the misfortune of having a name that rhymed perfectly with "sin" – Cincinnati came in a close second.¹⁶⁴

While misery loves company, Lynn had plenty of its own throughout the decade. The police force had to battle every type of crime, most of which were fueled by alcohol. One newspaper article in late 1881 pointed out that while 144 grocery and provision stores were sufficient to feed the city's population, there were 196 Lynn shops licensed to sell spirituous liquors – "that which the people rarely need, and which they would always be better without." The astute writer continued his well-reasoned exposé,

Leaving out of the account the unlicensed places, it seems that our city requires one rumseller for every 195 inhabitants, while the grocer suffices for 265. Nobody believes that the people of this city require one-third more liquors than they do of food, and yet we have a third more of places where liquors can be procured than there are places where food can be purchased. Why is this? Did ever such a state of things exist before? Is there any reasonable call for such a condition of affairs?¹⁶⁵

In the absence of effective liquor laws, the burden of controlling the increasing number of drunks fell upon the police, which caused the city marshal to complain in 1882 that "the liquor question is a political foot-ball, which is kicked from one party to the other, and all handle it with as much care as most men would a hornet's nest full of lively hornets."¹⁶⁶ But as long as the bureaucratic football game continued, the police continued serving as the city's safety net; during that marshal's watch, a little girl was picked up in the street, intoxicated, and carried to the police station.¹⁶⁷ In the next winter, a letter to the editor complained that young women and "ladies" could be seen staggering out of seedy drinking saloons, intoxicated; while drunkenness was viewed by most as offensive behavior for males who should be industrious, it was disgraceful and unacceptable for females who were expected to be virtuous. "It is a thankless task for a husband to return home after a laborious day's work to find a cold supperless home and a drunkard wife, or for aged parents to sit up into the late hours of the night awaiting the arrival of a misguided daughter, who on reaching home is reeking with the fumes of beer." The writer concluded with an experience that showed how the frequency of such accounts numbed the observers: when a newspaper account was read aloud about a young woman under the influence, a listener asked who it was, and the callused response was, "Oh, only a Lynn shop girl."¹⁶⁸

The Massachusetts Temperance Home for Inebriates was established on New Ocean street, Lynn, in 1884, but it didn't result in any reduction of arrests for drunkenness; in fact, there were 770 arrests in that year, an increase of almost a hundred over 1883.¹⁶⁹ Still worse, the curve escalated steeply for the next five years and the city jail's register for 1889 filled up with 1,779 intoxicated guests.¹⁷⁰ So many drunks had to be carted off to jail, but there was only one horse-drawn police wagon in the city, and it had to do duty bringing a squad of police to fires, riots, etc., plus hauling in arrested criminals, and transporting accident victims, for which it became known as "the ambulance." Waiting for the ambulance to retrieve an unconscious drunk was often an inefficient use of the essential police wagon, so officers would often appropriate a wheelbarrow with a few boards sticking out for the drunk to rest his head on.¹⁷¹ With as many arrests for drunkenness as were occurring in Lynn, it was a common sight to see a policeman pushing a one-

wheeled makeshift ambulance to the jail with its barely conscious or sleeping passenger. An *Item* editorial explained, “A wheelbarrow … serves for an ambulance in which to transport any helpless victim, who is too drunk or too heavy to be dragged to the station. A man or woman suffering, perhaps, from sunstroke, or from the effects of opium eating, is likely to be served exactly the same as the most wretched drunkard.”¹⁷²

Lack of success wasn’t for lack of trying. The Lynn police were expected to be exemplars and enforcers of temperance: on and off the job, drinking of liquor was not tolerated in an officer because they were considered to be on duty at all times, and they were instructed to arrest *anyone* they found in an intoxicated condition – “a man with kid gloves was to be considered just the same as another who had on overalls.”¹⁷³ Licensing was also toughened up: in 1889 ninety-one Lynn businesses applied for liquor licenses but only forty-five were issued; the Sagamore House was among the hotels whose renewal request was denied.¹⁷⁴ Despite all the efforts to restrict liquor licensing, close down unlicensed grogeries, confiscate illegal liquor, and arrest and rehabilitate drunks, by the end of the decade little had improved. The reporter who covered the almost daily parade of a half dozen or so drunks in court, had never seen it quite so bad as it was on 29 April 1889; the courthouse had “the largest number of prisoners and smallest crowd of spectators that Lynn ever saw … nearly everybody was more or less under the influence of liquor.” Over fifty waited for their turn before the judge “all being caused by too much indulgence in drink.”¹⁷⁵

The other potential poisons stimulating altered perception and causing irrational behavior were the potent narcotics that were as readily available to Lynners as alcohol. Like liquor, opiates were dangerous and potentially lethal if not used knowledgeably with great discretion, care, and measurement; more often than not, however, some or all of these controls were completely lacking and when pain raged or addiction overcame reason, the mistake of too much was too easy. Laborer Daniel McCarthy, 53, died in July 1884 of “poisoning with opium, which may have meant he died from willful use of the drug or that he was accidentally poisoned by taking too much of it.”¹⁷⁶ In late September of the same year, a physician was summoned to come quickly because an infant had been accidentally given a dose of a patent balsam that contained opium. It fell upon the doctor to stop the dose of medicine from becoming the dose of death; this time, he was successful.¹⁷⁷ It doesn’t sound like there was any way to prevent the death of 74-year-old Susan B. Dailey, however; on 22 February 1889, her cause of death was listed as “Chr[onic] Opium Poison.”¹⁷⁸ Addiction never honors discretion, care, and control.

Morphine, an extremely effective pain killer, is a derivative of opium but far more powerful. It appeared to be Lynn’s narcotic of choice during the 1880s, but all too often, accidental overdoses were the result when getting rid of pain was all that seemed to matter. Charles P. Berry, the manager of the Davis Shoe Company, took a dose of hot rum to ease the pain that came from a bad attack of colic (intense pain likely caused from kidney stones or gall stones). The rum didn’t help, so a doctor was summoned, but nothing about the rum was mentioned, so he prescribed a dose of morphine. With both the opiate and alcohol in Berry’s system, things went from bad to worse and his breathing became labored. Once again, the doctor quickly administered restoratives, which succeeded in keeping the miserable man alive.¹⁷⁹ The same rescue was not to be for John L. Ford. After another long day’s work driving J. H. Hurd’s meat wagon, he came home suffering with a longstanding (unspecified) complaint for which he had been accustomed to take morphine for relief. His wife, Ella, went to the apothecary store and procured two doses of “about three grains each,” which she brought to her husband. A dose of morphine powder was designed to be mixed with water and taken a teaspoonful at a time, but John wanted the pain to go away, so he took one entire dose. After about an hour and a half, his wife became alarmed that her husband seemed so lifeless, so she sent urgent word for a doctor to come quickly. This time all the doctor’s efforts were unsuccessful and John died, leaving two small children fatherless.¹⁸⁰

Morphine was no longer just the Civil War miracle, reserved for soldiers suffering from the agonies of battlefield amputation, wound surgery, and bullet probing. It could now be found in

every drugstore in Lynn, the remedy for whatever pains the doctor, the suffering, or their families felt required it. Fannie A. Long had thus been in the habit for years of taking a mixture of morphine and chloroform to provide her relief when she suffered from severe headaches. Early in May 1886, she took her medicine to quell the thunderstorm pounding in her head “and she sank into a deep sleep.” The 81-year-old widow was lodging at Miss Lothrop’s boarding house and this fact saved her life. A few hours into her ordeal, another lodger walking by her door could hear groans and heavy breathing coming from within, so he checked on her and immediately sent for the City Physician, Michael Donovan. He arrived with some other physicians and for “several hours powerful electric batteries were applied” to shock her back to life. They were able to pull her back through mortality’s veil and it was later learned that she had taken three teaspoonfuls of the dangerous mixture.¹⁸¹ In 1885, blacksmith Charles W. Nealy was a war-toughened veteran of the 4th Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, but now he was suffering, not from saber or bullet wounds, but from a bad cold and consequently was not sleeping well, so William Baker, a homeopathic physician, provided a two-grain dose of morphine to help him sleep that night. Along with the medicine he provided instructions to mix it into water and administer it in spoonful doses. Instead of following the doctor’s directions, a family member gave Charles in one dose all that the doctor had left and Charles “was soon in a heavy slumber, from which he never fully aroused.” An hour or two later, Mrs. Neal was alarmed at her husband’s heavy breathing, so doctors were again summoned, but Charles died shortly after their arrival. “On learning of the dose that had been given, the doctors were hopeless of recovery as *enough of the morphine had been taken to kill several persons.*”¹⁸² His death was officially listed as “Poisoning” – it was not murder but a terrible, terrible mistake.¹⁸³



A Lady's Discreet Indiscretion. A late-Victorian era morphine etui kit: silver-plated and pleasantly decorated with a floral motif, it could easily be dismissed as a sewing or manicure etui, but the secret inside was much more hazardous. It held everything needed for self-administration of the narcotic: a morphine syringe, 2 needles, and a drug vial. It provided the promise of release from pain and reality plus the guaranty of danger. (Collection of the author.)

Belle A Morfett, 26 years old, didn't suffer from headaches or colds; her sickness was the morphine itself. On the first of November 1888, her body succumbed to her "Morphia Habit," as it was described in Lynn's death records. The dangerous and easily lethal drug had been the accidental undoing for some and for Belle it was her executioner; for the despondent, it was an exit strategy and for the hallucinating, it was a weapon against their demons.

A careful dose of morphine could make the worst of pain subside and an overdose could bring unconsciousness and death, which meant the drug had two audiences: those who dreamed of a better life and those bent on its end. With its overdose potentially progressing its victim from sleep to unconsciousness and finally to death, morphine was a popular choice for suicide in Lynn, but certainly not the only one. Lynners of the decade who attempted to end their lives chose from many lethal weapons in the suicide arsenal. At only 23, Margaret Williams hadn't been married for four years before she became distraught because of her suspicion of her husband's infidelity with an attractive woman in her shop; she consequently attempted to kill herself by swallowing the contents of a bottle of bedbug poison.¹⁸⁴ In late November 1880, John Mullane had become very despondent over the unreturned interest of a young woman to whom he had been writing and then visited that evening. He returned to his room at the Sagamore Hotel and swallowed two ounces of Paris Green, a highly toxic compound of copper and arsenic that was used to kill insects and rodents.¹⁸⁵ If Annie Looney was truly trying to commit suicide, she made an odd choice of Oil of Cedar for her poison and then behaved unusually after she took it, by continuing about her work as a table girl at Wyman's eating saloon; nonetheless, after waiting on a customer, she fell to the floor, "uttering terrible screams." It was said that she was despondent and "tired of life" (when the reason for an attempted suicide wasn't clearly known, "tired of life" was a comfortably general conclusion for newspapers to convey to curious readers).¹⁸⁶ The same was said of shoemaker Isaac Hastings, who attempted suicide by taking a combined dose of opium and morphine in late 1883. The newspaper had learned he was addicted to drink, had no money or home, and had recently lost his father and wife, so it concluded, "It is probable that he had tired of existence and took this means to destroy his life."¹⁸⁷

What Margaret Williams, John Mullane, Annie Looney, and Isaac Hastings had in common was that they all survived, thanks to the quick and capable efforts of doctors and druggists. Physician Edward Newhall administered a mustard emetic to Margaret Williams to bring up the poison in her stomach and the doctor, Albert Barrows, gave restoratives to John Mullane; druggists Goodridge and Bergengren rushed to the saloon and working together saved Annie Looney, and Isaac Hastings was rushed to the newly opened Lynn Hospital where doctors Sheldon and Lovejoy "did all in their power" for three hours to revive him, "and finally the patient was given to the police who walked him about for several hours. This had to be done to keep the man from falling asleep, for if he was allowed to lie still the result would be fatal."¹⁸⁸

Of course not everyone who attempted suicide got a second chance at life. Twenty-seven-year-old E. Albion Barry succeeded in killing himself by swallowing arsenic; as he writhed on the floor in excruciating pain, he confessed to his father what he had done to himself. The papers indicated the cause was "despondency brought on by drunkenness."¹⁸⁹ Arthur W. Oliver also lived with his parents and when his mother entered the shed adjoining their house one morning in early August 1883, she was shocked to find her son's lifeless body lying on the floor, covered by a rubber blanket, "a tin basin containing a sponge was found near his head and two four-ounce vials partially filled with chloroform lay in close proximity to the body. Both vials were nearly empty...." His father and sick sister were so completely overcome by the "sad and unexpected" discovery that homeopath "doctress" Esther Hill Hawkes was summoned to attend them. They had no idea that their son had suicidal thoughts, but guessed some slight setback "so preyed upon his mind that he lost courage and became despondent."¹⁹⁰ Patrick Connell had sustained a severe back injury when he was laying pipe for the city water board and the injury proved to be a disability that prevented him from working and earning a wage. The newspaper reported that "he became very despondent

and gloomy, and while in an insane mood took his jackknife and drew it across his throat." He left his four small children (the youngest only five months old) in the care of his wife, who was instantly a destitute widow and forced to scrounge for work as a washerwoman.¹⁹¹ Connell's story was much the same for Isaiah M. Hutchins. Although he had fought in the Civil War, life as a husband and father was the battlefield he couldn't handle. He had five children, some still under his care; his wife had died two years earlier, and he worried about the money he had borrowed to put into his business and "could only see a failure staring him in the face." Morphine served as his jackknife and he expired before the doctors were able to get to him.¹⁹²

Some of the most frequently chosen items to accomplish suicide during the decade were morphine and laudanum, the same two narcotics that had brought the most episodes of drug-induced death and near-death in the previous decade. A particularly affecting suicide attempt by laudanum is the story of Mrs. Edward Divine in February 1882. She tried to make their Laughton Street house a home for their little children, but her burden was great. Her husband was "a man of irregular habits, giving very little thought or care to the condition of his family," and he let the responsibility for their support fall upon his wife. "She had worked hard to support her husband and their three small children, and it was with great difficulty that she kept them from starvation." Bad got worse: three abscesses had surfaced on her body, causing "almost unendurable pain." The *Item* unfolded the ensuing tragedy,

She sent one of her children to the drugstore to purchase two ounces of laudanum, which she intended to apply to the sores in the hopes of alleviating the pain which had become almost unendurable. On the return of the child with the drug, she took it from his hand and in response to an ungovernable impulse, swallowed the whole amount at a single draught. ... Her little children were witnesses of her desperate conduct, and their screams caused an alarm which brought the neighbors to the scene ...¹⁹³

Physician Cornelius Ahearne arrived soon thereafter and was able to get Mrs. Divine's body to reject the poisonous dose "she had so recklessly swallowed." Friends kindly provided her care during recovery and her "unworthy husband" was "overcome by his wife's condition, and was profuse in his promises of reform, which it is hoped he will not soon forget."¹⁹⁴ Perhaps.

In the hands of the mentally or emotionally unstable, opiates were a danger not only to themselves but to anyone else who stood in the way of their phantasmagorical journeys. Such was the case of Augustus C. Lindsey, a morphine addict. Lindsey was a single man, not quite 26 years of age. It was said that he was an excellent workman, but was "of a very peculiar disposition, and was not much liked by his shopmates." It was known that he was addicted to the use of morphine, "which increased the moodiness of his disposition. At one time he would speak cordially to an acquaintance, and the next time they met he would perhaps not even notice him."¹⁹⁵ On Tuesday, 16 March 1880, Lindsey's actions pointed to his detached, unstable persona triggered by morphine.

As the afternoon wore on at L. A. May's fine home furnishings establishment on Union street, employee Patrick Collins, heard something fall in the room above and he assumed that William A. Baker, the young tinsmith who worked upstairs, had dropped something. Shortly thereafter, Collins noticed what he supposed to be water dripping through the ceiling. He hurried to move some of the store's tinware out of the way of getting wet, but it was then that he realized the water was actually blood. "Hurrying to the upper room, he found Baker prostrate upon the floor, bathed in his own blood." Baker's head was covered with vicious wounds: his skull was fractured, the cheek was cut through, and both the jawbone and back of his neck were obviously injured. Blood from all the wounds continued to collect in a large, dark red pool on the floor. The victim was unconscious and circling death.¹⁹⁶

The police were quickly summoned and Baker was taken to his boarding house at 224 Essex Street, where two doctors pronounced his wounds very serious and his recovery very doubtful. Back at the scene of the crime, the police found their first clue: an umbrella belonging to Augustus

C. Lindsay. It was a more significant clue than might have first been imagined because a dispatch was soon received from Boston that a man named Augustus C. Lindsay had shot himself in one of the city's brothels. "Upon Lindsay's person were found two revolvers and a bowie knife, and a bottle of morphine."¹⁹⁷

For all of its crimes, Lynners were still unaccustomed, and therefore shocked, when a murder happened within their community; the *Item* noted, "No event in Lynn for a long time back has created so much excitement and comment as the cruel affair which occurred in L. A. May & Co.'s workshop Tuesday afternoon."¹⁹⁸ There's never a good reason for murder, but in the one apparently perpetrated by Augustus Lindsey, there seemed to be no reason whatsoever for the "terrible deed": "From Lindsay's queer conduct both before and after the assault, and from his well-known habits of taking morphine, there seems to be little doubt that his brain was disordered. No other explanation can reasonably account for his act."¹⁹⁹ The *Item* was convinced that Lindsey died that day with the pistol found in his own hand, by the trigger that was pulled by morphine. The suicide was undeniable but the murder was not; incredibly, William Baker recovered from Lindsey's frenzied attack and continued his life as a tinsmith in Lynn.²⁰⁰

Each year, the two crimes that kept Lynn police the busiest were drunkenness and assault. The decade averaged a thousand arrests yearly for intoxication and for every ten drunks in jail there were almost two arrests for assault.²⁰¹ Alcohol and blood both flowed freely in Lynn – the Davis's and Gallaghers were proofs of the axiom. On their way home from attending a magic show at Lynn's Music Hall, the Davis's stopped in several saloons and "partook quite freely of liquor" such that when they arrived home, they were both "considerably overcome with intoxicants." The soused couple got into an argument and Ellen Davis attacked her husband with a large carving knife, driving the weapon into the right side of his neck: "the blood gushed in torrents. At the sight of her deadly work, Mrs. Davis's fury instantly abated, and remorse and fear took the place of rage in her mind"; she rushed to find a doctor and returned with Albert Barrows who was able to doctor Mr. Davis sufficiently for recovery, provided that he had "proper care and rest and *absence of excitement*."²⁰² On the very next day, Patrick and Margaret Gallagher repeated the same stupid recipe for disaster: "the boozy beer was quaffed by [them] to such an extent as to greatly agitate their sensibilities." They argued and "Margaret seized a club and hit the back of Patrick's head with violence, causing blood flow.... ." They then started fighting and yelling to such an extent that a policeman walking his beat nearby heard the commotion and came into the sorry hovel to break up the fight. The Gallaghers were destitute; Patrick was a ragpicker and their place consisted of one room, one table, one rickety bureau, one small, dilapidated cook stove, one old fry pan, one fork, a wheelbarrow (probably what Patrick used to collect rags) and apparently, one club. There was also a pile of wood shavings piled in the corner for their bed and plenty of rubbish piled throughout; despite their poverty, most of the pittance earned from rag-picking was used for beer, without regard for the consequences that followed.²⁰³ In late January 1887, alcohol again appeared to be the undercurrent swirling within someone who was in a highly agitated state, but this time it had fatal consequences. It was said that sawyer Samuel Mitchell frequently got drunk with Mrs. Ada Tyler, a married woman and mother with whom he had an ongoing adulterous relationship, but this time the alcohol mixed with his anger and he slashed Mrs. Tyler's throat with a razor while the two stood outside her house, in the snow. He then apparently tried to slash his own throat but did not succeed.²⁰⁴ The murder of Ada Tyler was the first in Lynn since the intoxicated William Vannar killed his wife sixteen years earlier. Another heinous and brutal crime of the decade was the double rape (or attempted rape) of two 15-year-old girls in 1881. They were both waitresses in a Pearl street restaurant, where they made the acquaintance of two men, an expressman and a hack driver. A conversation was struck up between the four and the girls accepted an invitation to take a walk with the men. When the foursome reached Collins Street, one of the men invited the girls into a house on the pretense of seeing his mother and when the girls reached a certain room in the place, the two men committed a felonious assault upon them. The girls' screams were heard by another

boarder in the place, who alerted authorities. In court “the girls told their story, revealing a degree of brutality on the part of the assailants that was almost incredible.”²⁰⁵

Although the few murders and reported rapes in Lynn were dark clouds obscuring the sunrise of a promising city, there were plenty of lesser crimes being perpetrated throughout the decade that also dimmed the forecast. A yearly average of 1,660 arrests were being made and that, of course, represented only part of the crimes that were perpetrated, and no part of the city was spared. For decades, Lynn Common had been a popular family-friendly park, playground, and promenade at the city’s center, but that was changing in the 1880s. “Outrages suffered nightly” because of gangs of hoodlums hanging out there, stirring up trouble and riling up the residents. “Old people, sick folks, [and] tired mothers with infants are kept awake nightly by these worse than Apaches,” an *Item* reader complained, “all are obliged to suffer every pleasant evening, for here [at the Common] is the chosen retreat of some of the worst and vilest ruffians of the city.”²⁰⁶ The hoodlums roaming the Brickyard, the expanse along Lynn’s harbor waterfront, had such a reputation for being tough and dangerous, they were often referred to as the “Brickyard roughs.” On 28 September 1881, Officers Lee and Noyes had a hard enough time arresting one of the roughs whom they caught throwing stones at buildings in the Brickyard, but when they began walking him back to the police station “five or six roughs set upon them for the purpose of rescuing the prisoner. … [They] threw a shower of stones at the officers” hitting them in the chest and legs. The officers had to let their prisoner go “when they drew their revolvers and fired into the crowd, wounding one … in the thigh.” The newly wounded prisoner was taken the rest of the way to the station and arraigned in court.²⁰⁷ James M. Gaffney was another Brickyard rough who had gained some local infamous notoriety for causing “considerable trouble, [especially] when he is intoxicated.” In November 1883, the brazen thug kicked, scratched, and made frenzied efforts to bite Officer Dee’s face before he was brought under control and arrested.²⁰⁸

John T. Pyne wasn’t a tough from the Common or a rough from the Brickyard, but at twenty-two years old, he had accomplished the dubious distinction of becoming a career criminal. He started his life of crime at fifteen and during his short seven-year, one-man crime wave, he had been arrested for breaking and entering (three times), assault and battery (twice), indecent language (twice), malicious mischief, and larceny. On 5 June 1888, another crime almost got added in boldface to his criminal record: he tried to murder a policeman. That night he boldly walked up to Officer Charles E. Elliott in Central Square and thrust a knife blade into his neck, then turned and ran away, but not before Officer Elliott noticed his attacker wore an eyepatch. When Pyne was finally caught by other officers he sneered, “I intended to kill him, and if I failed this time and get another chance I will surely do it.” He had missed the officer’s jugular vein by an inch. His elderly mother came to the police station “with tears in her eyes,” and said, “My boy, my boy! What has he done now? I know it’s something bad.”²⁰⁹

As Pyne had amply demonstrated, juvenile delinquency was as serious as adult crime and very disconcerting because the distance between being fitting in as “one of the boys” and standing out as a hardened criminal was short and slippery. Many of Lynn’s boys seemed to be blithely sliding along; they were skipping school at an average rate of 812 truancies annually and an average of twelve percent of all arrests made in Lynn each year were of youth under sixteen.²¹⁰ Mischievous boys on Union Street repeatedly harassed Ah Lung and Hi Loy, two of Lynn’s few Chinese residents in 1882, hurling insults at them and smearing their laundry’s windows with tobacco juice.²¹¹ Boys in the Brickyard and Waterhill neighborhoods, from just ten to fifteen years old, congregated into gangs of young hoodlums and using profane and vulgar language that “shocks the sensibilities of all decent people.”²¹² In November 1883, boys threw stones at Michael Donahoe, who was at work cleaning brick on Willow Street in downtown Lynn; one struck him in the mouth. It was not an isolated incident but a frequent sport of young roughs in training; the *Item* reported, “Stone throwing seems to be a mania, and the police are doing all they can to stop it.”²¹³ Twelve boys ranging from eight to sixteen years old were in court in February 1882, charged with breaking

and entering dwelling houses and committing larceny of whatever appealed to them.²¹⁴ The delinquency of children was not being dismissed as childish pranks; the *Item* called the sad trend a “Criminal Epidemic.”²¹⁵

Some of the pictures in the police station’s rogues gallery were likely of swindlers and rogues who went by the cover of traveling salesmen. Peddlers and hawkers were a dodgy lot about which the police and press constantly warned the public. On Lynn’s sidewalks and front porches, they continued pitching all types of goods as they had done for decades, ranging in the 1880s from quality Singer and White brand sewing machines to inferior eyeglasses and produce past its prime. The purveyors themselves were often very much like their products, ranging from quality to dangerous and, like the merchandise, more often than not, better to be avoided. Some got in trouble with the law simply because they tried to avoid paying for a license to sell within the city limits; Domica Fossa was fined \$6.05 for trying to sell fruit on Lynn street without a license.²¹⁶ Far more serious criminal behavior was demonstrated by those peddlers who used their products as camouflage for their intent to steal from homes or to otherwise take advantage of their primary customers – women. A notice was published in May 1882 for the public to watch out for a vender of eyeglasses “going the rounds in Lynn, who has made himself very disagreeable, to say the least, by his entering residences without waiting for an answer to the doorbell.”²¹⁷ Another notice in 1881 had warned “Ladies must beware of … lascivious peddlers, who make it a study to catch them alone when calling from house to house, especially a large-size man who sells a white liquid for cleaning silver ware.”²¹⁸ In the spring of 1882, a “lecherous sewing machine agent” was arrested at his boarding house on Mulberry Street on a charge of felonious assault upon Agnes Vincent of Neptune street; he followed her into a bedroom where she wanted the sewing machine to be set up and “suddenly tried to throw her on the bed, but she successfully resisted.”²¹⁹ Unfortunately, the occasional itinerant peddler wasn’t the only danger at the front door.

Hidden in the woods, under bridges, and in any remote corners that Lynn still had, camped the marginalized failures of the Long Depression – the tramps; homeless, wandering vagrants with nothing to lose. They came from all over with many different reasons for being huddled around a campfire in Lynn, but what they had in common was absolute poverty, freedom from the burdens of responsibility, and for most, an all-consuming desire for alcohol. They were threats to the community’s safety and security, and their numbers in Lynn kept growing and growing. The enormous influx of tramps that the city had seen in the previous decade, right after the Panic of 1873, was completely eclipsed in 1885 and 1886, when the number of tramps arrested averaged 5,400 for each year.²²⁰ In the second of the peak arrest years, City Marshal George C. Neal shared his great concern about the tramp problem in his official annual report to the city: “Most of the sneak thieves that trouble our community are members of this class. They menace the peace and safety of the people who live in the suburbs of our city. It has become a serious question what shall be done to lessen this evil. I believe the best way to get rid of this pest is to put the professional tramp at hard labor.”²²¹ He also worried about that short distance on which some of Lynn’s boys were already slipping: “The young man who commences tramping through necessity soon becomes a professional ‘tramp.’ It is a school of vice.”²²² With an average of fifteen tramps filling the police station’s six jail cells, which only contained two cots each, alternative facilities had to be found, especially during the biting cold winters when the numbers clamoring for shelter were much higher; at times as many as thirty were confined in the cells over night; fifteen had to sleep on the brick floor.²²³ In 1887 a “lodge for wayfarers” was established to provide shelter for the homeless. For the privilege of their overnight accommodations, the homeless men were required to do a small amount of work in payment for the food and lodging they received. It was a method that the city marshal considered “a movement in the right direction,” but the project was abandoned shortly after it began.²²⁴ For years, various leaders and departments of the city’s government tossed the problem of Lynn’s tramps between each other like a hot potato, much as they had done with the liquor problem, but no one seemed to have a solution, so the situation stayed largely uncontrolled and

tramps continued to wander throughout the city, looking for their next meal, their next barn or shed to sleep in, the next valuables to steal, or next confrontation to have with the most vulnerable residents of Shoe City.

The story of Patrick Tobin sounds like he was looking for all of those things. He was one of the many men living the life of a tramp, camped out in Lynn's woods, despite his responsibility for his six children, the youngest of which had been put in a home for children. He had been described as middle aged, "of powerful build, medium height, and appears as if he might be a hard man to deal with," and given his criminal record, he certainly seemed to be a tough character.²²⁵ He was probably the same Patrick Tobin who served three months in the House of Corrections in 1876 for assault and attempted highway robbery on Federal Street, West Lynn, stealing his victim's watch, and who in 1879 was arrested in Lynn Woods near Dungeon Rock for vagrancy, having been "prowling around there for several days, and neighboring farmers have missed hens &c."²²⁶ In 1882, the "old offender" was being arrested again for breaking and entering into a Lynn house, resulting in him serving a six-month sentence at the Essex County House of Correction in Lawrence.²²⁷ When he was released, he looked unsuccessfully for work in Haverhill, then walked the twenty-seven-mile distance back to Lynn, stopping at several places along the way, but failed to find the kind of work he was looking for. It was suspected that he subsisted during his travels on such food as eggs, potatoes and what he could steal from houses in the vicinity.²²⁸ When he arrived in Lynn, nothing changed for him; he still couldn't find work and continued to live a tramp's life. Foraging for food, his hunt took him through a quiet neighborhood just a short walk from the Lynn Woods, where he was camping again. He knocked on the door of number 7 Cliff Street; that particular home could have been the result of a haphazard choice or it might have been his carefully selected target after extensive scouting of the house and neighborhood. Either way, he knocked at the door, and when he heard no answer, he just walked in. As soon as he entered, he saw Miss Annie White, a 21-year-old girl, lying on the chaise lounge.²²⁹

What he couldn't see was her physical condition. When the census had been taken three summers earlier, the children of Lloyd T. and Mary A. White were in a bad way; the four youngest were suffering from the dreaded whooping cough, but Annie was debilitated with a "spinal difficulty"; it was something she had struggled with for some years and for which she had been under the care of her physician, Andrew Baylies, for a long time.²³⁰ Further, the day before Tobin's unwelcomed intrusion, she had undergone "a severe surgical operation, which had reduced her vitality." She was on the lounge because she was recuperating, possibly even immobilized at that point by the surgery.²³¹

The White house was normally a hive of activity, with father, mother, and seven children. Annie was the oldest child and, given her age, under normal circumstances she might have already left the family home for her own start in life, but her physical challenges and the surgery in addition, meant she needed the care and keeping of her sympathetic family; but when the doorknob turned, only Annie was home. Her mother had "scarcely left," having gone over to a neighbor's house, so she had left Annie's 14-year-old brother at home to watch after his sister, but as teenage boys often do, he neglected his mother's instructions and right after his mother left, he disappeared as well.²³² Although 7 Cliff Street was home for a large family of nine people, at this moment on this day, Annie was all alone.

Tobin knocked at the door, but no one answered, so he took a tramp's prerogative and walked in. Even if he didn't know the house would be empty, he didn't seem to care. Seeing Annie lying on the lounge, he asked for something to eat. Perceiving that she was alone he put down a bag he was carrying, entered the room that Annie was in, and closed the door behind him.

He then walked to the lounge where Miss White was lying helpless, placed one of his hands over her mouth and struck her a severe blow on her head with his fist, giving another blow between her eyes which cut the skin. Telling her that if she screamed, he

would kill her, he then took his hand from her mouth and placed his knee upon her abdomen ...²³³

Terrified and panic-stricken, Annie used the only weapon she had available; he had taken his hand off her mouth, so she screamed – “she screamed with all her power.” In an instant, he got off her, picked up his bag and headed off for the woods.²³⁴

The Daily Evening Item reported that Annie “was injured to such an extent that it was found necessary to put her under opiates, and she is now in a critical condition.”²³⁵

It took almost three weeks for the police to find Tobin in the Lynn Woods; during that time he had scared a young teenage girl whom he came across in the woods, but she was able to get away. When Tobin was finally found by the police, he was roasting some potatoes over his campfire. Annie, who had “not yet recovered from the effects of the assault to her nervous system,” was asked to identify her attacker; her response was to scream several times and to transfigure in violent convulsions, but as Tobin heard the charges read against him in court, he was unmoved, a picture of stone-faced silence.²³⁶ Tobin was charged with the felonious assault of Annie and was held on \$2,000 sureties to appear in the higher court.²³⁷

Many in Lynn had had enough of tramps and for the reprehensible, criminal things they often did. In the absence of decisive actions by their elected leaders to reduce the tramp population, the editor of the *Item* urged his readership to arm themselves against tramps:

In the case we record to-day the unfortunate young lady was powerless to act in her own defence. But this is not always so. Persistent effort to enter a dwelling by such fellows *should be resisted at any cost, even to the administering to them of effective doses of cold lead.* Too much care cannot be exercised in guarding against the visits of these lawless fellows in our midst.²³⁸

Three years later, the tramp problem had not only failed to get smaller, the tramp population in Lynn had become larger than it had ever been. On the opposite side of Lynn from its great woodlands reservation, just a few beer bottle throws away from the small East Lynn railroad depot, was another vagabond campsite that had become known as “Tramp’s Paradise” because it was perfectly located for tramps, secluded but near the trains they jumped on for travel. In this remote spot, a dozen or more tramps had spent several days in June of 1886 drinking a lot, eating very little, getting into fights with each other, then sleeping it off until they were conscious enough to start the rotation again. But on the morning of the 23rd, one of the drinking buddies didn’t get up – he was dead. Bloodied up from fighting, in death it looked worse. The papers shouted “MURDER” in the headlines, but the medical examiner did not; in fact, no cause of death was listed in the death records.²³⁹ Whoever he was, the last part of his life had become as meaningless as his death was inexplicable. In his final days, he had lived and died the quintessential life of a tramp; most people, though, no matter what they had lost or how little they had, wanted more.

Poverty and its offspring, hunger, drove some of Lynn’s marginalized citizens to do things they would not have dreamed of doing when life had been better for them. After drunkenness and assault, arrests for larceny was the city’s third most frequent category of crime throughout the decade. Many of those arrests (about 100 per year) were simply to stave off hunger.²⁴⁰ Patrick Hanley was arrested for stealing a turkey and Jane Tuttle was charged with the larceny of a duck.²⁴¹ Charles Pinkham, now one of the haves, had two of his hens stolen by one of the have-nots.²⁴² The fruit store of Sewall Jordon on Market Street was burglarized twice within a month’s time; cigars, tobacco, lemons, apples, a pie and just fifty cents in money.²⁴³ Seth York’s grocery wagon was left unattended in the street for a few minutes. Two customer orders of mutton chops and beefsteak were in the wagon until some sneak thief lightened the wagon’s load.²⁴⁴ Things were stolen without any apparent concern about from whom they were being stolen. A coat belonging to the local Catholic priest showed up on James Collin when he appeared in court on a charge of drunkenness.²⁴⁵ Bottles of milk had been stolen from the doorstep of Police Officer William Rowe

*“a number of times this week.”*²⁴⁶ Thieves in the night entered the small backyard of a tenement house on Alley street and stole five bedsheets and other pieces of washing; the newspaper made a plea to the thieves about the owner they victimized: “Mrs. McGuire is a hardworking woman who takes in washing and can ill afford to sustain the loss.”²⁴⁷ The police had noticed that five out of six clothesline robberies were done by women and that it was impossible for them to tell whether the parties taking down the clothes had the right to or not; they recommended that the laundry be taken down before sunset to reduce the opportunity for thieves.²⁴⁸

Larcenies in Lynn weren’t limited to pilfering things left out in the open; burglary was a significant portion of the category with breaking and entering averaging twenty-five arrests yearly – the challenge, as always, was catching the crook.²⁴⁹ The Pinkham residence on Western Avenue was once again the target of thieves one night in June 1882. The thief entered through the kitchen window and apparently did his burglarious work very quietly as the Pinkhams slept upstairs. A “considerable amount of silverware” was stolen, along with Charles’ spring coat, twenty dollars in money, and five dollars of postage stamps.²⁵⁰ Perhaps the decade’s most infamous night of burglaries was that of 8 October 1882; that string of burglaries along one street were either the persistent efforts of one burglar or more likely the organized efforts of a gang of thieves. Hitting seven buildings on Broad street, it was a one-night crime wave. The apothecary store of Joseph G. Conner, 17 Broad street, was entered and the thieves ransacked the showcases, helping themselves to the candy and cigars, and also stealing several pencils, bottles of cologne, and an inkstand which they dropped in the rear of the store. They tried to burgle a grocery store on 21 Broad, but were scared away by a dog barking in a neighboring yard. A window was broken at Holder’s drugstore on 73 Broad, but they didn’t enter there either, perhaps because they then saw Edward Gordon, luckily still asleep in the store. Windows were also broken at an upholstering store on 75 Broad and a bakery on 83 Broad, but they didn’t get into those stores, either. The burglars were best rewarded by their entrance to John H. Congdon’s variety store on 87 Broad street. The side window was broken and the burglars got in very easily without much noise. Mr. Congdon was asleep in the rear of the store, but like Edward Gordon, was apparently a very sound sleeper. The burglars’ efforts were rewarded here because they found at least fifty dollars between the paper money in the cash drawer and a box containing silver halves, quarters, dimes, and coppers. About midnight they attempted to enter the house of Mrs. Ridley at 64 1/2 Broad street. Opening the rear window caused a goblet to be knocked off the windowsill and, falling into the iron sink below, it made “considerable racket, causing the robber to leave in hot haste. The noise awoke Mrs. Ridley and several neighbors were awakened, but no trace of the burglars could be found.”²⁵¹ On 31 August 1888 a burglar was shot and killed in Clifftondale, just on the other side of the Saugus River from Lynn, but none of the police or the locals recognized him. The corpse was brought to Lynn and put on display by Undertaker Chandler and at least a thousand people stared at the dead man, but still no one could positively identify him. Authorities couldn’t wait any longer, so he was buried in a plain coffin at Pine Grove Cemetery, on 4 September, six days after he was killed. In a last effort for identification, the deceased’s portrait was taken by Lynn photographer Frank Erickson. The *Daily Evening Item* didn’t yet have the ability to reproduce a photograph in its paper, so a remarkably detailed likeness was drawn from the photograph and reproduced on page one of the September 6th issue.²⁵² Over the days and weeks ahead, the paper never issued a statement that the man was identified from the picture; perhaps more sobering was the fact that the first-ever graphic illustration of a dead criminal on the front page of a Lynn newspaper didn’t have any effect on criminal activity in the city; it continued to increase. Arrest of criminals were frequent and their killing was rare, but throughout the decade there were likely far more crimes being committed than captures made.

Based on how the various city marshals of the decade categorized arrests, the Lynn police were watching out for 131 different types of criminal activity during the decade; every step they walked on their beats might potentially find one crime or another being perpetrated, ranging from

walking on the railroad to selling oleomargarine (probably passing it off as butter) to being in possession of lobsters that were too short.²⁵³ When the circus came to town and crowds thronged the sidewalks to watch the exciting parade of circus wagons, animal cages, clowns, and performers, the police had to be on the lookout for pickpockets, thieves, and shady circus characters. In June 1881 City Marshal Shaw warned the citizens, banks, and stores to all be on the lookout for sneak thieves and robbers during the parade and all the time the Barnum circus was in town.²⁵⁴ On Sunday, 15 July 1888, a suspicious City Marshal King went out to the circus grounds to see if there was any mischief going on at the otherwise idle Forepaugh Circus. His policeman's intuition was rewarded when he caught "ten of the wild Indians" playing cards on Sunday; they were all arrested, even though they insisted "they had always played the game in every city they had landed in." The marshal replied that "they were not allowed to play cards or gamble in Lynn, and finally the 'Sioux' were placed in their wigwam [jail cells] at the City Hall."²⁵⁵

Like the visiting circus performers, playing cards and gambling was a predilection enjoyed by many Lynn men, but it was a criminal activity hidden behind closed doors and, unlike the closed doors of an unlicensed saloon, the location of a card game could only be detected through word of mouth, not the smell of their breath. Police had heard the gossip for a long time that a game was regularly held in the two rooms over Duncan's hat store at the corner of Market and Munroe streets. It was a popular haunt visited by "a large number of young and middle-aged men on Sundays, who played cards and drank liquor." but in this case, the challenge was how to storm the heavily guarded gambling den that was up a flight of stairs behind a barred door. City Marshall Hoitt had been working hard to enforce the laws of the Commonwealth that were designed to maintain the sanctity of Sunday, the one day of the week when most men did not work and could pursue their favorite pleasures. Hoitt had focused on shutting down unlicensed liquor sellers and insisted that druggists only sell alcohol on Sunday to those with prescriptions, so he decided the time had finally come to shut down the Sunday card playing over the hat store.²⁵⁶

On 24 March 1883 he selected seven officers to go with him to take on the challenging task. One of his officers stood quietly outside the door at the top of the narrow stairway, waiting for someone to leave the game. When the door finally started to open, he pushed hard and forced himself inside, then blew his whistle, signaling the rest of the police to bound up the stairs and burst into the rooms. The officers' planning and teamwork to raid the card game paid off in spades – the two rooms were packed with thirty men who were drinking, playing cards, and gambling. Ten of the men were caught gambling around a large table in the center of the room, with cards with chips strewn over the table. The shriek of the whistle and sudden appearance of uniformed police storming the room triggered instant panic among the denizens of the gambling den. Those that had not already been grabbed by officers stampeded through the two rooms to leap out the second floor windows; like rats abandoning a burning ship, the nest of gamblers instinctively jumped – the perilous drop in front of them feeling like a safer bet than the intense heat right behind them. Eighteen men made their biggest bet of the day, jumping at their peril some twenty feet to the ground below. Some were able to drop first on a shed roof that broke their fall, but others fell the full distance and just broke – one broke his wrist, another broke fingers and cut his head badly, and still another severely injured his nose. The officers had been able to hold on to twelve of the violators and took them to the jail; notable among the arrested gamblers was Charles C. Meader, who was a member of the Reform Club, a temperance group committed to cleaning up the immoral behavior of the community. He appealed the charges, but the others pleaded guilty and were fined \$25 plus costs, bringing the total to \$30.73 each (\$780.10 each in 2020 USD). It was a big win for the police; it had been "several years since the last successful raid on Sunday gamblers had been made."²⁵⁷ Five years later, almost to the day, another gambling raid, this time at the Sagamore House hotel, was the largest in the state for many years, "the total value of the goods captured will amount to nearly \$2,500" (\$67,841 in 2020 USD) and included five billiard tables, eleven packs of

cards, “heaps of cash and plenty of chips,” dice, two bottles of liquor, gold watches, and a “mammoth diamond pin.”²⁵⁸

Crime threatened civil order and family harmony. Alcohol, gambling, and arrests for any reason, also drained usually limited financial resources in the home, but nothing tore at the fabric of the family more surely than crimes driven by lust. Charges of adultery and fornication made appearances on court dockets. Promiscuity, veiled or brazen, was regularly found on the dockets of Lynn’s police court throughout the decade. In 1882 washer woman Catherine Burns took a job doing the laundry at Kelley’s Road House on Western Avenue, but when she walked into the room, they gave her to lodge in, she took strong exception to the decorations on the walls. “She was told it was a respectable house [but] when she found out the character of the house[,] she became dissatisfied. She took some liquor, and not being in the habit of using it, it went [to] her head and set her crazy. … She was disgusted to find two pictures of dancing girls hung in her room and it sent her into a rage.” In court, once the effects of the alcohol had worn off, she learned from others that she had taken the pictures off the wall and smashed them into the face of the hotel keeper who was approaching the building, then tried to set the hotel on fire, but when stopped by a number of men, she instead threw sticks of wood through some of the window panes. She discovered she had an issue with liquor but she clearly had a big problem with the salacious atmosphere of her new employer.²⁵⁹ George Marshall, the gate tender at the railroad station in Central Square, had been “doing a crooked trade” on the side, “sending out … obscene and vulgar pictures and reading matter” by the U.S. mail system, in violation of the Comstock law. Marshall’s boardinghouse room was found to have a hand printing press in one corner and evidences of his obscene literature and correspondence from customers out West. His boarding mistress and his employer both spoke well of him, so the secrets he had in his room seemed to come as a surprise to them.²⁶⁰

In the police court records listed in the newspaper, each offense was recorded separately, so the entry for “Sadie J. Cheney and William E. Johnson, Clara Horn and William Langblin, for fornication, each fined \$15 and one half costs, amounting in each case to \$18.75” intimated that they were arrested together while in the act of fornication – in the same building, if not the same room.²⁶¹ Their libertine indulgences were not occurring in a brothel, since there was no mention of prostitution in the charges; however, Lynn definitely had multiple arrests appearing in the court records of the decade for keeping “disorderly houses,” and houses of “ill fame,” as well as for being a “nightwalker” (a prostitute walking the streets at night).²⁶² One of the clearest descriptions of a Lynn brothel during the decade is found in the news report of a raid on the Flax Pond House on 24 February 1888. Arrested were the proprietor, Andrew J. Marsh, along with Ida Foss, Alice Symonds, Carrie E. J. Bachelder, and Sara J. Wood. With all of the hotel’s occupants in police custody, the women clothed in their dressing gowns, the *Daily Evening Item* tellingly reported, “the police station this morning had the general appearance of a third-rate road hotel.” Along with the occupants, an immense quantity of liquor was seized: thirty-eight gallons of whisky in barrels; thirty-five gallons of cider in barrels; thirty-five gallons of ale in two barrels; four gallons of whisky in jugs; three gallons and two quarts of cider in jugs; two quarts of cherry rum in a jug; eight quarts of cherry wine in a jug; one quart of gin in a jug; one quart of whisky in two bottles; eight bottles of lager beer; one quart of brandy in a bottle; one pint sherry wine; three quarts of Bass’s ale; one quart of Irish whiskey; one quart of Scotch whisky; two quarts rum; two quarts sherry wine; one quart port; two quarts sherry; five empty decanters, a beer faucet, a bar pump and pipe, two packs of playing cards, and other items for a place of drinking and gambling. Poor “Old Jumbo,” the horse harnessed to the police wagon, had to make two trips between the old hotel and the police station to transport all of the tawdry occupants and their confiscated liquor.²⁶³

The hotel’s entourage was brought before the judge. The ladies, still in their sealskin sacques and silks, pleaded not guilty to charges of adultery and fornication, and proprietor Marsh, up on charges of selling liquor without a license, keeping a house of ill fame, and for the crime of fornication, also pleaded not guilty, and was ordered to furnish \$900 in sureties to appear in court

the next day. The news account stated the place had "always borne a hard name, no matter who run it" and further, that it was situated in a most respectable portion of the city, on the borders of Flax Pond, where residents in that vicinity were rejoicing about the raid. The reporter ended the story wryly, "Mr. Marsh claims that all the girls were in his employ as domestics, and the officers think he must ask of them an immense amount of work, as they were tired enough at 2 P.M. to be in bed. In some of the rooms clothing was found such as ladies never wear, such as leg boots, stiff hats, etc. etc."²⁶⁴ One of the inevitable outcomes of such activities could be seen in the newspaper advertisements for products and services, from both national and local sources, for venereal disease cures. Although he provided medical services for all types of physical problems, E. L. Lyon, with parlors on 3 Nahant Street, made a special focus of his practice and vegetable remedies on health problems of the private issues of addiction and sexual problems, including "seminal weakness, stomachhoea, venereal diseases, mercurial sores, female diseases, pustules or pimples on the face [often associated with masturbation], and the opium and morphine habits"; his years of practice in Lynn would suggest the number of patients justified the investment of his time there.²⁶⁵ A healer named Briggs worked out of the Sagamore House in March 1883, offering to "scientifically treat young, middle-aged or old men suffering from early indiscretion or excessive indulgencies."²⁶⁶

Another clear indication of promiscuous behavior in Lynn during the 1880s was the more frequent appearance of divorce announcements on the grounds of adultery and desertion; the latter wasn't always due to adultery, but often it was. Lynn newspapers were receiving so many court reports about divorce cases (and sufficient readership interest), often with their sordid details, that column space was dedicated to 'Divorces Granted' whenever they occurred.²⁶⁷ In April 1881 Celia A. Lord and William Flood were both granted divorces on the grounds of their spouses' desertions, and Alonzo D. Ramsdell, "recently of Lynn" was granted a divorce from his wife Mary F. Ramsdell, who was going by the name Jennie L. Davis, on the ground of desertion and adultery.²⁶⁸

A month later, the divorce case of "Edgerly vs. Edgerly" had become a sensationalized drama: 30-year-old attorney, Albert W. Edgerly, sued for divorce from his 24-year-old wife, Ella, on the grounds of adultery and she brought a cross libel of conspiracy; the newspaper noted, "the fight cannot but be a bitter one. ... At the opening of the case the court room was crowded, principally by residents of Lynn."²⁶⁹ Lynners had become enthralled in debasing details of the brief marriage gone bad back in June 1878, just eight months after the couple had been married. The skilled, studious attorney with an excellent reputation for his success in divorce cases, had gotten married to "a rather attractive looking young woman, of the brunette order, and slender figure [who] moved in a good social circle," a girl who had barely graduated out of Lynn High School; but her new husband reported that she frequently disappeared until midnight every Wednesday night, was known to have spent time with a horse car conductor, and went to Barnum's circus against his wishes, while he was laid up with neuralgia, not returning until after midnight, two hours after the circus was closed. For her part, she told of being escorted to the circus and home by her father, but being locked out of the house; of returning the next day and, still being locked out, climbing a ladder to gain entrance on the second floor; and of her irate husband ordering her to leave the house. Headlines read, "THE SOCIAL SENSATION. ... THE HUMILIATING TALE."²⁷⁰

The jilted husband and experienced divorce attorney knew he had to be able to prove his suspicions about his wife's adultery in court, so he researched her absences and found the opportunity to catch her, literally, in bed with another man. Having learned that his wife was having assignations in Room 31 of a small hotel at 6 Bowdoin St., in Boston, Albert Edgerly waited in Room 17 with a friend while he had Lynn Constable Hoitt watch for Mrs. Edgerly and her paramour outside. Mrs. Edgerly and a man entered room 31; Edgerly and his associate heard a click of the lock, then the noise of undressing, and boots being dropped to the floor. Probably with experienced gained in other such stakeouts for clients, Mr. Edgerly deftly worked at the key lock with his knife until the key was heard falling out on the other side of the door. His associate testified that he and Edgerly then quickly entered the room and found:

... Mrs. Edgerly and the young man in the bed together; the man partially dressed and rushed from the room ... Mr. Edgerly asked his wife who he was; she first said she did not know his name; that she became acquainted with him in a dry goods store; she [then also] admitted to him that they had met there before; ... Mrs. Edgerly said she had [also] been to a hotel in Lynn several times with a horse car man named Charles Heath Mrs. Edgerly lay in bed all the time she was talking with her husband²⁷¹

The *Item* shared the only sentiments it felt could be in the hearts of its readers:

... the public cannot but feel deeply shocked at the story of sin and shame which has sprung from this unhappy and ill-assorted marriage of only eight months' duration. ... There is no necessity of drawing a moral from the startling revelations which have come to light - it is obvious enough - The case is a sad example of the misery and disgrace which result from uncurbed passions and a disregard of early precepts of morality.²⁷²

The judge ultimately granted Albert Edgerly's petition for divorce, saying that the evidence relative to adultery on the part of his wife was overwhelming, and he dismissed Ella Edgerly's counter suit for conspiracy as unsustainable.²⁷³

A couple of years after his own day in divorce court, Attorney Edgerly was playing the part of Mrs. Etta Lynch's lawyer against her husband, William K. Lynch, the keeper of a dining saloon on Lynn's Central Avenue, in the equally sensationalized adultery divorce case of Lynch vs. Lynch. Tearing apart Mr. Lynch's testimony, Edgerly said it showed Lynch's "direct adultery" and that he had an adulterous disposition, with such comments by Lynch to a friend that "he had a picnic by having a key to a woman's room on North Common street, where he could go nights when he pleased"²⁷⁴ The *Item*'s feature column was well packed in May 1884 with divorces granted to Lynners Nellie M. Wentworth from Charles W. Wentworth, for adultery; Cornelia D. Perry from John R. Perry, Margaret E. Bisbee from George W. Bisbee, Henry Farrell from Sarah E. Farrell, and Thomas Holden from Celia E. Holden, all for desertion, with Thomas also being awarded custody of their minor children.²⁷⁵ In late December 1887, seven more Lynn divorces were granted for desertion.²⁷⁶ At the end of the decade the gossip in West Lynn was about another adultery scandal in which Z. Laporte, a well-known, 30-year-old French grocer living on Carnes Street, had run off with a 16-year-old girl named Katie Quigley; even worse, Laporte was a married man and had three children, one of which was an infant. His wife was also French, but spoke no English, and the fact that her husband had run off with the girl was being kept from her; supposedly she only knew that he was away on business matters. The mother of the Quigley girl was nearly frantic over her daughter's sudden departure and was at the police station as soon as she learned about the illicit elopement, "begging the police to exert all their powers in finding the runaway pair."²⁷⁷

The public's prurient curiosity and morbid fascination for things that are outside of the "normal" experiences of one's life has always been an unquenchable subconscious hunger in the human species. Adultery was a crime that destroyed families but it stirred that hunger, as it did for the courtroom audience at the Edgerly divorce trial, the followers of the Laporte-Quigley affair, and the masses that streamed by the corpses of the Clifftondale burglar and the woman in the trunk. Just as the Edgerly trial was winding down, the divorce gossips would be captivated again by the trial of Mrs. Frances S. Blethen for divorce from her husband, dentist Alonzo C. Blethen. Like the Edgerlys, the Blethens were wealthy, but unlike the Edgerlys, their marriage had lasted for over twenty years and they were the parents of three children. Indeed, how could a marriage that had withstood decades, suddenly dissolve? In their 1881 trial, Mrs. Blethen testified that she and her husband had a happy marriage until 1875, "when the trouble with Miss Fanny P. Shute first commenced. The latter was first introduced as a dental student in her husband's office."²⁷⁸ When Miss Shute began working for Blethen, he was 48 and she was 25; Mrs. Blethen was 44 and their marriage had been just about as long as Miss Shute had been alive.²⁷⁹ Mrs. Blethen separated from her husband "because of the scandal which ensued by reason of his attentions to Miss Shute in

1878." One witness at the proceedings testified that when she had occasion to go to Blethen's dental rooms to have her teeth fixed, she "saw Dr. Blethen and Miss Fanny Shute standing in the laboratory, close together, and acting peculiarly. [The witness], with much reluctance, gave a very graphic illustration of the conduct of the two, the most remarkable, it is safe to say, ever witnessed within the walls of the Salem court-house." Another witness testified that in the spring of 1879, she saw Blethen and Miss Shute sitting on the edge of a bed together at 8 A.M., Shute was dressed in her night clothes and he was caressing her; the witness insisted she had also seen Miss Shute "sitting on his lap at one other time with the doctor's arms around her." Mrs. Blethen's attorney pointed out that no other dentist in Lynn had a female student and he didn't know of any other such instance in the country.²⁸⁰

In his defense, Blethen claimed he left home in 1878 because of his mother-in-law who lived with them, and he denied having engaged in adultery with his dental assistant.²⁸¹ For her part, Miss Shute was indignant about the accusations and what it was doing to her friend and employer; part of a stinging rebuke she had written to Mrs. Blethen was read in court:

I should think you would pity your poor ruined husband, who is the victim of such a bad woman as you think I am, and blame yourself for being the cause of it in allowing your selfishness and weak-mindedness to have brought him to this. All that I wonder at is that he has stood as long as he has in this bad city. There is nothing that will drive a man to the bad as quick as an unhappy home. But I am casting my pearls before swine. Your heart knows no pity and I am done wasting pity on you. If you want to hawk this scandal which your mammy has started before the public, do it.²⁸²

Despite the dental assistant's vituperation, Mrs. Blethen's attorney used it as Miss Shute's admission that Alonzo Blethen had left his wife and unhappy home and ended up in his dental assistant's sympathetic arms. The judge granted a divorce and awarded the custody of the children to Mrs. Blethen. After being a resident of Lynn for decades and establishing a strong reputation as a popular dentist, he left the city shortly thereafter but his ex-wife and children remained.²⁸³ Late in 1889, Alonzo Blethen, 63, and Fanny Shute, 40, were married in Reading.²⁸⁴

As divorce was the escape from a bad marriage, abuse was the evidence that escape had not happened; for many wives and mothers, it felt like there was no escape from the monster who sometimes dressed in their husbands' clothes. The gothic novella, *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, first published by Robert Louis Stevenson in 1886, was probably an all-too-easy metaphor for abused women to relate to the man they married. One such Mr. Hyde could be found in the clothing of John Welch, who had the reputation for being "a hard ticket ... and is in the habit of abusing his wife." He was charged for an abuse of his wife in July 1881 when, while eating a late dinner, he grew angry and threw knives and forks at his wife, then got up from the table and "dealt her several blows about the head and body. The appearance of the woman in court showed that she had seen hard usage."²⁸⁵ In February 1889 the police were trying to find "the Dastardly Wretch," Oscar Magenson, for his especially appalling attack of his wife. She had left her husband three weeks prior to his attack, claiming "that his brutal treatment ... was too much for any woman to stand" (on two previous occasions he had been brought to court on charges of assaulting her). On the night of the new attack, he had gone to the house where she was lodging and called her to the door; he "at once demanded that she come with him and again live with him as his wife. The woman[,] knowing the treatment she would be subjected to, refused to comply." Upon her refusal, he without warning splashed the contents of a bottle of vitriol – sulfuric acid – at his wife, and then ran off. "The woman wore at the time a long Newmarket of black material, and the bottle with its contents struck her on the breast, just at the right side, and fortunately did not touch her hands or face. The black garment where the liquid struck was turned to a blood red color."²⁸⁶

Martin Brennan was known by the police as a "wicked fellow" and his actions in November 1889 proved it was a justified reputation. Despite his employment as the driver of a coal wagon, he did next to nothing to support his wife and nine children; Mary had to do clothes washing for others

in order to get food for the family. She became quite ill and bedridden for several days but her husband decided one morning that "she had been loafing long enough," so he insisted that she get out of bed and make him breakfast. When she was unable to do so, he proceeded to beat her with a broomstick, then after an interlude of tongue lashing, continued the beating with a club. Mary put her hand up defensively to deflect the blows, but he hit her arm so hard with the club that it caused a serious fracture for which physician Frank Stevens had to be called. Prior to the doctor's arrival, however, Brennan picked up an axe and threatened his wife, "I will sink the blade of this into your head if you say a word." Brennan served time for his foul deeds, but the newspaper felt it didn't fit the crime: "The sentence of six months was the most that he could receive, but a public horse-whipping would serve his case better, provided the lash cut every time, and a salt brine was used to wash the blood away."²⁸⁷ Blow for blow and threat for threat, Charles Carleton was every bit as abusive as Brennan. After spending a Sunday in "riotous living," he returned home to "shamefully and brutally beat his wife." Mrs. Carleton had given the two younger children their supper and this, for some reason clear only to her drunk husband, incensed him and he punched her several times. He then took a cast-iron skillet from the stove and struck her on the head, declaring that if he didn't kill her with the skillet, "he would cut her throat." Mrs. Carleton ran to a neighbor's house through drifts of snow, blood streaming from over her eye and the back of her head. Again like Brennan, it wasn't the first time that Carleton had been in police court for beating his wife.²⁸⁸

When a baby is added to the scene, the brutality that already seemed horrific is somehow multiplied in terror. The "wretched home" of the Shannahans, containing just a broken bed, a few wooden chairs, a small table, and an old worn-out cook stove, was only made more miserable when William Shannahan was in one of his drunken rages. Under the influence of liquor, he took a heavy stick about four feet long to his young wife Nellie and "pounded the woman most cruelly." She laid on the bed, "cut, bruised, and bleeding, and beside the mother lay a babe, but four weeks old, also covered with blood from the wounds of the almost helpless woman."²⁸⁹ Nellie Shannahan had shielded her baby from injury, but Catherine Dailey could not. Shoemaker James Dailey and his wife, Catharine, had been married just two years, but were the parents of a 16-month-old girl and a 3-week-old baby. The young wife and mother that should have been blessed with happiness was instead uneasy with fear of her husband's next abusive episode; it happened on the night of 21 November 1881:

... her husband came home between 11 and 12 o'clock and commenced to assault upon her. She was in bed at the time, with a three weeks' old baby. He caught her by the arm and used the vilest language possible toward her; he then caught her by the hand and struck her two or three blows on the side of the head; he struck the baby twice on the head, and the mother thought he had killed it.²⁹⁰

She got out of bed with the baby in her arms and went to the kitchen, but her husband's voice called out from bed for her to get back in there. Hoping to pacify him, she placed the baby in bed with him and went back to the kitchen to sit down by the fire, but like a demon attracted to hell's flames, he went straightway to the heat where his battered wife was seeking comfort and punched her three more times on the side of the head, nearly knocking her onto the stove. Wearing only her night clothes and a wrapper, she ran outdoors and hid in the shed, waiting for her husband to calm down. Some time passed, things were quiet, and she was cold, so she tried to find a window to climb in; finding none, she decided to chance going in through the door rather than stay outside in the cold all night. When she went inside, she was welcomed by another beating. "Her husband told her if she complained of him[,] he would cut her throat from ear to ear and rip her open."²⁹¹

Two days later, Catharine Dailey entered a complaint against her husband for assault. When policemen came to the house to arrest him, they found the doors and windows barricaded; nonetheless, an officer made his way through a window and Dailey was arrested. In court, the doctor who attended Mrs. Dailey in the most recent childbirth testified that Dailey had also "pulled his wife out of bed when the child was but three days old." James Dailey was sent to the House of

Corrections for six months, during which time, Catherine Dailey would have to scrounge for money in the absence of her husband's pay; but, at least for the next half year, she and her baby girls wouldn't be getting abused.²⁹²

Neglect and cruelty were much less frequently presented throughout the decade as grounds for divorce but were often deeply entwined with abuse. Attorney Albert Edgerly had helped Ella E. Hall obtain a divorce for cruelty from her husband William H. Hall, who was formerly the president of the Young Men's Christian Association in Lynn, and "for years identified with religious labors in the city."²⁹³ In 1881 William J. Harris of Gloucester accused his son-in-law, Frank H. Collins of Lynn, of cruelty, neglect, and desertion of his wife (and Harris's daughter), Ella J. Collins: "he has shamefully deserted her, leaving no food for her use, and making no provision for her comfort, neglecting even to pay his board bills. He has also subjected her to cruel and abusive treatment, and has now fled to parts unknown, leaving many accounts unpaid."²⁹⁴ In 1882 Julia Galvin filed a complaint against her husband, Patrick, under the statute making it a crime for a father not to support his children, "The wife told a pitiable story of abuse and starvation; that she had three children who were sick, and done nothing for them save to get a doctor." Galvin took the stand and admitted that he had earned fifteen dollars over the past three weeks, but contributed only about three dollars and fifty cents to the support of his family, using the rest to provide meals for himself. The judge committed the neglectful husband and father to the house of correction for two months. The neighbors helped the poor woman to some extent, and the children, ages eleven, six, and five years old, had picked up some change by singing around in stores and saloons.²⁹⁵

The younger and more dependent children were for nurturing and life-sustaining support, the more tragic were their stories of hardship when one or more parents were abusive, neglectful, or absent, and the more monstrous were the adults perceived who were either abusive or neglectful. None were more dependent than babies; Lynn was very experienced in the tragedies of infanticide and baby farming in the 1870s and they both continued throughout the 1880s. In 1889 a woman well-known as a baby farmer was investigated by police. She had returned to her home in Kennebunk, Maine, from Lynn, where she had been given two illegitimate children to board. Rumors were rife about how she had upwards of thirty infants entrusted to her over the past three years and that many of them had died in her care. The pair of three-month old babies she brought back this time died in rapid succession; both were put in plain wooden boxes she made out of a dry goods crate and buried without funerals. Her excuse for being unable to provide for them was that payments for their support were not sent to her as promised, plus she claimed they were diseased to begin with, implying they had little chance for survival from the start.²⁹⁶ Like the two Lynn women who had given their infants to this Kennebunk baby farmer, women "in trouble" with unwanted pregnancy found themselves in a nightmarish world of dark, whispered choices. The abortionist, the baby farmer, infanticide, or the bundle left on a doorstep, all solved the problem but each came with the risk of personal danger and public scorn. An Irish servant girl in Lynn, named Catherine Fitzgerald, thought that she had hidden all evidence of the baby she had secretly brought into and taken out of the world, but she hadn't reckoned on the amazing forensic skill and experience of Lynn's medical examiner, Joseph G. Pinkham.

On 20 December 1882, Pinkham was notified by men cleaning out a privy on the outskirts of town that an infant's body had been found. On his way to the place, he met with the city marshal who explained that the body of the baby was on its way to the police station, but there was an Irish servant girl needing medical attention at the house. Pinkham found the servant girl sitting by the kitchen stove; he had her go lie down, whereupon he delivered her of the placenta and membranes which were lying loose in the vagina, and found that the perineum had been significantly torn. Questioning the girl, he learned she was not married, had left Ireland eight months earlier, and had become pregnant before she had left. Upon her arrival in Lynn, she immediately started working as a domestic and hid her condition. When labor began, she excused herself, saying she was ill, and went into the cellar where the child was born. Before birth "she had a desire to go to stool," and

attempted to use a floor pail for that purpose; the child was then born into the pail and she, thinking it was dead, carried it out and threw it into the outhouse vault. She then returned to the cellar and washed the pail and floor.²⁹⁷

Pinkham then left the girl and went to the police station to examine the little corpse. He found “a considerable quantity of watery froth running from the nose and mouth.” After a thorough autopsy, Pinkham determined that the baby was full-term, born alive a few hours before arriving on his examination table, and he concluded the cause of death to be drowning. The lungs were completely expanded, proving that respiration had occurred. The watery liquid, he concluded, was evidence of drowning.²⁹⁸

With the evidence Pinkham provided, the servant girl was arrested on the charge of infanticide. In court, her attorney proposed the theory that the baby drowned in the amniotic fluid, but Pinkham explained there was too much fluid present for it to come from that source; “besides, the liquid was clear like water, presenting no trace of faecal matter, blood, or slime.” The liquid was also not from the contents of the outhouse vault because they were frozen, given that it was deep winter. The expert medical examiner concluded, “If the girl’s statement was true, that the child was born while she was sitting over a pail, we are to believe either that there was water in the pail and that the child fell at once into it and was drowned before it had time to cry or manifest to her other signs of life, or that the breaking of the bag of waters furnished liquid enough, together with urine, etc., to drown the child.” But Pinkham’s autopsy had determined that the lungs had fully expanded and filled with air, then subsequently filled with liquid, so it was not birthed immediately into liquid, but breathed, then drowned. The severely ruptured perineum was evidence that the baby was born quickly and not partially birthed, allowing it time to breathe; plus partial birth of the head would have still constricted the lungs; “respiration must have been performed so as to complete[ly] expand the lungs in every part [of the lungs] Hence there is little doubt that … the mother, after severing the cord with some rude instrument, deliberately drowned her child in a pail of water.”²⁹⁹ The newborn’s lungs – a little more than an ounce of tissue – had proved murder.

In the wake of the previous decade’s drama with Asa Tarbell Newhall, several Lynn abortionists during the 1880s were convicted in courts of law and public opinion. The city’s first publicized victim of the decade was 19-year-old Mary Chandler, an assistant in the music rooms of Mrs. M. A. Davison on Market Street. Miss Chandler was “a young lady of excellent reputation, not a whisper having been heard against her character … she was prepossessing in appearance and very bright and intelligent, being widely known and universally liked.” She had fallen in love with Herbert Davis, a sewing machine salesman, and they were engaged to be married.³⁰⁰ Benjamin Green was her physician; early in his career he was a clergyman, but he had been practicing as a homeopath in Lynn from 1860-1875, moved up to northern New England for the next five years, and then came back to Lynn in 1881, six months before Mary Chandler and her fiancé had come to him for help.³⁰¹ She was pregnant and Green agreed to perform the abortion for \$30 (\$762 in USD 2020); he was arrested and held on \$5,000 bail (\$127,010 in USD 2020) because his malpractice had caused the death of Mary Chandler.³⁰²

It’s not clear what had brought Green to this point of ruin after his long career as a homeopath. He had “the tools” to perform abortions (that were confiscated by the city marshal when he was arrested), so this was probably not his first time he had used them, but things had been stressful for him well before he had gotten arrested. He and his wife, Hannah, parented seven children and were “in debt all the time, [he] victimized almost all who trusted him, and finally went through insolvency.”³⁰³ Then, on 4 June 1880, while living in remote Colebrook, New Hampshire (so far upstate that they could almost smell Canada in the breeze), his wife was suffering with cancer of the womb.³⁰⁴ On 4 November 1881, Benjamin Green was convicted and sentenced to two years in the house of corrections, the first day to be in solitary confinement.³⁰⁵

Four days before Green’s sentencing, Lynn’s newspapers were announcing the death of another Lynn woman due to complications from her abortion. She was known to most in the city

as Mary McAuliffe, a 32-year-old domestic who was “receiving the attentions” of yet another sewing machine salesman, named Edward Lord, with whom she had come to share a room on Chestnut Street. One day during the week previous to her death, Miss McAuliffe had become violently sick and a doctor was clearly needed with haste. The problem was that an urgent note to take care of an unmarried pregnant woman who was desperately in need of a doctor could easily be read as an invitation for a ruined medical reputation and possible imprisonment. The message sent repeatedly to a list of doctors of all types, suggesting that, in their desperation, the lovers were unconcerned about the healers’ beliefs and methods. First, William Corken, a homeopath, was contacted but others were told he had refused to come. Next was Edward Newhall, a conventional physician and member of the state medical society, but he was only able to visit the woman once because he had previously committed to go out of town to take care of another patient. Then the homeopathic doctress, Mary Breed Welch, was called upon and visited the woman, but like Newhall, she wasn’t able to repeat her one visit. Finally, Charles R. Brown, another allopath and medical society member, attended her until her death. The only thing the list of healers had in common was that they were all within easy reach of Mary McAuliffe – from two blocks to a half-mile by foot – all, that is, except William Corken. He was twice the distance of any of the others.³⁰⁶

When Newhall responded to the urgent request, he found that the distressed woman would soon be in labor. He gave her something to quiet her pain and she made the excuse that her trouble (apparently bleeding and abdominal pain) was caused by lifting a wash boiler from the stove, but after Mary Breed Welch had visited, she went to Newhall’s house and said she doubted the woman’s story, sensing “there was something mysterious about the case.”³⁰⁷ A nurse named Ellen Cobb was called upon by a man identifying himself as a messenger for William Corken who said he was told by the doctor to get her help for the woman who was “very sick.” The nurse found that Mary McAuliffe had miscarried and the baby had been put in a box. The man was unable to find a spot in the hard winter ground that could be dug up, so he said he would throw it into an outhouse vault or into the water somewhere as he was going on his way home, but the nurse tersely said “‘No,’ and took it from him and put it in a safe place for burial.”³⁰⁸

When Charles Brown was called upon, he was being asked to doctor the lady who had miscarried badly; the man who went for him was told to do so by William Corken. Brown went with reservations, telling the man he didn’t want the case to become his. When he arrived at the distraught woman’s bedside, he found her “in quite severe pains and very feverish; [he] gave her medicine and left her in a comfortable condition.” When he returned the next day he learned that she was not married; he then “sent the nurse out of the room and as the sick woman turned her face towards me I saw that I knew her” – at one point she had been a domestic in his own kitchen. The surprised physician asked, “‘Is this you, Mary?’ She said, ‘Yes,’ [and the doctor] asked her, ‘How did this happen?’ She replied, ‘A man promised to marry me and this man has gone back on me.’” Brown had to go out of town the next day, so he left the case in the hands of yet another healer, Alvin Cushing, the homeopath. McAuliffe became too sick to talk and when Brown returned home, he found a note on his table explaining that he better go see the sick woman again because “her case was a fatal one; [he] saw her that evening and found that her case was hopeless.”³⁰⁹ Mary McAuliffe died and both she and the tiny body that nurse Cobb had saved went to the medical examiner’s office for autopsy. Medical Examiner Joseph G. Pinkham, assisted by physicians Henry Coleman, and Charles R. Brown, worked together and jointly determined that it was a case of malpractice by an attempted abortionist who had used tools; there was no doubt that a criminal act had been committed. Peritonitis (an inflammation of the lining covering the abdominal organs, caused by infection, often after the rupture of an internal organ) set in and was established as the cause of Mary McAuliffe’s death.³¹⁰ Physicians’ fingers silently pointed to William Duncan Corken, the one doctor who refused to be associated with Mary McAuliffe’s plight. She was the one person who could have positively implicated him, but she went to her grave without doing so, yet Corken’s name was continually brought up in many elements of the case. He did end up getting

arrested for malpractice, but not for the case of Mary McAuliffe; it was for another abortion a year later that more clearly pointed to him as the guilty doctor.

In late November 1882, Abby L. Cain, found herself in the precarious condition of being the other woman in an adulterous affair and pregnant as a result. It all came about when a series of revival meetings was being held under a big tent in East Lynn; it had become popular entertainment, so Miss Cain attended, as did Mr. Mansfield Toms, a married painter and the father of two little girls.³¹¹ Mr. Toms escorted Miss Cain home after the meeting. The two new friends kept meeting at the revivals and walking home together, but the relationship became more intimate and one day Miss Cain found herself to be pregnant.³¹² She consequently went to William Corken's house and told him she was "in trouble." The doctor gave the young lady some drugs and she left. The medicine didn't produce the desired result, so a day or two later she called again, and more medicine was furnished. "She went to the doctor's house several times, and each time he used the battery or an instrument." Eventually, either by the power of the medicines or the other means that Corken used, he caused the abortion of Miss Cain's pregnancy.³¹³

When Abby Cain realized she had a pregnancy she wanted to terminate, she seemed to have no hesitation about needing to go to the doctor named William Corken; yet when she suddenly dislocated her jaw, she sent for physician Charles Lloyd rather than Corken, the doctor she had recently been using: Corken had a reputation for his specialty. Lloyd was not long in the room before he discovered the young woman was pregnant "and she, fearing that she had got to die, confessed the whole matter, and implicated Dr. Corken." Miss Cain didn't die, but Corken was nonetheless arrested on the very serious charge of malpractice.³¹⁴

After making the arrest, Lynn police went to Corken's house and "found fifteen or twenty instruments and other things, which would indicate the nefarious business conducted there," "some of which had the appearance of having been recently used."³¹⁵ But they also found other things that made the lair of an alleged abortionist even more lurid, if that was even possible; police found "obscene literature" in his cottage hospital: "the discoveries made there show him to be a slave to the most depraved and lascivious habits, some traits exhibited being of a peculiar character."³¹⁶ So in addition to the charge of malpractice by performing an abortion, the doctor was charged with having obscene literature in his possession. Newspapers around the country frothed over the sordid story; the *Wheeling Register* of West Virginia ran an article headlined, "ORGANIZED INIQUITIES. Unsavory Revelation ... in New England. A Tale Unfit to be Told." The article stated the police spent hours searching the doctor's premises and found even more:

The arrest of Dr. William Duncan Corken, of Lynn, for abortion has resulted in a great exposé of organized wickedness. ... The revelations they say are altogether Too Horrible for Publication and constitute one of the most startling disclosures in recent criminal annals. The officers say that they found, and took for safe keeping, a large supply of obscenity in the shape of pictures and other material. ... and ... in it they found the names of several hundred women belonging in Boston, Lynn and numerous other places, all certifying in a singular and original manner that the owners of said names had been the doctor's victims in the malpractice line, with the day and date of action. The police say that ... there are five hundred of these names. ... Great satisfaction is felt at Lynn at the breaking up of his infamous nest. There is also a tremendous fluttering among the women whose names are enrolled on the catalogue which the city marshal has locked up in his safe.³¹⁷

The prosecutor asked that bail be set at \$10,000, but the defense claimed it was excessive and unheard of "in this country or in any other such case. Even in the case of Dr. Green, where the woman was dead, no such amount of bail was asked." Bail was fixed at \$4,000; Corken did not make bail, so remained in jail awaiting trial. No one was allowed to see him, leaving him in solitude and apparently growing increasingly depressed and hopeless. The *Item* wrote, "The doctor is considerably troubled in mind, and the evidence against him is of such a nature as to admit no doubt

of his guilt.”³¹⁸ A physician was called to tend to him because he became quite ill, “feverish and restless.” When asked if he could raise the money for bail, he responded that he probably could, but felt that it would be pointless to do so because he suspected more charges would be brought up against him to keep him behind bars.³¹⁹ His health continued to suffer while awaiting trial in jail and his court date had to be postponed because of his “severe illness.”³²⁰

In court, “Dr. W. Duncan Corken … a short, thickset gray-haired old gentleman with a voice very scarcely audible,” sat at the defendant’s table while Abby Cain testified that she visited him in her “delicate condition,” and that he decided “electro treatment” by his electro-magnetic machine would be effective in inducing abortion.³²¹ Corken’s attorney attempted to mitigate the damage of her testimony by downplaying the effectiveness of Corken’s methods to produce abortion:

(Counsel for the defendant personally tested the merits of the machine, which did not appear to be very strong, or capable of producing spasms.) The electro treatment was used from seven to ten minutes. The patient did not become unconscious. Certain homeopathic remedies were administered in addition to other treatment. A remedy was also given to soothe the pain of the patient. It was a vegetable preparation, a patent medicine, but apparently employed in such cases by regular physicians. … Something was said by Miss Cain …that was to the effect that she preferred employing the services of an old man as a physician to a young doctor.³²²

William Duncan Corken was found guilty of attempting to commit an abortion, but along with their verdict, the jury recommended mercy for the miserable, ailing doctor, so he was finally released from jail on a \$1,500 bond.³²³ *The Salem Gazette* reported that his health was “quite poor”; so much so that “it is considered doubtful if he will ever appear for sentence,” apparently because they thought his condition might result in his death.³²⁴ It didn’t, but he tried to avoid sentencing by hiding. He failed to appear back in Salem court on the appointed day for sentencing, so a warrant was issued for his arrest and he was found futilely trying to hide away in his son’s apartment in Dorchester. He was sentenced to four years in state prison.³²⁵ He died three years later, in 1891 of hepatic colic (gall bladder infection, probably from gall stones); the death record listed him as eighty years old, but he had only reached his sixty-ninth year; with all he’d been through over the past decade, he probably left life looking especially old and worn out.³²⁶ Although by his death he had come to be regarded by many as a soulless villain, they hadn’t known the whole man or the path he followed that had brought him to such ruin. He had, in fact, done much good in the world before things ended so badly.

Born in Scotland in the vicinity of Aberdeen in 1822, by age nineteen, Reverend William Duncan Corken was a dissenting minister (refusing to conform to the Church of England) in northwestern England and was quickly regarded as “the unflinching and indefatigable champion” of total abstinence from alcohol.³²⁷ He married at twenty-one to the 15-year-old Margaret Webb Nanfan and two years later a daughter was stillborn and the mother’s life was “for some time despaired of.”³²⁸ They then had a son whom they lost of inflammation of the lungs when he was little more than four years old; only Charles, their last child, grew to be an adult.

Despite the struggles within his small family, Reverend Corken quickly developed a strong reputation as a popular and powerful preacher. A newspaper report about one of Corken’s sermons in 1855 at Wolverhampton, stated that he “preached a most impressive and appropriate discourse in the Wesleyan Chapel, to a large and attentive congregation. The listeners were ‘held captive’ to hear his ‘never-to-be-forgotten discourse,’ filled with ‘spirit-stirring and soul-ennobling sentiments that flowed from his lips,’ and they responded with ‘the strongest manifestations of affection and applause, ‘Seldom, if ever, has it fallen to our lot, to listen for an hour to such a strain of simple, earnest, eloquent truth.’ After preaching in the morning to a ‘large and attentive congregation,’ he then taught upwards of 1,200 children who listened with ‘breathless attention – even by the youngest of the children.’³²⁹ Wolverhampton loved Reverend Corken; it was the start of a pattern of adulation repeated by congregations throughout Great Britain over the years ahead.

In 1857 Corken accepted an invitation to lead the small congregation at Carrickfergus near Belfast, Ireland, where he continued for five years, tripling the size of the congregation and actively engaged in many good works for the improvement of female students, the working class, and the “deaf, dumb and blind.”³³⁰ When he left Ireland, the congregation presented him with a purse of gold sovereigns “amidst the cheers of the meeting.” Once again “He was the friend of all and all loved and respected him.”³³¹ Humbly he responded to their adulation, “My object … has never been to proselytize, or to triumph over others, but rather to put before all the good news and glad tidings of the glorious Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.”³³²

Reverend Corken next relocated to the greater London area, preaching, pastoring a church at Bermondsey, working to help poor laborers, and for at least three years, vigorously engaged in promoting and working for the creation of a Female Medical Society and the establishment of a Ladies Medical College.³³³ Corken participated in the first three annual meetings of the Female Medical Society, 1865-1867. In the first meeting, he made a motion that those convened pledge their influence to promote the objects of the Female Medical Society.³³⁴ In the second convocation, he made an address in support of women’s health as a proper field of medicine for female physicians, “this branch of medicine (the health of women) should be left in the hands of properly educated women.” Then at the third annual assembly, he made a motion that noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen be encouraged to participate in and allow the weight of their important names to be used as endorsements for the development of the Ladies’ Medical College … .”³³⁵ He also expressed his personal conviction that in order for the proposed Ladies’ Medical College to succeed, it needed to be founded on sound medical principles “… no straining after mere speculative notions, nothing make-believe, no sort of quackery, but a sound rational intelligent education for those who were anxious to devote themselves to a great and benevolent work … .”³³⁶ In short, he advocated for solid, scientific advancements in women’s medicine and the proper treatment of women on both sides of the stethoscope; and he energetically lobbied for the support of all those who could help make it happen.

Once again, as Reverend Corken’s celebrity was on the ascendant, deep trouble struck his small family: his wife Margaret had to be admitted to St. Luke’s Asylum in London at the start of 1868. She remained an inmate of the insane asylum for a year and when discharged, the paperwork indicated only that her condition was “Relieved,” not “Recovered.”³³⁷ Ten days later, she was committed to the Holborn Workhouse and the admission record listed her as “Insane.”³³⁸ Within a month she was transferred over to the Hanwell Asylum for the pauper insane and there she died seven months later.³³⁹ The *South London Chronicle* reported her death: “Margaret Webb Corken, after a long and painful illness, the beloved wife of the Rev. W. D. [Corken] … deeply regretted by all who knew her … .”³⁴⁰

Eighteen months later, the Reverend Corken and his son Charles, the only family each other had left, departed England in the steerage section of the steamship *Batavia*. The United States represented everything that they needed: a fresh start after Margaret’s death, a better chance for financial success for both men (Charles was now twenty-three); Reverend Corken could pursue the social, political, and religious freedom that he had told British congregations he dreamed about; and he hoped to do good works for “his Master on the other side of the waste of waters.” After a twelve-day voyage, father and son landed in Boston, Massachusetts on 13 March 1871.³⁴¹ In Britain he had enjoyed a career of very large, enthusiastic, and appreciative audiences that regaled him with applause and purses of gold. In America he would have to start all over, but he was determined to succeed.

From the outset, William Corken took full advantage of the freedoms he had long believed were available in the “glorious home of the pilgrim fathers.”³⁴² Within just a few months after arrival in Boston, he was installed as a minister in the northeastern corner of Essex County, but he soon added the medical postnominals, “M.D.”³⁴³ It was, at best, a liberal description of his unquestionably enthusiastic but likely very limited exposure to first-hand medical experience in

Britain, other than hovering nearby sickness and death in his clerical capacity as he watched and perhaps gave occasional assistance to the doctors' and nurses' ministrations. His clerical career had been busy and constant from the first time he was listed as a "dissenting minister" to the day he boarded the *Batavia*. Shortly after beginning his medical practice in Lynn, he promoted his medical credentials from his time in Britain as impressively as he could:

Dr. Corken's former connection with the Medical Colleges and Hospitals in Dublin, Edinburgh and London has given him large and varied experience in all Uterine and Urinary Diseases; also the diseases of children.

Dr. Corken was appointed one of the Governors of the British Lying-In-Hospital, London; and was one of the founders of the Female Medical Society, England.³⁴⁴

Some of this was certainly true, and all of it may have been, but he never specifically claimed in his advertisements to have gone to medical school, been apprenticed in medicine, or to have practiced as a doctor. During his malpractice trial, Corken was asked about his medical education. He replied that he "was about four years a resident of Edinborough" and that "he had studied medicine at the Queen's College, Edinborough"; however, during all of his adult years in Britain, from 1840, when he turned nineteen and became a dissenting minister, until his departure for the U.S. in 1871, there is no record of medical training or practice by Corken or evidence of his residency as an adult in Scotland.³⁴⁵ Based on his brief statements, he may have attended the school and taken some classes in medicine when he was in his late teen years, but he emerged in Britain at nineteen as a minister, not a doctor. When asked about the chronology of his life, he said he couldn't remember what years various events occurred, which reads more like a dodge of discomfort than a statement of truth. Given the advertisement's nebulous recitation of medical experience and also his awkward obfuscation under cross-examination, it seems clear that he had no genuine medical qualifications; Corken, like many Americans, was just trying to establish himself as a doctor in the public eye.

Setting himself up with a second occupation turned out to be critical to his survival because his primary work as a minister would come to an abrupt end. He had been installed as the pastor in Salisbury because he appeared to be a good preacher, but some questions began to creep in as to whether his sermons were original or the work of others. He was finally induced to allow one of his 'greatest efforts' to be printed in the local newspaper, which allowed some doubters to reveal his plagiarism: the talk was found in print, authored by an eminent divine in Britain.³⁴⁶ He resigned his pastorate and moved to the opposite corner of the county. The appellation "Rev. W. D. Corken," in 1873 had changed to "W. D. Corken, M.D., C.T. [Congregational Trinitarian]" in 1874 and finally to just the secular "W. D. Corken, M.D." in 1876, when he arrived in Saugus and applied for U.S. citizenship.³⁴⁷

He might have been planning all along for the end of his ministerial labors because he had become disaffected by the pretense behind the pulpit. In place of religious hypocrisy he found in the recently formed National Liberal League an organization with a creed that spoke to his soul. It promoted the human rights and personal freedoms that Corken told his last congregation in England he cherished and for which he longed for immigration to America.³⁴⁸ Corken was so enthusiastic about the league, he even established a Lynn branch of the national organization and attended its 1878 conference in Syracuse, New York.³⁴⁹ The Liberal League's platform included the complete separation of church and state, the equality of woman with man in the matter of rights, education for all, and giving Sunday back to the people by removing the laws that restricted their activities on that day.³⁵⁰ Robert Ingersoll, a leader of the National Liberal League, had been accused of wanting to repeal the Comstock law of 1873, the "Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use." The truth was he supported the act but worried about those who would manipulate the law's key word, "immoral," to mean all beliefs outside of traditionally accepted religious doctrine, thereby squelching the rights of

individuals to believe and practice what they wanted.³⁵¹ Corken wrote an impassioned response in support of Ingersoll's comments on obscene literature:

I presume I am only one among the readers ... who feel the deepest obligation to you, for your manly and determined stand on the subject of "Obscene Literature." Every man who is worthy of the name "Liberal" contends for liberty without license Never was the opposition to free thought more bitter and determined than now, – the spirit of hatred to reason, science, truth, and philosophy was never more visible than it is in our day As a class, I have found the persons who call themselves "clergy" the most consummate hypocrites and unprincipled citizens; the arrogance of their assumption has no bounds. ... The shadows are fleeing away; the day of reason is dawning; humanity will yet be free.

Yours, W. D. Corken, M.D., Lynn, Mass.³⁵²

Like Ingersoll, Corken wasn't defending the right to disseminate pornographic images and literature, but he wanted to protect the right of any individual to create, possess, or distribute materials that may be inconsistent with what most others might believe. The first report of Corken's cache of "obscene literature" was immediately judged to mean he was a "slave to the most depraved and lascivious habits, some traits exhibited being of a peculiar character," but it's not clear whether the intent of Corken's "immoral" literature was to ignite prurient flames or to record observations focused on resolving problems of female reproductive health. In fact, the "traits exhibited ... of a peculiar character" were probably drawings and notes about female genitalia, as implied in another comment about the "obscene literature": the police had in their possession "a large number of obscene pictures, letters, etc., all going to show that he must have had quite an extensive practice in that peculiar line of business." – the peculiar line of Corken's business was female health, as witnessed by the endless train of women who came to him for abortions.³⁵³ The images were always described as pictures, not photographs, suggesting that they were not mass-produced photographs he had purchased but illustrations that he probably drew, and the literature could have been notes he was taking or medical literature of obstetrical and gynecological content he had purchased, or a combination of both. Corken wasn't pandering; rather, he was almost certainly working with female anatomical drawings and notes to be responsible in his doctoring efforts and to improve his knowledge. At the very least, the judge was not concerned, despite the outrage of the media and the apparently startled reaction of the police when they first discovered the evidence:

The case of Dr. W. D. Corken, for having obscene pictures in his possession, came up by continuance and the judge ordered his discharge, as *there was no evidence that the doctor intended making an improper use of them*. On the charge of attempting to commit an abortion on Miss Abby L. Cain, he was held in \$1,500 to higher court. A Boston gentleman [covered] his bond, and the doctor was released from custody.³⁵⁴

William Corken came to Lynn in 1878 as a homeopathic physician and within a few years was advertising that he was a physician and accoucheur on 452 Western Avenue, at the corner of Walden Street. There he would treat asthma, consumption, deafness, diseases of the heart, kidneys and liver, "with every form of Uterine difficulty, specially and successfully treated."³⁵⁵ He had been working as a doctor for the past several years and acknowledged he "has been favored with a growing and successful practice in this city and neighborhood, for which he returns thanks, and hopes to continue worthy of the confidence reposed in him."³⁵⁶ In his 1883 trial for malpractice upon Abby Cain, "he was asked if he considered himself competent, as a physician, and he thought that he was."³⁵⁷ At the beginning of 1882, ten months before Abby Cain knocked on his door, he advertised that he was promoting his medical practice with all the variety and vigor of a seasoned visiting doctor; if not with the university-trained skill set of a Joseph G. Pinkham, Charles R. Brown, or Frank D. Stevens, at least on par with the doctors who periodically set up shop at the Sagamore House:

Dr. Corken, 17 Summer Street, Lynn, Mass.

Diseases of women and children, asthma and lung affections, urinary and kidney complaints specially and successfully treated. The following valuable preparations by Dr. Corken are to be had at his office: - "The English Tonic," vitalizing, strengthening and purifying, "The Indian Tincture, a certain cure for urinary disease; "The Asthma Preparation," an unfailing remedy for asthma; "The Berlin Powder," for bilious, nervous or sick headache; the American, French and German Electric Combined Battery in constant use for every form of nervous diseases and periodical weakness.³⁵⁸

One of his earliest Lynn ads noted that *Dr. Corkin's English Tonic* was "free from alcoholic substances" and "For Faintness of the Stomach, Nervousness, Palpitation of the Heart and Periodical Weakness, it cannot be excelled"; faintness, nervousness, palpitations, and periodical weakness were indications specifically directed to women.³⁵⁹

With a line of his own medicines in place to support his practice, he next needed a place to attend to his patients. An article had appeared in the *Daily Evening Item* in late 1881, describing the merits of the English cottage hospital over the "mammoth" institutions that were being established in large U.S. cities, like Boston and New York. The article described the big hospitals as "hotbeds of disease in the midst of a teeming population," unsanitary, and not effectively offering healing or charity. Since Lynn still had not replaced the hospital that had briefly appeared on Waterhill Street, the cottage hospital sounded like an appealing alternative. The report shared that there were about 250 cottage hospitals in England and the statistics of cures in the small, pleasant cottage hospitals, with constant, personal care, looked very promising; the average mortality was about half of the large city hospitals, and the cottage hospitals were less expensive and more accessible than their large institutional counterparts.³⁶⁰ Corken must have been very familiar with these English infirmaries, so he set up his house on 17 Summer Street as Lynn's own cottage hospital – the only hospital in the city of about 40,000 at the time – and most of its patients were women with "uterine troubles."³⁶¹

When a friend of Abby Cain learned she was making frequent visits to Corken's cottage, the friend was suspicious and decided to investigate. The friend went there herself, pretending to Corken that she had a friend suffering from neuralgia who needed his care at the cottage, but Corken told her the hospital wasn't quite open yet "and that it would be impossible for him to receive anyone for some time to come," which validated her suspicions that only patients of a certain kind were being admitted at Corken's English Cottage Hospital.³⁶² As the names of hundreds of women in the secret records confiscated by police silently attested, Corken had developed a reputation for discretely performing abortions at his cottage. The female patients at Corken's cottage hospital were mainly women in trouble, often threatened with losing their employment and income, their reputations among family and community, and sometimes even the husband who was not the father. Corken had seen all this happen in England, especially to the working poor for whom he had championed, and he saw that the U.S., and particularly Massachusetts, had not progressed the role and recognition of women in medicine, so he offered his services as an accoucheur (a male midwife) and doctor, to help those in need; those in trouble. When searching for a discrete solution to their untenable situations, Corken's lightly veiled messages could be easily deciphered: "*every form of Uterine difficulty, specially and successfully treated*" and "*the American, French and German Electric Combined Battery in constant use for every form of ... periodical weakness*".³⁶³ His whispered reputation between former and prospective patients probably contributed referrals as well. At the same time that Abby Cain's friend had seen through Corken's smokescreen, Charles Lloyd took the medicines Corken had given Abby Cain and handed them to Medical Examiner Pinkham for analysis – and Joseph Pinkham always seemed to get his man.³⁶⁴ He took the results of his analysis to the city marshal, who then made arrangements for the arrest of the very complicated William Duncan Corken: the needed doctor when successful, the abortionist when he

wasn't; the applauded preacher and criticized plagiarist; crusader for the oppressed and immoral rebel; the British exemplar and the American villain.

In 1891, three years after his release from prison, the man who had impacted so many lives for better or worse, died alone in South Boston.³⁶⁵

Despite the scrutiny and exposure that Corken's case had brought to the practice of abortion in Lynn, Nancy Alice Guilford wasn't deterred. She started providing the same illegal services to women in Lynn just a few years after Corken's arrival and continued after his arrest and imprisonment. With only minor variations, her advertisement read for years:

TO LADIES!
Mrs. Dr. Alice Guilford,
PHYSICIAN FOR FEMALES.

Can be consulted from 2 to 8 P.M., at her office, 23 Market street, rooms 2 and 3, (up one flight). At all other hours and on Sundays she can be found at her residence

“OCEAN COTTAGE,”
SACHEM STREET, Lynn.

The doctress is a regularly educated physician, and has made for the past ten years an exclusive specialty in New York and Boston, of DISEASES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN, and the practice of MIDWIFERY.

Ladies, married or single, suffering with any complaint or difficulty incident to the sex, can consult Mrs. Dr. Guilford in the strictest confidence, and with the assurance of receiving the most skillful and scientific treatment known to modern surgery and medicine. . . .

☞ Ladies wishing to employ the doctress must see her in person and not by proxy. Gentlemen not advised with.

☞ Calls in Midwifery promptly attended, day or night. Good board and nurse when required. TERMS MODERATE.³⁶⁶

Her list of qualifications were all for show; the closest she had come to medical training was what she learned from her husband of a few years; and the origin of his education may have been no more formal than hers.³⁶⁷ Her ability to handle *any* difficulties of women clearly included dealing with unwanted pregnancy, and her promise that women could consult with her “in the strictest confidence,” and even more emphatically that she would not discuss their issues with any men, meant that what happened behind her doors stayed behind her doors – just the discretion that Susie Taylor and Charles Ames needed.

Their story was the same romance of passion and poor judgement that repeated time and again among unmarried lovers. Charles E. Ames was quite prominent in Lynn, a beer manufacturer and married, with a small child.³⁶⁸ Susie Taylor was the young woman who fell in love with the married man; her father disapproved and told her she must leave Ames or leave home, so she left the family farm to be with Charles in Lynn. In late December 1885, Miss Taylor went to Alice Guilford for help. The result of the operation was “unfavorable [and] Miss Taylor continued to grow worse.” It became clear that she was on her deathbed on Christmas Eve; so, panicked, Charles raced off to Susie’s father in Burlington early on Christmas morning to let him know that she was dying and if he wanted to see her before she died, she better come back to Lynn with him, quickly.³⁶⁹ Susie’s poor father only learned of her pregnancy when he got to her daughter’s side at Guilford’s. He decided that his daughter would have a better chance of survival back at Burlington, but the road was rough, the weather was cold, and she was too weak; she died on the way.³⁷⁰ Charles was beside himself with grief at the loss of his love; during the funeral he stood next to the body, crying loudly, “and kissed her (Susie) many times and staggered when he walked to the grave; he seemed to feel very badly” He paid all the expenses of the funeral, “furnished an abundance of the

choicest flowers," and selecting an expensive white velvet casket, "told the undertaker nothing was too good for Miss Taylor."³⁷¹ He also insisted that she be buried with all the jewelry he had given her, including diamond earrings valued at \$300, a diamond ring worth \$400, and "a beautiful stem-winding gold watch with S. C. Newhall's trademark upon it."³⁷²

Lynn police had Alice Guilford under surveillance for over a year because they had suspected on several occasions "that all of her transactions have not been strictly legitimate. On more than one occasion, deaths have occurred, the circumstances of which have been suspicious."³⁷³ The death of Mrs. Annie Dyer that had occurred a few months earlier was one of those that seemed to occur "under very suspicious circumstances"; so much so that her cause of death was listed as abortion.³⁷⁴ So an autopsy of Susie Taylor was ordered and the body exhumed.³⁷⁵ Since the condition of the corpse clearly indicated criminal abortion, the Guilfords were arrested. Alice Guilford was indignant about being locked up but "said she felt bad only for her children" and apparently already thinking about her defense strategy, she also said that she was not guilty of any criminal *intent*.³⁷⁶

Guilford was known to be "a most extravagant woman ... who loved jewelry, and always wore a profusion of diamonds" on her fingers, neck, and ears. When she was arrested, she had to remove \$500 worth of diamonds before being put in her cell at the Lynn jail.³⁷⁷ It's interesting to note that instead of pawning her jewelry to make bail, she preferred to stay in jail.

While the Guilfords sat behind bars, police scoured through Mrs. Guilford's offices on Market street, looking for further evidence of criminal guilt. The offices consisted of three rooms: first was her large, carpeted office, behind which was a plain room connecting to the last, which contained "articles of furniture such as only professionals, in the sense understood [abortionists], would have use for. A sight of the contents causes an involuntary shudder. ... Only the most presumptuous person would dare to be the owner of it."³⁷⁸ They found instruments that were determined to be ones "in common use by surgeons and physicians" plus a shoe horn that was recognized as "not a legitimate instrument [but] it might be used."³⁷⁹ The problem for the police and the district attorney was definitively proving that Alice Guilford had performed an abortion on Susie Taylor. A shoehorn wasn't going to do it and it was too late to ask Susie Taylor what had happened. But Jennie Peters could tell.

Peters, about twenty, was another of Alice Guilford's patients, but she survived the abortion performed back on 1 October 1884, long before Susie Taylor would become Guilford's victim. Peters testified in court that she had asked for medicine (an abortifacient) and that Guilford then said medicine would do no good, "but she could perform an operation for \$25 [and] *she asked me not to give her away*."³⁸⁰ At follow-up appointments on October 2nd, 11th, and 12th, Guilford continued to perform more abortive "operations," but they were unsuccessful and on 29 October, Jennie Peters "was relieved of her child" in Guilford's back room. Guilford's nurse took the small body away (and no further mention was made of it in the trial).³⁸¹ The jury had heard enough; Alice Guilford was found guilty of criminal malpractice and sentenced to 6½ years at the state prison for women at Sherborn: 5½ years for the death of Susie Taylor and one year for the abortion performed on Jennie Peters. For his part, Henry Guilford was allowed to go on his personal recognizance, "on his promising to leave the State and never return" – he had been banished from Massachusetts.³⁸² Alice Guilford was incarcerated from March 1887 until October 1893; demonstrating neither repentance or rehabilitation, she went back into the abortion business and only got caught because of a laundry mark.

Henry and Alice Guilford were back together in Connecticut court in March 1898 for criminal malpractice upon Miss Emma L. Taylor, a 16-year-old girl in trouble (she told Henry she was eighteen); this time Henry was convicted and sent to prison, but Alice was released.³⁸³

Six months later, three young boys saw two packages floating in the Yellow Mill Pond in Bridgeport, Connecticut. One contained a woman's head and the other package had the two legs,

each cut apart at the knees. The next day, two more packages were found floating nearby where the first two had been found, one containing the arms and the other the torso, but authorities made some significant observations about the macabre packages: the cuts to the body were made with surgical skill; the internal organs below the diaphragm that could have been used to determine poisoning or abortion, were all missing, and some of the body parts had been wrapped in an undergarment that had a laundry mark – and the police were able to trace it back to the Guilfords.³⁸⁴ Henry was in prison, serving his 3½-year sentence, so the police went to find Alice at her house, but she was gone.³⁸⁵ She had slipped away to upstate New York (where she was born), and then fled to Montreal, where she took a steamship to England. Police and detectives tracked her down and got British authorities to extradite her back to Connecticut to stand trial.³⁸⁶ Ultimately there was only one play left for her: she pled guilty to manslaughter and for a second time received a prison sentence – this time for ten years at the Connecticut state prison.³⁸⁷

Back in Lynn, Mrs. Annie Knowlton presence had continued the city's string of abortionists to the end of the decade. In 1899, Mary Farrell was lying "dangerously sick ... from an attempt made to procure an abortion" by the "would-be doctress." Knowlton was arrested and locked up. "There is too much of this work going on in Lynn," the newspaper reported, "and Marshal King intends to stop it."³⁸⁸ Good luck with that, Marshal.

While the law did all they could to bring criminals to justice, the 1880s also saw many efforts underway for the support of the victims of crime and those who were simply unable to protect themselves. It was hoped that abused wives would seek help from the police and the courts for the mistreatment they were receiving, but groups that could not as easily take the initiative to seek protection and help received support from humane organizations appearing in Lynn. Children and even animals each had groups looking to provide protection, improve their situations, and to be their voice. Lynn had some strongly felt support for the protection and fair treatment of animals. Horses were frequently mistreated and beaten by owners who acted like their steeds had more in common with machinery like bicycles, rather than treating them like the sentient creatures that they were. The city's former city marshal, William Stone, was reappointed as the local agent of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (S.F.T.P.O.C.T.A.) in late March 1881, just in time to take issue with Stephen Young, who, on the first of August of that year, "was complained of by the society with a long name for beating a horse"; Young pleaded guilty and was fined \$10.07.³⁸⁹ Pet lovers also cringed at the newspaper stories of the cat that was accidentally roasted alive in a family's oven and the prize dogs that were poisoned. In the case of the cat, its 4-year-old owner innocently put the kitten in the oven, leaving the door open, and the pet fell asleep there, but then the child's mother came back into the room and closed the oven door, in order to ready it for baking a pie, completely unaware that the cat was inside.³⁹⁰ The dogs that had been poisoned were English coach dogs, trained to perform tricks and as watch dogs; one of them "travelled with his owner in all [of his] extensive trips for the sale of *Mr. Thurston's Canadian Balsam*, and other proprietary medicines."³⁹¹ Even bird enthusiasts decried the abuse of their feathered friends; they were upset that the beautiful array of many species were disappearing from Lynn and further, what was happening to them. Soap maker-turned-historian, George Emery, wrote letters to the editor in his one-man crusade to save the birds:

Mr. Editor - But a few years ago the early spring mornings were delightfully musical in Lynn around Fresh Marsh, Floating Bridge Pond, Flax Pond, and other places where lowland thickets grew, ... During several seasons latest past the writer has seen no tanager in Lynn woods anywhere. The beautiful bluebird, too, is apparently almost exterminated in this region. Twenty-five years ago this handsome bird was very common from early spring ... in our city. ... Why do these wonderful birds come back no more? They were killed. Where are the hermit thrushes that once sang like angels in our forest temples? Stuffed! A writer whose signature was "A Fellow Biped," in the last number of the Transcript told us, in part, why so few of the old accustomed birds now dwell in our orchards, hedges and woods. The nest-robbing boys are, as declared,

greatly at fault The worst enemy of the birds, however, and so indirectly of *those who believe birds have rights as well as men and women*, and who loved the beauty of living birds and their varied songs, is the hunter of birds. The gun has depleted our fields and woods of bird song and bird life. The bird-stuffers, and those who scour every thicket, meadow, and forest to slaughter birds for them, have become practically public enemies of nature. If birds-nest robbing can be stopped hereabouts, and the slaughter of the feathered innocents duly checked for a few years, we may once again be greeted by bird songs, as in days gone by.

George E. Emery. Lynn, April 28, 1883.³⁹²

Just a few weeks later, Emery wrote another letter to add one more candidate to his list of offenders who were causing the birds to disappear: "Only six people in Lynn had seen a mourning warbler this spring and not of the sort stuffed with tow and arsenic, by all the differences between vigorous life and ghastly merchandise"; in other words, the six people who saw the mourning warbler saw it alive in the wild, not stuffed and ready for mounting to a display or attaching to ladies' hats.³⁹³

Concern and caring for animals was admirable and needed, but between beasts, birds, and children, the largest concern was clearly for the safety and welfare of Lynn's future – its youth. John A. McArthur, the successful and busy Lynn physician, medicine maker, and businessman, felt passionately enough about neglected children to accept appointment as the agent in 1881 in Lynn for the Society for the Protection of Abused and Neglected Children (SPANC). The first Lynn child he focused on helping was 10-year-old Harwood Thorn, a boy who had been seriously injured in a recent train accident. "It seems that the lad has been neglected by his mother, who has failed to provide for him a home, and the poor lad has been obliged to look out for himself, and become a vagrant," whether he chose to or not. After the accident, he was sent to the almshouse to recover from his injuries, which it was felt he would do, and then the plan was to provide him a home and be given a chance to go to school, "which we understand he would like to do."³⁹⁴ John Dixwell, a Boston physician and General Agent for the kindred Massachusetts Society for Lost, Stolen and Abused Children, worked with McArthur on Harwood Thorn's path of rehabilitation and progress; he was one of the last children Dixwell supported before his resignation from the post. (Dixwell and McArthur apparently had a warm relationship; besides working together as advocates for disadvantaged children, Dixwell also provided McArthur two testimonials in support of his hypophosphites syrup in 1879 and 1880 that were printed in a booklet for the *Syrup of Hypophosphites*; one indicated that McArthur's syrup had "done more for three little broken-down children, who have come under our care of late, more than we ever expected from use of the preparation before. We do not want better results."³⁹⁵) It was a very good thing that the children's protective societies and dedicated people like the Dixwells and John A. McArthur were so committed to the safety and welfare of children – there was a lot of young innocence being forced to grow up too quickly amid all the beer, blood, and bad marriages in this fast-growing manufacturing center:

One of the most distressing cases of desertion occurred in Lynn the past week, and the terrible effects of dissipation is brought to light by this sad affair. Last Saturday John J. Mason, who had a home at 26 Tirrell's Court, with a wife and four bright children, disappeared, and nothing is known as to his whereabouts. . . . He left his family destitute, without even a fire, and after he leaves the cruel mother goes off to indulge in her appetite for strong drink, leaving the four little children of 10, 8, 5 and 3 years respectively, to care for themselves, without food and without fire to keep them warm, while the mother is satisfying her greed for liquor. The children present a pitiable sight. . . . They have been cared for and taken to the Children's home.³⁹⁶

Everywhere in the city were examples of lives blossoming with promise that withered in disappointment, strangled by invasive vines of self-interest and addictions. Such was the



A Conventional Physician's Cure for Tuberculosis: *McArthur's Syrup of the Hypophosphites*. Original cobalt bottle, about 1880; labeled bottle about 1900. The calendar in the background is for the year 1897. One of three embossed panels on the older blue bottle reads: DR MCARTHUR / MAKER; on the clear glass version, the same panel was altered to read simply, DR MCARTHUR because McArthur was deceased and the company had been sold to a manufacturer in Ansonia, Connecticut. (All collection of the author.)

cautionary tale of Rev. Arthur A. Waite: a creative and uniquely talented evangelist who did great good, helping many souls in Lynn turn to God and faithfully follow their new pastor – but after just a year he had disappeared, leaving behind his reputation along with confused converts, disillusioned disciples, and even his family. The angel Lynn knew became the devil they didn’t.



PERFECT PITCH. Born in 1849 at St. Louis, Missouri, Arthur A. Waite was the youngest of nine children of Liberty Waite, a portrait painter.³⁹⁷ In 1868 he and Ellen A. Flagg were married by her father, the Advent preacher and medicine maker (*Balm of Excellence*), Elder H. K. Flagg.³⁹⁸ In 1870, Arthur was a 20-year-old cigar maker living in St. Louis with Ellen and their baby boy.³⁹⁹ Having the artistic flair of his father, Arthur became a sign and ornamental painter in Memphis, Tennessee, noted for his excellent skills in design and lettering on glass; there he and Ellen had their second child, another son.⁴⁰⁰

For some reason – perhaps a need for more money, or domestic trouble, or a thirst for adventure – Arthur Waite morphed dramatically from the settled life of a sign painter to owner and manager of a sideshow accompanying a traveling circus, and amply demonstrating his creative flair, he redesigned himself with the show name, “Professor Bartino, the Devil’s Deacon.” Here in his low-budget sideshow, he performed as the magician, trick pony rider, and clown, and also entertained the crowds by exhibiting a big snake and an educated pig. One day the circus’s hot-air balloon exploded when barely off the ground and caused his sideshow tent to catch fire, consuming the tent and its contents, but the “Devil’s Deacon” knew the show must go on, so he performed his trick horse routine in the big ring, followed by his clown act. Then the crowd witnessed something they really didn’t expect: “he leaned against the center pole and sobbed aloud, then went to the dressing room, still weeping. Seated on a trunk, surrounded by male and female performers, he said he felt overwhelmed by the power of the Holy Ghost, and had determined to become a Christian and to lead a better life.”⁴⁰¹

The other performers thought he was kidding. They joked with him and suggested he simply felt blue because he had lost his sideshow. They tried to cheer him up and persuade him to return to his work of “fun-making” in the ring. “But he refused to be comforted … he had made up his mind to be a better man, and so, leaving the show, he started north to join [his] deserted wife and family.”⁴⁰² But his plan of repentance had gone beyond becoming a better man. On 10 June 1875, the recent Texas sideshow clown next appeared in North Clarendon, Vermont, in the revival tent of his father-in-law, Elder H. K. Flagg, not simply as one of the 125 listeners or even a new believer, but as the guest preacher, the Reverend Arthur A. Waite. It was apparently an instantaneous conversion from his recent “fun-making” as the Devil’s Deacon – what some might even call a miracle.⁴⁰³ The people of central Vermont were enthralled by the new preacher and considerable religious interest was awakened. Over the next week, attendance at the tent meetings had swelled to an average attendance of 500, four expressing a desire for baptism.⁴⁰⁴ For months to come, wherever Waite and his father-in-law set up their tent in Vermont and western Massachusetts, enthusiastic attendance and baptisms followed. With word circulating that he was moving on from South Adams, “over a thousand persons were present at the farewell sermon of Rev. Arthur A. Waite, the revivalist [and he] baptised a number in the afternoon.”⁴⁰⁵ By December he was invited to become the pastor of a church in the quiet country village of Sandy Hill, New York, over the border from Vermont. During the three years under his shepherding in the rural village of under 2,500, some 300 souls were converted and baptized in the waters of the Hudson River at the edge of town. When he finally left to continue his revival preaching, there was “a universal expression of sorrow at his going;” the choir sang a farewell and broke down in tears at its conclusion – they loved Reverend Waite.⁴⁰⁶

The erstwhile village pastor returned to the role of traveling evangelist, holding revival services in Vermont, western Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, then for five weeks in the winter of 1879, he held revivals in Portsmouth, on New Hampshire’s small coast,

... creating such a great sensation that when he held his farewell services 1,200 persons paid 10 cents each to hear him in the Music Hall, and as many more were turned away because the city authorities dared not allow any more to enter the building; when he left the city, though it was in a blinding snowstorm, 300 male voices were heard singing the "Sweet By and By" as the train rolled out of the depot.⁴⁰⁷

Reverend Waite's revivals were electrifying and produced some extraordinary results. Some of those attending one of the revivals were so taken up by the frenzied excitement (some would argue it was being caught up in the Spirit), one physician said he had to deal with three cases of insanity from "religious excitement" for which a male and a female had to be taken to an asylum.⁴⁰⁸ Other followers who were electrified but not harmed by his meetings made a concerted effort to show the evangelist their deep love and gratitude for his ministry. Before Waite left the seaport city, he was presented by his followers with a mammoth canvas pavilion bestowed with the name "Glad Tidings" that had cost them over \$800. It seated 2,000, and in its first use at least 1,800 people sat in a circle around a ring in the center. It was perfect for his growing audience and the "converted clown" (as the press sometimes referred to him) must have felt right at home – his followers had purchased him a big top circus tent.⁴⁰⁹

From Portsmouth he moved his revival on to Newburyport just twenty miles to the south in Massachusetts. The people of Newburyport were as excited to have this evangelist in their midst as had been those of Portsmouth; the small Essex County city was "soon in the midst of a great revival."⁴¹⁰ Waite had figured out how to blend the artistic skills he inherited from his father with the acquired skills in evangelism he had learned from his father-in-law, and his talent for dramatic crowd-pleasing came from figuring out how to gain their applause in his sideshow performances; at the very least, Arthur A. Waite was smart, intuitive, and perceptive about how to capture the attention, the admiration, and even the souls of the masses. He realized he didn't have to limit the parables in his sermons and his Sunday School lessons to conventional verbal imagery; "his experience as a scenic artist enabled him to sketch on chalkboards with great rapidity" and captivate his audience and from this perfected technique, he became known by everyone as a "chalk-talker" – he even had the distinctive term on his business card, which was designed quite effectively to look like a miniature chalkboard.⁴¹¹ He preached Christian principles, promoted the virtue of temperance, and exposed the lies of spiritualist mediums. He gave a performance in the Newburyport City Hall that exposed the tricks of mediums, but he did it with a flair that was intentionally magical and clearly designed to entertain, just like when he performed magic for his sideshow audiences, but ingeniously followed up his performance with a demonstration of how the mediums' tricks were done, which elevated his stature as a spiritual leader, casting the light of truth on the dark secrets of spiritual chicanery. He explained that he performed those tricks to expose that "monstrous delusion, modern Spiritualism." His standard performance program stated fearlessly, "I do desire to ... demonstrate that all *Honest spiritualists* are *mistaken* and all Mediums to be most certainly frauds. ... The fact is, they know they are frauds, I know they are frauds; they know that I know it and am prepared to prove it, and not afraid to tell them so."⁴¹² Then in a showpiece of dramatic bravado, he challenged them to a public duel.

C H A L L E N G E

I hereby denounce ALL Mediums as imposters and cool, deliberate swindlers, intruding with false claims upon the most sacred feelings of the bereaved, and therefore invite any Medium of this place or any place to appear upon the platform at this lecture with any test or manifestation they please. If I do not completely baffle and expose them, I will stand before the audience and committee corrected and rebuked.

REV. ARTHUR A. WAITE,
Artist Evangelist⁴¹³



Fall from Grace: Arthur A Waite. The pious evangelist and chalk-talker who became the scurrilous fraud and medicine pitch man. Cabinet card, about 1881. Pictured with his wife and sons and in front of some of his chalkboard artistry. (Collection of the author.)

Most importantly, he wanted his disciples everywhere to know that the aim of all of his efforts was “to preach Christ.” He advertised as an “independent evangelist,” not a member of any creed but purely as a follower of Jesus Christ.⁴¹⁴

From the summer of 1879 through the following June, Newburyport was Reverend Waite’s base of operations, although he gave performances against Spiritualism in other locations in the region. In July 1880 he came to Boston and pitched his huge tent in conspicuous downtown locations, like the busy Huntington and Columbus avenues, and “the people of Boston flocked to the tent, and to it also came the best pastors of the city to aid and to cheer him on his gospel work.”⁴¹⁵ One of his earliest Boston performances was giving a chalk talk to over 500 spellbound children, which clearly gained the gratitude and admiration of parents. Those in Lynn who hoped for spiritual renewal amid the city’s beer, blood, and bad marriages, prayed that the amazing Reverend Waite would come to their city as well, and they received the answer that he intended to visit on “some future day, but it is doubtful if he can do so this summer.”⁴¹⁶ So they waited, the sinners and the sinned against, for their turn to leave their deliverance in the chalky hands of the Artist Evangelist.

On Sunday, 7 November 1880, he appeared in Lynn’s midst, and there were “hundreds who could not find standing room” in the new Methodist Episcopal Church to hear the Reverend Arthur A. Waite, but those left in the darkness rejoiced that they would have a second chance to “see him explain the wonders of Spiritualism and all magical illusions at the Lynn Common Church, Tuesday Evening. Admission 15 cents.”⁴¹⁷ On Monday evening “Rev. A. A. Waite had a triumphant performance” at Tremont Temple in Boston, where “he duplicated every trick of a materializing medium, to the entire satisfaction of more [than] two thousand people.”⁴¹⁸ (Waite offered the same performance to a crowd of no less than 3,000 the following January in Boston’s Music Hall and it was reported that “the enthusiasm of the audience rose to such a point that they sprang to their feet, cheered, waved their handkerchiefs, threw up their hats, and went fairly wild.”⁴¹⁹) As promised, the people of Lynn were able to watch in amazement the same magnificent presentation on Tuesday evening at the Lynn Common Church. The magical evangelist performed all the mystical rites of spiritualism – slate writing tests, communications from the dead, putting hot shells through tables, eating fire, untying knots in and out of the cabinet, and spirit music – then he exposed to the audience how those tricks were done by the “so-called spirits. … Admission 15 cents, Reserved seats 25 cents.”⁴²⁰

Despite the rapturous throngs in Boston throughout the winter, in the spring of 1881, Waite decided to pitch his eighty-foot tent on the corner of Brookline and Chatham streets in Lynn, with its raised seats all around the center, able to accommodate up to 900 people.⁴²¹ He then held meetings under the big top every morning and afternoon and the people came: “Big crowds, big revival. Big show, big money.” It was under Waite’s big top that Abby Cain met Mr. Toms, a married man; they walked home together after Waite’s revivals, until their passion for his meetings developed into an adulterous passion for each other.⁴²² It was also here under the Lynn big top that the reverend introduced his 19-year-old niece, Lena Capron, into the shows, to demonstrate the mysteries of “second sight” (clairvoyance).⁴²³ Waite had quickly captured the hearts of many Lynners and they would continually demonstrate their love and devotion to him. In June they managed to throw a surprise celebration for Reverend Arthur and Ellen Waite on the occasion of their thirteenth wedding anniversary. Under Waite’s big top, almost 2,000 people gathered to honor the Waites, *each* bringing some form of present, from a very large coop of chickens to a beautiful carpet and “quite a sum of money was realized”; there was also a box of presents for Grandmother Waite (the Reverend’s mother) and presents for “Baby Minnie,” the Waite’s third child who was about eighteen months.⁴²⁴ The Hutchinson Family sang for Reverend Waite at a temperance rally held in July and the Barker Family sang at his meeting in August.⁴²⁵ Bergengren was delighted to display “a fine specimen of [the reverend’s] artistic work” in his drugstore window.⁴²⁶ Reverend Arthur A. Waite was a light in Lynn’s darkness and they loved him.

His beautifully drawn chalk talks were creative, with such creative topics as “Bad Birds of the Bible and Where They Roost,” and “Religious Tramps,” and he kept crowds coming back for more.⁴²⁷ Using a long 25-foot mural blackboard, he illustrated such captivating subjects as “Abominations of Modern Society,” “Sleek Gamblers,” “Flask, Bottle and Demijohn,” “Legal Liars,” and “The House of Blackness and Darkness.”⁴²⁸ At the close of his lecture on the 14th of July 1881, he also promised to honor a request that had been made for him to draw a crayon sketch of President Garfield for his audience, and to offer appropriate remarks. The president had been shot just days before and the country feared his loss as he lingered on his death bed, so Waite’s followers turned to their minister to provide the unique and soothing balm that only his words and drawing could provide.⁴²⁹

Those same skills had endeared Reverend Waite to the children and late in August he organized a triumphal parade of 500 little ones, whom he called the “Band of Hope,” marching through the streets of Lynn. They were preceded by a twelve-piece band and they were “well supplied with banners, most of them painted by Mr. Waite, and each child wore a badge.”⁴³⁰ An enormous expanse upward of 3,000 people were present at Flax Pond (literally and symbolically on the opposite side of the pond from the Flax Pond House of prostitution) on Sunday, 4 September 1881, to witness Reverend Waite perform baptisms in the pond. “The pond presented a beautiful appearance, with its floating audience in boats, and its edges were black with people … Reverend Waite preached a short sermon from a boat on the pond, and then baptized 23 converts – 15 women and 8 men.”⁴³¹

As cooler weather approached, the beloved evangelist proposed a permanent structure to replace the tent that was only truly convenient in the warm weather; his ebullient followers loved the idea and were anxious to make his vision a reality. In early September, a “grand offering night” was organized “when all who favor the idea of erecting a tabernacle for Rev. A. A. Waite, artist evangelist,” were encouraged to each donate a dollar or more. At the grand fundraising event, each donor would be registered in a book at the tent entrance as they passed in by Reverend Waite. “Any one unable to attend can send their donation by mail to Rev. A. A. Waite, No. 9 Groveland street.”⁴³² The reverend wrote up a prospectus for the project wherein he recapped his impressive efforts for the people of Lynn in the mere four months that he had been in their midst:

On the 27th day of May, 1881, the tent was put up in Lynn, on Brookline street, corner of Chatham. Thousands have come and gone, thousands are coming and going to that place to hear the same good old gospel. Over eight hundred have requested prayers for themselves and hundreds have professed conversion. A children’s Band of Hope, numbering one thousand members, is the fruit of the tent work. From the very first, I stated I came as an Evangelist, not seeking any other aim or ambition but to preach Christ and assist the churches. I have preached 221 sermons, held 32 children’s meetings, 30 noon meetings, 43 afternoon meetings, besides attending 7 funerals and held 197 inquiry meetings, making 452 meetings in the past 150 days.⁴³³

Ground breaking for the new “Glad Tidings Tabernacle” was held on 26 October 1881, with the honor going to Reverend Waite to toss the first shovelful of dirt. “Some forty or fifty people were present, and the ladies carried off handkerchiefs filled with earth from about the corner post.” (It was said that bottles of the “consecrated soil” were on display in some homes for years later.⁴³⁴) The new tabernacle would be about the same diameter as the tent it was replacing and cost about \$4,300, a good amount of which had already been raised and given to Reverend Waite for safekeeping.⁴³⁵

Arthur Waite had come a long away, given it everything he had, and accomplished so much. A church building was about to be built for him. He had a congregation of at least hundreds of devoted followers who believed in him. Audiences loved his chalk talks and cheered at his magical performances. He had become an honored religious leader and esteemed citizen of Lynn, finally able to settle down in a permanent home, surrounded by his family and friends. By every measure, Arthur Waite’s life was wonderful. Yet an ill wind blew that only he felt.

Just days before Christmas 1881, rumors were swirling in the icy winter breeze that Waite had "skipped the town" under cover of night with his young niece, Lena Capron, and his littlest boy, Harry. Something was definitely amiss; not only had Waite suddenly disappeared, but a visit to the Waite's residence found "Mrs. Waite busily packing the household goods, preparatory to moving to her father's home . . ."⁴³⁶ Disparaging rumors had followed the evangelist around from time to time, but his popularity prevented the suspicions from become widespread. There had been stories that he was abusing and neglecting his family; that officers of the law had to force him to pay his house rent, grocery, and provision bills; that he beat his youngest son, Harry, because the little boy couldn't learn fast enough the small role he had to play in his father's show; and that the reverend had some inappropriate relationships with other women, including his niece and stage assistant, Lena Capron.⁴³⁷ But his friends had always dismissed the gossip and on this winter morning they defended his nighttime disappearance by saying that he had gone on a lecture tour and was expected home within a week, "and that the tabernacle will surely be erected in the spring."⁴³⁸ But ten days later, even their fragile faith crumbled into worry.

On the last day of 1881, while his followers were reeling over his strange and unexpected disappearance, the *Item* tried to rationally dissect his success and fall:

Waite has occupied considerable space in the thoughts and conversations of the people of Lynn. Coming to this city early last spring, the novelty of his methods at once attracted large crowds to his tent, his audience being charmed with his oratory and fascinated with his pictures. The air of freedom which pervaded his canvas church presented so strong a contrast to the established churches of the city, that many were drawn to his meeting who had not for a long time known what it was to meet with others for public worship. Mr. Waite preached a free gospel in a manner that touched the hearts of the common people . . . He gradually drifted away from the position he had taken as a preacher, to that of a showman, thereby injuring his influence and causing much sorrow among his true friends. His course in other cities was pointed at as an illustration of the erratic and unstable character of the man, but those who had been led by him into a better life refused to believe that he would disappoint them. Some two weeks since he left Lynn to fill an engagement to "lecture" in Hackettstown, N.J. There were bad stories concerning his conduct on the night of his departure which require explanation, and their publicity set hundreds of tongues in motion, and since he went away, he has been exhibited in such a light as to render further efforts of his as an evangelist practically useless.⁴³⁹

Like the hotels that felt stung by lodgers who skipped out without paying their bill, Lynn grocers whom Waite owed said they had "been bit."⁴⁴⁰ Papers as far as St. Joseph, Missouri, passed the word about the deadbeat evangelist to warn businesses in their area.⁴⁴¹ *The Boston Globe* wrote, "The friends and many creditors of Rev. Arthur A. Waite are still mourning that erratic gentleman's absence, and the opinion is strengthening day by day that he will never return to Lynn."⁴⁴² Stung by his apparent desertion, the hope that some had for his return quickly faded; his congregation repudiated their wandering founder and decided to carry on without him, but no longer to be called the Glad Tidings Tabernacle Church, they became the Bethel Society.⁴⁴³ In the meantime, the thief in the night had finally been tracked down. The *Item* shared the information of a Lynn man who had found them performing on small stages in Vineland and Tamaqua, New Jersey, "he is no longer a wandering shepherd, but a rather dark-colored wandering sheep . . . [an] unprincipled scamp, who is going about the country duping better people than himself."⁴⁴⁴ He was trying to pass off himself, Lena, his little boy, Harry, and another man as wonderful mediums, and he had taken on the new stage name, "Dr. Bundy." The tricks of mediums that he had exposed to New England he now used to put on a convincing show of spiritualism. The report continued, "He is looking quite seedy. The suit of clothes given to him by the people of Lynn is decidedly dirty, and his general appearance indicates that he has been on a racket." The correspondent then hypothesized, "he saw he could not build the tabernacle, so he skipped from Lynn, spent what little money he had in drinking, and so

on, and of course he did not dare to go back." The *Item* summarized, "The above illustrates, probably as well as anything could, the unprincipled character of the man who but lately professed to be a teacher of good things and a leader to those who desired to walk uprightly."⁴⁴⁵ Whether Waite had suddenly left Lynn because he had squandered the donations for the tabernacle, or he had become overwhelmed by demands for payment of his debts, or because his wife had learned of his affair with their 19-year-old niece – or all three reasons – he knew his reputation and occupation had been ruined and his time in Lynn was at an end.

There were some who delighted in his fall from grace; in particular, the spiritualists derived great satisfaction in the dramatic turn of events and used the opportunity to excoriate the preacher who had denigrated them for years,

The quack clergyman, like the quack doctor, finds the people ever ready to be humbugged, and it matters little whether he expounds religion on the one hand or defames its supposed enemies on the other, he gains the crowd, and rakes in their shekels. Elder Waite is the prince of quacks, gaining notoriety by his pretended real in religion. ... this tramp and soul-saver⁴⁴⁶

This man Waite is not an eloquent talker or logical reasoner, rather lacking in personal appearance and intellectual capacity to captivate people generally, but still possessed of a wonderful faculty for duping people religiously inclined and robbing them of their money. He has practiced as a Methodist, Adventist, Evangelist, spiritual medium, expositor of mediums, and is ready to play in any roll that will bring in the dollars. He beats [doesn't pay his bills of] hotel keepers, grocers, newspapers, and printers, but after all is never at a loss for plenty of hearers.⁴⁴⁷

Waite's most steadfast friends encouraged him to return and Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* ruminated, "It was here that he lost his character, and here is the only place where he can hope to find it again." In April 1882 the Bethel Society was prepared to grant him conditional acceptance back into their fold, with stipulations: he wouldn't be entrusted with funds, be allowed to reassume leadership, or to give any performances ("as they believe show business is incompatible with the clerical profession"), and he would be allowed to preach only "if he came [back] as a repentant man."⁴⁴⁸ Four months after this highly restrictive offer, Waite returned and was invited to preach and the audiences he drew continued to be large, but now likely comprising a combination of faith, hope, and morbid curiosity about the fallen preacher who had returned.⁴⁴⁹ But the return of Lynn's prodigal son was short-lived. Waite's troubles with money and marriage had followed him back and he was depressed and broken, even to the point of spitting up blood. When he left for the last time in mid-October, the *Daily Evening Item* reported the sad condition of the clearly depressed and broken wretch who had once been their dazzling, beloved evangelist:

Elder Arthur A. Waite, who has been so prominent before the people of Lynn, has left the city for good, and it is probable that the place that knew him once will know him no more. Tuesday night when he returned [from seeing his wife] ... to Lynn he was so distracted that he acted very strangely, and Wednesday he gave evidence that he was hardly in his right mind, and said to the *Item* reporter that he had passed through enough to make any ordinary man insane, and he doubted very much his sanity. ... he said that he never should preach in Lynn again after this trouble. ... he took from his pocket a few coppers, saying that was all he had in the world. The women of Bethel Church had raised \$6 with which he might purchase some needed clothing. Mr. Waite showed his gold watch, saying that he should ... go to Boston, pawn his watch, and board a train for some place unknown and get away as far as possible from all his troubles. ... He did not seem to care for life at all. Where he has gone is not known by anyone. He left Lynn Wednesday afternoon ... with no definite destination in view. It is not likely that he will ever be seen in Lynn again.⁴⁵⁰

Years later, a correspondent to the *Item* summarized the evangelist's time in the shoe city with the same dispassionate view expressed by the newspaper itself, but the angry style of the spiritualists wasn't needed – a recitation of Waite's year in Lynn still ended in ruin:

An evangelist, spiritualist, exposer of spiritualism, magician, cartoonist, scene-painter, singer, settled clergyman, defaulter and fugitive from justice – all within a twelvemonth – proved too much for the sober, steady-going people of New England, and many of them were suddenly brought to realize that they had been made the dupes of the most cunning and successful scoundrel of his day. His success reached its climax here in Lynn, and here at last came his inevitable downfall.⁴⁵¹

Compared to the heights Waite had reached in Lynn, the rest of his career would read like a punishment in purgatory for any other preacher, but for him it was a return to the lifestyle of the Devil's Deacon: he continued his wanderings through much of the continent, performing and pitching, deceiving and cheating for his living. In November he had become "Dr. McKean" in Stanstead, Canada (where Charles Pinkham had his short-lived Canadian laboratory), doing his performances as a spiritualist medium and using his skills at drawing lightning-fast sketches of local scenes, faces, and objects, using both hands, colors, and charcoal, while lecturing about "The Powers That Win."⁴⁵² In February 1883, he had set up shop in St. Paul, Minnesota as "Andrew Arthur, the great natural Shaker healer," selling the *Great Natural Shaker Remedy* for two dollars a bottle and using a great flourish of "thee," "thou," and "thy" in his consultations with patients.⁴⁵³ In March 1884 he had moved over to Michigan and returned to his evangelist persona, preaching for profit; during this time it was reported that his wife and three children were "in a destitute condition," and Mrs. Waite had procured a divorce.⁴⁵⁴ Although the initial grounds were desertion, the detective hired by the Bethel Society to research allegations of Waite's swindling and adultery had discovered letters written by him "to lewd women"; Ellen Waite then sued for divorce on grounds of adultery with her niece, Lena Capron, "and at divers other times and places ... with other women."⁴⁵⁵

Ever-ready for scandalous stories, newspapers all over the country loved to include tawdry morsels about the sordid doings of the "converted clown." In 1886 reports from Galveston, Texas, to Tonganoxie, Kansas, placed Waite in such far-flung locations as London, England, working as a scenic artist at the Drury Lane Theater, to Cincinnati, Ohio, "living in luxury, sporting fine clothes and wearing diamonds and costly rings," and wherever he was found, the rumors put him with Lena Capron, the young woman for whom he had deserted his family.⁴⁵⁶ Maybe all of the gossip was true, or possibly none of it was, but it didn't really matter; people loved reading fresh scandals about scurrilous characters. The real Arthur A. Waite would not disappoint his readers.

In late 1887, the "oily elder" was going by the title, "Dr. A. A. Waite" as well as the alias "Dr. Stacey," headed up a traveling medicine show for the Oregon Medicine Company out of Pennsylvania. Although very successful in pitching the medicines, he stole from the company's profits and borrowed large amounts without repaying; nonetheless, as angry as the company's manager was he recognized that Waite was one of his most successful hucksters, so Waite was entrusted with another troupe and within three weeks' time he had embezzled another \$2,000 from the company. The company issued a \$200 reward (\$5,513 in 2020 USD) for Waite's arrest.⁴⁵⁷

\$200 Reward.

The Rev. Dr. Arthur A. Waite, alias Dr. Stacey, who some years ago was prominent as the converted clown and temperance agitator, is wanted. He managed a Good Tidings Gospel Tent in many of the New England cities, where he deserted his family and eloped with a young woman.

September 20, 1886, at Paris, Kentucky, he broke open a trunk and stole \$124.85. He obtained money by mortgaging property not his own; jumped bail, and fled the state.

Two hundred dollars will be paid for him in Kentucky.

Description: He is a man about 30 years of age; heavy build; slightly deaf; scar over one eye. Claims to have been a surgeon in the army, and to be a nephew of Chief Justice Waite. Travels about the country selling medicine, giving sleight-of-hand exhibitions, exposing spiritualism, curing people, etc.

Ten dollars will be paid for any information that will lead to his arrest.⁴⁵⁸

In late January 1888, perhaps to avoid the warrant for his arrest, Waite was back up in Canada, this time painting frescos on churches in the Brockville area. The article mentioning this also stated that he had married Lena Capron in Hartford, Connecticut, and that they had an infant daughter nostalgically named Lynn.⁴⁵⁹ Then, eight months later, he appeared in Texas. Another Lynner, by the pen name, "Houston," shared his discovery with the folks back home, telling a tale that sounded as big as Texas, if it weren't for the fact that he was talking about Arthur A. Waite:

One Hot Afternoon, in the month of August, 1888, I happened to be in attendance at the great Southern Exposition in Dallas, Tex. While wandering about the grounds, my attention was called to the performances given by a band of Wichita Indians, who had just come down off their reservation, in charge of the celebrated Dr. Waite, as I was told. ... I went into the camp and remained there for a while, watching with hundreds of others, the interesting dances, strange ceremonies, and sights of the Wichitas. Suddenly the Medicine Man was announced and with the music of his band, the beating of tom toms, and the dancing and yelling of the Indians, Arthur A. Waite appeared with the same smiling serenity of countenance that won him so many followers under the flag of "Gospel Tidings" in the old days in New England.

He looked long and earnestly out over his audience before uttering a word. It was the eloquence of [his] countenance that seemed to say, "I have nothing at heart but the welfare of the human race." ... There was that same air of confidence that helped to make his revival tour of New England an unparalleled success, and there, too, was the personal magnetism that yielded superiority to none and attracted the attention of the most eminent men of science and letters at Boston in his exhibitions at Music Hall

The wonderfully painted panoramic views of Indian life on the canvas slides about the camp and the beautiful emblematic banners flying in the breezes over his head all gave evidence that the skill of the painter and the artist still remained. It was the same man, but the character and the scene was so vastly different as to make it seem a metamorphosis and a miracle. ... Hundreds visited him daily for advice and medicine, notwithstanding the fact that his charges would have put to blush the most extortionate of "specialists." And yet, withal, his medicine was sold faster than it could be sent to him by the quacks who manufactured it, and his advice was taken at a premium.

It was very evident that neither penitence nor remorse had troubled him in the six years that had elapsed since his disappearance from Lynn, but that, in honest truth, he had attained a polish to the perfection of rascality – he already possessed.⁴⁶⁰

After describing Waite's role in the Wichita's performance, the correspondent felt compelled to comment on one of Waite's lectures he later attended in the Dallas area, which was, "Is Marriage a Failure?":

I thought, as I listened to it all, of a brave and worthy woman in Lynn who was working her life away behind the walls of a shoe factory to support the family of little children that he disgraced and deserted, who could have answered the question far better than he did. ... he will always be remembered, by those who knew him best, as an exaggeration of human genius, and the greatest "confidence man" in all America.

HOUSTON.⁴⁶¹

The correspondent got the opportunity to meet with Waite at his hotel, which he described as "one of the largest, most beautiful, and elegantly furnished hotels in the South," and quite a

contrast to “the uncomfortable tented village at the Exposition” where the Indian troupe was staying. In a moment of revealing introspection and stinging self-incrimination, Waite summarized his own cautionary tale:

Had I been true to my friends, ... and adhered manfully to the principles I preached, there would have been no limit to the good I might have done to Lynn and to myself. But my evil genius has led me in the opposite direction, and what is done cannot be undone now.⁴⁶²

There were many paths of good and error crisscrossing through Lynn and it was up to each man, woman, and child to pick well and hold fast to one that would bring happiness and success. Arthur Waite had lost himself in the maze, but young John Poole would not.



“TOOK NOON TRAIN FOR LYNN arrived at six o'clock tired and hungry” Thus began the journal and the journey of John W. Poole on the 3rd of January 1881.⁴⁶³ In Lynn he was another young slip of a man, 23 years old, 149 pounds, looking for work in the shoe manufacturing center of New England, but in life he was a pilgrim, finding his way, trying to choose the best path to avoid Destruction and reach his Celestial City, just like Christian, the hero of *Pilgrim's Progress*, which he was reading shortly after his arrival in Lynn. The train ride had started in Portland, Maine, nearby his family’s home in Ferry Village, on the south side of the harbor. His father was a mariner, usually far away on the high seas.⁴⁶⁴ John’s girlfriend, Etta (Alvaretta) Bain, was the young woman he would court and eventually marry, but John wanted to improve his lot and apparently felt Lynn was offering the best opportunity for the skills he had acquired while working in a Portland shoe factory, so he left mother and girlfriend behind and wrote to them often. Before the end of the year, Etta and her family moved to Lynn as well, and initially settled, fittingly, on Lover’s Leap Avenue.⁴⁶⁵

Lynn offered a city-sized array of vices tailor-made for a young, single man away from home and family, but John Poole was focused on keeping true to his values, faith, and focus on succeeding in life. Within a few months of his arrival at Lynn, his journal notes shared solitary observations of his birthday; it consisted of going to Sunday School, despite the snow and rain, then going back for a church meeting. When he got back to his boarding house room, he read some from the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*, “and so ended this my twenty fourth birthday.”⁴⁶⁶

Shoemakers Joseph Lye and John W. Poole were two young men with common birthdays (both were born on March 20th), occupations, and penchants for journal-keeping, but the circumstances of the eras in which they lived gave them very different outlooks on their lives. In 1819, 27-year-old Joseph Lye had written in his journal that he was thankful to have lived another year by the grace of God; sixty-five years later, in 1884, 27-year-old John W. Poole wrote in his journal, not that he was grateful to still be alive, but rather that he hoped God would be pleased with what he would do with is life, “I pray that my life may not be wasted but that each year may have its work laid for/against it for I must find all this time at the last day ... an account of what I have done.”⁴⁶⁷ He wanted his life to have value and he would look to accomplish it in Lynn.

Over the years ahead, he frequently attended church and temperance meetings and was trying to give up smoking, “smoked first time for 6½ mos. I find it hurts me[;] must stop for good.”⁴⁶⁸ The one pleasure for which he had a hearty appetite was reading; the wide array of subjects and genres he selected indicated a young man with an open mind, a vivid imagination, and a passion for learning. Lynn’s stores selling books and its library (housed in the city hall) became some of his favorite haunts and he went to those places frequently for books; one of his first selections as he began his life journey in Lynn was Jules Verne’s *A Voyage to the Center of the Earth*.⁴⁶⁹ Later in the decade he would read books ranging from *Hamlet* to the *Koran*, texts on physiology and surgery

to *Flowers of the Sky* (about comets and meteors), and one that he noted might have been his least favorite, “Dr Jeckell & Mr Hyde. Strange book.”⁴⁷⁰

Faithfully keeping his own journal was an extension of his love for books. And the daily notes he recorded each year from his arrival in 1881 until at least 1894, showed him to be a young man of patience, consistency, and commitment – all personal tools that would serve him well in every aspect of his life.⁴⁷¹

John rented a room in a boarding house on Essex Street and got work at the boot and shoe supply business of Charles O. Beede on Union Street, just on the edge of the city’s center. Here he had a front row seat to the big stories unfolding on Lynn’s stage.⁴⁷² On 19 September 1881, he wrote in his journal, “The President died at quarter before eleven to night after an illness of eleven weeks. Caus bulit wound made by one Guiteau”; (20 September) bells towled for President from 11.45 until 12.45 this morning sad day for the nation. Flags halfmast”; (24 September) The City in mourning for President[;] buildings draiped”; (26 September) draiped hous for Mrs Rover ... went to the City to the Hall to hear Servises in honor of Garfield. Very large crowd. Hall packed. ... City draiped.”

If this pilgrim had a weakness, it was not his virtue but his health. Although he was only twenty-three when he first started his Lynn residence and employment, his body seemed determined to undermine his efforts to succeed. His journals were part medical record of times when his head, eyes, teeth, heart, lungs, side, back, and bones took turns making him miserable. Sometimes the journals tracked the increasing seriousness of significant internal problems; on 14 April 1882 he had a bad headache, his eyes were bothering him, and his side and back were lame; then things went downhill from there: (15 April) “Side pained me all day can hardly walk”; (16 April) “Side pained me so bad did not go to Church[;] lay down in forenoon; (17 April) “Felt very bad all day. Pain worse than ever.” Nothing troubled him more deeply and frequently as his abdomen. Throughout the decade, Poole used the medical terminology he likely learned from his physiology book to describe his pain as located “above umbilicus” in the “right hypochondriac region,” but his description of the pain was much more primal: “bad,” “intense,” very severe,” and “considerable . . . Abdominal region very sorry. Painful for me to move the least motion with my body.”⁴⁷³ Even worse, the paroxysms erupted quickly and dissipated slowly. At first his doctor diagnosed his problem as hepatic colic (passing a gall stone) and injected morphine for relief.⁴⁷⁴ John then recorded that it was an “inguinal stone” (kidney stone) that had stopped its progress down the canal and it “hurts much when I walk.”⁴⁷⁵ Later the diagnosis changed again; the doctor “gave me [a] little talk on Brights disease of the kidneys; enjoyed it.”⁴⁷⁶ He probably meant he enjoyed the education but not the news. Besides the morphine, he applied flax seed poultices, a hot water bag, and some liver pills, but nothing stopped the painful explosions from returning and interrupting the quality of his daily life.⁴⁷⁷ He must have at least been grateful that his third attack of the decade had gone away a few days before his wedding to Etta on 30 June 1885. She had been his faithful helpmeet through many a night of excruciating abdominal pain in the months leading up to their wedding, doing her best to nurse him back to health. The day after they wed, John weighed 136 pounds; he had lost ten percent of his body weight since he had arrived in Lynn four years earlier, quite probably because his physical torments had just beaten it out of him.⁴⁷⁸

Another of his pains that may have contributed to his weight loss was constant toothache. On 13 October 1881 he “had tooth ake in evening very bad” and bought a vial of *Macalaster’s Obtunder* to relieve it. On multiple subsequent occasions he had cavities filled but on 22 December 1881 things were getting out of control: “head ache[,] tooth sore. Face swollen up”; (23 December) “tooth ache very bad all day and night”; (24 December) “did not go to church tooth ache too badly . . . Evening went to Dr. Macalisters had tooth out hurt much[;] ulcerated.” Again in the spring of 1883, tooth pain was at the center of his universe and he went back to Macalaster, despite the “dread having one out, but must” (14 May); on 15 May he had the tooth pulled (which cost fifty cents), then on the next day he went back to have Macalaster fill six cavities and insert two wedges to

spread the teeth; it made him “feel very uncomfortable” in the mouth and the pocket, costing him another five dollars.

With a constant barrage of aches, pains, and sickness, John went through many methods and remedies in search of cures. His journals list many medicines that he used once; *Macalaster's Obtunder* for his tooth pain was the most notable exception to that pattern; apparently it provided some measure of pain relief, as promised. He also made frequent use of mustard and flax seed plasters for relief of some of his internal pains and when he was suffering with colds. Some of the one-time remedies he tried included the *Balm of Gilead* his mother had given him for the pain in his side, *Mason's Cholera Mixture*, *Brown's Sarsaparilla*, cubeb cigarettes for catarrh, a Lynn pharmacist's *Elixir of Phosphate & Calisaya*, a kidney cure he referred to generically, and dangerous hellebore with a syringe for a purpose not recorded in his journal.⁴⁷⁹

The range of healer types John considered for his health challenges revealed an open mind and perhaps some desperation. When he first arrived in Lynn, Poole jotted down in his journal that a “Dr. Stevenson” was at the Sagamore House, and “Cures all diseases,” and in 1886 he wrote down complete contact information for Mrs. E. V. Frelich, a metaphysician on Union Street, but his journals don’t mention if he actually used either of them.⁴⁸⁰ When his abdominal problems suddenly burst into his life in late 1884, he turned to Frank D. Stevens, who was serving as the city physician for Lynn.

Back in November 1881, when Poole had returned to Portland, Maine, for a visit, a doctor there told him, “one of the valves of my heart is strained, but thinks [he] can help it . . .”⁴⁸¹ When John experienced the terrible pains in his side in April of the next year, the same doctor diagnosed that Poole was suffering from fever in the liver, causing “a little torpidity,” so he gave John two prescriptions. The pain didn’t seem “so sevear” later that day, but the next day his heart started giving him problems again.⁴⁸²

A few weeks later, John decided he needed to try something quite different from the traditional medicines and doctors that weren’t resolving the pain in his side. He had read some of Charles Cullis’s book on faith cure and he felt compelled to go to Boston to seek out Cullis’s help.⁴⁸³ The doctor wasn’t at his office, but the thought of faith cure seemed to lift up John’s hope some; he went to a prayer meeting in Lynn where he made “a personal covenant with God[:] if he will heal me I will do his bidding.”⁴⁸⁴ On 7 June 1882, John went back to Boston and found Cullis in his office. The doctor “offered a simple prayer for my healing[,] anointing me with oil and claiming the promise in James V:14-15[,] commanding in the name of the Lord Jesus to be healed.” John Poole returned to Lynn feeling invigorated by his faith: “worked hard to day yet do not feel very tired Feeling the Lord is strength.”⁴⁸⁵ As the days rolled forward, John tried to keep his faith strong in the faith doctor’s blessing and his own covenant in order to be blessed with the cure; if it didn’t come, John was certain it wasn’t the fault of God or Charles Cullis, but John’s own wavering faith:

- (08 Jun 1882) No very marked changed in health am waiting for the fulfilment of the promis[e] it will come. “It is good to hope and also to wait patiently”
- (12 Jun 1882) ... spent ... time in talking got a little tired but feel Stronger and more determined to trust the Lord for a compleat cure though it be delayed it will come.
- (13 Jun 1882) Am gaining all the time. Thanks be to God. Took heart
- (14 Jun 1882) Feel quite strong tonight ...
- (15 Jun 1882) ... I still wait on the Lord for healing.

On 2 July 1882, John made another proof of his faith – he got baptized. He would need all the faith he could muster for the health issues that were coming.

In addition to the troubles brewing within him, his faith was tested by the accidents that had become synonymous with factory machinery. He cut his thumb at work in June of 1881 and in September of 1882 he crushed his finger and lost the fingernail; he complained of the pain for over a week.⁴⁸⁶ The machinery he worked with was relentless and he got severely cut again when his right index finger got caught in the sharp-bladed skiver in April 1885; the finger was torn open and his doctor had to amputate it at the second joint. It was a new and traumatic experience for John, not only due to the severity of the injury and the impending amputation but because physician Stevens also administered ether to John, “for the first time in my life and was very sick coming out of it.”⁴⁸⁷ The workshop accidents kept happening; he got pieces of emery stuck in his eye twice in 1889.⁴⁸⁸ And as if he wasn’t mauled enough in the workplace, in 1885 he was kicked in both legs by a horse, “making me quite lame.”

Inevitably, accidents were a fact of life in the workplace, at home, and everywhere in between and the newspapers captured them with numbing frequency. During a cold January in 1881, one of the city’s doctors had twenty patients, most of whom had accidents on defective and slippery sidewalks.⁴⁸⁹ A single edition of the *Lynn City Item* contained a spate of accidents that had occurred in a Lynn factory, a saloon’s kitchen, the train depot, and to a woman walking in front of a horse team on the street.⁴⁹⁰ John Poole recorded in his journal his first-hand experience of witnessing the aftermath of one of the city’s many horrifying man-versus-train accidents, “the sight was sickening – several pieces of his being scattered about . . .”⁴⁹¹ Another newspaper story told of a former soldier who was so completely demolished by impact with the train, his wife could only identify his remains by his bowtie.⁴⁹² Then there was the story of the 10-year-old boy who was looking too closely at the caged animals on the circus grounds: a piece of his ear was swiped off by the claws of a panther.⁴⁹³

The city’s health department deliberately focused on controlling public nuisances suspected of causing widespread illness rather than on accidents that affected individuals, and there was plenty of work to do. There had been, for example, 549 complaints of existing sanitary nuisances in 1884, all of which needed to be investigated, and there had been 183 cases of contagious diseases reported as well, which were strongly suspected of being linked to the fetid odors emanating from dead animals, rotting vegetation, and the excrement of man and beast.⁴⁹⁴ Drainage and ventilation were the orders of the day, from the installation of traps in household plumbing to a proposal for draining Bog meadow of its foul contents and converting it into “a public park or garden,” since it was a totally unfit place for houses (apparently, just visiting and playing there was thought to be less of a health risk than living there).⁴⁹⁵ Factories that controlled the lives of so many adults for so much of each day, were also pushed for hygienic improvements:

Factories should be swept at 6 P.M. and the dust allowed to settle during the night. Windows should be opened before work is resumed in the morning and the bad air changed for good, while thorough ventilation should be had during the day. It has become a common occurrence for the operatives in stitching shops to be carried out in a fainting condition, brought about by breathing impure air. . . Decayed vegetable or animal matter should not be allowed to accumulate in or about the premises. . . we trust enough has been said to induce some of our business men to inaugurate a reform in factory hygiene.⁴⁹⁶

In August 1882, a whole new problem bubbled up in Flax Pond: thousands of fish of all types were dead and dying, “the whole surface of the pond was dotted over with them, emitting a very offensive smell” in the hot August water that had a “thick . . . greenish cast.” The board of health, along with other entities, went out upon the roiling broth in rowboats and quickly learned that “upon stirring the mass with an oar a horrid stench was raised.”⁴⁹⁷ They traced the pollution to its source, the wool-pulling factory on its banks in Wyoma village. In the process of removing hair from hides, lime and arsenic were applied and the runoff was killing the fish and pond.⁴⁹⁸ Reverend Waite’s mass baptism on the pond had fortunately occurred the previous summer, but city officials were

concerned because many homes bordered Strawberry Brook, downstream from the polluted pond, and hundreds of cows and horses drank from the river; plus the ice blocks cut from the pond's surface in a few months would be fouled by the contaminated blocks, which in turn, would wreak havoc with the refrigerated foods kept cool by it in ice boxes throughout northeastern New England.⁴⁹⁹ The danger of fast trains and faster panthers was not unimportant, just not as high a priority as public nuisances. Accidents would happen, but an ounce of prevention was worth a pound of cure.

The organized and usually proactive efforts of Lynn's health authorities had garnered praise at the 1881 national convention of the American Public Health Association in New Orleans, "all populous cities are called upon to imitate Lynn's example."⁵⁰⁰ While its efforts played well in New Orleans, getting the public back in Lynn to embrace and support instructions and ordinances to improve public health continued to meet with some resistance and even ridicule, "Sanitary science is apt to be considered by persons who give it little attention, as being of but little use. The Sanitary Association of Lynn is often made the subject of merriment by unthinking parties who do not realize the great good which such organizations may accomplish."⁵⁰¹ As had been the case in Lynn for centuries, there were those who didn't care to follow hygienic advice. Charles P. Maguire, the 29-year-old gas fitter, might not have died of alcoholism if he had followed the advice of temperance advocates; Rebecca Hunnewill might not have died of syphilis if she had heeded her pastor's sermons; and Robert McArthur, the 31-year-old painter, who died of painter's colic (lead poisoning buildup over time), should have listened to the warnings of medical society physicians.⁵⁰²

Some of the lingering distrust of health authorities stemmed from the apparent elitism and aloofness some doctors exhibited towards the public. The family and friends of Mary McCauliffe had to be bewildered and frustrated at the difficulty of finding a physician to attend her in such a time of need; even moreso since she ended up dying. In a city that had forty-eight individuals anxious to be listed in the physician's roster of the city's directory, it was hard to understand and accept that there were urgent calls for their services that went unanswered.⁵⁰³ Perhaps the real tragedy of Mary McCauliffe was that her situation wasn't an isolated example. In May 1880, seven out of eight physicians refused to respond to the call to aid a woman who "had a slight shock of paralysis [and was] taken with convulsions," even though her husband offered to pay the attending doctor in advance of rendering services; it was suspected that their refusals were due to the inconvenience of being called upon in the nighttime.⁵⁰⁴ Again, one night in early January 1881, Mrs. Berdge of West Lynn died after being refused by six physicians who had been called upon for medical attendance.⁵⁰⁵ An editorial back in April 1880 had brought attention to this problem even before all of these incidents had occurred. The non-responsiveness smacked of unsympathetic and elitist doctors:

What Ails the Doctors? One night, recently, seven physicians were called upon to attend a lady living in the vicinity of the Common, who had been attacked with a severe and profuse hemorrhage. One after the other, six refused to put in an appearance, the seventh having humanity enough to comply. All of these physicians may have had the best of reasons for declining, but it would be hard work to make the majority of the public think so. It is the popular idea that doctors become so inured to scenes of suffering as to care very little whether their fellow-creatures die or not. If these healers had been called upon at midnight to leave their beds to attend a person of wealth, instead of the party in question, who has no social position, so far as riches go, think you that the messenger would have been obliged to call upon more than one to obtain a speedy visit?⁵⁰⁶

Another case was shared in the newspaper of a man who was run over in Central Square by the train, his legs getting terribly mangled. Even though the accident had happened at the very center of Lynn's busy downtown, he laid there at the brutal scene "a long time before surgical aid was rendered him, and suffered great agony." He was finally brought to the police station – the

miserable dungeon of cells for criminals and drunks – because Lynn still didn't have a hospital. One of his legs was amputated there and then he was taken to the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, where he was pronounced dead. The story's writer tried to tinker the tragedy into another plea for a hospital in Lynn, and also as an awkward vote of sympathy for the city's physicians: "The doctors in Lynn do not like to respond to calls in the night, and they do not like to dress the wounds of men who are strangers and often unable to pay for their services. They cannot be blamed for disliking to work gratuitously."⁵⁰⁷ A personal letter by Lynn physician Andrew Baylies illustrated that there was another perspective to the apparent slowness or non-responsiveness of doctors. The letter reflects not only the extent of his practice but its unrelenting intrusion on his personal life – even writing a letter to a family member became a week-long ordeal. In Baylies' case, it seems he responded to each request for whom the bell tolled, but clearly other exhausted physicians sometimes had the messenger go on to the next doctor on their list.

41 Smith St., Lynn Oct 27 1881

Dear Aunt: -

Your letter came to hand a few days ago. We are sorry that Aunt Hannah did not come out and see us when she was at Boston.

Oct 29. – Isn't [it] to[o] bad that one cannot have time enough to write a short letter without having been interrupted every few moments. After writing three lines, the door bell rang for me to go away and I have only just now found time to resume[.] It is a very dark stormy night and I may have a little more time for myself and to write to you.

I have four patients lying at the point of death – three with Consumption, and one with Cancer of Stomach; besides one consumptive who died last night.

On the other hand I have attended four confinement cases within ten days; and am under five similar engagements for the near future.

I recently had a case of uremic convulsions in connection with a confinement case similar to the one you wrote about.

It was a case that occurs on an average of once in 250 times only By wise and patient management of the case I saved both mother and child; and both are doing well, and this without the use of instruments – My success was greater than was expected and has increased my reputation somewhat for it was in a nice family –

I am settled here now and may remain here all my days and I may not.

Lynn has many advantages and some disadvantages like all other places – One has to do a great deal of work for the pay that we get: but it is certain that I could not endure the long rides of a country practice, and if I am to remain in a city perhaps Lynn is as good as any place –

The door bell has just rung for me to go and see a daughter of my cancer patient – The mother has just died and the daughter is unconscious from grief

Oct. 30 I will try and get a few more minutes for writing before I get called away again

This is about the way it is with me most of the time

You can imagine that I should enjoy a vacation if I can get one – *I get tired some days hearing the door bell ring*

... the small hours of the night are on me and I must say good night and seek some rest

Oct 31 Perhaps I can finish this letter this time – Among my other duties today, I have had an autopsy on the body of one of my deceased patients – We found what we expected to find viz. Cancer of the Liver This is what I could not have done once; but what is so common now that it excites but little thought[.] I do not mean by that, that I

am growing hard hearted; for I am very far from that. — I never had so many opportunities for sympathy with suffering and real usefulness as I am having now — — —

Nov. 3d. I have a confinement case on hand today — *have returned home for a short time only*, with the prospect of having a night[']s job. We are having a rainy spell — My horse is having the “Pink Eye” and I am riding in the horse cars, and going on foot.

Louise wants me to invite you and Uncle R— to spend Thanksgiving with us —
Can you come? — *In haste*

Yours truly A Baylies ⁵⁰⁸

As Baylies pointed out, doctors were concerned about building and maintaining a strong, positive reputation; their patronage and financial success hinged on it. William A. McDonald had worked hard to be esteemed and the *Daily Evening Item* gave his successes great praise. In May 1883, after John Murray’s friends decided he was suffering with consumption, McDonald diagnosed his case as dropsy of the chest and performed a surgery , draining three quarts of water from the right lung and Murray improved as a result.⁵⁰⁹ Less than two months later, the *Item* was equally happy to report:

We learn with much satisfaction that our friend and neighbor, Mrs. Moloney, the fruit dealer, who has been dangerously, and as was supposed, fatally ill from strangulated hernia, has so far recovered as to be considered out of danger. She has been under the treatment of Dr. W. A. McDonald, of this city, who was called to the case after her condition had been pronounced hopeless and it was said that nothing could be done for her. By his courage and skill he brought his patient safely through the crisis by skillful surgical and mechanical treatment, and by subsequent care and the administration of suitable remedies.⁵¹⁰

But earlier in the year the doctor felt he was on the road to ruin because of what he perceived as an attack on his reputation by none other than Father Strain, the priest of the local Catholic parish. The doctor sued the priest for libel on two counts; first, that in his role as a “practicing obstetric physician,” “he had been careless, unskillful, and reckless” and most egregiously, that he demonstrated he was more concerned about the health of his horse than the health of his patient. The second count was that the priest had advised a man not to employ the doctor because he was “a careless and unskillful physician, and had been guilty of malpractice.” McDonald was very serious with his lawsuit; he looked to recover \$10,000 (\$256,536 in 2020 USD) for the priest’s libels.⁵¹¹

The case rotated around what happened during the birth of Mrs. Mary Crogan’s baby. McDonald said when he was called to her side, the woman had been in labor for some hours and she was drunk; the nurse had given her something she termed “Easter holy water,” but he found it was mostly gin.⁵¹² Consequently, he told the woman she wouldn’t be able to deliver the baby without his assistance using instruments. Mr. Crogan’s version of the same event was that his wife was strong, not under the influence of alcohol, and the instruments weren’t necessary, but he used them nonetheless to hasten the birth because he was worried about his horse being out in the cold. The child was killed, the defense insisted, and the doctor had come near killing the mother as well, and then pointedly declared, “No one would employ a surgeon who had been guilty of killing a child by using instruments to hasten childbirth, in his anxiety to keep his horse from catching cold.”⁵¹³

The jury couldn’t unanimously agree on a verdict; The twelve-person jury was evenly split after the first ballot and the final ballot yielded eight votes for the priest and four for the doctor. The jury was discharged without resolving the case.⁵¹⁴ McDonald could only hope that the positive notoriety he received for his successful operations and treatments would weigh the scales of public opinion in his favor and that the claim of malpractice to protect his horse would be dismissed from their memories. Perhaps it would also help if the spotlight of public scrutiny would shift onto someone else; if so, the court cases of Corken and Noyes more than adequately accomplished that.

William Duncan Corken and Rufus King Noyes seemed to have nothing in common other than the most superficial fact that they were both doctors practicing outside the glow of public approval. Corken had been noted by his patients as an abortion specialist and Noyes was a doctor who adamantly opposed the use of medicine. Yet these two maverick Lynn physicians somehow joined together to support each other's lofty plans: Noyes was listed as the treasurer for Corken's network of English Cottage Hospitals and Corken was the professor of Pathology and Etiology in Noyes' Bellevue Medical College.⁵¹⁵ As it turned out, Corken and Noyes had also grabbed center stage at the same time in the drama of disreputable Lynn physicians; by comparison, the MacDonald vs. Strain lawsuit was just a small, off-stage drama, hidden behind the curtains.

In 1880, the well-credentialed Rufus King Noyes, a graduate of Dartmouth Medical School, member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Lynn physician, and late resident surgeon to the Boston City Hospital, published his book, *ON THE SELF CURABILITY OF DISEASE; OR, THE DIVINE ART OF HEALING AGAINST "THE HUMAN ART OF HEALING;" OR, THE NATURAL CURE OF DISEASE AGAINST THE CUSTOMARY USE OF DRUGS*, and it definitely did not say what doctors were expected to be saying: "... this profession, this art, this *misnamed knowledge of medicine*, is none other than a practice of fundamentally fallacious principles, impotent of good, morally wrong, and bodily hurtful" and "... I absolutely deny the existence of [an] art of healing; implying a practical, wise and just application of knowledge and power."⁵¹⁶

Any educated physician or surgeon, recognized by the people and a legally established medical society, will tell us without hesitation or doubt that all ignorant persons unlawfully calling themselves "doctor," ... are quacks and imposters, incompetent of good and productive of ill. Many others will say the same. To whom should this charge be directed? Should it be to "doctor," "fortune-teller," "manipulator," "spiritualistic," "mesmeric," "magnetic," "Indian-herb," "apothecary," "empirical," "eclectic," "botanic," "expectant," "hydropathic," "homoeopathic," or "regular"? Who of these can justly escape? That knavish healers do exist, none will [disagree]. That all professors of healing are more or less crooked and pretentious is plainly apparent. ... And there is no doubt in my mind that a vast majority of "doctors" are as firmly imbued with an erroneous and exaggerated faith and confidence in their power and skill to health with drugs as are the people.⁵¹⁷

Noyes had taken a hard turn away from the traditional view of doctors and from his early practice in Lynn, although even then he had brought his distrust of drugs with him when he first arrived in Lynn's Kirtland House in 1878 (his trade card indicating that advice would be given, examinations made, and operations performed "when required and desired," but no drugs would be given).⁵¹⁸ In August of that year he was credited with etherizing and correcting the leg of a boy that had bent because of being burned in a fire; he succeeded, in fact, where another Lynn doctor had failed.⁵¹⁹ But two years later, when his book was published, the *Daily Evening Item* struggled to recommend its extreme departure from medical texts. The newspaper stated, reciting his past experience and current "reputation as a skillful healer by his practice in Lynn, ... there is something besides mere theory on which he bases his belief" (the *Item* didn't seem to have any idea why he was publishing such radical notions on doctoring, so they had written the equivalent of, "he must know what he's talking about"). They recited the contentions in his book that drugs were bad, pain was good, and that whenever parts of the earth got overpopulated, an epidemic pestilence "is Nature's remedy." The paper's summary of the doctor's new book read more like a warning than a recommendation: "The above quotations are significant as showing that Dr. Noyes is entirely antagonistic to any school of healing which employs drugs. The book is on sale at Barton's and also in the bookstores of Boston."⁵²⁰

In January 1882, less than two years after his book was published, Noyes sent a petition to the statehouse demanding "the repeal of all laws requiring vaccination, and ... prohibiting unvaccinated children from attending the public schools."⁵²¹ By his way of thinking, if drugs were

bad, vaccination was an abomination; the idea of placing diseased matter from a cow into the bloodstream of a human was “absurdly unscientific and impracticable.”⁵²² The *Item* noted with some editorial humor earlier in the month, “Dr. Noyes found eleven persons who were willing to sign his petition against compulsory vaccination. That’s more than we supposed he would get.”⁵²³ The petition got no support from the lawmakers, but they had already approved another cause that Noyes had championed – the establishment of a medical school. He called it Bellevue Medical College; from the very start, he was either looking to annoy the medical society world or to camouflage his school in the public eye – there was already a well-known Bellevue Medical College in New York City.

Given Noyes’ anti-medicine, anti-medical establishment rhetoric, wanting to create a medical college seemed to be a hypocritical contradiction, but a circular created about the school showed that he was actually trying to redefine the practice of medicine to conform with his own beliefs. One clear difference was that his new medical school was to be open to women: “persons of both sexes share equal advantages, and receive adequate knowledge of diagnostic, treatment, and doctoral conduct.” The circular promised that the school would focus on “truth and science” and other ennobling values rather than on whether doctors practiced allopathy, homeopathy, hydrotherapy, or other types of medical beliefs: “It is striving to make codes, sects, pathies, traditions, superstitions, theories, jealousies, and feuds subordinate to justice, truth, and science, liberty, sense, and reason.” The circular also revealed that medical education at the college *wasn’t* going to be built upon supercilious theories and scientific minutiae or upon the accepted cornerstones of medicine: anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and pathology. Instead, graduates from the Bellevue Medical College were assured of success because of “the clearness, directness, and simplicity of the instruction received.”⁵²⁴ Noyes even quoted two of medicine’s revered physicians to reinforce his school’s departure from traditional medical college training:

Refinement in theory, and knowledge of trifles, as the renowned Sydenham says, “are of so little service to a physician in removing disease as skill in music to an architect in building.”

Says Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, “Anatomy is no more medicine than a child’s dissected alphabet is literature. Physiology and chemistry throw gleams of light here and there on curative methods, but are apt to lead their votaries far from practice. Pathology teaches a great deal, but is, after all, like inspecting what is left of the fireworks on the morning of the fifth of July.”⁵²⁵

Having personally experienced all that was required by conventional medicine – medical school, medical society membership, and adherence to bylaws – Noyes adamantly believed a new type of doctor was needed. “[The school’s] object is to make good and useful doctors. It is to fit persons to be doctors and human healers. It is a practical school of medicine, having for its aim the relief of human suffering”; and all this would be accomplished with a course of study that “economize[d] the student’s time, money, and mental energy.” In short, the school would provide the student “the knowledge needed in everyday practice, and to tell him or her just what to do and when and how to do it … things that are overlooked in [other schools].”⁵²⁶ Something else that was quite different from the medical schools at Harvard, Dartmouth, and Bellevue in New York was that the full course of studies was only five months at a cost of fifty dollars, plus an additional twenty-five dollars for graduation.⁵²⁷

In October 1882, the Illinois State Board of Health received an application from a 57-year-old man for a certificate to practice in the state on the basis of the diploma he had received the month before from the Bellevue Medical College chartered in Massachusetts. The board responded that no certificate could be issued until it examined the diploma. “In the meantime, from correspondence in Boston [it was] learned that Dr. Rufus King Noyes, president of Bellevue Medical College, was an anti-vaccinationist of some local notoriety in Lynn … .”⁵²⁸ Suspicious of

the diploma, the college, and its president, the board arranged to have a letter written to Noyes by a fictitious applicant who was intentionally designed to be poorly educated and clearly unqualified:

My Dear Dr Your esteamed favor came to hand this morning I can se no reason under your Rules why I Cant get one of your Diplomys I have ben Reading Medesin for a year and Besides that I hav ben tending on sick Party near all my life so I have a Party Good idee About the Business I hav a Good Many friends who I Doctor and they would Ruther have me for a Doctor than any body else for I can Cure them when Other Doctors Cant I Can Diagnose a case every time But as I have no Diplomy I cant Charge hardly any feas So I need a Diplomy from a Good Colege but I aint got funds enuff to go Thear I aint got much edication Eather but I don't think a man must go Through Coleges to know how tu Doctor. I know some Doctors who want to cramm Thear heads with Theories and no Practiss and they are so Intolerable that they want Every Man to go to Colege but they are Rich and I am Poor and they want to crowd me out Because they are afraid of me and if I had a Diplomy I could hold my own with the Best of them These Doctors would not bother me If I had a Diplomy of the Bellevue Medical Colege and then they say I dont know Nuthing Because I don't Beleave in Vaccination But I have sen Enuff of that Business but I will rite a Essay on that Thing and you can see what I think now Doctor I am Poor and if you will give me a Diplomy cheap I will do the Best I can for your Colege I think I hav showed you I am qualified and you can see what I know By the Essay I send you You can send a Diplomy C.o.d. Address to Yours Truly V. B Kelly Box 3827 Springfield, Ill.

P s send rite away⁵²⁹

Kelly's letter included equally incoherent remarks against vaccination, obviously to pander to Noyes' sentiments on the subject. Once the letter was sent to Noyes, there was some second-guessing about whether they had allowed the letter to be too implausible, the author too incompetent. But they received a quick response from Noyes that started, "Mr. Kelly – Dear Sir: Your application as a candidate for graduation has been favorably considered by the faculty, and your thesis has been examined by the professors and found to be acceptable." And since Kelly had explained he could not afford to attend the college in Boston, Noyes told him that he would have to buy two tickets of matriculation to serve as proof that he had been "under the instruction of the Bellevue Medical College for two years. ... *We believe you are, and will ever be, competent in diagnosis, treatment and doctoral conduct.*"⁵³⁰ A medical college diploma by mail at a cost of \$150 for courses never taken – despite the polished description of how the school was going to elevate medical education to new heights, Rufus King Noyes was, in fact, running nothing more impressive than a diploma mill.

The people of Lynn were well aware that the term was synonymous with fraud; so much so that when a team of visiting spiritualists had performed extremely poorly and ineffectively at the G.A.R. Coliseum in late May 1882, "cries of 'fraud' and 'DIPLOMA MILL'" were heard from all parts of the hall . . ."⁵³¹ Little did they know at that point that they would be able to hurl the epithet at their own townsmen a half year later.

Noyes and Corken were in different courts at the same time, both hoping their lawyers could keep them out of prison and, because of their roles in each other's pet projects, the glare of assumed guilt was intensified.⁵³² When Corken had told the reporter that he could probably raise the bond for the malpractice and obscenity charges, but wasn't going to bother trying because he expected more charges were coming, he was likely anticipating those to come from his role in Noyes' college. An ambitious *Boston Globe* reporter got Noyes to agree to a telephone interview before Noyes realized that he was going to be hauled into court for running a diploma mill. He said he was twenty-nine years old, an 1875 graduate of Dartmouth College's medical department, and house surgeon at the Boston City Hospital for a year and a half and he had been a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society several years, "but was expelled a few months ago for mingling with homoeopaths and for fighting against compulsory vaccination." He even admitted that the

diploma he issued to the fictitious Kelly was a “bogus degree,” but “although there is of course a pecuniary motive at the basis of this whole thing, my connection with it was honest and sincere, and I have worked very hard [at the college] in giving instruction. I am there every day.”⁵³³

While Corken was convicted and sent to prison for four years, Noyes was found not guilty because the court determined that, as egregious as the bogus diploma business was, it was *not* against Massachusetts law.

The statutes of Massachusetts have authorized this college to issue degrees. This college has done so. It has done so under a legal right, and there were no legal restrictions or requirements regarding who should be the recipients of those degrees.⁵³⁴

It cannot be argued that the issue is fraudulent any more than an allopath can claim that a homoeopathic college issues degrees fraudulently. The law makes the faculty of the college the sole judges of eligibility of applicants for diplomas.⁵³⁵

If they chose to issue these degrees to incompetent persons, the laws of Massachusetts authorize them to do so, and the ulterior result, that men are let loose upon the community as physicians who are not fit to heal, is not a scheme to defraud under the statute.⁵³⁶

The defendants are discharged.⁵³⁷

Pin drop.

The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal tried to give the frustrating finding a redemptive value; they reasoned that bogus medical diplomas were getting made because medical diplomas were valued, so hopefully the day was soon coming when they were only available as the legitimate reward for a serious medical education: “The repeated discoveries of bogus diplomas are not entirely devoid of comfort. A thing must have a value to make counterfeiting pay ... Surely ... the day is passing away when natural gifts are considered the highest claim to medical skill.”⁵³⁸

ADJUSTING FOCUS

It didn’t feel like it for the district attorney as he listened to the court’s finding, but times were changing. Some long-cherished myths and traditions continued to hold fast but others were evaporating when being exposed to the daylight of science. James Fogg had learned how to run one of the revolutionary McKay shoe stitching machines, but he held onto the old notion that cold water killed on hot days. On Friday, the sixth of July 1883, he explained that it was “so very hot we co[u]ld not work much,” and then again on the seventh “a barber sarterday down on union street held his head under the faset [faucet] and let the cold warter run on his head when he was all of a heat he died to day at noone. the people of lynn ses this is the se[v]erest case that has hapend by so doing.”⁵³⁹ Unlike Fogg and the gossip he repeated, the medical examiner’s careful and capable post mortem analysis provided the accurate pathological explanation for the barber’s death. Edward F. Prouty, the barber, died not by pouring cold water over his hot head, but by cerebral meningitis.⁵⁴⁰

People were aware of Mother Shipton’s alleged prophecy from the 16th century that the world would end before the year 1881 was done, so on 6 September, when the entire Northeast was filled for most of the day with a strange, foreboding, yellowish fog, there were some who feared the end of the world had arrived. “There was something terrible in the scene,” wrote Lynn historian James R. Newhall, “and it is not to be wondered at if some weak minds allowed themselves to be tormented by fears of what the extraordinary event might presage.”⁵⁴¹ John Poole was not in Lynn on that “Yellow Tuesday,” but he experienced it at the same time back in Ferry Village, and noted in his journal, “Very peculiar looking morning Sun shining on Fog and Smoke in such a way as to caws it to assume different colors Yellow Brown Ect[.] never saw the like before[.] some folks were very frightened. thought the end had come. ... Went to Prayer meeting.”⁵⁴² Lynn’s *Daily Evening Item* and *The Lynn Reporter* both calmly described the strange event as an atmospheric anomaly,

the result of forest fires, which was correct, and neither gave credence to the scattered fears that had been voiced about the end of times.⁵⁴³

Deep in the Lynn Woods, deep in the winter of 1880, Edwin Marble was buried at Dungeon Rock. Mrs. Marble said it was "her *duty* to remain at the Rock, having faith that some one will be influenced by spirits to enter upon the work of excavating," but after twenty-nine years of continuous effort to find pirate treasure and prove "the glory of Spiritualism," no other spiritualists picked up the Marbles' shovel and the spirits that had guided the work for decades, stopped making their presence known.⁵⁴⁴ It was probably for the best, though, since it was getting increasingly difficult to be a specter in Lynn. In 1881, just a few nights before All Hallows' Eve, a young lady was terribly frightened at Pine Grove Cemetery because she said she saw a ghost.⁵⁴⁵ Within a few weeks, with numerous stories now afloat about ghosts in the cemetery, as many as 300 people, a "large majority hoodlums" hunted in packs ranging from five to fifteen boys throughout the cemetery, armed with "clubs, pieces of iron rod and other articles that would serve as bludgeons" and the "lads threw stones at white objects bearing any resemblance to a human form," much to the anger of the cemetery superintendent, the police, and the mayor, who then had the cemetery locked up. It was finally determined that a poor Irish woman, "who at times is out of her head over the loss of her children," was going to the cemetery at about midnight to pray over their graves.⁵⁴⁶ A few years later, a family living in an old house in West Lynn had become frightened by the sound of moaning at night in the garret of the dwelling. The father armed himself with a fireplace poker, and taking a lantern went into the attic, "Louder and louder grew the notes of woe, and with fear and trembling he approached that part of the room from which they proceeded ... and beheld a small hole in the roof close which was a big-mouthed bottle in such a position [that] the wind rushing through the hole swept across the mouth in such a way as to give birth to the spectral wailing."⁵⁴⁷ Despite the hoodlums' hopes and the family's fears, there were no spirits in the attic and none at the cemetery.

Spiritualism wasn't dead by a long shot, but it became increasingly difficult to impress audiences with tests and demonstrations of spiritualism and exposures were being publicized in newspapers everywhere. Reverend Arthur Waite had damaged the reputation of spiritualism when, as the influential evangelist, he enthralled his audiences with exposés of tricks by mediums; then he did more damage when the many who had lost faith in him learned he had flipped, pretending to be a medium, doing the same tricks for pay. Lynn audiences railed against three incompetent spiritualists performing in 1882; another show in 1883 by equally bumbling spiritualist performers was greeted with "hoots and howls of derision."⁵⁴⁸ The underwhelmed audience jeered at the obvious fraud being presented and "cries of 'Lynch him! Hang him!' were heard"; some of the "crowd lingered around the door waiting for the mediums to come out, threatening to do bodily harm to them." The public entertainment caused nothing but problems for the police, so City Marshal Hoitt said he wouldn't allow another such show to be performed in Lynn.⁵⁴⁹ One of the newspaper editors who was pretty worked up over the performance and its results, used a few of his column inches to vent:

It is passing strange than an intelligent community like ours will allow itself to be repeatedly humbugged by travelling shows that claim to do impossible things. No sooner is one of these frauds exposed than another advertises judiciously and shows to a crowded house. ... It would seem that the strong common sense of the people of Lynn would be outraged by these stupid impositions and that the people would soon refuse to attend such entertainments. ... The next time that a flaming hand bill announces that spirits will float a piano through the air, play instruments and pass [along] bouquets with materialized hands, let the people stay away and they will not feel like mobbing the showman.⁵⁵⁰

As the decade wore on, the spirits seemed to prefer demonstrating and appearing to the living in dimmed lighting, and only to small numbers at a time. Most spiritualists had gravitated towards

using their connections with the deceased to perform demonstrations and cures privately or even remotely by having the patient simply mail a lock of their hair for psychometric examination. The promises of spiritualists, clairvoyants, and magnetic doctors were relegated to isolated ads scrunched into daily papers, next to those of astrologers, fortune tellers, healers of lost manhood, and others working in the murky borderland of proof. In those small boxes could be found the promises of Joshua H. Orne, Lynn's "Independent Medical and Business Clairvoyant," who used his gift of second sight to locate disease from a lock of hair, and Madam Furmont, the "Gifted Test Medium" from Cuba, who was nearby Madame Aplanalb, the Hungarian fortune teller.⁵⁵¹ On 24 March 1888, the Lynn spiritualists celebrated the 40th Anniversary of Modern Spiritualism with events all day long, including speakers, harmonica solos, and a dance, but while the *Daily Evening Item* carried a notice that the event was going to happen, there was no review of how the festivities went or who and how many attended; spiritualism just didn't have the large-scale attention or interest of the public like the early days when spirits knocked on tables and strange and exciting things were happening in parlors and on stages across the country.⁵⁵²

In 1885 a different type of entertainer took the same stage, with much better results than those experienced by the spiritualists. Professor W. H. Townsend, "the famous mesmerist and psychologist" demonstrated his hypnotic skills by having audience members do such things as eat cayenne pepper and drink castor oil (a half-pint at a time), "and imagine themselves simply eating confectionary." Per his manager's promotional material, some of his act was disturbing, but the audience loved it, proving once again that people were fascinated by the outrageous: "Have you ever seen people's eyes, ears and mouth sewed up with a needle and thread without hurting them? Have you ever seen people from an audience have teeth pulled out without pain, they laughing all the time?"⁵⁵³ During Townsend's performance, it was reported that Lynn dentist Charles Aspinwall came on stage and extracted a tooth from one of the mesmerized young men without causing any feelings of pain.⁵⁵⁴ An 1883 squib in the *Item* joked, "The man who was cured by a mesmerist says he was trance-fixed" – cute, and apparently, sometimes accurate.⁵⁵⁵ Hypnotist exhibitions of mind control, and magic acts that audiences understood were intentional "sleight of hand" deceptions, were increasing in popularity; but spiritualist medium stage performances designed to prove the presence of the dead among the living, were on their way out.

More than in any previous era, the residents of Lynn were discovering the world's wonders and secrets, replacing old myths and traditions with knowledge. In May 1885, James R. Newhall traveled to Egypt and the *Item* published a letter he wrote to his friends back home in Lynn since there was so much interest in the pyramids. He prefaced his letter, "There seems lately, from some cause, to have been a singular awakening of interest in the Egyptian Pyramids: essays have been written, and "stereopticon lectures" delivered all about [them] and English explorers have put forth a ponderous volume or two." His letter revealed both the enthusiasm and condescending reserve of the proper Victorian gentleman, at once admiring the "unsolved marvel" of the Great Pyramid of Giza, then observing that deep inside, "the sarcophagus, as viewed by our blinking candles, more resembled an old fashion horse watering trough, than a receptacle for a dead king." He also helped his townsmen imagine what it would look like if the pyramid was placed at the center of Lynn, "The extent of ground covered by the great Pyramid is between twelve and thirteen acres; and some conception of its magnitude may be had by supposing a stone structure covering a space larger, by one-half, than the whole of Lynn common, within the railing, including the Park, and rising, in pyramidal form to the great height of fifty stories."⁵⁵⁶

As Lynn dug building foundations, gardens, and pipe trenches, artifacts of its own predecessors emerged; the occasional colonial coin or Indian skeleton brought out relic hunters, each armed with shovels.⁵⁵⁷ Stories also came from Colorado and Wyoming that the ground was yielding paleontological mysteries from an ancient past – bones of massive animals that roamed the earth long ago – creatures that would be named Triceratops, Stegosaurus, and Brontosaurus because of their key features: a three-horned face, a plaited ridge that looked like roof shingles, and

the huge “thunder lizard” with an incomprehensibly long neck.⁵⁵⁸ The bones of a “gigantic antediluvian frog” were found in Wisconsin and four fossil bird tracks, measuring a foot from heel to toe, were found in Wethersfield, Connecticut, and the geologist who discovered them estimated they were made by a prehistoric bird twelve feet tall.⁵⁵⁹

For the time being, all of these immense, bizarre beasts were fit into the biblical chronology of the world as antediluvian creatures. They could be forced into the biblical construct more easily than Darwin’s evolutionary theory, which made religionists bristle. George Emery, Lynn’s retired soapmaker and aspiring historian, wrote, “We cannot attempt to eliminate from any man’s inner consciousness the peculiar sense of affinity he may feel in relation to some chattering chimpanzee, be it free in some tropic jungle or caged in a showman’s wagon. ... [I] have not got ready yet to give up God in nature.”⁵⁶⁰ Darwin had died in 1882, but his theory of evolution had ignited vivid imagination and discussion for decades. Some were content to accept carnivalesque stories of living members of the Krao race, with three-inch, wagging tails, as Darwin’s missing link.⁵⁶¹ John W. Poole took the higher and more traveled road by reading in 1884 about the theory of evolution.⁵⁶² For the many who believed in man’s divine origin, the Bible was the absolute truth by which all scientific and historical discoveries had to be measured and proved. Emery wrote,

Darwinism’s whole stress is applied to eliminate God from the universe. We want truth, wherever it leads, but we do not want a specious theory, unsupported by genuine evidence, in place of the simple faith that *things are* and that *God created them*. ... Darwin died less a ‘Darwinian’ than will thousands of young men, who prefer an unsupported theory before the humiliation of acknowledgement that there are things they cannot fully understand for some time to come.

George E. Emery, Lynn, Jan. 31, 1884.⁵⁶³

Emery had been crossing editorial swords in the newspaper with someone corresponding under the pseudonym, “Evolution,” who had responded, “The man who never changes his mind is a non-thinker, or a bigot, and is out of place in this the 19th century.”⁵⁶⁴ No matter how people felt about Darwin’s theory, all could agree that he had stimulated thought. When Darwin died, one of Lynn’s newspapers gave a respectful tip of the hat to the man who had challenged people to continue searching for truth: “Men might be repelled by his conclusions, but there was the recognition of the tireless searching for and unresting devotion to truth as he conceived it, which made Mr. Darwin an example for students and for all workers.”⁵⁶⁵ In that spirit of honest inquiry about their world, John Poole and many others in Lynn hungrily searched for knowledge and found wonder along the way.

High Rock was Lynn’s perch that rubbed against the stars and many enjoyed pleasant nights standing on the stony summit, removed from the noise and lights of the city below, staring at the celestial night sky above. On a clear September evening in 1880, a group of YMCA members “spent a very enjoyable time on High Rock ... with a telescope, viewing the heavenly bodies.”⁵⁶⁶ Star watching had been a favorite pastime in Lynn throughout the centuries before streets became electrified; sightings of comets, meteor showers, and even the occasional aurora borealis became pleasant memories in Lynn histories. It was unforgettable to see in the skies such timeless beauty as the meteor “exploding with sparks like a sky rocket” in January 1883.⁵⁶⁷ Maria Mitchell, the country’s first female astronomer, once had a little observatory on Essex Street in Lynn during the war years and she dedicated her life to astronomy, spending much of it as professor of the science at Vassar College.⁵⁶⁸ In 1888, at almost seventy and suffering from brain disease, she returned to Lynn to recover at her sister’s house; one of her nephews, an architect, built an observatory for her on Green Street.⁵⁶⁹ But telescopes were no longer the precious technology that only astronomers like Maria Mitchell could enjoy; they had become more affordable and therefore more plentiful among those who simply loved looking at the flickering firmament overhead. The November 1883 issue of *Popular Science Monthly* even had an article showing how to construct a home-made telescope, something that took John W. Poole several attempts to accomplish.⁵⁷⁰ It was a cost-

effective way for him to walk along the Milky Way and wander among the craters of the moon. He had a great interest and inquisitiveness in astronomy; he read books on it, made his telescope (a spyglass that he sometimes referred to as simply “my glass”), and wrote notes in his journal that would make any astronomer proud:

- (05 Mar 1883) Very pleasant but cold[.] went up on High Rock to see ♂ [Taurus] but the sun was too high. ♀ [Mercury] + the ☽ [moon] were Ⓛ [in conjunction] and near the ☍ [sun]. ...
- (07 Mar 1883) ... Read in Astronomy. ... Stars looked beautiful when came home. Think I saw Vega.
- (08 Mar 1883) Went up on High Rock to look for Mercury ♀ but could not see him.
- (14 Apr 1883) ... looked at Jupiter nebula of Orion and the moon through the telescope ...

John’s experience was far more than a scientific appreciation of the celestial sphere; for the young man who was working on building his faith, it was transcendent, as he noted on 25 February 1883, “... cleared off and beautiful in the evening[.] Etta and I went out to see the stars. Feel nearer my Savior to night than for some days past.” During his star studies on High Rock, he probably saw Mr. Flanders also set up there with his telescope, giving “ten cent trips through [his] brass tube to the sun and moon” to those without their own telescopes who craved a closer look.⁵⁷¹ The papers also mentioned there was someone known as “the telescope man in Central Square [whose] telescope affords a rare chance also to look at the moon in all its present glory. Take a peep.”⁵⁷² So keen was the curiosity and interest in the sky, people even wanted to view the “remarkable spots on the sun” and an event in December 1882, when Venus made its miniature eclipse of the sun, “he who looks through a piece of smoked glass will enjoy the rare spectacle of a ‘transit’ of Venus and Mercury, being the only planets whose orbits lie between the sun and the path of the earth ... The transit was visible in Lynn to the naked eye, a large portion of the time, the passing clouds serving the purpose of smoked glass or telescope.”⁵⁷³ In the same month that John Poole made astronomical notes in his journal, Professor Farrington McIntyre delivered the third lecture in the “Practical Education” course at Odd Fellows’ Hall; his subject was “A Journey Among the Planets,” and the lecture “was illustrated with fine colored diagrams. ... The lecture was very interesting and the audience was the largest that has thus far gathered at these lectures.”⁵⁷⁴ In 1885, Lynn botanist, Cyrus Tracy, offered the fifth lecture in the Chautauqua Chemical course for adults, on “The Chemistry of Vegetation”; many were the opportunities for Lynn’s shoemakers to continue learning and pulling themselves up by their own bootstraps.⁵⁷⁵

All the while that Lynners were unveiling their world overhead, underfoot, and far away, they were also learning important things about the other universe close up, through the microscope. The “animalcules” that had been previously viewed as entertaining and innocuous, were beginning to be better understood by the general public as cells, protozoa, diatoms, parasites, and bacteria. Like astronomy, amateur microscopy had become a popular hobby by the 1880s. The enthusiasm of the hobby was a reflection and response to the advances in bacteriology made by Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, and others. Just within the ten-year period 1876-1886, specific organisms were proven to cause specific diseases, like anthrax, cholera, and typhoid; the ancient theory of spontaneous generation was disproven, and cures through immunization were developed for anthrax in animals and the spread of rabies in humans. Speaking about the scientific advances made in bacteriology, W. T. Sedgwick, a Massachusetts biologist specializing in sanitation and bacteriologic research, was reputed to have said, “Before 1880 we knew nothing; after 1890 we knew it all; it was a glorious ten years.”⁵⁷⁶ The discoveries made under the microscope during this decade were the harbinger of major changes coming to health care and found eager minds in Lynn, anxious to learn more about the invisible world that was all around them.

Reverend Francis T. Hazelwood, pastor of Lynn's First Baptist Church, was a microscopy enthusiast and during 1888 he gave lectures on "Wonders Disclosed by the Microscope." The description of his lectures indicated they had greater depth and information presented than earlier days when lecturers had awed and entertained without imparting any real knowledge on the microscopic world. "His lecture was "replete with marvelous facts of plant, animal and human life . . . One can easily see that the doctor is master of his subject, and must have given hard and continuous study to this, his favorite pursuit."⁵⁷⁷ His Lynn audience "greatly enjoyed the lecture" which he delivered "in an easy, conversational way, interspersed with quick, pungent inferences in [how it related to] practical life, which made the evening all too short for the listeners," and in Charlestown, the audience was delighted with the microscopic views he projected and they "eagerly listened to every word which fell from the lips of the lecturer."⁵⁷⁸ The "young men's sociable" held in March 1881 at Lynn's YMCA was an especially well-organized, classroom-style microscopy session that was very well attended by sixty-one men anxious to learn. Seven men brought in microscopes; three were from Boston (two of which were doctors) and four from Lynn (George W. Moore, doctor; William W. Griffin, clerk; W. H. Attwill, 18-year-old student; and John C. Houghton, librarian). Ephraim Cutter, one of the Boston doctors, gave a talk on diatoms and common forms of animal life found in pond water, then had micro photographs projected on the wall, showing the differences in the blood of a fish, bird, dog, horse, pig, and man. He then taught about health and diseased blood and showed photographs of the blood of people with scrofula and with consumption. Underscoring the importance and value of microscopy, Cutter stated that "*consumption could be detected in the blood by the use of the microscope a year before it could be otherwise recognized.*" After the doctor finished his remarks "the lights were turned on and the remainder of the time was spent by all of the participants in examining the prepared slides. William Griffin had brought specimens of different kinds of wood to see through his microscope. The two Boston doctors exhibited Boston and Lynn pond water and Cutter complained that he was not able to find as abundant forms in the Lynn water as in the Boston pond water. Another of the men exhibited a variety of slides and a snail's egg, the embryo of which was about a week old. George W. Moore exhibited slides of blood corpuscles.⁵⁷⁹ Far from being a leisurely sociable, it was a serious educational seminar. Six months later, the *Daily Evening Item* ran an article titled, "What the Microscope Says," which showed that marvel and wonder could still be experienced when looking through the microscope lens, even when descriptions of creative fantasy were replaced by scientific observation:

Insects of various kinds may be seen in the cavities of a grain of sand.

Mold is a forest of beautiful trees, with the branches, leaves and fruit.

Butterflies are fully feathered.

Hairs are hollow tubes.

The surface of our bodies is covered with scales like a fish; a single grain of sand would cover one hundred and fifty of these scales, and yet a scale covers five hundred pores. Through these narrow openings the perspiration forces itself like water through a sieve.

Each drop of stagnant water contains a world of creatures swimming with as much liberty as whales in the sea.

Each leaf has a colony of insects grazing on it like cows in a meadow.

Yes, even the ugliest plant that grows shows some remarkable property when closely examined.⁵⁸⁰

As much as John Poole loved astronomy, he was also fascinated by microscopy. In the early years of his journals, up until he was married, he went on several walks to places like Lynn's highlands (the elevated area behind and flanking High Rock) and Nahant to collect specimens and then fixed them onto microscope slides for study.⁵⁸¹ He also attended a lecture by Reverend

Hazelwood on Microscopic Plants in 1886 and like so many others in the preacher's audiences, he noted in his journal, "Enjoyed it very much."⁵⁸² In March 1887, he bought a microscope (which may not have been his first, since he had been collecting and preparing microscope specimens for several years before this purchase), noting in his journal, "The folks gave me \$3 to buy a book with, put \$1 with it and bought a microscope [instead]."⁵⁸³ An even clearer demonstration of his passion for microscopes had come a half year earlier, in November 1885, when he brought fellow factory worker, Jerry Burk, to the nearby office of Frank Stevens so that the doctor could remove a piece of emery from Burk's eye. John noted in his journal that after the doctor successfully performed the procedure, "The Dr had a new microscope and he took some blood from my arm for us to look at."⁵⁸⁴ Interestingly, hours after that demonstration, John went to a store on Sutton Ave. and bought not a microscope, but a telescope, for \$4.00, the same amount he would later pay for his microscope. Two weeks after purchasing the telescope, he was in Boston, looking at a \$5.00 microscope.⁵⁸⁵

Louis Pasteur had taken a significant risk in July 1885, inoculating a 9-year-old boy who had contracted rabies after being badly mauled – bitten 14 times – by a rabid dog: it was the first test on a human and Pasteur was a biologist, not a physician. By providing medical services without a medical license, he was breaking French law and if the boy died, Pasteur knew he would be arrested and ruined. Illegal medical practice was the hallmark of quackery, except that Pasteur was a brilliant biologist whose excellent research enabled the young boy to survive and recover, but he made no announcement of the case until he repeated the success in September with a 15-year-old shepherd boy who had rabies. Pasteur was extolled as a hero and with the aid of the telegraph, his new discovery of a cure for rabies spread to the U.S. within days of being sent from Paris on 29 October:

[Indianapolis, Indiana, 31 October 1885]: A Great Discovery. ... Pasteur prevails! No more hydrophobia! No more mad dogs! The experiments which Dr. Louis Pasteur's has so long been making are announced from Paris by cable to the New York Herald as achieving, at last, complete triumph. experiments have resulted in a most brilliant success.⁵⁸⁶

[Richmond, Virginia, 5 November 1885]: The most important telegraphic news of the week, taking higher rank even than the threatenings of war in Europe, is that Louis Pasteur has discovered, not the microscopic germ, but a cure for hydrophobia.⁵⁸⁷

Lynn news coverage was more reserved and less timely, like most papers in the country; on 22 December, the *Daily Evening Item* highlighted a few of the articles that were to appear in the next issue of *Popular Science Monthly*, including "an interesting article" on certain fish that were equally at home out of water as in it, and, almost parenthetically, "Pasteur has one on inoculation against hydrophobia, a subject which is just now claiming public interest."⁵⁸⁸ Word did spread, however, and over the next few years, the *Item* was covering stories of Americans going to France for a cure.

In January 1887, a "well-known society lady" from New York had been bitten by a pet dog showing signs of hydrophobia, "and while she does not apprehend danger," she went to France for Pasteur's cure, "her friends think it best to take all possible precautions."⁵⁸⁹ In April 1888, a former Arkansas judge and republic candidate for Congress, was bitten by a dog, so "he left for Paris to consult Pasteur immediately after the occurrence."⁵⁹⁰ Then less than a month later, W. C. Chamberlain, of Texas, who had gone to Paris to be treated by Pasteur for wolf bite, "returned home perfectly well ... [he had] felt the first symptoms of the disease before arriving in Paris. Pasteur feared it was too late, but the treatment proved efficacious."⁵⁹¹ The three Americans had two things in common: the belief they may have rabies and the money to travel to Paris for the cure. On that basis, there was no chance for Francis J. McGuire, the 4-year-old son of Patrick McGuire.

The McGuires lived in Lynn where Patrick was a morocco dresser, like those working at the factory on Flax Pond with arsenic and lime to clean cow hides. On Sunday, 9 June 1889, his child was bitten on the left side of the forehead by a mad dog that was roaming around on Harbor Street,

where they lived. The child was taken into the house and an urgent call was put out for a physician. William McDonald soon arrived and used seven stitches to close up the wound. "The little fellow appeared to be getting along nicely. His wound seemed to heal up, and for a time the matter was forgotten,"⁵⁹² but that was the typical progression of hydrophobia:

Wednesday night the lad desired a drink of water after a hard afternoon's play, and went to the sink to procure it. He secured the water, and an instant later gave a cry and ran from it, and all during the night and yesterday suffered all the symptoms of real hydrophobia.

Doctors McDonald and Herbert Newhall were called, but could do nothing to relieve the sufferings of the little fellow.

Thursday night, from 8 o'clock until 2 o'clock this morning, his agony was terrible to witness, and during these six hours the lad screamed and yelled in a voice to be heard the entire length of the street.

The united efforts of two strong men were required to hold the lad in bed, and he appeared every way like a dog, snapping and biting at everything he could reach. At 2 o'clock death came and relieved him of his sufferings at 2.30 P.M., the funeral services will be held.

The dog that bit the lad had no owner and shortly after the affair was chased and an end put to him.

His parents are nearly crazy over the loss of their little one, and the sympathies of their friends and neighbors are extended.⁵⁹³

The sad account of little Francis McGuire's tragic death underscored the viciousness of rabies, the reason why three wealthy Americans would spare no expense to cross an ocean as quickly as possible for a cure, and the fact that while a cure finally existed, it would still be quite a while before the Francis McGuires of the world had a chance to survive.

The realization that certain microbes under the microscope were responsible for some of the century's worst diseases was impacting the thought and culture of Lynn. An 1883 letter to the editor complaining about the frequently maligned Lynn water supply, stated that given the decaying plant matter and tree stumps in the pond, it was "reasonable to expect the germs of disease in the water."⁵⁹⁴ The subject for an upcoming lecture in December 1884 was announced as "The lining dust of the air, with illustrations of the germ theory of disease."⁵⁹⁵ Near decade's end, an article appeared expressing concern that bacteria was easily transmissible and the author worried about one way that could happen easily,

We have been told of bacteria flourishing in almost everything imaginable, but the very latest addition to the horrors is the news from the laboratory that the deadliest kind of bacteria live and multiply on the bank bills that are handled every day by thousands. ... No person could be induced to put on a tramp's clothing, but a bank bill that may have been handled by worse than a tramp goes without thought into our pockets and is carefully looked after.⁵⁹⁶

In May 1888, the L. A. May Company, Lynn's largest store, used the public's newfound fear of bacteria to sell their special door mats:

DEATH AT YOUR DOORS! Important if true. Startling assertions. An eminent French physician and scientist, who has made the germ theory a study of many years, makes the startling assertion that the ordinary door mats now in use, are depositories of filth, and the warm weather brings to life millions of disease germs, and that they are the breeding ground of countless diseases. Throw your dirty, filthy mat away and buy one of our Flexible Wire Door Mats.⁵⁹⁷

Hoods Sarsaparilla was quick to use the new fear of germs to their advantage; in a January 1884 advertisement, the popular Lowell-based medicine was described as "a remedy that can

destroy the germs of scrofula . . .”⁵⁹⁸ John G. Merrow, a British catarrh and cancer cure doctor in Lynn from 1885-1890, offered free examinations to those who would cut out his “free ticket” from the newspaper.⁵⁹⁹ The coupon included an illustration of a hodgepodge of microscopic creatures resembling worms, tadpoles, protozoa or misshapen spermatozoa, and some nondescript bug splatter; the drawing wasn’t meant to be funny, but a reproduction, or at least a representation, of a microscope slide view. “Catarrh is caused by a living disease germ,” Merrow explained, “and the doctor will show every person he treats for catarrh these minute wiggler in full activity as taken from the patient’s head,” apparently by fixing a specimen of their mucous and viewing it through his microscope. “Disease germ” was reference to the new science, but “wiggler” was uniquely Merrow’s description.⁶⁰⁰

Articles and advertisements started using the language of the microscope, despite its newness to almost everyone. The words “microscope,” “bacteria,” “germ theory,” etc., weren’t new to the English language, but their frequency of use significantly increased during the second half of the century, as more and more people like John W. Poole read about the recent discoveries, attended lectures, and used their own microscopes. In June 1888, the *Item* used the word “microscope” to convey some sarcastic humor about the slow progress of a building being constructed on Washington Street, “With the aid of a microscope one can detect a slight advance towards completion . . .”⁶⁰¹ In the back of his journal for 1889, John Poole carefully transcribed the pronunciation and definition of a single word that he seemed anxious to carefully commit to memory: “Bā cil’ lus, n (in Lat[in] bacillum See Bacillaniae) A rod-shaped, microscopic vegetable organism belonging to the class of bacteria.”⁶⁰²

Altogether, the new discoveries in life and earth sciences were clearly having an impact on Lynn lives.



MEDICINE OUTGREW LYNN throughout the decade; while the city’s population increased by 46% (38,274 in 1880 to 55,727 in 1890), the number of healers in its list of physicians grew by 63% (48 in 1880 to 78 in 1889).⁶⁰³ Only dressmakers, grocers and shoe manufacturers outnumbered them; there were even more doctors than carpenters, teachers, boarding houses, and saloons. The physicians list had become so dauntingly long, in 1890 an asterisk was applied where appropriate to distinguish the twenty-one doctors who were members of the Massachusetts Medical Society; notable among these was Miss Myra D. Allen, the first woman in Lynn to be admitted to the society since its inclusion of females in 1884.⁶⁰⁴

The editor of the *Daily Evening Item* praised the Massachusetts Medical Society on the occasion of its 100th anniversary, reflecting on its valuable contributions to the healing arts and then wished them a future as promising as he felt their past was illustrious:

To be wealthy a community must be healthy, and on the wisdom and skill of the medical profession everything depends. Let us hope that the same spirit of inquiry, the same desire for progress, and to secure the very best methods of assisting nature that has characterized the society in the past will continue to stimulate the members to still greater and more important discoveries with which to alleviate human distress.⁶⁰⁵

There were certainly plenty of medical discoveries still to be made and mysteries to unravel, like the curious case of Mary Cross, who slept for twelve days. The 79-year-old widow had been stricken with paralysis in late January 1887, from which she recovered a few weeks later. She went to bed at the normal time on the evening of 10 February, but she didn’t wake up the next morning; someone checked on her and found her in a deep sleep. As the day passed, she showed no signs of awakening, so doctors were called. Hours became days, and as doctors returned, they became increasingly perplexed, their best hypothesis being that “a blood vessel or an artery at the base of the brain, had burst.”⁶⁰⁶ The poor lady was finally able to say a few words on 20 February, but

didn't open her eyes until the next morning. The case was set down "as a strange one," but a few weeks later, Mary Cross finally died of paralysis.⁶⁰⁷

At the center of the telescopic and microscopic universes that orbited around it, the body was constantly proving to be the ultimate enigma to doctors and patients alike, which often frustrated both groups, even though scientific knowledge was increasing. When President Garfield was shot just a few months into his presidency, the nation relived the horror of learning that its president had been assassinated for the second time in fourteen years. Unlike Lincoln, who died overnight, Garfield lingered for months. Protracted sickness also frustrated Robert W. Creighton, a Lynn shoemaker who had been injured with buckshot in the hand, thigh, and twice in his side during the battle of Chancellorsville on 3 May 1863. Since the war he had frequently coughed up blood from his lungs and then on 1 September 1881,

Last Thursday afternoon ... he was taken with a violent fit of coughing , and finally raised a quantity of blood nearly strangling in the effort. As he spat upon the floor his attention was attracted to a sound as if some heavy substance had fallen, and on examining the matter he had rejected from his lungs[,] he found one of the long-lost shots, which he had carried for 18 years, 3 months and 25 days.⁶⁰⁸

After the ordeal, he said it was hard for him to understand why President Garfield "should suffer so much and so long with a smaller bullet, while he ... has managed to get along so well with an ounce of lead in his system."⁶⁰⁹ The president died from an assassin's bullet seventy-nine days after being shot, eighteen days after Creighton's system had jettisoned his bullet. Lamenting by the loss of yet another president and the inability of his physicians to save him, the newspaper lamented derisively, "If the best physicians in the country, as has been proved in the President's case, know so little, what are the thousands of cheap doctors good for?"⁶¹⁰

As long as Lynn's annual list of physicians had become, it didn't even include the many medical specialists and healers visiting the city each year. Throughout the decade, Lynn's newspapers were peppered with ads for oculists and aurists, surgeons, chiropodists and surgeon chiropodists, medical electricians, female physicians who focused on the health of women and children, rectal disease specialists, dentists, dermatologists, cancer doctors, catarrh specialists, and opticians. The optical department of Stephen C. Newhall's jewelry store had the "New Patent Telescopic Eye Tester," and offered "a large assortment of Opera Glasses, Spy Glasses [telescopes], Microscopes, &c., &c., at the lowest prices."⁶¹¹

After a century of trying to be the public's obvious choice for doctors, membership in the Massachusetts Medical Society still failed to be the exclusive measuring stick. Selection from among the ever-increasing number and widening array of healers continued to be more frequently determined by a basic matching of the resource to the need. It may be a question of who was most recently recommended by friends (or by the customer's own favorable prior experiences), or who had pitched the most compelling case for their use through advertising and testimonials, or even more rudimentarily, who was the nearest or cheapest? For about a decade, Joseph C. Weeks had promoted his work as a cancer doctor, removing tumorous growths wherever they surfaced. In January 1881 he removed a cancer the size of a silver dollar from the forehead of a woman who had been visiting her daughter on Washington Street in Lynn; in February he removed a spider cancer from the nose of James Monroe Tarbox, the popular grocer in West Lynn.⁶¹² A year later he removed a tumor weighing a half pound from a man's back; his patient was reportedly "much pleased with the Doctor's method, preferring it to the knife."⁶¹³ Four months later in June 1882, it was reported that Weeks had performed six operations on the cancerous lip of 67-year-old Thomas Stevens, a shoe cutter, but the cancer seemed to resurface very quickly and was exceedingly painful. Whatever further efforts Weeks may have attempted, the cancer ultimately prevailed: Stevens eventually died of cancer on 23 July 1883.⁶¹⁴ In contrast, Joseph G. Pinkham, the medical society's paragon of medical knowledge, removed a twenty-five-pound ovarian tumor from Mrs. Robert

McDonald, of 3 Nahant Street. A significant difference between the two doctors' efforts was that while *all* of Weeks' operations were tumors protruding from the surface of the body (and removed without surgical instruments, which left only caustic chemicals as an option), Pinkham's tumor removal was internal, much more intricate, and definitely requiring a commanding use of surgical instruments; clearly, Pinkham had skills that Weeks did not have. If Weeks' three earlier tumor removals indeed appeared successful, it's not likely that those patients were disappointed in the cancer cure doctor with no medical school education; only Thomas Stevens may have regretted his choice after maintaining his hope in Weeks at least six times, but he ran out of time to change his course of action. The line between a painter-turned-cancer-specialist and a leading physician of the Massachusetts and Lynn medical societies was still being defined by each patient.

Among the growing list of specialists must also be counted the veterinarians and veterinary surgeons. Most specialized in horses, like Fred Saunders, a graduate of the American Veterinary College of New York; he had an office at Goldthwait's stable, at the rear of Lynn's Central Railroad Station.⁶¹⁵ In 1880, E. G. Stratton, a veterinary dentist, was available daily at the Kirtland House and John McGlue's blacksmith shop.⁶¹⁶ William Meagher had grown his twelve-year business as a farrier in Lynn to the point that his horseshoeing shop expanded to include a horse hospital for horse diseases.⁶¹⁷ Warren Toppan at one point created a rather gruesome display in his drugstore window of a twelve-inch long gallstone as well as clusters of carpet tacks, shingle nails, and gravel stones that various veterinarians of the city had taken out of the colons of horses.⁶¹⁸ There was even a doctor specializing in the city's population of over 700 registered dogs: Abraham Rappeport, M.D.C. (apparently Medical Doctor for Canines), "has made his specialty a life-long study"; the "physician and surgeon for canines[,] ... has been called to attend many valuable dogs who have been given up as too sick to live and many such ones have been saved by his remedies and personal exertion."⁶¹⁹

Medicine was clearly changing and, intentionally or not, doctors who were graduates of recognized medical schools and doctors with lots of pretension but no training were all contributing to that change. Specialization, in legitimate fields and spurious ones, was pulling away from the old tradition of every person being their own physician. Fifty years earlier and further back in time, people often took care of their own ailments and accidents by making medicines or a poultice from recipes handed down through family elders or from a neighbor. Other members of the family, including the children, covered the ailing person's chores so they could doctor themselves and recuperate. But most Lynn residents in the 1880s were employees, away from home and family a great deal of the day and week, and their children were at school. Health care, like the rest of their lives, had become more regimented and divided, and therefore less under their own control. Similarly, the doctor of a half century earlier might be called upon for any issue of disease or accident affecting male or female, adult or child, to pull a tooth, or even to fix a constipated horse.

The main reason that so many practitioners could even try to make a living in Lynn by the end of the 1880s was because there was a substantial part of that number who focused on a certain problem or physiological region. The man with a lame foot would be more inclined to call upon a chiropodist than a physician known for treating difficult cases, and the physician with medical school skills would more likely elect to doctor difficult cases rather than a lame foot. Equally obvious, the man with a lame foot would call upon a chiropodist instead of an optician as certainly as a woman suffering from dysmenorrhea would seek out a female physician rather than a veterinarian. While the majority of doctors were still general practitioners, specialization had become a permanent part of health care.

Dentistry was one of the first spurts of specialization from the work of the hometown doctor; while Lynn's resident physicians provided dental services early in the century, the town was visited by men specializing as dentists since at least 1829. The art and science of dentistry had made some significant strides since those old days when the turnkey was almost always the answer to any dental question. Orris P. Macalaster came to Lynn in 1879 with a degree in dental science from the

Philadelphia Dental College (one of twenty-five graduating in 1869), and twenty-five years of experience, which meant he had been practicing dentistry for fifteen years before getting his degree at the advanced age of forty-one.⁶²⁰ His notice of introduction to Lynn specified that he would give “reliable professional care to those who favor him, *especially the children*” – a very uncommon specialization among the period’s dentists, but consistent with his graduation thesis at dental school, on “First Dentition.”⁶²¹ His advertisements demonstrated that he practiced with some of the newest innovations that dental science had yet offered. He offered full sets of “the best teeth manufactured,” set on English black and American red rubber setting, and also *Dr. Macalaster’s Tooth Powder for Children*, “It is becoming a great favorite with both old and young and will do more towards saving your teeth from decay than all the dentists in the country.”⁶²² The biggest challenge in dentistry had always been the cessation of pain; that which had brought the patient to the dentist in the first place and then the additional or magnified pain that the dentist would cause by working on the teeth. Some of the earliest dental application of anesthetics had been gasses (ether, chloroform, and nitrous oxide) to render the dental patient unconscious of pain while the dentist worked. In 1876 Macalaster had advertised the extraction of teeth without pain by use of nitrous oxide gas; so safe that “Everybody is taking it, and with the same confidence they set for a photograph.”⁶²³ He continued to use the combination when he came to Lynn.⁶²⁴

In 1884, after having been in Lynn for five years, Macalaster let the public know he was using a new and better general anesthetic called *Mayo’s Vegetable Anaesthetic*. Its creator, Uriel K. Mayo of Boston, got the mixture patented in 1883; its contents were hops, poppies (opium), alcohol, water, and nitrous oxide gas. He explained that by itself, nitrous oxide, or “laughing-gas,” which had been generally used for several years, was “unreliable and dangerous,” producing in the patient “a deathly pallor,” perspiration, and slow circulation of the blood, but his “vegetable” infusion of hops and opium in diluted alcohol as nitrous oxide gas passed through it, made for a much improved dental anesthetic.⁶²⁵ Mayo came to Lynn in March 1884 and demonstrated its use on ten consecutive patients at the dental practice of Frizzell and Williams, which was proof enough to them that his vegetable vapor was all that he had promised; it could be used “on the child, delicate and sensitive woman, as well as the hardy man,” so they introduced it into their practice.⁶²⁶ In January 1885, Frizzell and Williams advertised that they had been using the anesthetic for the past year “both for extraction of teeth and minor [dental] surgical operations,” even on patients suffering with such serious health problems as heart disease and severe lung diseases, or who were so feeble that they could barely walk without assistance “and the results have been all we could ask. No irritation, suffocation, nor depression. We heartily recommend it to all as the anaesthetic of the age.”⁶²⁷ Always interested in dental improvements, Macalaster announced in November 1884 that he was using the Mayo Vapor for extracting teeth.⁶²⁸ Four years later, he was introducing his own new *Anodyne Nitrous Oxide*: “This gas, while being generated, is washed with a preparation of the prominent Anodynes. They act by blunting the sensibility of the encephalon [the brain], so that in connection with Nitrous Oxide Gas, he gets a more perfect anaesthetic condition. With this gas there is not a particle of pain … the patient remaining much longer under its influence....”⁶²⁹ The most “prominent anodynes” of the era were the narcotics, led by opiates, so Macalaster’s *Anodyne Nitrous Oxide* was aggressively competing with *Mayo’s Vegetable Anaesthetic* for every miserable breath.

For local anesthetic, Frizzell & Williams offered *Dr. William’s Electric Tooth Drops* that “work like magic,” while Macalaster offered his *Macalaster’s Obtunder*.⁶³⁰ Printing on the obtunder’s outer box read, “The Great Toothache medicine of the age” and an “Instant Relief for Toothache. A few applications of Medicated Cotton, wet in Obtunder, placed in an aching tooth, will deaden the nerve and give permanent relief.”⁶³¹ John Poole believed in it, buying it for his terrible tooth pains in 1881 and 1882; the second purchase seemed to quell the toothache, but finally, after two months, he could hold off no longer, so on Christmas Eve he “went to Macalister had tooth out hurt much ulcerated.”⁶³² What the obtunder contained that made it such an



Macalaster's *Obtunder* Box, about 1888. The excellent cutaway illustrations on the box show the medicine vial and applicator cotton well protected in the cylinder. This product was used by John Poole. His subsequently pulled teeth are *not* among those shown here. (Collection of the author.)

instantaneous relief of tooth pain was held as much a proprietary secret as what made *William's Electric Tooth Drops* magical, but they could have used any of the several sensory nerve ending paralyzers known at the time, like oil of cloves, camphor, benzyl alcohol, menthol, creosote and carbolic acid from coal tar, or thymol from the thyme plant; such so-called obtunders merely dulled the pain but did not eliminate it. Despite morphine's ability to blunt pain systemically, it failed to thoroughly numb local areas of pain. When morphine-laced soothing syrups were given to teething infants to calm their gum pain, they weren't soothing the gums but actually sedating the infant, giving them and their mother a few minutes of quiet, but when the baby revived – if it revived – the pain was still there.⁶³³ The more syrup the mother applied, the greater the danger.

Macalaster might have been doing a great business with his *Obtunder* product, but more likely he was aware something new was going to shake up its sales, so on 9 January 1885, he placed a classified ad for an investor. Such a substantial cash infusion would likely have more than offset his own investment in the *Obtunder* that he knew would soon lose any popularity it had gained.

Wanted – A silent or active partner with \$10,000 to engage in the manufacture of Dr. Macalaster's *Obtunder* and *Medicated Cotton* for toothache. The *obtunder* has been selling itself for the past six years with very little advertising. The sales have demonstrated the fact that, with proper advertising it will become a very profitable and permanent business. The *Obtunder* is complete in every department, with \$1000 worth of stock and fixtures. Books of sales can be examined. A rare opportunity is offered for investment in the above manufacture and other preparations perfected by Dr. Macalaster. Specimens sent to those who wish to investigate, all communications addressed to O. P. Macalaster, D.D.S., Lynn, Mass.⁶³⁴

It was the last time that Orris P. Macalaster mentioned his *Obtunder* in an advertisement. It was as if he had turned his back on his own proprietary after a half dozen years, but just six weeks

later, on 18 February 1885, he announced to Lynn that he was introducing the exciting new anodyne, cocaine, to his dental practice; no other dentist in the city had yet made that claim.

Important Dental Notice.

DR. MACALASTER is using the new local anaesthetic **COCAINE** for extracting and other operations in the mouth. It produces perfect insensibility when applied to the gums or teeth and without injury to the parts. He is also using Mayo's Vapor in preparing mouths for artificial teeth with great satisfaction to himself and patients. Dr. Macalaster's artificial teeth are celebrated for their beauty of arrangement and perfection in fit. Teeth reset for \$7 extracting done nights and Sundays at his residence, 64 Liberty street, Lynn.⁶³⁵

In early 1885, the people of Lynn were reading how General Grant, who had been struggling through the last stages of terminal throat cancer, "had been able to sleep some during the night by the aid of strong applications of cocaine and the administration of sedatives."⁶³⁶ In that same year, it's possible that some of Lynn's doctors and dentists read the claims in a booklet from pharmaceutical manufacturer, Parke, Davis & Company, that cocaine could "supply the place of food, make the coward brave, the silent eloquent, free the victims of the alcohol and opium habits from their bondage, and, as an anaesthetic, render the sufferer insensitive to pain."⁶³⁷ The pharmaceutical manufacturer offered cocaine in several forms, including a cordial and an inhalant, cigarettes and cheroots, and wine of coca.⁶³⁸ Just months before Macalaster's announcement about using cocaine in his dental practice, the landmark study, *Über Coca*, had been published. It was about the properties and benefits of cocaine, wherein its author, Austrian physician, Sigmund Freud, euphorically endorsed the drug. By taking cocaine himself and comparing his experiences to those of other researchers and to published historical accounts going back to the indigenous Peruvians, he stated that cocaine staved off hunger, sleep, and even fatigue, gave the user a feeling of vigor, stamina, and sexual potency, and that it was absolutely safe to use, unlike morphine; in fact, he believed it successfully cured opium and morphine addictions of long standing. He was dismissive of cocaine's reported drawbacks, essentially describing them as mild and not sustained; the most disconcerting adverse reaction he found was a feeling of heightened sexual excitement. He strongly recommended its use in all diseases that caused the system to weaken and waste away, such as anemia, consumption, typhoid fever, and syphilis. He closed his research findings with the observation that cocaine had had a significant anesthetic effect when a concentrated amount came in contact with the skin, especially in the mouth.⁶³⁹ Macalaster used Freud's observation as a recommendation, applying cocaine solution locally to painful teeth and gums so that he could perform his dental work.

But all that glittered was not gold fillings; before the year was done, terrible stories were published about the tragic destruction of lives and families because cocaine was so dreadfully, absolutely addictive. No account was more heart-wrenching than the complete destruction of a family of seven in Chicago. The *Daily Evening Item* reported about a physician in Chicago who was ordered by the court to be placed in a temperance home because he was "a mental and physical wreck, wrought by the immoderate use of cocaine." Under its delusional influence, he claimed he was cocaine's creator and that it would revolutionize medicine. He mortgaged his home, horse, and buggy to finance his habit, and administered it to his wife and five children. His wife and all the children were admitted to hospitals and it was "considered doubtful whether any of them will ever recover their normal condition."⁶⁴⁰ In less than six months, the doctor had performed experiments on himself and his entire family, injecting everyone with cocaine and then applying a red-hot iron or cutting out a piece of flesh at the injection site to see if any pain was felt. He became "a slave" to cocaine, eventually losing everything, "The furniture in the house is in the hands of the Sheriff, and absolutely nothing is left but a jar containing a physiological specimen preserved in alcohol, belonging to the Doctor."⁶⁴¹ The physician attending to the cocaine-addicted doctor had a far different outlook on the drug than Freud had reported a little over a year earlier:

The infernal habit is becoming general very fast. ... I think it will soon take the place of morphine and opium. ... It is the most diabolical of any of the narcotics and the most fascinating ... Its primary effects are the most delightful and the results the most dangerous of any of that nature that have ever come before the medical profession. It is going to give us more trouble than any of the other narcotics. ... I cannot describe it better than to say it is venomous.⁶⁴²

In November 1886, although almost sixty years old, Macalaster was not done trying to bring innovation to Lynn dentistry; in another ad he announced, “A New Departure in Dentistry. ... Dr. Macalaster is now prepared to extract teeth with the aid of electricity, without charge. He is also using cocaine as a local anaesthetic. ... Treating and filling with gold a specialty. ...”⁶⁴³ Despite the alarms being sounded about cocaine’s danger, he apparently felt his carefully controlled use of it made its extraordinary benefits to his dental work outweigh the risks. He ran the ad promising his electrical and cocaine services in the *Daily Evening Item* over the next fourteen months.

The bad reports of cocaine abuse continued. In February 1888, three New York physicians had fallen to the cocaine habit and were incarcerated as inmates of a “home for intemperates,” and the *Item* reported, “The victims of this drug are nearly all professional men” ... but, of course, addiction doesn’t check business cards

As was happening with cocaine, the mixed messages that a substance for human use or consumption could be considered marvelous one moment and then terrible the next was, of course, confusing and disconcerting. Even more so as Victorians bought more packaged medicines and foods, none of which listed the ingredients: it was so hard to know if the next thing purchased would be safe or sickening; delightful or deadly. William Ober only wished he had known that the white paint he had selected contained dangerous poison. Arsenic – the stuff that, along with lime, had killed thousands of fish in Flax Pond, was used to kill rats, commit suicide, and to mummify birds on ladies’ fashionable hats – but he didn’t know the paint contained the poison, so he liberally daubed it all over his face. He was trying to transform himself into a clown for a masquerade party at the Lynn Yacht Club. He attended the party but afterward realized the face paint turned out to be not at all safe; in fact, it was “very poisonous” and, after applying it, his face broke out very badly because of “the poison – probably arsenic – [that had] entered his system.”⁶⁴⁴ A few months later in 1883, Lynners read of a woman employed in the millinery department of a dry goods store in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who died from breathing in vapors thick with arsenic that emanated from the green velvet she handled.⁶⁴⁵ In that year there were 154 dressmakers, milliners, and dry goods merchants in Lynn and the color green, one of the earth tones of the *en vogue* Aesthetic Movement, was very popular for hats and dresses.

Lead was an excellent whitener and could also easily be shaped into pipes, so it found use in everything from painted toys to skin creams to plumbing. Robert McArthur had succumbed to lead poisoning because of the paints he constantly handled, but Lynn homes and businesses continued to be painted and caulked with lead-based materials, and some of the homes relying on wells for their drinking water were pumping it up through old lead pipes. Several Lynn drugstores were proud to advertise that their soda fountains were “kept in the best order, block-tin lined, with pipes and can[ister]s of block tin, (no lead pipe used)” through which flowed ice cold soda water, fruit syrups, and cream, and mineral waters from Saratoga and Poland Springs on draught as well; however, block tin contained small quantities of lead and sometimes arsenic, so the impressive and elaborate soda fountains weren’t as safe as they thought.⁶⁴⁶ Even tin cans had lead solder that could leach into the food, and inexpensive shields for a nursing mother’s sore nipples were made of lead, the toxic result passing into the breast and the baby.

Lynners also read that children’s skin diseases were being caused by soaps “flooding the market” that were adulterated with coloring and perfuming ingredients that were poisonous.⁶⁴⁷ Lynn papers had frequent advertisements of competing baking soda companies, each insisting theirs was purest and best. The virtues of Royal Baking Powder were the eventual answer to the

challenge laid out in an article to the homemaker. The company's newspaper advertisement was designed to read like a hard-hitting news article, intentionally inculcating a fear of adulteration in baking powder and making the homemaker who didn't choose Royal sound almost criminally negligent:

... The certificates of chemists with high-sounding titles have been read in confidence, the toothsome cake has been given in generous abundance to the children, the daily bread has been eaten in fancied security. But all the time the poison has been working its slow effect. There comes spells of headache, loss of appetite, a fluttering of the heart, the child is seized with an apparently causeless cough. The coating of the stomach is destroyed, perhaps, one of the vital organs is rendered almost useless; the kidneys are attacked with Bright's disease. The health of the child becomes a chronic invalid. These are the doings of the modern cheap baking powder that are composed of lime, alum, acids and other vile things.

In view of these facts, surely all housewives should exercise the care that is, we know, now exercised by some in their selections of a proper brand of baking powder. She who does not do so, whether the neglect is the result of ignorance or recklessness, cannot free herself from the responsibility for the health, perhaps life thereby endangered. ...⁶⁴⁸

Proprietary medicines, by their nature, didn't reveal their ingredients, so certain product types made special effort in their advertising to reassure the public they were safe. Some pledged product purity in response to an actual concern; such was the case with *Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, and Pimple Eradicator*, because "a great many people have the idea that all skin preparations contain either Bismuth, Arsenic, or Sugar of Lead, and are afraid ..." of having a terrible accident like William Ober experienced.⁶⁴⁹ Others may have included similar promises in their advertising as a proactive strategy, like that of Royal Baking Powder, to elevate their product from its competitors. Whatever the rationale, several Lynn health product manufacturers made a point of reassuring the public through the decade: *Bador & Taylor's Hair Invigorator* was "purely vegetable and entirely free from poisonous or injurious substances" and the very dark coloring of *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough Drops* was the result of the using "hoarhound herb (NO LAMP BLACK FOR US)."⁶⁵⁰ The Weld Pharmacy promised its line of *Weldon's Select Flavor* extracts 'for flavoring pastry, custards, sauces, ice cream &c.,' were "free from poisonous oils and acids," and the Digestine Company assured that its medicine for dyspepsia and indigestion contained absolutely no opium or morphine.⁶⁵¹

Proving themselves to be flexible, responsive, and in tune with consumers' expectations, medicine manufacturing had become a significant business in the city of shoes, although it remained many steps behind the dominant industry. Lynn chronicler George E. Emery wrote in 1883, "Lynn has long been famous as the earliest town in America making a 'specialty' of shoe manufacturing. ... Another large interest here is that of the 'patent' medicine. About twenty proprietary medical remedies are now among the notable productions of local industry."⁶⁵² His estimate was a good one; some medicine businesses had been around for years while others flickered ephemerally, seeming to disappear before the second dose was taken, but on average and throughout the decade there were usually about twenty some-odd companies, most producing several different medicinal products.

Most of the twenty medicine businesses that had caught Emery's eye were short-lived dreams, like that of Mrs. Margaret A. Shapleigh, a confectioner, who introduced *Mrs. Shapleigh's Canker and Diphtheria Cure* in October 1882, promising that "it is impossible ... to have Diphtheria, if this medicine is used freely." With nothing but a candy business background, she was able to get it distributed into seven pharmacies in Lynn, plus a relative's horse car station.⁶⁵³ Theodore H. Rhodes was a shoe worker throughout the decade, but in September 1883, he suddenly introduced a sideline, "a new and remarkable cure for Kidney Complaints," whose name resonated with momentousness: *Rhodes Fountain of Life*. Rhodes claimed to have fellow Lynners lined up

and “ready to speak in praise” of his kidney cure.⁶⁵⁴ J. R. Orr, a “horse shoer and foot fixer,” made a short-lived pitch for an ointment of his making that was a “sure cure” for scratches and galls on a horse.⁶⁵⁵ Charles S. Abbott moved around northern New England as a physician for years, and he only made his *Dr. Abbott's Blood-Purifying Sarsaparilla* in Lynn for one year, 1887, before moving away again. The label on his bottle is a classic example of a late nineteenth century medicine maker making and selling their product on a shoestring budget. The label served multiple purposes as an instruction sheet, benefits analysis, and product advertisement. It was probably the only advertisement he could afford; so, with the bottle standing on the store shelf without the benefit of an exterior box, and no advertisements, broadsides, or trade cards to promote Abbott's sarsaparilla, the bottle label had to do everything on its own in order to sell the product. Like it promised, the “purely vegetable” medicine seemed to have “no equal” in its ability to overcome such unrelated problems as constipation, cancer, headaches, bronchitis, rheumatism, jaundice, consumption, skin problems, and female weakness.⁶⁵⁶

Shapleigh, Rhodes, Orr, and Abbott were all instances of small-scale Lynn medicine businesses that fizzled out, but Lucius Sargent was an example of a determined entrepreneur with staying power. He had been in business for decades and acquired the rights to manufacture and sell *Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters* back in 1875, which he had advertised heavily since then. It was an old-fashioned remedy created on the basis of the ancient medical doctrine of similars, where the cure mimicked the cause; the principal ingredients were yellow dock and dandelions – two yellow flowers – in a medicine for conditions of the liver (characterized by jaundice) and the kidneys, the body’s urine producer.⁶⁵⁷ Even if the doctrine of similars wasn’t as recognized by late Victorians as it was by early colonists, the choice of yellow flowers for yellow conditions had been imprinted in their traditions, much like the antiquated belief in maternal impressions had failed to disappear into the mists of medical mythology. In 1882 a story appeared in the Lynn newspapers that a woman in Maine had given birth to a terribly deformed baby whose upper body “resembled the young of a sea lion”; caused, it was believed, because the mother “had visited Barnum’s circus last year and was frightened by the sea lion.”⁶⁵⁸ Even in the midst of emerging scientific discoveries, there were still plenty of medical and medicinal theories that wouldn’t be easily relinquished.

The second part of Emery’s article on Lynn’s growing proprietary medicine industry focused on the frequent correlation of advertising to success, assuming the medicine had some intrinsic merit:

These are advertised at an annual expense to the proprietors of from ten dollars to one hundred thousand dollars. It requires great courage and confidence in a remedy to invest heavily in printers' ink, but it seems to pay wonderfully in many cases. ... One Lynn medicine is well known from New Foundland to Yucatan, and is actually shipped to China.

... If a good thing is prepared ... it is well to let one's light shine, blaze or dazzle as may be the need to arrest public attention. ...⁶⁵⁹

Regardless of their relative merits, medicine makers seemed to uniformly understand the need to have their advertising shine, blaze, or dazzle to the best of their financial ability. The Pinkhams had built demand through advertising and by the spring of 1883, when Emery wrote the piece and Lydia Pinkham died, they were the Lynn medicine company that had attained international fame. By comparison, Charles H. Geary was nobody; in 1884 he was a peddler and in 1885 he was in the medicine business. His ability to advertise was obviously hampered by lack of funds, but he tried to at least shine by giving his own name the luster of medical professionalism and his product an exotic association with the mysterious land of pyramids: *Dr. C. H. Geary's Egyptian Catarrh Cure*.⁶⁶⁰ Similarly, shoemaker John Callahan had graduated himself to “Dr. John J. Callahan,” and he had “a very neat sign” professionally designed for The Alaska Compound Company, “showing off their business.”⁶⁶¹ It probably helped to draw attention to his medicine

display that was “sandwiched between the lemonade table and the rifle range” at the Grand Army Fair in April 1888. He put all three of his products, the *Alaska Catarrh Compound*, *Alaska Oil*, and *Alaska Blood Purifier*, on display at the popular fair and hustled, “Stop at the stand and get a sample of the Blood Purifier.”⁶⁶²

In the winter and spring of 1889, Horace W. Jackson, a botanic physician, tried at least two different methods to drive attention to his worm powders: facts and fancy. Nothing seemed quite so compelling as knowing exactly how many worms were exorcized due to his medicine (if not for its use in proving the effectiveness of the vermifuge, counting the expelled worms must have been a thankless task):

**THE BEST THING OUT YET IS
DR. H. W. JACKSON'S
UNIVERSAL
WORM POWDERS.**

Over 2300 Worms Removed in 9 Days.

Large Stomach Worms, 156 from a child of 9 years, 106 from a child of 7 years, over 390 from two children in one family, 78 from a lady of 24 years, 26 from a child of 3 years, 50 from a child of 9 years, 78 from a man of 25 years. ... Two quarts of worms from a man 24 years old, in Chelsea. ... [testimonials from 3 Boston doctors] These Powders are safe to be taken at any time, and any age, the doses can be increased if desired. Worms cannot stay where these powders are used. Will remove all kinds of Worms from the Human System except Tape Worms.

Office 152 Liberty St., Lynn, Mass.

[also Geo. C. Goodwin & Co., Wholesale Agents; and Weeks & Potter and Cutler Brothers, both of Boston]⁶⁶³

Saying the medicine wouldn’t kill tape worms was apparently leaving money on the table, so he either revised his medicinal recipe or just his ad formula, then he changed his ad style dramatically by presenting what appeared to be a news story fresh off the telegraph lines:

GREAT COMMOTION IN LYNN.

Two villains captured without the aid of the police.

May 1. - For seven years, the wife of E. T. Warren had been incessantly annoyed by a terrible enemy which seemed determined to rob her of all happiness. She appealed to Dr. Jackson for assistance, and in about six hours he lay lifeless before her. He was 30 feet in length and his name was Tape Worm. Also May 2, the other was captured from the person of Joseph Pignato, aged 27 years, of 421 Main street, Malden, Mass., after a five hours struggle. He measured about 37 feet, and was 8 years old. If you want your enemies killed call on Dr. H. W. JACKSON, 152 Liberty street. Worm Powders sold by all Druggists at 50c. per package.⁶⁶⁴

In August 1889, the Tingley Compound Company announced “ONAR, The Great Consumption Cure was revealed by A DREAM,” and the dreamer, Mrs. Huldah Tingley, described it in the next edition:

A few years ago I took a sudden cold, and in a short time I was completely prostrated. My family physician was consulted, and promptly declared my disease to be consumption. However, every available means known to the profession was tried in vain. I sank rapidly, until I was given up by my friends to die, but while in this exhausted state *I fell asleep, and dreamed a prescription that would cure me.* It was a strange vegetable compound, entirely different from any cough medicine I had ever known, but, having strong faith in my dream, I immediately ordered the ingredients

procured and the compound prepared. After taking a few doses I began to improve, and in a short time was completely restored to health.

Since that time hundreds have used it, and are alive to day to testify to the wonderful healing properties of the great Onar Consumption Cure. Ask your grocer for it.⁶⁶⁵

A month later, the company issued a second announcement about their new delivery wagon that was apparently quite eye-catching: "A Fine New Team. The Tingley Compound Co. is out with a new turnout, and it is a beauty. The wagon bears the legend 'Onar, the wonderful dream consumption cure.' This new remedy is having a large sale."⁶⁶⁶ Shine, blaze, *dazzle*.

And the sixty-year-old physician, Edward L. Lyon, was sick of it.

In 1880, a full decade before Jackson's creative wordsmithing and Tingley's alluring paint job, the strongly opinionated traveling doctor had already seen enough. For the better part of forty years, he had traveled on his own path, providing healing services in New York, Nebraska, Ohio, and Massachusetts, and competed for patients with every other healer and brand of proprietary medicine everywhere he went. He had started his career as a botanic physician and when the spirits of sage Indians, deceased family members, and historical somebodies were reintroducing themselves to small circles of people in dimly lit rooms all over the Northeast, Lyon identified himself as a "spiritual and botanic physician," prescribing for diseases "by spirit direction." When he first came to Lynn in 1874, he had restyled himself an eclectic physician and when he came back to Lynn in the late fall of 1880, he had transformed with the times again into a "Specialist in Chronic Diseases." In reintroducing himself to the people of Lynn, he assured them that his practice was on the cutting edge of medical science; he had "perfect familiarity in the use of the STETHOSCOPE, the LARYNGOSCOPE and RHINOSCOPE, the OPHTHALMOSCOPE, and all other newly discovered and improved instruments . . ." He promised his ability to cure cancers, tumors, and sores of every kind, without cutting or causing pain, and his large advertisement included the testimonials of sixteen doctors, ministers, professors, and professional men to back up his claims. He also reminded potential patients of how uncomfortable it was for them to be seen by nosy townsmen, walking into one of the city's seedy hotels where itinerants bought cheap rooms for quick visits (like they had to do when visiting him at the Sagamore House six years earlier); he had rented rooms on fashionable Nahant Street, so "patients will escape the espionage they have to undergo in visiting Hotels."

But for all of his accumulated knowledge, skills, and large-scale advertising over the next two months, something or multiple things seemed to have upset him a great deal, and by December 2nd, he penned the angriest attack on the proprietary medicine business that had ever been written by someone living in Lynn. He used the newspaper to bewail the flamboyantly deceptive direction of medicine and the public's willingness to accept it. As the specious embellishments of medicine companies had increased, so did the roar of Lyon:

This is the Age of Humbug.

Humbug is the idol of the hour. There is humbug in the home, in politics, in fashion. Gold is trodden under foot and brass is current coin. Low-eyed virtue is humbled to the earth, while the silks of brazen laced shame stroll through the palaces of the world. God-created genius starves in the slums of life, while boorish assumption is clothed in purple. No humbug arises but it is presently eclipsed by a greater. No creed seems too monstrous, no system too chimerical for belief. A peculiar form of insanity appears to permeate society. The most wild and visionary schemes command believers. *Among the most terrible and gigantic of modern humbugs, and the most dangerous, is the humbug of patent medicines.* Those heartless, blood criminal monsters destroy the lives of multitudes. The beauty of girlhood, the flowers of womanhood and the glory of manhood, under the influence of their fatal doses, yearly pass from light into darkness. . .⁶⁶⁷

Lyon continued to maul, insisting that medicines could not be created properly without a knowledge of anatomy, physiology, pathology, therapeutics, *materia medica*, and chemistry; but, he challenged, "Where is the nostrum vender who is versed in any of these branches of medical science? He does not exist! ... Then how incapable are such fellows of preparing remedies for the sick, suffering and dying[?]" Even though he resorted to the power of testimonials in his own advertisement, he didn't think much of the testimonials the medicine makers included in their advertisements, "Their certificates of cure by which they allure and deceive, bear the impress of fraud and humbug on their faces. Those persons they claim to have cured can never be found."⁶⁶⁸ Thus the firm, bold challenge against proprietary medicine makers had been made in Lynn during the heyday of the business – and it was made, not by a member of the Massachusetts or Lynn medical societies, but by a botanic doctor, turned spiritualist and botanic doctor, turned eclectic doctor, turned cancer specialist, and it was exactly because of his background that he felt uniquely qualified to blow the whistle on quackery:

Forty years investigation and experience in all the medical schools and the action of medicines upon diseased persons, teaches me there should be a thorough reformation and investigation by the people, and a firm lock jaw and clinching of teeth against all poisons and quack nostrums.⁶⁶⁹

The concern about bogus medicines and quack doctors was not at all new, but it was beginning to find more frequent voice in the press. Ironically, another strong message early in the decade against medical frauds was written by a proprietary medicine company:

There have always been quacks: – legal quacks, theological quacks, scientific quacks and medical quacks. Some of them are bland, oily fellows who argue and smile the world into believing in their favorite bit of humbug. Others are pompous and pretentious parasites. *But they make it pay.*⁶⁷⁰

The *Daily Evening Item* echoed the concern about quackery, even though its pages were filled with advertisements for bitters, cures, and remedies, and for healers who made and sold still more of them. The brief squib read, "The human body is liable to 2,100 different disorders. Just remember that when you read that a quack medicine will cure coughs, consumption, and all other diseases."⁶⁷¹

While the paper was casting aspersions, some might have hit close to home. Many of the papers' most frequent medicine advertisers were the city's druggists and, in terms of creativity and marketing swagger, they were no different than those submitted by traveling pitchman, peculiar healers, and former shoemakers. Harry N. Porter, the pharmacist at 47 Market Street, sounded every bit the huckster with his ads for his signature remedy for chapped skin, *Porter's Mollifex*:

[1 February 1883]:

Mollifex is great stuff, it is also thirty-five cents a bottle. Will it cure consumption, heart disease, fits, nervous prostration, and the opium habit? No! but it will "knock the stuffing" out of chapped hands, lips, face, and all roughness of the skin. Is it popular with the public? Well, I should smile; the public are wild after it. Queen Victoria orders it by the barrel, and it is extensively used on other crowned heads of Europe. ... Who is Porter? Porter is an old Egyptian, ochsteen hundred years old. He invented Mollifex. Is he alive? Oh, yes; but he is kept locked up in a dark room for fear he will give himself away.⁶⁷²

[2 January 1884]:

P.M.

Sometimes stands for POST MERIDIAN, or afternoon, and was always so understood until the advent of

Porter's Mollifex,

The great remedy for chapped hands. Now, however, though it may mean Post Master, Partly Made, or Poor Man or Perfectly Magnificent, or Pretty Mad, or Peter Murphy,

or Practical Monster, or Prince Methusalem, or Prandial Meal, or Problematical Matter, or Pesky Mean, it usually does mean

Porter's Mollifex,

... Preferred Mainly on account of the Perfect Manner in which it cures chapped hands etc. Pretty Maidens and Portly Matrons Purchase Mollifex because it is such a good thing for the complexion. Parsimonious Men and Poor Mechanics because it is only

35c. a Bottle⁶⁷³

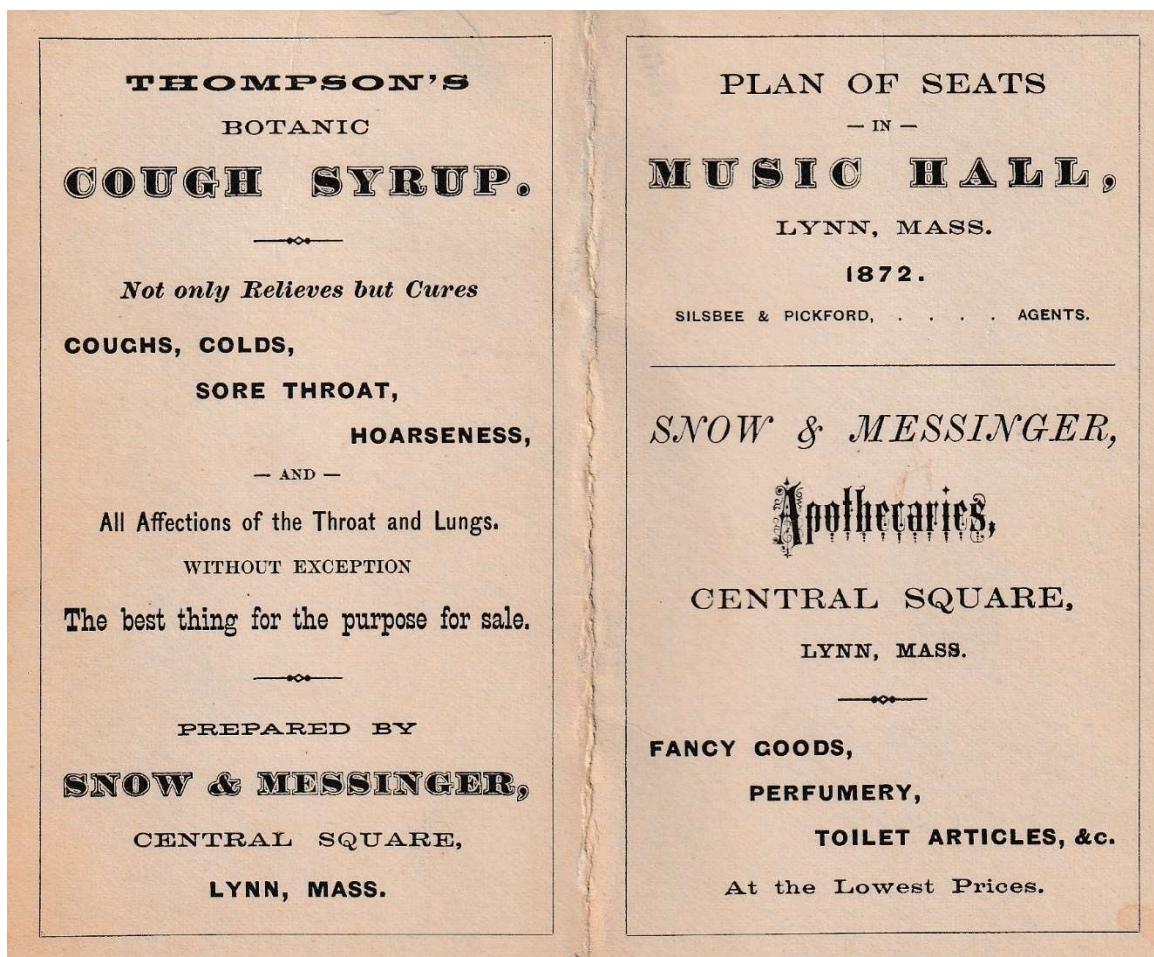
The city's druggists were also as prolific and full of curative bravado as the other types of medicine makers. F. W A. Bergengren, the apothecary who tenaciously insisted on identifying himself "M.D.," offered his line of Swedish Remedies that "have times and times again cured consumption in the first and second stages," and "Dr. I. K. Bascom," a pharmacist at 112 Union Street, also advertised an entire line of his own medicines – *Bascom's Mandrake Sarsaparilla Compound*, *Bascom's Rheumatic Powders*, and *Bascom's Pulmonic Cough Balsam* – under a portrait that "is not a correct likeness of the proprietor, but as it is the nearest we have at hand it will answer our purpose ..." ⁶⁷⁴ Over at Beckford's pharmacy, "Professor" William P. Beckford offered *Digestine*, a digestive aid and cathartic, and promised that it "contains no opium, morphine, etc."⁶⁷⁵ It was packaged in "attractive and neat boxes" that were also waterproof "for the benefit of captains of vessels who wish to carry it in their medicine chests." The more Beckford insisted that dyspepsia would be relieved in ten minutes and that it cured after all other remedies had failed, the more it sounded like exaggerated promises from other less reputable sources, too good to be true, so the Lynn druggist tried to underscore that "this is not a quack medicine, gotten up for a money-making scheme ..." ⁶⁷⁶

At the same time that apothecary Joseph W. Colcord wanted his own business to succeed, he was also driven to elevate the profession of pharmacy to the highest levels of scientific operation, standardization, regulation, and professional brotherhood. Highly regarded by his peers and recognized for his commitment, he was elected to be the first secretary of the Massachusetts State Pharmaceutical Association in 1882 and again to the same office in the new National Retail Druggists' Association in 1883.⁶⁷⁷ In his own Lynn drugstore, he wanted to assure his customers that his medicines were made "in accordance [with] the best medical science," and according to him, the sales of his proprietary, *Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup*, had become "larger in Lynn than all other cough preparations combined."⁶⁷⁸

In order to prevent scoundrels from counterfeiting his successful syrup, he had "J. W. Colcord" embossed into the glass of the bottle.⁶⁷⁹ The druggists had to fight many foes to survive in business; there would always be illegal activities to deal with, but the most vexing challenges were those that were able to occur because of the absence or weakness of existing laws and regulations. Anyone could still set themselves up as a drug store without having attained any education in the field, passed any test, or undergone government inspection. Proprietary medicine sales were an important part of the druggist's income (from fifty to seventy-five percent of the gross receipts), but there was constant price-cutting competition, not only among the drug stores but with the grocers and other merchants that carried the same products. The dry goods merchant and the dealer in fancy goods often had no interest in selling medicines and merely used them as loss leaders to increase store traffic and focus on the sale of their own staple goods.⁶⁸⁰ Dealing with all of these challenges was hard enough for the druggists, but then the government took away their lifeblood – alcohol.

The Lynn druggists had operated since 1878 on the basis of a sixth class liquor license, which restricted liquor sales to that required for medicinal, manufacturing, and chemical purposes, but when the citizens of Lynn decided in 1882 by a majority of a thousand votes against issuing liquor licenses to any business, in order to dry up the flood of alcohol throughout the city, the board of alderman decided that should include the city's twenty-seven pharmacists. Upset and angered at

the decision, twenty-three of the “disgusted druggists” stormed the aldermen’s office in the city hall to attend their next meeting and plead their case. Pharmacist Jacob Gilbert Forman told the aldermen, “Druggists cannot carry on their business without wines and spirits to manufacture their tinctures, medicated wines, fluid extracts, essences and perfumes,” and apothecary Joseph H. Hart added, “We must have wine to use in our Beef, Iron and Wine. He also assured they were only in the pharmacy business, not the liquor trade, and of those two professions only one was causing the city’s liquor problem, “We are not on a level with the low grog sellers. Who are incarcerated in the cells beneath us [the jail was in the basement of the city hall] – the victims of the low groggeries, or those who patronize pharmacists?”⁶⁸¹ The aldermen remained unmoved, however, and the druggists were unable to sell liquor for any purpose for the following year, even if the request came through a physician’s prescription. In February 1883, Forman presented yet another petition to allow drug stores the license to sell spirituous liquors; in it he presented the core of the druggists’ plea: “The promptings of humanity sometimes require that these calls [the requirements of physicians and the needs of the sick and invalids] should be answered, and it is a trying position to the apothecary to feel obliged either to comply and violate the law, or to refuse a needed medicine to the sick and suffering.”⁶⁸² Eventually, Lynn’s druggists were allowed to get back their liquor licenses, but even during their “dry” year, there had been plenty of ads in the city’s papers for



An Enduring Lynn Medicine: Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup. This medicine may have been mimicking the name of Samuel Thomson, whose botanicals had been very popular since the 1830s. The Snow and Messinger apothecary shop began advertising it in 1867. J. W. Colcord left Snow & Messinger just prior to its sale in 1875 and continued making and selling the prized cough syrup into the 1880s. Inside this 1872 folded trade card were seating plans for orchestra and balcony levels at Lynn Music Hall, newly opened that year. Shown: front and back cover. (Collection of the author.)

alcohol-based medicines that they were making and selling; apparently the police stayed busy with the city's more egregious crimes. The city needed its druggists, the local shops for everything available to help return people to health, and there were still plenty of injuries, illnesses, and diseases throughout the decade that would make people want to run to the drugstore for help.

While every death from disease was a tragedy, the good news for Lynn was that outbreaks were kept contained throughout the decade. The "zymotic" or acutely infectious diseases, like diphtheria, measles, typhoid, and scarlet fever, still made their appearance each year, but none had developed into widespread epidemics. In 1881 typhoid had "spread like wildfire" in Nahant; there were about sixty cases, "though little was reported of it at the time in the papers" in order to protect its reputation as an enjoyable, healthful location for wealthy vacationers.⁶⁸³ When the number of reported cases of typhoid in the autumn of 1882 had begun to rise in Lynn, the finger of blame pointed at dwellings and factories that were not provided with proper sanitary features, specifically, drainage and the ventilation of water closets and cesspools. That claim was supported by using an example from just a few months earlier, when several operatives contracted diphtheria in one of Lynn's large shoe factories from sewage that escaped through a defective pipe and deposited between the partitions of the work-room. "Alarmed by the illness of the operatives the proprietor ordered an investigation of the premises which revealed the dangerous condition. Cases innumerable could be cited of like nature, occurring in Lynn."⁶⁸⁴ John Poole was worried that he was coming down with diphtheria in January 1883; writing "throat sore feeling lame and tired," he proceeded to describe his remedy, "For diftheria – Kerosene oil applied outwardly. Sulphur, Salt Petre and Vinegar, Carbolic Acid & Glycerin, inwardly."⁶⁸⁵ A letter to the editor during the fall outbreak of 1882 stated that "owing to an advance in medical science acknowledged by all intelligent physicians" typhoid fever was finally acknowledged to be very contagious, "within twenty years past many reputable physicians were slow to acknowledge or even denied the infectious character of the horrid fever that has broken out in our city."⁶⁸⁶ Armed with the improving knowledge of bacteria, the writer, who chose to remain anonymous, listed measures that should be taken to avoid typhoid, now that it was recognized to be highly contagious:

Moisture in the air conveys typhoid fever infection or germs. Never enter a house where this disease exists save on a mission of help, or mercy, or to part with a dying friend at the imminent risk of soon dying yourself. The kiss of a typhoid fever sufferer is the kiss of doom in very many cases. Never drink at the water cup of a railway station until you have well rinsed the edges or brim of the cup. ... If you care not for yourself remember that it is a monstrous crime to risk spreading such a deadly disease after you know its nature and the results of carelessness. Keep grocers, bakers, paper and letter carriers and other callers from coming into your house if one is sick with typhoid fever within your unfortunate walls. Purify all your apartments thoroughly after any case of this fever in your dwelling. Subject your clothing to a disinfecting process also. Only by vigilance may we avoid such diseases or check them when they start on their destructive course.⁶⁸⁷

Perhaps the writer's advice was heeded; Lynn deaths from typhoid and scarlet fever had both decreased through the remainder of the decade since 1882.

The health inspectors exulted, "This remarkable showing must be due in some part to an improved sanitary condition of the city," especially to the preventive steps being undertaken by the health department and the residents.⁶⁸⁸ Old drains were removed and new and improved sewers were built to aid all those willing to improve their premises by removing "the antiquated methods of former generations," and replacing them with "new ideas, based on scientific and practical knowledge."⁶⁸⁹ A third of the city's dwellings had been converted from the continued use of "old-time" outhouse vaults and cesspools to being plumbed into the city's sewage system.⁶⁹⁰ The health inspectors reported that homeowners seemed to be "taking pride in cleaning their premises, as a rule, and in this way bettering the condition of the neighborhood and promoting its health." The

various brooks in the city were still getting filled with rubbish and filth being thrown into them, especially the “house-waste drained from the sinks near the banks. Some of these brooks the past year have been little better than open sewers.”⁶⁹¹

Diphtheria was more resistant to the sanitary improvements and hygienic steps being followed in Lynn. There were more cases of the disease and higher mortality; the decade’s worst year was 1880 when 75 died, then 50 in 1881; the mortality dropped significantly for the next six years, but in 1888, the number of cases reported jumped back up to 248 with 54 resulting in death.⁶⁹² Whenever a case of membranous croup or diphtheria was reported, the patient was immediately isolated and placards were placed on the door, announcing the house was under quarantine.⁶⁹³ The *Daily Evening Item* tried to provide a public service in 1882, passing on information it thought helpful about how to identify diphtheria in their children:

At this season of the year, when so many parents are apprehensive that their children may have the diphtheria, and mistake simple colds for that dreaded disease, this advice of a doctor is good: "Much of the imagined diphtheria is simply an ulceration of the throat. If people knew the difference, they would save themselves a good deal of anxiety, a few doctor's bills, and also a great deal of trouble. I will give you a rule by which you can always determine whether it is a cold or diphtheria. If the throat is red and smaller, no fear of diphtheria. But if it looks as though somebody had blown a handful of ashes into the throat - a dull gray color - look out. It's diphtheria's danger signal."⁶⁹⁴

Sometimes, studying the facts and figures about the casualties of war, the victims of crime, and the mortality rates of an epidemic, day after day in the local newspaper, can have a numbing effect on the reader; the human loss becoming less moving, the further from one’s own family and neighborhood it occurs. This was surely the case for the news readers of Lynn in the late decades of the century, when they found themselves surrounded by anywhere from 38,000 townsmen in 1880 to 68,000 in 1900; inevitably, the great majority were strangers, little more than names on a page. So when a newspaper reporter skillfully showed the humanity behind a death, it brought the emotions of loss into the heart of the reader. Such was the brief account about James E. Aborn, the music teacher in Lynn’s schools, and the last few moments he shared with his little girl, Lillian, who was, otherwise, just another one of the seventy-five diphtheria deaths in 1881; it’s a story that resonates still, a century and a half later:

A short time before the little daughter of J. E. Aborn died, her father sat rocking her in his arms, when she looked up and said, “Papa, sing ‘A Crown upon my Forehead.’ ” The afflicted parent, realizing that the end was nigh, brushed the hot tears from his eyes, and as soon as he could sufficiently control his voice, complied with her request. It seemed to comfort the little sufferer, and almost as the last note died away on the morning air, her spirit returned to God who gave it.⁶⁹⁵

The initial report of her death reported that Aborn’s oldest daughter, a beautiful and promising child of three years, had died of diphtheria “and her loss is a terrible blow.”⁶⁹⁶ No doubt.

When “dull gray ashes” could be seen on their sick child’s throat, parents’ eyes filled, hearts sank, and despair set in. One in five diphtheria infections resulted in death over the decade; when Lillian Aborn died in 1881, mortality was one in three.⁶⁹⁷ Some distraught parents may have been driven to buy a promised diphtheria cure, like those of Mrs. Shapleigh, the former confectioner, or apothecary Needham, or homeopath Cushing, and if it didn’t work, they may even have resorted to having the doctor cut the child’s throat open. In 1881 one Lynn physician took the risk of performing a surgical procedure to save his young diphtheria patient who was otherwise facing certain death. Willie H. Berry, the not quite 7-year-old son of shoemaker William H. Berry, was suffering mightily from “membranous croup” (likely diphtheria), in which a membrane was forming across his windpipe, causing increasingly labored breathing; the membranes often resulted in suffocation and death. Charles W. Galloupe, the family’s physician, decided there was no choice

but to go to the Berry family's home on Carnes Street and perform a tracheotomy on the child. A Lynn newspaper reported, "An incision was made in the child's windpipe and a silver tube inserted. Respiration became easy, and in a week or so the tube was removed. The child is now as well as ever. This, we believe, is the first time this difficult and dangerous operation has ever been successfully performed in Lynn."⁶⁹⁸ Galloupe performed another tracheotomy four years later on one of the children of laborer Peter Kane, residing on Cottage Street. Two of the Kane's children were taken sick with diphtheria on Sunday, March 29th; Charles, the older one at just four years and four months, died the same night, and the younger, only seventeen months old, "was on the point of death from suffocation when the parents, thinking that an operation might be performed to relieve it called in a surgeon." Galloupe performed the tracheotomy two hours later on the toddler, who had become "blue in the face and hardly able to breath." Immediately after the surgery, the child fell peacefully asleep, then woke up a half hour later and drank a glass of milk "He improved very rapidly, and for two weeks has been playing about the room, breathing through a silver tube in the neck." The tube was removed after being worn twenty-two days and the child was able to talk as well as before the illness.⁶⁹⁹

John Poole recorded another tracheotomy case in his 1884 journal, this one involving Etta's 7-year-old nephew, Willie M. Morrow. On Friday, 8 August 1884, John recorded that Willie was sick with croup. When John came home from work on Thursday, there was "seemingly but little change"; Willie was still very sick. John had arranged for his friend and doctor, Frank D. Stevens, to call on Willie and the doctor stayed with him until 10:00 p.m. and dosed him with some liquid beef and brandy. John and Etta stayed up with him all night and it seemed he "grew a little easier toward morning." On Sunday afternoon Willie had gotten worse; John watched with him for the rest of the night and thought Willie "grew a little easier[.] Shall hope + trust so."

On Monday, 11 August, Willie had sunk worse still. John then recorded, "At noon Tracheotomy performed successfully + gave great relief. Watched most of time to midnight. Got little sleep. ... These are hard days, but the Lord will take us through" Now all they could do was wait, watch, and pray.

On Tuesday, John had to record the terrible news in his journal and as he started the entry he seemed overwhelmed with emotion and somewhat disoriented, not even knowing if the day outside had been nice; it was not the entry he had hoped to make:

- (12 Aug 1884) I think it was pleasant.⁷⁰⁰ Willie seemed much the same all day. Late in afternoon he grew worse & all hope was gone. He died about ten in Ev[en]ing. The Lord has strengthen[e]d us all wonderfully throughout the trouble. The history of this day cannot be written.
- (13 Aug 1884) Rainy all day. Felt v[er]y weak + sick in morning, but got over it[.] helped make arrangements for funeral. Etta + I ordered flowers at Goodwins. ... v[er]y beautiful. Services at 4.30 PM. ... All got back about dark ... we all felt better. The load lifted.
- (17 Aug 1884) Afternoon fixed some flowers for Willie[']s grave. Etta used up + sick. I took John[']s Horse + visited the cemet[e]ry. Willie sleeps near the Soldier[']s monument. ...

When it came to infants and children, life was still anything but certain; even the mayor lost his beloved 4-year-old daughter to scarlet fever the year after John Poole arrived in Lynn; the child died just four or five days from the disease's first appearance.⁷⁰¹ So, when John and Etta Poole gave birth to their son, Harold, on 9 October 1886, father John noted every cause behind his baby's crying and made sure to get it remedied as quickly as possible. In his first four years, Harold experienced teething, eczema, congestion, ear pain, stomach pain and diarrhea, measles, and tonsilitis, and his father was quick to call the doctor, apply boric acid to Harold's painful ears, tie a pouch of onion around his throat for his lung congestion, and do whatever it took to ensure his baby boy returned to health.⁷⁰² In the same year that Etta gave birth to Harold, John carefully noted

in the back of his journal a prescription for an “Antiphrodisiac” to reduce his sexual desire, “A strong infusion of the aments or catkins of the black willow. Taken freely to the extent of a pint or more in the course of 24 hours.”⁷⁰³

At the very end of the decade, literally at the end of December 1889, Lynn got caught up in the global pandemic of “La Grippe.” It had traveled across Russia and Europe, killing a million people in all, and when it arrived in Lynn during the last few days of December, a significant number of Lynners started suffering from flu-like symptoms (symptoms noted might include one or more of loss of appetite, slight nausea, tired, languid feeling, and severe pains in head and back), so it was assumed to be the result of La Grippe. A large number of men and women in the Thomson-Houston Electric Company in West Lynn appeared to be sick from its effects, but the *Item* suggested that the employees of the city’s morocco leather factories seemed, inexplicably, “to be almost exempt from the disease.” It was also quickly making its way through the city’s firefighters and West Lynn physicians were busy “attending to the many new cases coming up each day.”⁷⁰⁴ John W. Poole also suspected he was a victim of the new pandemic. He had just spent a pleasant Christmas holiday with family, exchanging presents. On the 28th he got a raise on his pay of a dollar a week, bringing his wage to a new high of \$17.00 per week. Then on 30 December he recorded, “Worked at shop but did not feel like it[;] achy all over must have “La grippe”[.] had feet soaked at night & went to bed sick.”

An ambitious reporter at the *Daily Evening Item* tried to quickly figure out what was causing the new pandemic. He pointed out that the majority of medical sources blamed germs of disease in the air and a minority blamed weather conditions, but he had a different thought: “In the opinion of the writer (not the paper), both are right and both are wrong.” He theorized that it was carried by the wind in the fine powder-laden odors emanating from “a peculiar plant” called Euphorbia Mezeron, that grew in regions bordering the Sahara, the Cape of Good Hope, the Canary Islands, Egypt, Arabia, and the East Indies. Its oils exude onto the plant’s surface and dry into a powder, which, when airborne, irritates the mucous membranes and cause the eyes to weep and grow red, the nose to run with watery and even bloody mucus; in other words, symptoms of influenza.⁷⁰⁵ In defense of his slapdash theory, the reporter asked, “If some diseases are authoritatively claimed to originate from vegetarian sources, why not this one[?] No one bothered to respond to the article or the abstract theory; no one in Lynn seemed worried enough to solve the riddle of La Grippe.

Considering that, throughout its history, Lynn had endured outbreaks of smallpox, typhoid, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and more, the new La Grippe was arriving more like a lamb with a cold than a lion with a roar. The contagions that had visited and killed in Lynn throughout the decade were not as widespread as outbreaks of the past. They had been better controlled through preventive measures and more sound medical response; even though the strange new pandemic caused some concern, it didn’t ignite fear and panic – it clearly wasn’t packing the devastation of small pox or cholera.

Some of Lynn’s homes and businesses did have something dangerous wafting through the air, but it wasn’t Euphorbia. As gas was being piped throughout the city, getting connected to furnaces, stoves, and lights, the slightest joint gap, perforation in the pipe, or misuse of the equipment would allow the invisible poison to spread through the air, ready to incapacitate or kill, or even explode. The poisons were coal gas and water gas, both of which contained odorless, deadly carbon monoxide. Workers laying pipe in a Beach Street trench on 17 November 1883 were overcome by escaping water gas and were resuscitated with great difficulty. Joseph Pinkham was of the opinion that the most overcome worker wouldn’t get over the effects for two or three days. He had known cases of gas poisoning afflicting people “so as to cause insanity, when a sufficient amount of it had been inhaled,” and that gas also produced chronic nervousness, nausea, unconsciousness, and even death.⁷⁰⁶ On the same day the pipe crew was succumbing to the new poison, employees of the E. H. Newhall shoe manufactory on Central Avenue were taken ill with vomiting, getting dizzy, and

falling down. A gas pipe had gotten plugged up and water gas found other exits into the building. People in Litch's grocery store on the ground floor were also sickened with nausea.⁷⁰⁷

Earlier in the year, coal gas leaked from the furnace in the basement of a house on 26 Cambridge Street into both floors above. The O'Haras were asleep in the upper story and the Donlons were sleeping in their first-floor apartment. When Charles O'Hara got up from his bed to get ready for work, he fell to the floor two or three times before he got to the outside door. He went to work, unaware that the gas had filled their apartment and therefore having no reason to think that his wife and daughter would have any reason to suffer the same bodily weakness. At 1:00 PM, O'Hara went into the cellar where the furnace was, and was immediately aware of the strong smell of coal gas; only then did it dawn on him what had happened. The Donlon and O'Hara families were found unconscious from the gas "and in a death-like condition." Joseph Pinkham was quickly called once again and after providing everyone proper medical attention, he felt they would all recover.⁷⁰⁸ A similar near-tragedy occurred late in the same year at the Pearl Street residence of Miss Annie Hardiman, who was having a sleepover with two other young ladies. A displaced stove damper had caused the gas leak. About midnight, Miss Hardiman woke up with a violent headache and she could barely stand. She tried to reach a window, "but fell in a swoon." The two friends woke up in the same condition and when they also tried to reach the window, they also both collapsed, unconscious. Miss Hardiman was finally able to make her way to the window and open it. The cold November night air revived her two friends, but the three didn't fully recover for several days afterward.⁷⁰⁹

An article featured in one of the city's papers posited that in the effort to keep flies out of the house, windows and blinds were closed, making the home look lifeless and uninhabited from the outside and effectively minimizing life on the inside. The lack of fresh air gave the atmosphere inside "that close, unwholesome, 'stuffy' smell which we generally associate with the homes of the ignorant and unneat classes alone, but which is often to be noticed in those of a class far above them."⁷¹⁰ The author suggested it was better to endure the annoyance of flies in the house than to eliminate fresh air; for homes connected to gas for heating and lighting, open windows could also be the difference between life and death.

Drinkable water was just as critical a need as breathable air, and even that life staple was a constant challenge to get. Joseph Pinkham had proven that well water at many Lynn homes was tainted by cesspools and outhouse vaults, but the city continued to struggle with relying on its pond waters as an alternative. An 1887 report by the Department of the Interior on the country's water power stated that one of Lynn's two reservoir ponds "in summer is tainted by a smell of animal matter, rendering it unfit for domestic use."⁷¹¹ In 1883 an article in the *Daily Evening Item* reflected the animus that many of the city's residents had for Birch Pond by presenting a mock chemical analysis of its water, citing many of the very real sources of concern:

Hydro or Birch-Pond-phobia is terribly prevalent in our city of soles at the present time Everybody boils or filters or "doctors" or anathematizes the faucet water before drinking it, and furthermore reads up or worries about typhoid fever after swallowing the mysterious fluid. ... Nobody knows exactly the detail of its constituent parts. They have not read the latest analysis of this fluid. Here it is. We do not vouch for the entire accuracy of the following table. One sample of tubular water from the swamp near Water Hill. In 200,000 parts -

Butyrate of old swamp	9.11
Sulphate of Waterhill cesspools	10.03
Oxyxanthobete of sink spouts	14.41
Chloride of Stetsonville	7.20
Carbonate of horse stable	6.04
Silicate of street gutters	9.03
Ammoniated albumenoid of Pine Grove [cemetery]	17.17
Nitrate of hospital	2.01

Protoxide of swill tub	12.19
Chloro dinoxide of hen roost	8.01
Phenomamate of back yards	7.11
Phosphate of rubbish	4.19
Oxide of compound offal	9.00 ⁷¹²

The only ones benefitting from the inconsistent quality of Lynn's drinking water were those who claimed to have located pure and mineral-rich drinking waters on their Lynn properties. Given the varying confidence in the local fresh water sources, local spring waters were selling at a premium, according to the person who authored the facetious Birch Pond water analysis: "The spring-water trade in this city is increasing with remarkable rapidity. It is cheaper to buy pure water for drinking purposes than to pay doctor's fees and funeral charges. ... Good drinking water costs the user more to-day, in Lynn, than pure new cider sells for in the country in its season, and more than a fairly good kerosene oil costs by the barrel."⁷¹³ Available for one dollar a barrel or five cents per gallon, the water from Echo Grove's mineral spring had been around for several years and owner John Raddin built an outdoor entertainment resort around it.⁷¹⁴ His claim that "this water is warranted the best in New England for medicinal qualities," apparently added an extra dimension to the beverage's attractiveness because in September 1883, he was running out of containers for his water: "I have loaned a large number of jugs for persons to take water. Please return them, or send postal where they can be called for. John Raddin."⁷¹⁵

While workmen were digging eleven feet underground in the cellar of what was to become Tucker's Block on Monroe Street in Lynn, water started bubbling up and flowing so quickly, it was obvious a spring had been found. The water flowed at a rate of 100 barrels a day. Analysis of the water found beneficial minerals and no ammonia or lime, and Marcus E. Tucker told the public that physicians were using it as a remedy for all sorts of health problems: "Dyspepsia, Sick Headache, Distress after Eating, Acidity of the Stomach, Kidney Complaints, Flatulency, Gastric and all stomach complaints."⁷¹⁶ Like Raddin, Tucker must have been quite busy with his spring water business; a month after he had the chemical analysis published, he advertised a "Grand Closing-Out Sale" of his furniture business, "The sale of my Mineral Spring Water has increased so rapidly ... I have concluded to part with my Furniture. I shall close out my entire stock in the next 30 days, which consists of Parlor Suites, Chamber Sets, Easy Chairs, Patient Rockers, Easels of Different Sizes, Fire Screens, Hat Trees, Folding Beds, Marble-Top Tables, etc., at cost...."⁷¹⁷ Two of Lynn's furniture barons had divested themselves of the businesses that had made them wealthy to chase even bigger profits in the health industry: Jacob Welch would sell off his furniture business in 1885 to pursue his fortune in patent medicine, like his friend Charlie Pinkham, and Marcus Tucker sold off his furniture business in 1883 to chase the dream of a mineral spring empire.

Amid all its progress and growth, the city had continued to grapple with two fundamental health challenges: securing better living conditions and the need for a hospital; many hands were working hard to remedy both.

HEARTS OF GOLD

Despite the black eyes of crime and cruelty with which Lynn had punched itself over the decade, there were many acts of kindness and charity selflessly demonstrated by good-hearted citizens as well. Mary H. Byrne was a grateful recipient of such compassion; when she became incapacitated in 1881 and in need of a wheelchair, she was touched by the generosity of friends:

To kind friends at Lynn and Swampscott I desire to tender my thanks for the gift of a perambulating chair. You can never know the pleasure that it gives, for it cannot be expressed by word or pen. It will make many an hour pass pleasantly that would

otherwise be long and tedious. Though I may not be able to sufficiently thank you, you shall be rewarded by Him who is the Friend of earth's weary ones.

MARY H. BYRNE. Lynn, June 1, 1881⁷¹⁸

In October 1882, the *Item* stated that "Lynn is a remarkable place for presentations, and our citizens show a feeling of kindness towards one another which is truly noteworthy. Hardly a day goes by but someone is presented with a valuable present, showing the kindest feeling to exist generally." It then conveyed the story of Ralph O. Ward, a laster employed at Lancaster's shoe manufactory, who was made the recipient of a pair of artificial limbs valued at \$150 (\$3,770.50 in 2020 USD). Nine years earlier, while employed as a railroad brakeman, he had both legs taken off just below the knees by a freight train "and all the time since his accident has been obliged to walk on his knees." A collection was taken up among his friends and acquaintances and when a large amount was collected, the friends took him to Boston, where he was measured for the artificial limbs. About two weeks later they returned and the new limbs were put on, and Ward was so ecstatic, he walked over two miles for his first attempt, walking to the Boston train station and then from the Lynn station to his home on Pearl Street, Lynn. "Mr. Ward's next trip on his new propellers was to Lancaster's shop, where he walked about in fine style, with the help of one cane, much to the pleasure of himself and his shop mates. Ward's appreciation of the kindness shown him cannot be expressed in words."⁷¹⁹

The thought behind the Lynn Flower and Fruit Mission, established in June 1882, was not to provide lifesaving services, but simple tokens of sympathy and hope – flowers, bottled jellies, and perhaps some fruits and vegetables. To do their good works, they relied exclusively on the generosity of others for everything from the names of those who would benefit from such gifts to the items donated, and the transportation to get them to those in need. Area businesses provided their delivery wagons and boxes, and individual citizens provided use of their carriages and donations of flowers and produce from their own gardens. The mission provided the thoughtful donations to the bible readers, city missionaries, and sick-nurses to deliver to patients in hospitals and asylums and the "immense constituency of sick and infirm in tenement houses, where only those who visit stifling attics and gloomy basements can realize how their wretched inmates deserve whatever can make their sick beds less intolerable."⁷²⁰

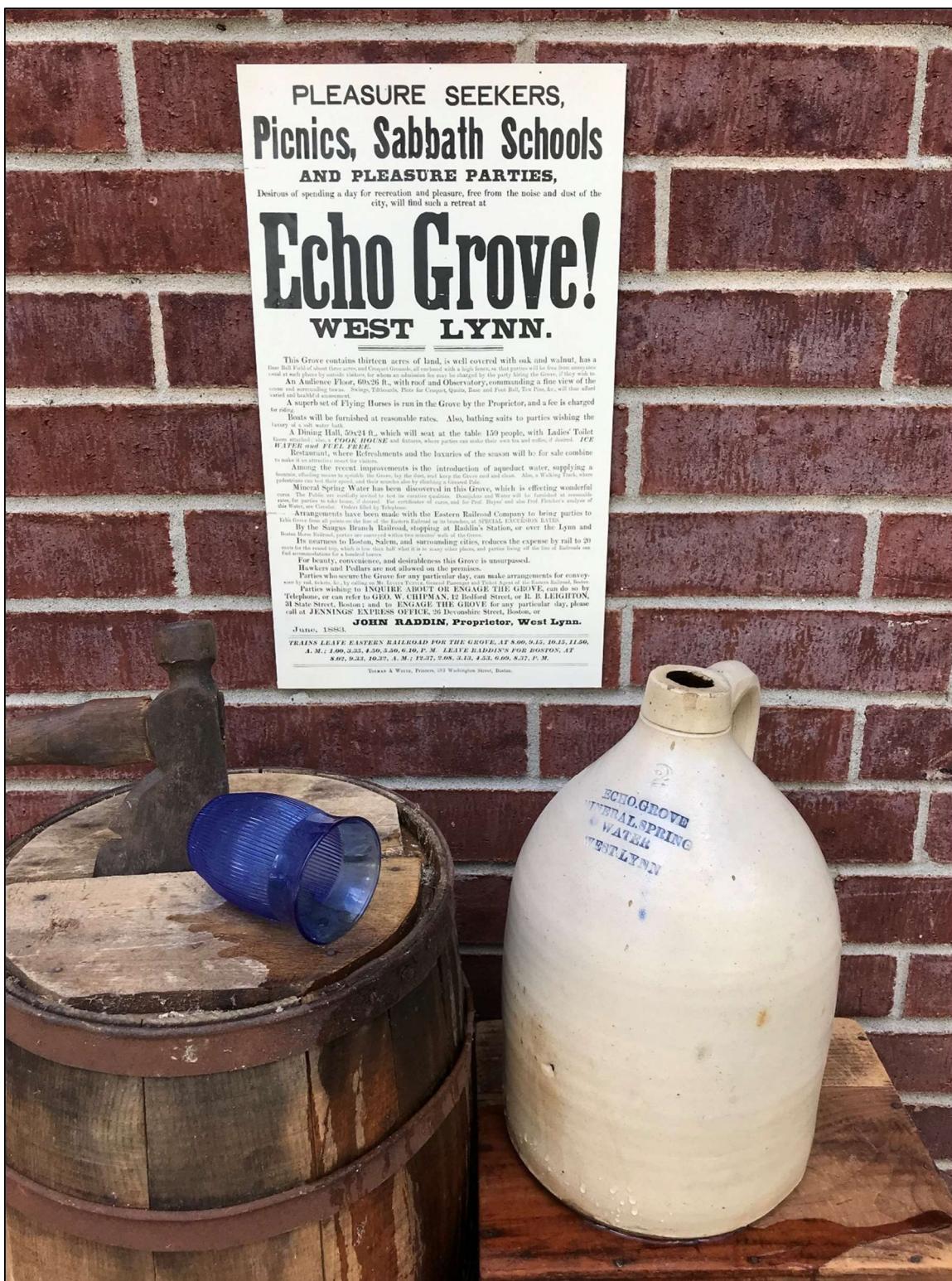
In a most extraordinary community effort to help the one, traffic on Lewis Street went by the Thomas family's home with the reverence of visitors in a cathedral – all to help keep a sick young lady alive. On 3 September 1889, Miss Carrie M. Thomas had suddenly become seriously ill with an abdominal inflammation. The 29-year-old continued to grow worse, despite the best efforts of several doctors, and by Saturday the 7th, was lying dangerously ill at the family residence on 185 Lewis Street. The slightest noise seemed to agitate the patient, so her father, Rufus, sent a letter to Mayor Newhall:

Hon. A. T. Newhall, Mayor,

My daughter is very ill indeed at my residence 185 Lewis street. The noise of passing teams annoys her very much, so much that our physician ... informs me that in order to save her, the trouble must be remedied. I would respectfully request your Honor to cause the street each side of my residence ... to be closed to public travel excepting the horse railroad travel until such time as the danger is passed. We ask this as a matter of life and death - and we know under the circumstances the public will endorse your action if my request is granted.

Yours Respectfully, Rufus Thomas⁷²¹

On the same morning that he received the letter, Mayor Newhall promptly gave instructions to have the street closed. Even the horse railroad men had become acquainted with the case and moved their cars past the house "with as little noise as possible. Mr. Thomas has also had several loads of fine scrap leather and sawdust placed in front of the house, in order to deaden the noise of



Nectar from the Echo Grove Mineral Spring. Nothing beat the heat during work or play as well as a drink of cool water from deep in Lynn's Echo Grove Mineral Spring, infused with health-giving minerals. Pictured is a 2-gallon jug, about 1885, debossed in blue: ECHO GROVE / MINERALS RING / WATER / WEST LYNN. (Collection of the author.) Broadside for the Echo Grove is in the background and of its minerals springs it states, "Mineral Spring Water has been discovered in this Grove's picnic groves, which is effecting wonderful cures." (Original broadside [E L18 B6 R3 1883] in the collections of the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum)

teams that pass along.” By noon, the patient’s condition had somewhat improved, and ultimately, she was restored to full health.⁷²²

There seemed to be a charitable and benevolent organization to cover every type of need, whether caused by illness, infirmity, indigence, or intemperance. Many of the organizations had existed in one form or another for decades. Frequent fundraising fairs were held to sustain the work of the Home for Aged Women and the Widow & Orphan’s Society. A group to watch after the sick still existed, as they had for most of the century, this one just being generically called the “Watcher’s Society”; it numbered 103 in 1881.⁷²³ The Lynn chapter of the YMCA visited prisoners in jail, provided watchers for the sick, and distributed some financial relief to the destitute. It also reached out to salesmen and others traveling through Lynn, encouraging them to buy “commercial travelers’ tickets” for privileges at the society’s reading rooms, gymnasiums, and baths in Lynn and other YMCA locations throughout the country.⁷²⁴ Mothers could take advantage of the day nursery at 1 Tremont Court, where “Little Babies [are] Made comfortable and Happy While Hard-Working Mothers Earn Bread for Them. … there was to be no more of the cruel locking babies and helpless little ones in rooms all day, with no one to look out for them.”⁷²⁵ In November 1881, construction had been completed for “the new asylum for the juvenile poor of Lynn,” more commonly called the Children’s Home; it was opened for occupancy on the Poor Farm property where the almshouse had stood for decades. On opening day, there were twenty-seven children living at the almshouse, ready to be transferred to the new Children’s Home. It was the largest number of children at the almshouse since the institution had been established and there was a sigh of relief when the Children’s Home became available, “These children have lived in the same house with the other inmates, and to some extent were necessarily brought into contact with old and depraved people. The change from the old almshouse to the new and pleasant home will be a pleasing one, and one that must produce good results in the future lives of the children.”⁷²⁶ The children at the home were made very happy by a generous donation of toys by S. A. Barton, the fancy goods dealer on Market Street. “Could he have witnessed the joy with which they received the toys, he would have been well repaid for this kindly remembrance of them.”⁷²⁷

The one outstanding gap in care for Lynn’s marginalized citizens was a hospital. The wealthy could afford, and preferred, to have doctors come to their houses, but hospital care for the indigent and laborers had floundered since the hospital on Waterhill Street had closed in 1879. A committee of some of the city’s wealthiest business leaders was organized in 1880 to raise funds and find a location for the hospital. Almost weekly, the *Item* listed the newest donors and their donations, as well as reporting on various locations throughout the city under consideration for the hospital, but as 1880 rolled into 1881 and then into 1882, more voices were heard expressing their displeasure that there still was no hospital or clear plan to get one. All the while, accidents continued to happen and the victims continued to be sent out of town because Lynn had no hospital; in February 1880, there was yet another accident:

Never was the need of a City Hospital more fully demonstrated than on Saturday when Gilman Bennett crushed his hand in a rolling machine at the factory of C. B. Tebbetts. The physician … ordered him to the Massachusetts General Hospital, well knowing that there was no place in Lynn where he could receive proper attention. The unfortunate man remained at Central Depot for nearly an hour waiting for a train, and then had to endure the journey to the hospital. His suffering was most severe. The recurrence of such cases in a place of Lynn’s size, prosperity and enterprise is a disgrace which should bring a blush to the face of every citizen. How much longer will this be so?⁷²⁸

More than a year and a half passed, but still no hospital. A citizen heard that the only stumbling block was deciding on a location and, though he tried to show respect to the august hospital committee, impatience escaped from his pen, “Let us not have any more mangled victims obliged to wait hours before they can be made comfortable, especially if an amputation is necessary.”⁷²⁹ In his

last annual report to the city for 1881, City Marshal Shaw added his weight to the urgency of getting a hospital,

Too much cannot be said in praise of this, our beautiful city. Its stately blocks, beautiful churches, and magnificent public buildings are pointed to with pride and satisfaction by all its citizens. But it is much to our discredit that, amidst all this grandeur, we have not a place where the sick or wounded can be taken to be cared for. Some of our citizens, as we know, are earnest in their efforts to remedy this need, and I most earnestly hope that this work will be brought to a final consummation as speedily as possible, as its necessity is becoming more apparent every day.⁷³⁰

In September 1882, an incident made newsprint of a sailor who came to Lynn from New Orleans in very sick condition, with yellowed skin; it was immediately suspected that he had yellow fever. Marshal Stone telephoned the Massachusetts General Hospital to see if they would take him in, but the response was, "We have no room for him." The Marshal shot back, "You never have any room for patients from Lynn, and I am going to know the reason why." "Go ahead;" was the response, "we shall not take them if we have no room for them." The sailor had an aunt in Lynn, but she couldn't take him in, either, because she already had a sick old woman staying with her, so there was no alternative left but to bring the potentially contagious sailor to Lynn's hotel of lost causes, the almshouse.⁷³¹

On 23 February 1880 with an article titled, "A Hospital for a Cent," the *Daily Evening Item* initiated a fundraising campaign designed to encourage everyone in the city to make donations for the building of a hospital. Regular reports of progress were reported in the newspaper. Seventy-three tin drums were distributed in stores, apothecary shops, banks, and factories throughout the city, as well as at the post office, the library, and the newspapers. The drums were three inches tall and three inches in diameter with a coin slot on the top and decorated with an illustration of a silver dollar on each side.⁷³² At one point it was reported that more than half of the drums had less than fifty cents in each collected over a fortnight, "truly a collection of 'mites' to accomplish the goal of raising the funds needed for the hospital."⁷³³ In that they were so small, easily held by small hands, it was not surprising that some of the little counter-top drums were stolen. In March 1881, Patsey Connors, a 12-year-old boy who lived on Sagamore Street, was brought to the police station for stealing the drum from the apothecary store of S. C. Tozzer & Co., on 95 Broad Street. "Marshal Shaw gave him a good lecture and let him go on his promising to do better."⁷³⁴ Factory employees were encouraged to allow having a penny deducted from their wages for the building of the hospital. School children were encouraged to submit their contributions to their teachers and collections were taken up at churches and secret organizations, like the Masons and Odd Fellows.⁷³⁵ Ladies' service groups organized fundraising fairs, one of which made \$400, and a charity concert at the Music Hall raised \$231.25. A children's fair was held from which the amount of \$5.10 was presented for the hospital.⁷³⁶ A gratifying outpouring of hundreds of donations had come from throughout the city over several years, ranging from the "widow's mite" dropped in the coin drums to a \$2,000 donation made by John B. Alley, the city's wealthiest citizen. Several other wealthy citizens donated amounts of \$1,000, \$500, and \$250.⁷³⁷ Such unified commitment to a cause had not been seen in the city since its support of the Union forces in the Civil War; although many could give only coppers and nickels, all of the donations had come from hearts of gold. The fundraising goal had been \$20,000; when the hospital opened on 12 March 1883, the hospital fund had \$34,000.⁷³⁸ In addition to this starter fund, it was reported that Miss Eliza Peele of Salem had left \$30,000 in her will for the Lynn Hospital. Her relatives contested the will, claiming she was insane, but the supreme court ruled a few months later that "a large sum" would go to the Lynn Hospital.⁷³⁹

The hospital committee investigated the hospital plans of many other cities, looking to determine the type of building and location most suitable for a hospital. It was decided that a network of smaller cottage-style buildings was best, so that if one became unsafe from infection, it could be torn down without impacting the rest of the buildings or requiring funds to rebuild the entire

hospital.⁷⁴⁰ Other considerations in picking the location included the cost, lot size, healthiness of the location, nearness to the center of the city, its convenience to physicians and visitors, and the system of waste drainage in place. Taking all of the physical requirements into account, locations were considered in the neighborhoods bordering the downtown, including lots on Laighton street, Elm Street, Ashton Place, the corner of Western Avenue and Washington Street, the Atkinson lot in Ward Seven, and the Boyce and Martin estates on Ocean Street, but the one finally selected was the Hathorne estate on Boston street.⁷⁴¹ A letter to the editor objected to the location chosen and hoped it wasn't too late for them to change their minds. The author, "J.F.K.", argued that the building on the Hathorne estate was old and unsuited for a hospital, plus it was situated on low ground near a swamp and a cemetery, instead of on high ground and in a locality where the surroundings were pleasant for convalescents. His closing thought was that the nearness of the cemetery would become a frequently used convenience from such a poorly located hospital, "The only thing in favor of the present arrangement is – not to joke on a grave subject – that it is near the cemetery."⁷⁴² A short response was issued, dismissing J.F.K.'s gallows humor, "[it] savors strongly of an attempt to write an article for the sole purpose of perpetrating his little joke and pun. ... It cannot be possible that he has ever visited the grounds or given a thought to the fact that the very best of drainage and sewer facilities are to be had without extra expense." Undaunted, the hospital committee moved forward with its plans and the Hathorne estate became the location of the new Lynn Hospital.⁷⁴³

The months ahead were busy with preparation of the new facility in anticipation of its opening. The old two-story house was thoroughly renovated for use as a hospital, with rooms being fitted up to be offices for the physicians and hospital managers, sleeping rooms for the matron and nurses, and a fully appointed operating room.⁷⁴⁴ Most of the furnishings in the new hospital were donated from the old hospital.⁷⁴⁵ One of the building's "old-fashioned" fireplaces heated and ventilated the front rooms and the other took care of the two patient wards in the back of the building. A corridor lead to the two hospital wards, one for men and the other for women; each was equipped with a bath and a toilet room, luxuries not available at the old hospital on Waterhill Street. Initially, the wards were equipped with a total of six beds because there was no way of knowing how many would be needed and it was more economical than preparing and opening the pavilions behind the main building if not needed.⁷⁴⁶

Anticipation was running a little faster than construction; on 6 March 1883, the *Item* reported almost breathlessly, "The First Patient!" Hannah Buckley had been hanging out her washing on the clothesline in the yard and she fell and fractured her ankle; the newspaper expected "she will probably be removed to the new city hospital," but the next day the prediction had to be retracted, "Hannah Buckley ... was not taken to the City Hospital, but to the Almshouse. The Hospital will not receive patients until next Monday."⁷⁴⁷

The hospital staff was to be led by medical society physician Charles A. Lovejoy as the Medical Superintendent, with a small staff that included a matron, and young women who would serve as an assistant nurse, a cook, and a washwoman.⁷⁴⁸ The matron would be paid thirty-five dollars per month, the washerwoman five dollars per week, an assistant nurse and the kitchen helper would each earn three dollars per week, and a man for general work would be paid the most of all, at nine dollars per week.⁷⁴⁹ Now they were ready and the hospital opened Monday, 12 March 1883.

The doors were opened and patients immediately arrived. Septuagenarian Thomas Cannon of Clinton had come to Lynn to visit his daughter and on Monday morning it was time to travel back home, so he went to the station to grab a train. His departure turned out to be another typical, tragic accident and exactly the reason that the hospital was needed. While attempting to get on the train for Boston, one of the old man's feet slipped and he got dragged under the wheels of the last car; in moments, both legs were crushed. A doctor at the depot got the man to the hospital. It was determined that one leg was almost complete cut off and had to be removed; the other leg was so badly crushed it also had to be amputated. The *Item* reported, "It is hardly possible that the injured man will recover," which was true.⁷⁵⁰ Cannon died at the new hospital, three hours after the accident.⁷⁵¹

It was a somber, sobering inauguration, but after the first full week, the new hospital was beginning to prove the full measure of its importance to the city. During the first week, seven patients, mostly severe cases, were admitted: five men and two women. Five required surgery and two were medical cases. Two of the cases required isolation, so had to be removed to one of the pavilions even though it was an empty shell, not yet prepared for patients.⁷⁵² After the first three months, forty patients had been admitted, of which twenty-three were able to be discharged, four had died, and thirteen were still patients. Additional beds hadn't been secured yet, so the patients were "somewhat crowded," to say the least, since only six beds had been secured at the outset.⁷⁵³ The *Item* reported that the hospital's "management has necessarily labored under great embarrassment," allowing an overcrowded environment, but a hospital was the right place and first place of accommodation for those requiring immediate treatment, "and no matter how crowded the Hospital may be, room must be made for accident cases."⁷⁵⁴ The hospital had quickly become an essential fixture in Lynn.

In October, a critical operation was performed at the Lynn Hospital for the removal of an ovarian tumor. Doctors Walker of Chelsea, Bowditch of Boston, and Pinkham and Lovejoy of Lynn all participated. The surgery took an hour and the sufferer was relieved of a fifteen-pound tumor; the prognosis was, "the patient is doing finely, and her ultimate recovery is well assured."⁷⁵⁵ Of course, not everyone was clamoring to get into the hospital. A few weeks before the tumor surgery, Lynn officers had arrested a pickpocket named Frederick Turner and were preparing to transfer him to Boston for charges he was facing there, but when the Boston officer arrived in Lynn, Turner had managed to start blood flow on his cheek, then rubbing it all over his face and making believe he was having a fit. Three doctors were called upon, "but they were divided in opinion as to whether his sickness was real or a sham. He was sent to the hospital but escaped, taking with him one of the hospital suits."⁷⁵⁶

The hospital was providing valuable services to the public and many were showing up, hoping for help but with the hospital already overcrowded many seeking admission had to settle for outpatient services. They were joined by those who went specifically to get medical attention without admission, as well as those previously hospitalized patients who returned during their convalescence for follow-up services. With all the demand for outpatient care at the hospital, a skilled young doctor named Frank D. S. Stevens was given charge of the department on May 1st; over the next six months "upward of a thousand calls had been received from 368 different patients."⁷⁵⁷

A strong friendship built between physician Frank Stevens and shoemaker John Poole, at least from the time that John called upon the doctor to perform the tracheotomy on his nephew Willie. John had developed an interest in the healing arts as he recorded his experiences of tending to his own work-related injuries and coming to the aid of others in the factory when unforgiving machines chose to cut, break, and crush digits.⁷⁵⁸ Just a few days after his nephew's burial, John went over to the doctor's office and "after Office hours went out with him while he made his calls. Saw [a] little of the low side of life." The doctor may have genuinely enjoyed John's company, but he also seemed interested in keeping his struggling patient with him for observation; after they went out together on the doctor's rounds, John "took tea with Dr. Spent the evening at his Office. He examind me + pronounced heart & Lungs sound. Talked on religion got home about 9 PM."⁷⁵⁹ Three days later, John met up with the doctor at the "Hospitle" and, after Stevens was done treating patients there, they went out on some of the doctor's business, returned to the hospital, then went to the Almshouse "where we set a broken leg very bad one, for a woman." Afterwards, they went to the Kirtland House for dinner, then over to the doctor's office until he was called away to tend a patient on Boston Street.⁷⁶⁰ The next day, John went looking again for his friend at his office, but the doctor wasn't in.⁷⁶¹ Poole came back the next morning, again with no luck, then went back in the afternoon, when the doctor examined his ear and, John noted in his journal, the doctor said he had a "ruptured memdrain[;] gave me Rx for other trouble. Then we got horse + went to Alms House[;] not a very pleasant place."⁷⁶²

John and the doctor had several more trips and meals together, cementing the friendship and the doctor-patient bond; when John's abdomen began its painful trials, there was no question which doctor he would call on for help. He also brought people from the factory to Stevens when they had mishaps with the machinery. On 29 September 1885, he brought Joe Bunk to the hospital's outpatient department to be seen by Stevens.⁷⁶³ Infused by his exposure to the doctor's knowledge and watching him work with patients, combined with what he was learning from his frequent reading of his books on physiology and surgery, and perhaps even from additional knowledge he felt he gained by visiting a traveling museum of anatomy that was appearing at Lynn's Tremont Hall, John Poole felt encouraged that he could provide some essential medical services when the doctor was unavailable.⁷⁶⁴ He stitched up someone's arm wound caused by a hatchet cut and when a hose carriage toppled over getting to a fire on Market Street, John helped reduce the dislocated shoulder of a firefighter who had fallen out.⁷⁶⁵ Most notably, when the doctor didn't arrive in time, John "was forced to take his place" – he took matters into his own hands and delivered a baby of his older sister, Annie.⁷⁶⁶ Doctors had proven throughout the decade they couldn't be everywhere all the time and sometimes there wasn't enough time to get the patient to the hospital, so people like John Poole did their best in difficult situations.

Throughout the rest of the decade, the Lynn Hospital fought the good fight, doing their best, within the limits of medicine and surgery, to cure and heal whoever was brought to their doors – and it was never easy. A few of the arrivals in 1885 included a young girl who was terribly burned by a hot coal that had ignited her apron, and also a man whose face was torn open in a fight by being hit with a broken lamp chimney. A woman went to the hospital to have the doctors examine her lame ankle with a long-standing open sore; it was determined the bone was diseased and an amputation was necessary. It was "skillfully performed, and the woman goes back to her little family with a new lease of life"; and a "very difficult and novel operation for cancer of the rectum" was also performed at the hospital.⁷⁶⁷ In 1886 the hospital staff did everything they could to alleviate the suffering of a factory worker scalded by falling into a vat of hot logwood dye and two boys were shockingly burned by a terrible explosion of a barrel of shellac; one died from inhalation of the flame at the time of the explosion.⁷⁶⁸ In 1887 another adult male victim of a fight was brought in with a badly fractured skull; the fight was caused by an argument about a baseball game.⁷⁶⁹ On 23 January 1889, Philip Pitts, a night watchman in Saugus, was brought in to Lynn Hospital with a gushing neck wound, having been shot by a burglar. Working together in the hospital's operating room, five Lynn physicians determined that "the bullet had entered the throat and penetrated the thyroid cartilage, going into the trachea or windpipe, just below the Adam's apple." It was a serious wound "and Pitts had failed considerably up to noon" and the doctors decided it would be necessary to perform an operation "to facilitate breathing and also to keep the windpipe from clogging up. ... The operation was performed and the patient breathes much easier."⁷⁷⁰

Greater need and use of the hospital justified its expansion, which turned out to be a continuing process for decades to come. In 1885 additions included three more patient rooms, an additional nurse's room, more storage and bathrooms, a room for outpatients, a consultation room furnished with "a set bowl for hot and cold water," a disinfectant room, a washroom with six tubs and an adjoining ironing room, and a small elevator running from the ironing room to the attic above, where all the drying would be done.⁷⁷¹ Lynn was evolving as it grew and the addition of a hospital serving the critical health needs of the city was a jump in its maturation from child's play with tin soldiers to an advanced chess match: imagination was being replaced by calculation; tradition by skill.

GILDED LYNN: SILVER TONGUES & TIN EARS

In July 1882, the *Item* reported that the cigar store Indian in front of Tucker's tobacco store on Union Street had been "made glad, having just donned new and glowing war paint. It was artistically laid on by our celebrated knight of the brush, who always puts his Hart into every work – we refer to

George D., at 65 Munroe street.”⁷⁷² There was plenty for everyone to be glad about, besides, ostensibly, the cigar store statue; business was recovering strongly from the depression of the previous decade, Lynn was busy growing, Tucker had to be pleased that cigar sales were strong, and sign painter George D. Hart got a glowing endorsement of his work in one of the city’s biggest newspapers. Everything seemed to be going in the right direction. Lynn’s G.A.R. Post 5, one of the most influential organizations in the city, had just completed construction of its Grand Army Coliseum, with what was then the largest seating capacity in the city.⁷⁷³ In March 1884, the veterans’ group held its fair there and sold a staggering 29,550 tickets.⁷⁷⁴ Every year of the decade saw significant construction marking the continued improvement and population growth. During the twelve months ending 30 April 1883, 207 dwellings were built in Lynn; and 260 structures were built in the year before 1 April 1887, including houses, stores, factories, stables, greenhouses, storehouses, a blacksmith shop, a carriage shop, a boiler shop, a wagon shed and milk room, a carriage shed, a billiard room, a barber shop, a stable and wagon shop, a hen house, a provision store, Darius Barry’s wine store, and the Lydia E. Pinkham Company’s laboratory and stable on Western Avenue.⁷⁷⁵ Lynn was reflecting the success of the nation, prompting one writer to urge caution in the face of so much accomplishment:

Prosperity in this country seems to be its only disease ... Prosperity has been abused; we have been too fast and too extravagant ... The accumulation of wealth in this country within the last decade has been simply enormous ... directly benefiting every branch of business and giving employment to the laborer both skilled and unskilled. In regard to light work, such as is produced in Lynn ... the volume never was larger than at present ... The success of the shoe business in Lynn is shown by the general improvement of every section of the city.⁷⁷⁶

For a year after the Krakatoa volcano exploded on 27 August 1883 and the ash cloud dropped temperatures and hydrochloric acid in the rain, crops failed in New England and caused an exodus of thousands of farmers to the Midwest for more fertile farmland, but Lynn had long since given up the land as a source of income and livelihood (with minimal exception, including a few small dairy farms), relying instead on the production of its factories. On 22 March 1884, the Lynn Board of Health announced that pigs could no longer be kept in the thickening neighborhoods of Wards 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6; only Wards 1 and 7, the city’s outlying wards, still had room for pigs among the people.⁷⁷⁷

Trains had the prominent “cowcatchers” mounted to the front of the engine to make sure the presence of an errant animal didn’t slow down the progress of the train – there just wasn’t time anymore. Back in 1828, only about eleven passengers from Lynn traveled to Boston, “few went to Boston more than once or twice a year; many not more than once in five years.” A half century later, in the summer of 1880, the train traffic in Lynn had exploded: 162 trains traveled through Lynn each weekday.⁷⁷⁸ The horse railroad added more connecting rails to the city’s transit cobweb, and stretched it out to Peabody in 1883 and Marblehead in 1884.⁷⁷⁹ Lynn was also reconnected by metal umbilical cords to Swampscott and Nahant, the two towns that it had birthed three decades earlier.⁷⁸⁰ The constant and quick-moving trains and horsecars caused many horrific accidents with passengers and pedestrians, but wagon teams and even individual horses ridden uncaringly also caused accidents, so every street in the city was a potential traffic hazard. In June 1882, a team from the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company ran over a little girl in West Lynn; fortunately, the child wasn’t badly injured.⁷⁸¹

Along with swift trains and horse trolleys, telephone installations quickly accelerated from a novelty at the end of the previous decade to an essential tool for those who could afford it. In March 1881, Lynn had thirty-one telephone subscribers, including physician Joseph G. Pinkham, the Hoyt Brothers and Edward Heffernan saloons, the Lynn Hotel and Sagamore House, and the city marshal’s office and residence.⁷⁸² By September the number had increased to 85 telephones and eighteen months later, in March 1883, Lynn had nearly 500 subscribers.⁷⁸³ Telephone use came with a learning curve: a polite grocer on Broad street was seen taking an order through the telephone from one of his lady customers, after which he “made a very polite bow.”⁷⁸⁴ The police quickly figured out how to use the new invention to their advantage, as was demonstrated in October 1889, when the request for

police help came by telephone because two men were fighting with knives on Broad street, near the foot of Spring, cutting each other "right and left in a terrible manner."⁷⁸⁵ Patrolmen could call in emergencies to the station to get rapid response and assistance, and consequently, "the unruly and criminal class thoroughly understand and fear its efficiency; thus it operates to prevent turbulence and crime, and preserve the peace."⁷⁸⁶ The city marshal reported that 71,134 calls came into the police station during the year 1888, but the large number was still a small percentage of all calls being handled by the Lynn switchboard operators; in 1883 they were already handling 2,000 calls per day, easily over a half-million calls in a year.⁷⁸⁷

They would have plenty to talk about as the decade progressed because Lynn was getting turned on – electricity was changing everything. Improvements in lightbulbs by Thomas Edison and others over the previous few years caused one Lynn newspaper to notice in February 1882, "The electric light is beginning to make it look dark – for the gas companies."⁷⁸⁸ The next month, city officials were being told that "electric lighting was a success and safer than lighting by gas. There is no danger from explosion or from suffocation, it is to be the light of the future in the years to come...."⁷⁸⁹ In May, Market Street was lit up with the new lights from twilight to midnight.⁷⁹⁰ In late October the principal downtown streets had "a lively appearance," in stark contrast to cities of similar size. The *Item* observed that "customers are not obliged to do their shopping by daylight, as the brilliant lights almost change night into day," and trade seemed to have increased because of the ability for business to stay open in the evening when people had gotten out of the factories, "thus a practical advantage is gained that was not anticipated when the lighting [had] first begun."⁷⁹¹ What was good news for some inevitably was bad news for others. In October 1883, a woman working in one of those stores was already frustrated by the existing problem of too-long, ten-hour work days; illumination of the night only stretched out those hours even more:

Mr. Editor ... It seems almost incredible that in a city full of working people and children a legal measure adopted for their protection should be almost a dead letter ... How welcome this respite from this close confinement of our stores must be, can only be known to the scores of delicate women and girls who every day bear the nervous strain of working beyond their strength, and being agreeable while they do so to hundreds of capricious customers, each bent on gratifying some particular individual fancy.. To the women with houses and little children to care for it means less midnight labor to procure suitable comfortable garments for their many needs, for when but in the night shall time be found for all the stitches needful when the mother is at the store all day? ...

SHOP GIRL⁷⁹²

But the city's romance with electric lights wasn't going to stop; a month after Shop Girl's letter to the editor, the editor weighed in on the new normal:

Central Square was nearly as bright as day, on Wednesday evening. The cause of this brilliancy was the lighting of the four electric lamps, on the tall pole near the railroad crossing. The work of putting the lamps contracted for into position is going forward well, and when all is ready, the central portion of Lynn will hardly know when night falls. The revolution which electric lighting has made and is making in the public streets is one of the great wonders of our wonderful age.⁷⁹³

It seemed like the only limitation to the use of electrical power was the imagination. Lynn electricians, Kellogg & Company and Albert H. Sisson, offered electric burglar alarms, electric call bells, electric door knobs, automatic fire alarms, and electric supplies.⁷⁹⁴ Isaac K. Bascom had the mortar-shaped sign illuminated in front of his new apothecary shop and a red glass fountain inside threw a jet of cologne for customers to fragrance their handkerchiefs.⁷⁹⁵ Electrotherapy was not new for Elizabeth J. French; she was the author of *A New Path in Electrical Therapeutics*, published in 1873, but she couldn't have shown up in Lynn at a more propitious time, with the city buzzing about electricity. She gave lectures combining electricity and cranial diagnosis, using a life-size French manikin and performing electrical experiments during her lecture.⁷⁹⁶ She also sold electric belts and

other electric appliances “sure to cure dyspepsia, morbid liver, kidney difficulties, rheumatism, paralysis and all pains.”⁷⁹⁷ Understanding the advantages and appeal of the new technologies, H. N. Porter & Company advertised that along with their signature *Porter’s Mollifex*, their new pharmacy on 47 Market Street was thoroughly modernized: “Lighted by Electricity, Connected by Telephone.”⁷⁹⁸ In June 1887, the Lynn GAR post was proud to announce that at the exhibition they were holding in their huge coliseum, everybody was satisfied with “The Most Wonderful Electrical Display Every Presented to Any People. Nothing which has been said in print or orally can begin to do justice to this truly wonderful exhibition.” The two-week-long “Grand and Unrivalled Display” included shoe machinery, ventilating blowers, fans, elevators, fountains, electric apparatus, printing and confectionery machinery, glass blowers, a Chinese laundry, potters’ wheels, silk weaving looms, hosiery knitting machinery, etc., “in full operation every evening, *the motive power being supplied entirely by electricity.*”⁷⁹⁹

Lynn found itself illuminated by the epic technological innovation. The shoe city had become an electrical dynamo – a center for the harnessing and engineering of electricity. In just a few short years, electric lighting had progressed from tiny sparks of enthusiasm to a glow of excitement, and the curiosity had become a necessity. Some enterprising Lynn businessmen, led by shoe manufacturer Charles A. Coffin, brought the struggling American Electrical Company from Connecticut to Lynn, renamed it the Thomson-Houston Electric Co., and provided it leadership and funding, while having engineer Elihu Thomson focus on research and development work. Between Coffin’s business acumen and Thomson’s engineering genius, the company was extremely successful building and selling dynamos, lights, and other products for installations and customers all over North and South America. The original four-story building erected for the company in West Lynn was expected to employ 150 workers, but over the decade, the company met with incredible success, resulting in the construction of a complex of buildings and additions to the workforce totaling 2,200 by December 1888.⁸⁰⁰ John Poole was able to help his kid brother, Roscoe, get a job there in March 1887.⁸⁰¹ The amazing growth didn’t come without its share of risks; in March 1888, a tragic accident occurred at the plant in Lynn. A 23-year-old electrician named Harry Leavitt was instantly killed by electric shock equal to running fifty-two electric arc lights. The victim had often spoken to fellow workers about his fear of receiving a shock and he warned everyone to be careful. Others had been burned quite severely in the past, but he was the first at the West Lynn facility to lose his life.⁸⁰² He was the first person in Lynn whose cause of death was listed as “Electricity.”⁸⁰³ Pressing forward, the company completed another of its many dynamo installations the next month, establishing an electrical plant at Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands.⁸⁰⁴ Also in 1888, the company supplied the propulsion equipment for the Highland circuit of the railway system in Lynn, making it the first electric streetcar in Lynn and in Massachusetts.⁸⁰⁵ Over the next three weeks, the horseless street car was tested by Nature: it was confronted by a severe storm and steep grades up Rockaway Street, but it “worked perfectly” through the snow, ice, hill and curves – nothing could stop where electricity was going.⁸⁰⁶

From its highly mechanized shoe industry to its new electrical company, Lynn business was making good money in the 1880s. At the end of the decade, the *Daily Evening Item* referred to Thomson-Houston stock as the Philosopher’s Stone, the mythical alchemy that turned worthless stone into gold; Lynn’s new electric company turned metal and wire into power, night into day, and investment into gold. Quoting the *Boston Record*, the article read, “This city has been making something besides shoes the past year. It has been manufacturing millionaires, and on a lively scale, too.” The stock of the Thomson-Houston Company started at \$1 million and had gained in value to \$12 million (\$339 million in 2020 USD) in a half dozen years. In the two weeks preceding the article, the stock’s value had increased over \$600,000 (\$17 million in 2020 USD). Much of the stock was held by Lynn residents, consisting of more than twenty large and many small stockholders.⁸⁰⁷ There were also benefits to more than just the investors: Thomson-Houston was providing employment to thousands at its West Lynn facilities during much of the decade, which spurred a boom in real estate development and housebuilding all over West Lynn.⁸⁰⁸ Many more paychecks were also being

brought home and the city's shops and services would get their share.⁸⁰⁹ In 1888, a list was compiled of New Englanders paying \$100 or more in taxes; it was titled, *TWENTY THOUSAND Rich New Englanders*, and Lynn's households and businesses accounted for 1,072; fully five percent of the entire region, including the major cities. With Lynn's 1888 tax rate set at \$18.60 per \$1,000 valuation, the publishers had decided that property values of approximately \$5,376 or greater (\$147,085 in 2020 USD) distinguished taxpayers at a level deserving of the book's title.⁸¹⁰ The distribution of Lynn's taxpayers on this "rich" list showed that the great wealth of the city was living and working at its center, Wards 4 and 5, followed by Wards 3 and 6 that flanked them:

Ward 1: 7	Ward 3: 191	Ward 5: 315	Ward 7: 15
Ward 2: 26	Ward 4: 365	Ward 6: 153	

John Poole didn't make the rich list in this or any year, but he was a great example of how dreams could be realized in Lynn during the promising decade. He came to Lynn as a young man with a skill, focused on his employment and not on liquor or other unsavory distractions, and on self-improvement, constantly reading and writing. His income increased from an average weekly pay of \$10.45 in 1881, to \$12.00 in 1885, and to \$16.00 by 1889.⁸¹¹ Part of the pay increases was due to him being entrusted with some supervisory responsibilities; besides overseeing the treatment of wounded employees, he had to deal with some of "the boys ... bringing liquor into the shop," and he may have participated in the successful labor negotiations with the Knights of Labor.⁸¹² His weekly board was \$4.50 at his arrival in Lynn, and the landlord raised the rent to \$7.00 when he and Etta got married, and although he changed apartments several times during those years, from Essex Street to Buffum Avenue, to High Rock Avenue, and finally to Rogers Avenue at the end of the decade, he had been able to keep his housing cost low.⁸¹³ Living in downtown Lynn, he didn't have the expense of a horse and carriage, but instead relied on horse cars, trains, and ships for all of his travel needs beyond where his two feet could take him. His combination of industry and frugality enabled him to buy what he wanted when he wanted, like a wedding ring for Etta and a suit for himself a week before their wedding and a bedroom set and mattress three months after their wedding.⁸¹⁴ They didn't go on a honeymoon, but that may have had more to do with the state of his health or their jointly frugal goals than an inability to do so. He made record of banking fifty to sixty dollars on several occasions, considerable sums for a shoe factory laborer, and paid his dentist and doctor bills promptly after services were provided, including the ten dollars owed to Charles Lovejoy for attending Etta when she was giving birth to Harold.⁸¹⁵ John wrote at the end of 1886, "Not so much money saved as counted on, but no debts."⁸¹⁶ Just three years into their marriage, John noted that Etta bought a millinery shop for \$1,500, paying \$750 in cash and taking a mortgage of \$750, plus they had renovations done to the store to get it ready for business.⁸¹⁷ Soon, Alvaretta was ready to join the October 1888 millinery showcase of new fancy hat styles. They weren't rich, but the Pooles were happy, doing well, their baby was growing, and they were enjoying their lives together.

Lynn, Massachusetts was never Newport, Rhode Island. Far more rich people traveled through Lynn to summer at Nahant than those that settled in Lynn. But the city had its share of wealthy and there were many signs that the good life was being lived there during the 1880s. When George Moulton, a rising young Lynn attorney, and Florence, the daughter of attorney William H. Niles, got married, their wedding was a slice of bliss. It was held at the Niles' prestigious property on the corner of Ocean and Atlantic streets. The bride was "beautifully attired in white brocaded satin, en train, trimmed with Duchess lace and corded silk," with pearl jewelry. "Many costly gifts were bestowed[,] a dainty wedding lunch" was served by a Boston caterer, and the couple were taking a honeymoon to New York and Washington.⁸¹⁸ Sometimes marriages worked out to be financially and socially elevating to one of the wedding couple as was the case of Edwin Walden Jr., and Miss Arvilla A. Flanders; the groom was the son of the Honorable Ed Walden, President of the Boston, Revere Beach and Lynn Railroad, while the bride was the son of Francis Flanders, a junk dealer.⁸¹⁹ Similarly, the wedding of Miss Arabella A. Raddin to Walter Ames was an intersection of two worlds; Arabella was the daughter of John Raddin, the owner of the Echo Grove

pleasure park and mineral spring, while Walter was a teamster boarding in a family of teamsters (he lived with his mother and father, who was a cart driver; and his brother who lived across the street, was a milk man with his son; even his grandfather had been a teamster).⁸²⁰ The “brilliant” wedding occurred at the Raddin’s Echo Grove residence, which presented a “lively appearance with the large number of relatives and friends that gathered to witness the ceremony” and enjoy the reception that followed. The presents to the happy couple were many and choice,” and certainly finer than anything Walter owned, including a purse of gold, a French marble clock, an elegant steel engraving, a hand-painted china tea set, two silver berry dishes, a silver salver, silver berry spoons, marble statuary, a camp rocker, a parlor lamp, two pairs of vases, a marble card receiver, a silver butter dish, a silver cake basket, “and other elegant gifts, too numerous to mention.” After a ten-day trip to New York and the Hudson River Valley, “their future residence will be at Echo Grove.”⁸²¹ When a shoemaker wrote in the autograph book of his 12-year-old daughter, Kate Sturtevant Chandler, in 1886, “May your carear through life be an exemplary one this is the wishes of your fond Papa Albert F. Chandler,” he may have been referring to the quality of her character or her social standing; either way, he hoped for the best for his daughter.⁸²²

Lynn’s social calendar in the 1880s was full. Parties and sociables were definitely in fashion and reporting on them seemed just about as important as holding them. Some of the events covered in the newspapers included the Grand Calico Ball, an apron and necktie party, a masquerade ball, and the Antique Dress Sociable Supper and Entertainment in 1882, the Paper Carnival costume party in 1885, and the not-so-quiet Mum Sociable in Wyoma, a temperance fundraiser where everyone happily paid small “fines” for speaking rather than staying “mum.”⁸²³ On the upper end of social events was a charity fundraiser held in July 1889; it was a “brilliant lawn party … the most notable social event of the season,” which occurred “at the beautiful estate of Mr. and Mrs. Francis W. Breed, No. 204 Ocean street,” in Lynn’s Diamond District.⁸²⁴ The driveway and arched entrance were trimmed with flags, bunting, and Japanese lanterns, and “electric lights illuminated the lawns in the front and rear of the house.” Between 500-600 guests walked under a large eagle at the mansion’s entrance and passed by knights in medieval armor flanking the doorway. They were then escorted to a canvas pavilion where they were introduced to the Reception Committee. The Lynn Brass Band played under another pavilion and a stringed instrument group from Boston were stationed in the portico of the mansion. Foods of all types were served under six more pavilions. The guests promenaded around the lawns, visited the stables and bowling alley, danced, and watched a display of fireworks. Somewhere between \$350-\$400 was raised for the charity, but much more was spent to put on the grand event.⁸²⁵

Pretense and show had started to surface in Lynn’s culture and was exhibiting in many ways, including language. Erudite word choice was the language of the silver tongued, usually heard by tin ears; it was used to show refinement and good taste and provide more separation from the less educated. Newspapers and printshops sometimes bent to the urge, replacing common words like “barber” with the more impressive “tonssorial artist” and “capillarial abridger,” refining milk into “lacteal fluid,” and titling an article on fish, “Piscatorial.”⁸²⁶ Similarly, “bagnio” was less salacious than “brothel,” taking a “quietus” was more sedate than committing suicide, as when a pharmacist gave the man wanting to take a quietus a preparation of rhubarb instead of laudanum to “euchre” him, which seemed to disguise the deception even better than “deceive.”⁸²⁷ They knew they were doing it and they even teased themselves about it in an article appropriately titled, “Don’t Use Big Words,” which accidentally stumbled over its own misspellings and use of nonexistent words as it made its point that ostentatiousness was not always best:

In promulgating your esoteric cogitations, or articulating your superficial sentimentalities and amiable, philosophical or psychological observations, beware of platinidinous ponderosity. Let your conversational communications possess a clarified conciseness, a compacted comprehensibleness, coalescent consistency and a concatenated cogency. Eschew all conglomerations of flatulent garrulity, jejune

babblement and asanine simperings. Let your extemporaneous descantings and unpremeditated expatiations have intelligibility and veracious vivacity, without rhodomontade or thrasonical bombast. Sedulously avoid all polysyllabic profundity, pompous prolixity, psittaceous vacuity, ventriloquial verbosity, and vaniloquent vapidly. Shun exiguous affectations and sesquipedalian abnormalities. In other words, talk plainly, briefly, naturally, truthfully and purely. Keep from "slang," say what you mean, mean what you say, and don't use big words.⁸²⁸

Circumspect language was also urged from youth; an Anti-Slang Society was organized in 1882 among a large attendance of boys and girls, and weekly meetings were planned, to inculcate an elevated and socially acceptable moral behavior among children by training them to rise above the local norms of drinking and using slang.⁸²⁹

No one felt the strain of presenting properly for public appearance more than the Victorian woman, who was told by men and media to be stylish, beautiful, and a lady. There was more pressure on a woman to be ideal than there was on her body from the corset she wore, and like wearing the corset, she was expected to maintain proper form all day long. It was considered undeniable that she was "the weaker sex," physically and intellectually inferior to men, dependent upon and subservient to her husband, and designed for beauty, virginal modesty, domestic duty, and motherhood. Any behaviors breaching this mold were viewed as morally, socially, and physically dangerous, and signs of an unvirtuous and fallen woman; certainly no lady. A perfect example of this physical and behavioral confinement of woman was the expectation that a man would smoke but a woman should not. The *Daily Evening Item* quoted without editorial comment the statement of a New York physician on the matter, inferring the editor's complete agreement with the doctor and sharing it with his readership as a public service:

... ladies ... take the use of cigarettes to their very great detriment. ... men are [not] often injured by the moderate use of tobacco in smoking. But the female body is no more adapted to the use of tobacco than the female mind is to mathematics. It causes neuralgia, headache, dyspepsia, palpitation of the heart, and worse than all, ruins the complexion and disorders the teeth. ... all will agree that the stale odor of tobacco coming from a woman's mouth is worse than the same smell exhaled by a man. ... men's nervous systems are not so impressionable as women's, and hence a man can do many things with impunity, or even benefit, which would be impossible for a woman to do without great risk. ... beauty ... is the smallest gift a woman can have, for it not only means aesthetic enjoyment for all that look at her, but it means a healthy mind and a healthy body ...⁸³⁰

The proper lady was expected to control her body as well as her behavior. W. B. Gifford & Co., at 77 and 79 Market Street, prided themselves on being the "Headquarters for all kinds of Corsets, and we keep the largest and best-selected stock in the city." They carried the Aesthetic Corset and the daring French Woven Corset, in colors, for only seventy-five cents, the Coraline Corset and Dr. Warner's Flexible Hip Corset for a dollar, and on the high end, for a dollar and a quarter, they offered Dr. Warner's Health Corset, "recommended by all the leading physicians," and Dr. Ball's Health Corset with spiral side springs, "the most comfortable corset in the market." And since every girl needed to learn to become a lady, they also had "Misses' Corsets for adolescents and even Children's Corset Waists for only fifty cents."⁸³¹ A constant barrage of articles and periodicals kept women constantly updated on what was currently in fashion for the stylish lady. Lynn women were told in the August 1882 installment of the frequently appearing *Lynn Reporter* feature, "Feminine Fancies," about what was appropriate for travelling clothes. "The experienced traveler who comprehends human nature on the road, knows that to be quietly and fashionably dressed in fabrics of the finest is the way to command respect and attention. ... Jewelry, fringes, or lace ruin the harmony which must exist, and are an offence to the eye. ..."⁸³² Fashion trends were no more predictable than a butterfly's path, so frequent updates were anxiously read:

Parasols made of gathered white muslin, and lined with blue, pink, lilac or red silk, are carried by elegantes at French watering places. [A parasol's handle is] symbolic[:] a plain crook means honesty of intention, a swan's head coyness, a crutch sympathetic, a hound devotion; and so on.

The latest fashions of bathing costumes have short sleeves. They are made in the Princess style.

"Fresh butter" is the name of the new shade of cream color now so much seen in dress materials. It is a warm and delicious compromise between yellow and ecru.⁸³³

Lynn's milliners had an annual "Autumn Opening," a day all the shops debuted the new fall hats for sale, and on 1 October 1889, much to George Emery's dismay, birds were the fashion trend: "With the coming of autumn and its loveliness comes also the birds of fashion with their beautiful garniture, their bright colors, their wonderful combinations of shades which enchant the hearts of fair women and make sore the hearts of men." Miss Lizzie E. Hutchinson's shop had "a fancy-crowned bonnet of brown velvet, trimmed with garniture and hummingbird resting on a queen feather" and a toque "of old rose velvet, fancy gimp trimmings on one side, velvet leaves in old rose and green, in which reposes a humming bird beneath a curling aigrette." The latest from Paris was available from L. M. Baker's millinery, an odd-shaped velvet toque, "with crown a la pompadour, black velvet ribbon streamers, jet ornaments and black birds. The *Item* does not dare mention the price." And Mrs. Radford "has set forth a tempting array of fashion's freaks in the form of head gear. ... nothing but the best is kept in stock."⁸³⁴

A well put-together lady was not just corseted, well-dressed, and well-appointed, but her complexion needed to be beyond reproach: clean and pure, creamy white, and spotless – tan lines, age spots, freckles, and acne were not only unsightly, but symbolic of unacceptable lifestyles, like having to do such manual labor out of doors as beating rugs in the hot sun. The market was full of skin care products, many of which contained harsh and toxic whiteners, like arsenic and lead; not so with *Mrs. Soule's Eradicator*, promised Lemuel Brock. What it *did* have, apparently, was a miracle in a bottle; at least that was the remarkably subliminal message of an extraordinary countersign for the product. The image depicted two scenes featuring the same woman, a classic example of before-and-after advertising. In the "before" scene, the young woman was still in her peignoir, looking self-consciously in her hand mirror as she tussled hopelessly with her hair, trying to figure out how she was going to overcome her real problem: the pimples spotting all over her face and forearms. She was shown in an interior part of her home, hiding behind a chair and a wall, not at all ready for the world. The "after" image shows the same young woman, beautiful and ready for any social event: she has not the slightest spot of skin blemish; her skin is flawless and she confidently shows it off with a sleeveless, bustled gown and a daringly plunging decolletage. She has traded in her symbol of worry, her mirror, for a fancy, fashionable fan, and her other hand reaches not for her hair but for the drapery, purposely pulling it open to let the sunshine into the room where she had previously hidden herself; she is completely ready for a posh party or sociable. Behind her were two healthy, lush green houseplants, while a vase showing only lifeless brown stems was behind the morose "before" woman. And lest the message wasn't clear enough, the artist superimposed three roses on top of the scene: the one on the "after" side was in perfect bloom, just like the ideal woman below it; the rose on the opposite side drooped towards the miserable woman, heavy with decay on its petals and worms on its stem. The third rose was perfectly positioned over the partition that separated the two scenes; in this neutral zone, it was still a bud, not yet bloomed, but pointing, hopefully to the banner above, announcing the miracle skin cure, *Soule's Moth-Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator*, L. M. Brock & Co., Sole Proprietors, Lynn, Mass. U.S.A. There was no question which woman represented the ideal Victorian lady nor was any doubt left about which skin care product was going to help her achieve the goal. Even better, the eradicator was in a small bottle, easy to carry in luggage when the lady of the house went with her husband to resorts and other vacation spots.⁸³⁵



Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator. Die-cut counter card, about 1885 (shown on a black background). Striking in design and full of subliminal proof that the Eradicator could do wonders for the skin, self-confidence, and social readiness! (height: 9½ inches) The back side has a cardstock kickstand that can be manually angled to allow the display card to be freestanding on the store counter. (Collection of the author; gift of Barbara Rusch.)

Travel was being engaged in for one of three main reasons that weren't mutually exclusive: health, weather, and enjoyment, with a dash of hobnobbing designed into some itineraries. The world had become accessible to anyone with a deep enough purse. An excursion was offered in 1884 for a grand 73-day tour to the Pacific Northwest, by way of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, with "Incidental Trips to the Yosemite Valley and the Big Trail Side Trips, if desired, to Alaska and the Yellowstone Park."⁸³⁶ The Azores islands and Cadiz, Spain, with their "mild and delicious climate," had been recommended for decades to tourists "seeking health or pleasure," and they had become accessible by swift clipper, but "a Lynn Lady" went even further to the east, taking a grand European excursion by steamer in the best style all the way.⁸³⁷ She wrote back to the newspaper in Lynn (so that friends in her social circle and the many Lynners of lesser standing could all vicariously and enviously experience her opulent adventures) about her tour of Glasgow, Scotland and London, England; Paris and Marseilles France; Pisa and Genoa, Italy; and Switzerland, traveling all the way in first class luxury, with train seats "like great easy chairs" and staying at hotels "par excellence."⁸³⁸ Wealth had its privileges.

Resort spots in the U.S. were also popular for vacation destinations for the masses and most often, when someone went on vacation, their plans were announced in the newspaper because vacationing and honeymoons and wintering was creditable evidence that a person or family had sufficient wealth and leisure time to bask in the glow of their apparent affluence. Thus, the 8 September 1882 issue of *The Lynn Reporter* announced that Mrs. John A. Koing of No. 16 Essex Court had just returned from a five weeks visit to friends in Brentwood, N.H., Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Sprague had gone to Skowhegan, Maine, to stay a few weeks, "Edward Burrill, Jr., the artist, started with his family Tuesday for a trip to Maine for a month's sketching trip," and "the family of Allen B. Breed are rustinating at Lynnfield."⁸³⁹ *The SUMMER SEASON*, "a New England Summer Resort Society Newspaper," was published in Lynn every Saturday "during the season," and "contains all the Happenings and Gossip of the North Shore" of Massachusetts.⁸⁴⁰ Such publications covered stories of social trends at resort destinations, like the newest fashions at Coney Island, the use of hammocks at cottages, how lawn tennis had become fashionable, that Atlantic City was providing seats for the beach, polo on skates was being played in Newport, the Isle of Shoals had all girl waiters for the season, and that at the Catskills, Cape May, New Jersey, and Old Orchard Beach, Maine, some gentlemen were carrying cream-colored parasols.⁸⁴¹ J. W. Chase & Co., Pharmacists, on the corner of Essex and Ireson streets urged the public, "CAUTION. Do Not Start on Your Vacation without taking a bottle of our Jamaica Ginger in your valise."⁸⁴² It was said to quell indigestion and diarrhea often found among visitors whose systems had not become accustomed to local food, water, and weather.

When ill health could not be remedied by local healers, travel was often considered the last resort, regardless of financial means. Wintering away from Lynn's cold winters was considered the healthy choice for the ill. In October 1881, attorney William Niles' doctors advised him to go abroad for his health and Dan and Will Pinkham had traveled to the South and California, respectively, to recover from tuberculosis.⁸⁴³ Although shoemaker Thurston Russell wasn't wealthy, his doctor recommended he go to Bermuda for the winter because of the ailment he was suffering from for quite a while, but something went awry; rather than go by train to New York City to take a voyage to Bermuda, he stayed on the train and was found, "partially insane" in Forestell, Missouri, with train passes in his pocket for San Francisco.⁸⁴⁴

A popular health resort and winter vacation spot for Lynners was Florida. Consistently throughout the decade, stories were published of Lynn residents going down to Florida during the winter for their health. Charles H. Libbey's chief motive in going there was "to regain his health which has been very poor of late years." He purchased an orange grove in Orange county, Florida, a place "growing all sorts of tropical fruits, such as the orange, lemon, lime, fig, citron, pineapple, bananas, pomegranate, guavas, and grapes in great abundance."⁸⁴⁵ In 1871 Lynn physicians John Milton Hawks and his wife, Esther Hill Hawks, had established a community in Florida called

Hawks Park, and fellow Lynners followed their invitations and encouragement to come down to his community that later became known as Edgewater, Florida. Hawks wrote a book largely directed to a Lynn and Northeast audience, titled, *The East Coast of Florida*, published at Lynn in 1887, about the region's resources, benefits, and opportunities; it contained Hawks' own ad soliciting for investment in Hawks' Park, the "New England Village on the Atlantic Coast of South Florida," and it contained ads for Lynn products like the Pinkham Medicine Company's *Sachet Perfumes*, and *Dr. R. W. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound*, "A Great Blood Remedy from the North!"⁸⁴⁶ Conversely, Lynn had a little bit of Florida along the Saugus River, when in 1883, two boys bludgeoned to death a three-foot-long alligator they found basking along its banks; it had escaped from the nearby Oak Island resort a few times previously but had always been recaptured. The reptile was exhibited at several places around Lynn but the papers made no intimation that it deterred interest in travel to Florida.⁸⁴⁷

Lynn had long attracted day visitors wanting to enjoy its beach, a picnic at Echo Grove, the view from High Rock, or a walk in Lynn Woods and perhaps to its curiosity, Dungeon Rock, but it had not developed a reputation as a resort. There were some fine cottages for rent near the water from late spring to early fall, each with its own idyllic name, like Stone Cottage, Thayer Cottage, and Swiss Cottage, all located on the water side of Ocean Street, but the industrial city by the sea simply couldn't compete with Saratoga Springs, the White Mountains, or Atlantic City.⁸⁴⁸ An optimist painted their gilded vision of Lynn as a major resort, but the dream stayed on the newspaper page:

... [Lynn is] favorably situated as a summer resort. ... Lynn rests with the Atlantic breaking in ripples at her feet. ... Swampscott ... Nahant ... Point of Pines ... People flock from far and near to these popular resorts ... We are singularly blessed in location did we but know it. Local hypochondriacs may loudly complain that Lynn is a place to get out of as fast as possible, but our rate of mortality is very low indeed, and we rank the sixth healthiest city in the United States. ... in summer we are at our best. Much money could be gathered into Lynn business every year, if our natural advantages could be artificially improved by enterprise. Lynn ... could be made the most popular seaside resort in the United States.⁸⁴⁹

A month after the proposal was written, servants of the wealthy parties renting Lynn's waterfront cottages were being sent back to Boston to do the washing at their employers' city residences because water had become scarce on the North Shore.⁸⁵⁰ Resort status just wasn't in the forecast, but Lynn's strong self-image did foster a singular effort to be counted among the best. The attempt at greatness was the construction of the Hotel Boscobel on the west end of the Lynn Common. Opening in October 1883, it was designed to be elegant in every respect, the equal of the finest establishments in Boston or New York. "Magnificent" and "elegant" were two of the words that were used to describe it. Marble tile and Florida cypress woodwork were used throughout the new edifice. The furniture was of cherry wood and black walnut, and chandeliers hung from ceilings bordered in leaves of gold and autumnal colors. A huge balcony looked over a foyer with two fireplaces surmounted by elaborately detailed mantels. Dining was to be a daily epicurean feast created by a fully stocked kitchen with cuisine presided over by a French chef who had graduated from leading hotels in New York. and the hotel's own bakery had a pastry cook. The *Item* review of the hotel's grand opening summarized, "The Boscobel is first class in every respect The citizens should take pride in the hotel, for it is not exceeded ... by any." Its first guests included some of Lynn's biggest names, like Elihu Thomson, the engineer who was making electricity synonymous with Lynn.⁸⁵¹ But the Boscobel's grandness couldn't be sustained in or by Lynn, and period historian James R. Newhall dismissed it briefly: "it was not successful in the intended line, and in four or five years ceased to rank as a hotel."⁸⁵²

The social order was determined by wealth and defined by the quality of life one enjoyed. Few were rich in Lynn, but the middle class was soundly established and enjoying more of life than

Lynn's shoemaking society had in decades past. The extreme ends of the social order, poverty and luxury, notwithstanding, there were many in the middle class who were getting a taste of the good life and they liked the flavor. Their vacation excursions were usually to cabins in the country or relatives at a distance, not the resorts of the rich, but they went places, and when they were home they weren't living their parents' lifestyles and certainly nothing like their grandparents knew. They could watch and eat electrically popped popcorn at the Novelty Popcorn Works and tell time by one of the city's 80 electric clocks in use by February 1885.⁸⁵³ They could buy an ever-widening selection of packaged foods, including canned dandelions; and purchase fancy silverplated pickle stands and cake baskets, china tea sets and fruit plates, combination safes and jewelry caskets, and lawn sprinklers and indoor plumbing. L. A. May, the city's main department store, sold "Moore's Sanitary Water-Closet," promised to be "absolutely odorless ... thoroughly scientific, practical ... in construction, easy of application and perfect to practice"; it even offered to send out men to ensure the fixture was correctly connected by providing "sanitary plumbing and ventilating," free of sewer gas leaks.⁸⁵⁴

Having the wherewithal to buy such improvements and indulgences for the home also found outlet for enjoyment of free time. Some of their sports and games mirrored the genteel choices of the wealthy, like polo and yachting. In December 1882, in the enclosed comfort of the G.A.R. Coliseum, a large audience came to watch an exciting polo match between the Lynn Blues and the Lynn Reds. A few weeks earlier, the Lynn Blues beat the Salem Blues, 2–1.⁸⁵⁵ The Lynn Yacht Club regattas were certainly not on the grand scale of the America's Cup classic, but participation by Lynn's sailing enthusiasts, like the forty members of the Neptune Boat Club and the twenty members of the West Lynn Boat Club, was spirited, as was that of the observers who watched from High Rock, some with the same spyglasses that they used to look at the stars at night.⁸⁵⁶ In the summer of 1887, plans were being made to build an elegant new yacht club at a project cost of \$5,000 (\$137,000 in 2020 USD) and "many leading citizens" supported the plan.⁸⁵⁷

Croquet was popular for its ease and lack of perspiration and because both sexes could participate together. While being dressed in their most presentable clothes, adults and children could manage tapping the wooden ball through the wickets, even the stiffly corseted females. In 1883 the overseers of the poor supplied the Children's Home with croquet sets as a wholesome activity for the poor children to play.⁸⁵⁸ John W. Poole and his fiancé, Etta, often played croquet together and with other male and female friends and family, for large parts of the day.⁸⁵⁹ In July 1889, "a delightful garden party" was enjoyed by a gathering of over 150 ladies and gentlemen connected with the Chestnut Street Congregational Church. "The great lawn was tastefully decorated with palms, flowers and other plants ... while strings of Japanese lanterns hung in graceful festoons all about the grounds [and] two tennis courts and two croquet sets were kept busy by those young people who delight in such games and derive much comfort from them." Both games were played "until the balls were lost."⁸⁶⁰

Baseball remained very popular, but while the skill and popularity of Lynn's semi-professional team had been diluted, the sport was becoming more avidly enjoyed as a participatory sport. Teams from one factory challenged another factory and businesses challenged their competition to have bragging rights on the field, if not in the shop, just as the Digestine nine issued a public challenge to the Mrs. Dinsmore nine for "a friendly game of baseball" in June 1884. There was no follow-up news report as to whether the challenge was accepted and, if so, whether it was the indigestion team or the cough team that proved themselves the better proprietary medicine company ... at baseball.⁸⁶¹

Ice skating, roller skating, and glass ball target shooting were all quite popular as well, although the skating activities were enjoyed more broadly among the young of both sexes, while target shooting was mainly a sport of men with guns. In May 1881, city engineer John C. Haskell established some local notoriety for his performance of shooting glass balls launched from two traps into the air. With extraordinary accuracy, he beat the record time set by the famous touring

sharpshooter, Captain Bogardus, who hit 500 glass balls in 25 minutes 15 seconds; Haskell did the feat in 24 minutes 2 seconds, becoming the best time made to that point.⁸⁶²

Bicycling was one the fastest growing physical activities of the decade; although predominantly practiced by young men and boys, adults and youth of both sexes participated. There were several popular styles, especially the highwheel bicycle ridden by men and tricycles, often by women and children. John Poole paid a dollar to rent a tricycle on 2 October 1888.⁸⁶³ Cyclists explored their new freedom while learning to control their new machines. The city enacted an ordinance to ensure the public's safety from careless use of the new machines, at least to keep them off the sidewalks, "No person shall draw, or propel, or wheel on any sidewalk, any hand-cart, sled, wheelbarrow, bicycles, tricycles or other carriages, except children's carriages drawn by hand."⁸⁶⁴ Cyclists organized cycling trips to pleasant destinations; in May 1885 the Lynn Cycle Club "indulged in a moonlight run" to Malden and back, a total distance of about sixteen miles. They left at 7:15 p.m. and returned at 10:30 p.m.; it was a modest and cautious rate of speed, but practical on the sometimes-dangerous devices being ridden on a mixture of road surfaces lit mainly by moonlight.⁸⁶⁵ It was a safer ride than bicyclists often had; it was a common occurrence for riders to "take a header," especially from atop their perches on the awkward high-wheelers. Frank S. Winship fell on his face, fractured his nose, and "was rendered insensible, but an application of water soon revived him." His doctor said he would never be able to ride again.⁸⁶⁶ Lynn cycling clubs were formed and the largest convocation of cyclists ever held in Essex County occurred in Lynn on Memorial Day, 1883, with the Star and Eagle Bicycle Clubs of Lynn being the host clubs. One hundred fifty-two bicyclists "from far and near, in their neat and tasteful uniforms" rode in a "long line of brilliantly flashing wheels and gay uniforms" through the streets of Lynn, "attracting much attention."⁸⁶⁷

All of the physical activity being engaged in by the many Lynners participating in sports and physical activities like biking, sometimes required lots of energy and stamina and J. B. Locke offered both in a bottle. It was his version of a very well-known beverage, long popular in Europe, called coca wine. Its name told everything: it was cocaine infused in alcohol:

BICYCLISTS AND FAST SKATERS, ATTENTION.

To brace up the system and strengthen the body, so as to enable you to endure hard work and long rides, use

LOCKE'S COCA WINE.

Coca Leaves have long been used by athletes in training, and by pedestrians in long-distance races as they have been found to give strength to the body, and to remove and prevent fatigue.

LOCKE'S COCA WINE

Is prepared from the fresh, green leaves, and contains all of their wonderful stimulating and tonic properties in highly concentrated form. \$1 per bottle.

**J. B. LOCKE & CO.,
Druggists, Successors to H. N. Porter & Co.,**

47 MARKET ST., LYNN. ⁸⁶⁸

On Saturday evening, 9 October 1886, the now married John and Etta Poole had their first baby, a boy. It had been a very difficult labor for Etta and the newborn cried with pain on at least some of the next several nights. John stayed up with the baby on Monday and Wednesday night and each weekday he worked at his job all day, sometimes noting he had worked very hard. He was a new father, burning the candle at both ends, and it was wearing him out. On Thursday, he had another hard day at work, all the while being sick with a headache all day. He had taken a dose of some medicine from a workmate, but it did no good, so he bought some *Coca Wine* for eighty-five cents, probably hoping to get rid of his headache and to be rejuvenated with the energy and stamina

that had drained out of him with the events of the week. On the next day he noted in his journal that he worked hard all day once again but made no mention of feeling sick or having a headache.⁸⁶⁹

Viewing and participating in the arts had the same draw for some of Lynn's newly prospering residents as those that enjoyed material improvement, sports, parties, and travel. The relative importance of Lynn's size and wealth was clear from the list of notable entertainers who were attracted to appear on its stages: Buffalo Bill had a return engagement in 1880, and the eminent actress, Miss Louise Pomeroy performed in 1886.⁸⁷⁰ Oscar Wilde, "the eminent disciple of aestheticism," lectured on "The Decorative Arts" in 1882 to an audience that was suspected would have "many a feminine heart" captivated by his good looks, eloquence, and unique clothing.⁸⁷¹ Similarly the beautiful and scandalous Lily Langtry who appeared at the Music Hall surely beguiled many men.⁸⁷² Popular comedic actor Alvin Joslin took to the stage in Lynn as well in 1889, but first accepted the invitation to plant an elm tree on the small island in the middle of Goldfish Pond, in honor of Arbor Day. "Fully a thousand people were at the scene and cheer after cheer greeted the gentleman farmer as the work went on." He told the crowd, "He only hoped the tree would last as long and even longer than some of the shoes that were made in Lynn."⁸⁷³

Amateur photography became a popular activity during the decade. In 1882 Warren H. Lamson, the director of drawing and penmanship for Lynn's public schools, offered classes and private lessons in the "Art of Photography," and he sold cameras and photographic materials as well.⁸⁷⁴ In July and August 1886, John Poole was fastidious in recording some of his amateur photographic efforts, noting the view, the weather and wind, time of exposure, time of day, and the height of the sun so that he could improve his skill. He recorded that the first plate was exposed for 1½ seconds ("not enough"), then 2 seconds, then 3 seconds (still "not enough"); on the fourth plate he wrote 9 seconds ("about right").⁸⁷⁵ He used his camera again in 1887 to take two pictures of his toddler with his camera but wrote, "don't know how they will look"; the outcome became obvious three days later, when his wife took the baby to a photographer "to sit for some pictures"⁸⁷⁶ On 1 January 1888, budding photographers like Poole formed the Lynn Camera Club.⁸⁷⁷

Painting by amateur artists had organized as well, in the form of the Palette Club, composed of about twenty young ladies who were surely inspired, in part by the success of several local artists who had become well-known, including Charles Edwin Lewis Green (C. E. L. Green), Charles Herbert Woodbury, Thomas Clarkson Oliver, Edward Burrill, Edward A. Page, William Partridge Burpee, and Andrew P. Walcott.⁸⁷⁸ Artist supplies in Lynn's papers were regularly advertised throughout the decade and the frequent exhibitions of artwork featured many Lynn area scenes.⁸⁷⁹



UNLIKE THOSE WHO COULD AFFORD THE LUXURY of dabbling in paint or yachting off the coast, the limited means of laborers and factory workers constrained their horizons to catchpenny entertainment and lower-priced lifestyles. They lived among the middling managers and professionals and the wealthy investors and business owners throughout the city, but their lives were defined by different measures. The ladies of Lynn could swoon over their effete Oscar Wilde, but the roughs in the saloon rallied around their muscle-bound, bareknuckle hero, John L. Sullivan. Nicknamed the "Boston Strong Boy," the heavy-weight champion pugilist came to Lynn a few times over the decade to visit a good friend there and was happy to knock back a few with the crowds that gathered at Charles Blaisdell's saloon.⁸⁸⁰ Sullivan was a favorite of the hard-working laborers who, like himself, lived by their hands; if Lynn men were swift and sure, they would survive their bouts with the machinery, produce quality work, and do their part to beat the competition – all just like the Boston Strong Boy.

After decades in the manufactories, the laborers and factory workers in Lynn still had to fight for just about everything, including better wages, secure, scab-free jobs, and safer and more sanitary workplaces. Most of them were unionized to put the power of numbers behind their collective demands and grievances. On the first Monday in September 1888, the largest labor parade thus far

in the city's history was held. Labor unions in municipalities throughout the country were trying to get the day set apart as a legal holiday to honor the worker and Lynn was in the forefront of that movement. The first time Lynn stopped working for Labor Day was actually in the previous year 1887. The *Item* reported, "In the morning Labor looked strong, but as the day drew near the close, too many of those who followed the banner had succumbed to influences that are more powerful. If all the saloons could be closed on Labor Day, the holiday would be nearly perfect."⁸⁸¹ At the huge gathering of 1888, one of Lynn's labor leaders told the crowd he "was glad to see that the laboring people of Lynn appreciated Labor Day. A number of manufacturers in this city have said that the laboring class of Lynn did not care about Labor Day, and he was glad that they had turned out in such large numbers to show these falsifiers that the people do care for it and appreciate it." During the grand parade, working people of Lynn "thronged the sidewalks," cheering on the shoe workers that were grouped by the union for each job function: the lasters, cutters, edgemakers, channellers, heelers, morocco finishers, stitchers, leather workers, laborers, teamsters, horse railroad employees, and the Knights of Labor. The grand parade of 2,000 union workers comprised more than a dozen unions that represented all of the critical steps required to make shoes, accompanied by marching bands and a platoon of police. United, the shoe unions stood and marched, proudly holding banners and waving placards with such messages as, "DOES THIS DEMONSTRATION LOOK AS THOUGH WE WERE GOING TO PIECES?" The yellow label of the United Shoe Workers was prominently displayed on placards that read, "THIS LABEL IS A GUARANTEE THAT THE SHOES WERE NOT MADE BY PRISON LABOR AND SCABS." The morocco finishers carried a banner with the motto, "IN UNION THERE IS STRENGTH."⁸⁸²

United they were a force to be reckoned with in the workplace, but at the end of the day, each individual worker went home and struggled to pay the bills and improve the quality of their family's existence. Where possible, many families tried to supplement their wages with side jobs. In 1882 the *Daily Evening Item* noted that the gathering of burrs from the burdock plant (a key ingredient in *Burdock Blood Bitters* and other popular proprietaries), had become a very profitable way of gaining some extra money (the *Item* said some even made their living from it) and a group of burr pickers were "in the places about Lynn where the burdock grows, and reaped quite a harvest." When done for the day, the mound of burrs in their wagon looked equal to a cord of wood.⁸⁸³ An occasional, chance windfall helped, too. In 1887, Charles Kendall Clark, a bookkeeper at a boot and shoe factory, wrote about the terminal illness of his wealthy factory-owning uncle whose estate was valued at \$150,000. The man was suffering from a "stone cancer" in his throat that "wore away the tissues and let the blood in to his stomach etc[.] he was a great sufferer from neuralgia pains and died under the influence of morphine or rather he was never conscious after taking some"; there was nothing else the doctor could do for him. When his uncle passed, \$500 had been left in his will to Charles' children.⁸⁸⁴ So somebody out there really did have a rich uncle, but most Lynn shoemakers' uncles were also shoemakers, so their purses remained light and there would be little or nothing to pass on after death. Life could still be enjoyed, but cheap thrills were more accessible than refined ones; so, with the large population of laborers and factory workers in mind, the decade offered many varied amusements for those with small funds.

The recipe for success among the masses in late nineteenth century Lynn was to appeal to intense curiosity, vivid imagination, a spirit of adventure, and white-knuckled excitement – all at a small cost. Nowhere was the prescription more easily swallowed than by the young boys who let their minds run wild in the newest dime novels. The boys had vivid imaginations and were irresistibly attracted to the excitement and adventure of stories about Indians, train robbers, grizzly bears, and the like. One of the newsstand dealers selling the kid stories told the newspaper reporter, "The worse the titles and more hideous the pictures, the better they are liked by the boys, and there aren't many half-grown ones in Lynn but that have devoured most of them on the sly." The cost of these stories was a nickel to a dime, "quite in the range of the average small boy, or if not he can get nickels by collecting old iron, junk, and thus secure the price of such rot as ... *Denver Dick, the*

Rattler; or the Miners of Diamond Gulch, and Phantom Canoe; or, the Red King of the Woods," a "startler," and a new shocker, *Jack, the Ripper; or, The Whitechapel Fiend in America*. Adults worried that the "unhealthy literature" was putting boys on a dangerous path:

No wonder the small boy is afraid of the dark, and cannot go to bed nights without his mamma sit[ting] by his bedside and sooth[ing] his nerves to sleep. ... The tendency of such stuff is to excite in the mind of a boy[,] contempt for the peaceful avocations of home, disregard for the Christian atmosphere about it, and compels him to reject all that is good, noble and pure. It induces him to procure revolvers and knives ... it makes him hold horror and principle as cheap compared with freedom and glory of an outlaw's life. ...⁸⁸⁵

It wasn't just the hypothetical worry of over-anxious parents; the previous month a Lynn boy almost disappeared into his make-believe world. Police were certain they had stopped a "Boy Ambitious to Become a Dime Novel Hero ... by Stealing a Wild West Outfit." Frank H. Dow, a 16-year-old boy living on Broad Street, stole cash from the shoe store he worked at, broke into another store and stole a revolver, a rifle, two compasses, four big knives, a bird whistle, and a large reel of fish line. "The lad was evidently on the point of starting for the wild West," and when the police caught him, he had the Smith & Wesson 38-caliber revolver in his pocket "with every chamber fully loaded."⁸⁸⁶

Dime novels had been bringing children a world of fantasy for decades, just like the circus had been bringing it to adults and families. Since the first elephant lumbered through Lynn at the start of the century, Lynn had always been a profitable stop for many circuses, but Barnum's circus seemed to bring its greatest show in late July 1882 and Lynn brought its greatest audience. They could see that the circus was going to be the best ever from the parade through Lynn's Central Square that looked and sounded so exciting, "every available standing-place seemed to have been taken, and every one was eager to get a view of the procession":

The procession commenced with a gorgeous golden chariot and ended with the steam calliope and between these extremes there was a constant succession of chariots, animal cages with the animals exposed to view, bands, camels ridden and camels driven, elephants led, elephants ridden and elephants harnessed to wagons, horses by the score and hundred, harnessed by sixes and by fours to chariots, and to animal wagons, led by grooms, ridden by beautiful young ladies and gaily dressed men, zebras harnessed to carriages, and in fact a bewildering and indescribable display of all those things which are used in circus parades and a great many never before used.

No parade ever before displayed so many rich and costly chariots of so many different designs ... [a] peacock carriage, Roman chariots with four horses abreast, and the others which cannot be described in detail. In fact there was more to see than could be well taken in by one pair of eyes, and enough to make everybody resolve then and there to go to the show and see the rest, including the great Jumbo [the elephant]. There were thousands under the huge tent this afternoon, and there will be thousands more this evening.⁸⁸⁷

James R. Newhall wrote, "It was, no doubt, the grandest and most costly show ever in Lynn."⁸⁸⁸ Most of Lynn turned out for one of the two performances on Friday, the 21st of July 1882: receipts for the afternoon were over four thousand dollars and in the evening, over six thousand, making a total of \$10,809.75 (over a quarter million dollars 2020 USD).⁸⁸⁹ The circus welcomed the twenty-eight children of Lynn's Poor Children's Home for free, but the general admission was only fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children – within the reach of most pockets in the city, as the till showed. Very happy circus goers were heard to say after the circus that the talent "was of the highest order," performances were "far beyond those usually given in circuses," and "Got my money's worth."⁸⁹⁰ Lynn's shopkeepers complained that the money the traveling circuses got was theirs. Saturday was usually their largest day for sales, but it was almost

entirely wiped out when the circuses came to town. “In most places a circus on Saturday is no more injury to local trade than on any other day. But in a large manufacturing place like Lynn the injury is severely felt.”⁸⁹¹ But when Barnum’s circus paraded with its calliope playing, it was like the Pied Piper, and the people of Lynn became the children of Hamelin. It was irresistible.

The fantastic and unusual competed for the attention and money of “boys of every age,” in and outside of the circus.⁸⁹² In May 1886, John Poole stood among a crowd of people on Union Street, all looking straight up where a funambulist ever-so-carefully walked across a taught black wire strung from building tops on opposite sides of the street.⁸⁹³ A month after watching the tightrope walker, John went to Tremont Hall, on the corner of Tremont and Market streets, to watch the performance of a glass eater. But he got to do more than just watch; he was invited out of the audience to go on stage and hand the glass eater pieces of lamp chimney and pebbles to eat. Fantastic, unusual, and unsettling – but it made attractions that much more compelling. After the three-ring performance under the big top, the curious and daring could also visit the side show: “a legless, though not footless man, a living skeleton, a woman immensely fat, and another [woman who was] bearded, two albinos, and a Pole whose body became covered with hair while working naked in Siberian mines.”⁸⁹⁴ Three years later, the Barnum circus side show was the “Mammoth Museum of Living Human Wonders,” featuring “Jo-Jo, the Dog-Face Boy, Arada, the Wild Man, Tattooed Hindoo Dwarfs, “Miss Zammomoto, Mounting the Ladder of Naked Swords, Giants, Midgets, Dwarfs, Skeletons, [and] “Nala Damajanti, the Hindoo Serpent Charmer” – all part of the magic and mystery that made Barnum’s circus “The Greatest Show on Earth.”⁸⁹⁵

Throughout the decade, in between the occasional, grand, Barnumesque events, small-scale entertainments and traveling museums came to Lynn; though much different in size, they were very similar in concept. Whether on a tightrope or in a menagerie or sideshow, oddity and uniqueness were strong attractions, and a low admission price was critical. General Tom Thumb had visited Lynn before as a popular sideshow performer in Barnum’s circus, but in October 1882 he was back, leading “General Tom Thumb’s Museum” of unusual performers, comprising Major E. Newell, a roller-skating expert; J. W. Bingham, a ventriloquist; Whiston, a comedian and facial artist; Major Atom, a midget; and Zoe Meleke and Her Performing Canary Birds; all for an admission price starting at ten cents.⁸⁹⁶ One thin dime was doable, from a young boy buying a dime novel to the many who looked for novelty at what came to be called dime shows and dime museums.

Henderson’s Dime Show appeared in Lynn in April and November 1880 with a one-legged song and dance artist and a contortionist billed as “The Boy Serpent.”⁸⁹⁷ In January 1881, admission to the Theatre Comique (comedians and singers) started at a dime, as did Washburn’s Gigantic Congress of Metropolitan Celebrities in October, but the performance of the Congress “was so poor that many left the hall, and others amused themselves by hissing.”⁸⁹⁸

In December 1882, another dime show sprouted up on Central Avenue with a combination of controversial fare. For the ten-cent admission, patrons got to relive Jesse James’ notorious life and stare at the “unfortunate freak of nature,” the Man Bear.⁸⁹⁹ Jesse James had become the infamous and popular personification of danger in the American West, and since he had been shot dead earlier in the year, several troupes were dramatizing his life on stage, complete with “exciting incidents, shooting affrays, ... bandits, Indians, ... injured maidens, etc., etc.”⁹⁰⁰ The shows were getting scattered complaints because some worried it glorified the villainous life of the gunslinging bank robber. The *Boston Globe* reported that when the outlaw drama visited Milwaukee, it had “set the boys’ brains on fire,” just as did the “boys’ story papers” (the dime novels).⁹⁰¹

The other part of the disturbing ticket was the “Man Bear”: David Emblem, the 24-year-old son of a French hunter and settler in northern New Brunswick, born with the looks, bones, and movements of a bear.⁹⁰² A private reception arranged so that newspaper and medical men of Lynn could observe and assess the veracity of the “monstruous wonder” that was the Man Bear and at least the *Daily Evening Item* believed what they saw. They described the young man as having thick hair starting low on his forehead near his eyes and that his face was “repulsive.” He spoke

very little and was at times unintelligible. His legs were “bent like a bear’s hind legs, and he walks, not exactly on all fours, but something like it, in the few shuffling movements which he does make.” He had six fingers on each of his “broad, paw-like hands,” and his feet were also malformed, leaving an impression in the snow or mud “just like a bear’s.” Other “ursinine” peculiarities included “a rudimentary tail – a fleshy growth, something like … on a dressed turkey, only larger.” He sat “more like a bear on his haunches than a man, and has an inclination to dive headlong between the legs of spectators.”⁹⁰³ There were apparently no objections to either part of the exhibition, so it continued for the entire week that it was scheduled, ending just before Christmas.

In 1883 an unnamed dime museum set up on Central Avenue with “Rhoda, the Herodian Mystery,” “Solomon Stone, the Boy Mathematician,” and “Himan, the Illusionist,” but the oddity that Lynners clamored to see was one of their own: a hapless four-year-old called the “Alligator Boy.”⁹⁰⁴ The Simpsons, living at the rear of 24 Sutton Street were “in indigent circumstances” because the boy’s father, William Simpson, had become bedridden with a lame knee that was injured by a barrel of flour falling on it. With no means of income, they decided it was essential that they put their boy on display. City Physician Frank D. Stevens, who had been tending to William Simpson, also diagnosed the boy’s condition as a classic textbook example of ichthyosis: from the top of his head down his neck to the shoulders, and his whole trunk were covered with a “dirty, dry, harsh, ill-nourished, non-perspiratory, wrinkled condition of the skin, “characterized to a varying extent by semi-detached, thin, cuticular scales,” reminiscent of an alligator’s skin.⁹⁰⁵ He was put on exhibition in April at New York’s Globe Dime Museum, then transported to an amphitheater-styled lecture room of the College of Physicians, where Professor George Henry Fox announced to the tiers of medical students, “I now have the pleasure of introducing the youth known to fame and I doubt not to fortune, as the “Alligator Boy.”

This child is suffering from the disease called ichthyosis, and his skin is an unusual illustration of the effect of congenital malnutrition. His limbs have never been used at all, and his skin shows the tendency to break into scales all over the body. These patches are horny, and resemble an alligator’s skin more than anything else. Usually, in cases of ichthyosis, this peculiarity affects the extremities of the sufferer only, but in this instance the scales cover the back and the chest. The child never perspires. Rubbing sweet oil or glycerine on it will soften his skin, but as soon as the oily matter dries the skin will resume its hard and scaly appearance. Cases even more advanced in a similar disease than this subject were exhibited in England some years and as the “porcupine men.”⁹⁰⁶

Despite the attempt at scientific observation and description, the professor and his students had done little better than the public paying their dimes for a look – the professor even bestowed the disparaging name upon the poor child by which it would become known while on tour. Mrs. Simpson claimed that her son’s condition was caused by a fright (alluding to the centuries-old belief in maternal impression, like the 1882 story of an expectant mother who had been frightened by a sea lion); she may have believed this, as some obviously still did, or she may have credited a fright by an alligator because it fed the narrative that encouraged greater curiosity and attendance. The father and mother were also quoted as saying the boy took to the water like a duck, and it was hard work to keep him away from the faucets. Perhaps they made such a statement, but more likely it was a part of the promotional narrative.⁹⁰⁷ Either way, it worked; the Lynn public was anxious to see the Alligator Boy. At least 700 people over eight exhibition hours on September 1st, 1883 and on the following Saturday, over 2,000 paid their dimes to gawk and grimace at the boy – more than four visitors per minute.⁹⁰⁸ The interior exhibition location at 116 Munroe Street was clearly not large enough for the Lynn audiences, so it was later announced that the location was being moved outside, to the Lynn Common, near the West Lynn Hotel.⁹⁰⁹ A few weeks later, the innocent 4-year-old with a skin disorder continued to be displayed like a freak of nature, in Pennsylvania as part of “Col. Whitney’s Monster Show,” featuring “the Alligator Boy (alligator with human head),” along

with “the celebrated ox having three eyes, three nostrils, three tails.” The newspaper anticipated “the side show business promises to [excel] in point of numbers all past efforts.”⁹¹⁰

Anatomy museums that set up in Lynn cost a little more than a dime, but they were still priced to bring in lots of customers. The one John W. Poole went to in 1884 cost twenty-five cents and welcomed men and women (on separate days) and appeared moderately educational; but another showed up in Lynn in 1889 that sounded much more like the type of ruse that catered to and encouraged men’s deepest fears. As with similar anatomical museums that had been geared to men, those who entered the new Museum of Anatomy in Lynn in 1889 would likely see a progression of pictures and wax or papier-mâché nude models, starting with the happy, healthy male and female, probably holding their healthy baby, then deteriorating into scary models and pictures of people ravaged with various venereal diseases. Then a “medical expert” would be made available in a consultation room to discuss the personal concerns of the patrons who had become fearful that they might have some of the symptoms of diseases caused by vice, with the goal of selling them medicines and services accordingly.⁹¹¹ Like dime shows that exploited individuals afflicted with diseases and deformities, museums of this type were clearly on the dark side of the dime show business. The new museum on Andrew Street admitted *only* men; more specifically, “workingmen” – those who worked and played with danger – and the museum operators hoped Lynn was full of them: “Museum of Anatomy – AND – Workingmen’s College, clearly showing all bad diseases, forms of men and women, black and white. Lectures every hour by legal and certified physicians. Life-like figures. Man’s origin secrets of life. Only gentlemen NO MINORS, Open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. Admission 15c[ents]. 38 ANDREW ST.”⁹¹²

The decade looked like it was going to close out with a much more enjoyable, popular type of dime show business than what was being offered by the morbid Museum of Anatomy, but it ended up shocking everybody in attendance. On Thanksgiving Day, 28 November 1889 the new dime show opened at the corner of Oxford and Washington streets. If was one of those few days in the year that most workers in the city had the day off because of a holiday, so opening a new attraction downtown on that day was hopeful of a large attendance and lots of dimes.⁹¹³ A few of those dimes came from William H. Flanagan, a 24-year-old employee of the Thomson-Houston Electric Company, who had brought his wife and little brother to show them a good time.⁹¹⁴

Opening a dime show on Thanksgiving was apparently the business strategy of its manager, Edward C. Stickney, who was known in the city as “the heavy dumbbell lifter.” He had hired a Professor H. F. Sartelle, the illusionist from Worcester, to perform and one of his greatest tricks, which was “to stand the width of the hall and then allow someone in the audience to shoot a rifle ball of about 42 calibre at his head and he proposed catching the bullet in his teeth.” The title “Professor” was used in much the same way as “Doctor” – to designate eminence in a field, regardless of whether a degree or certification had been attained – and the 26-year-old Sartelle by avocation was a painter, not a professor; but he also had developed some skills in magic, the art of illusion, making him a perfect performer for a dime show audience.⁹¹⁵ The professor held up the rifle and the ramrod for all to see, and then had the bullet passed around to the audience for their personal examination. Then with the studious precision befitting a professor, Sartelle dramatically loaded the rifle “with great care,” calling attention to the fact that the bullet had been placed in the rifle. He then asked for a volunteer assistant from the audience, challenging, “Who has the moral courage to shoot me with this gun?” William Flanagan stepped forward.⁹¹⁶

The professor told the volunteer to take careful aim at his head, since he was to catch the bullet with his teeth, and to fire on the count of three. At the count of one, the professor chided, “You are not aiming at me, lower the gun!” Flanagan did so and, on three, fired the gun. Sartelle instantly dropped to the floor. Flanagan and many others in the audience thought it was all part of the trick, but the professor was on the floor with a bloody neck wound and not moving – he was dead. “The other show people realized that an accident had happened, and without entering into an explanation, announced that the audience would be dismissed.” Medical Examiner Pinkham later

determined that the bullet had entered “the left side of the neck, near the jugular vein, and passed through to the spinal column.” Flanagan was stunned at what he had just done, “I went in there merely as a spectator, and when the trick artist desired me to take the gun and fire at him, I did so, and was surprised beyond telling.” As soon as he realized what he had done, Flanagan walked with his wife and little brother directly to the police station a few blocks away and told the officers that he had just shot and killed somebody. The three “sat in the Marshal’s private office for about two hours,” after which he was told he could leave, having been guilty of no crime.⁹¹⁷ The *Daily Evening Item* summarized the tragedy in its edition on the next day, “To the uninitiated the act is a most startling one, and when the performer catches the bullet in his teeth the wonder of the beholders is intense. But this time their wonder was turned to horror as they realized the folly of the line of tricks which had such a fatal result.”⁹¹⁸

THE DEVOURING ELEMENT

Lynn had become a melting pot of industry, ethnicity, morality, and money, and everyone wanted their scoop from the pot. People and business had relocated there, legitimate entrepreneurs, traveling agents, and scam artists trolled for a sale, and Lynners found themselves surrounded by a growing world of choices and decisions. Dime shows and proprietary medicine makers had found similar ways to stimulate purchases and their customers approached with increasing credulity and skepticism, very much wanting the cheese while warily watching for the trap.

Assuring transcendent skills and success had almost become the requirement for out-of-town healers to have a chance at sudden notoriety and demand upon their arrival in town. Going by the name, “Old Dr. Thompson,” the wizened old healer showed his face in Lynn, literally, at the start of the decade; it glanced out at every reader from his newspaper ads, looking haggard and timeworn, like a doctor who had been at many a bedside, full of experience and skill. His ads explained his “specialties” were nothing short of “all diseases flesh is heir to,” from a runny nose to heart troubles, and female weakness to cold feet.⁹¹⁹ Another medical force to be reckoned with who went by “Dr. Stearns,” was quick to let the people of Lynn know that he had performed “hundreds” of “unrivalled cures” of all types over the last few weeks at the Sagamore House. “The marvelous cures performed by Dr. Stearns have earned him a truly enviable reputation. In many cases they had baffled the skill of other physicians,” including the “immense tumor” he removed from Mrs. Catherine Pierce’s breast “without using the knife,” after other doctors had refused to even try. His ads were almost always supplemented with numerous testimonials, many from Lynners that the population of over 38,000 may or may not have known.⁹²⁰ Another healer named B. M. Lawrence appeared heaven sent, having “successfully treated by his improved elastic methods, thousands of nervous and chronic cases, where other systems have failed to cure”; a glowing hand coming out of heavenly clouds hinted at the source of his stunning skills, but he actually hailed from Trenton, New Jersey.⁹²¹

In January 1881, E. L. Lyon, the doctoring dynamo who despised humbug, told all that he had “been in Lynn about three months [and] can safely say he has performed more cures and relieved more suffering, during his short stay, than was ever done by any physician before, in the same length of time. … *He guarantees a Cure in every case* where directions are strictly followed,” and he could insert artificial eyes, straighten out cross eyes in one minute, and perform the most critical and delicate surgical operations.⁹²² Clearly, he was the cure for the common humbug. Similarly, H. S. Wentworth said *he* was “one of the most successful healers of the age,” treating “diseases that medicine cannot cure,” using the laying on of hands and vital magnetism that was, he claimed, “now recognized as the great curative agent.”⁹²³ Lynn should have felt humbled and overwhelmed by its good fortune to have such an onslaught of extraordinary healing prowess constantly in their midst in just the first four years of the decade, but somehow, citizens continued to suffer with all sorts of diseases and health issues, and so other miracle workers continued to take their turns at overwhelming Lynn with their unique medical gifts. Charles E. Marshall, a man in

his mid-thirties from South Boston, proved to not be all that he seemed. He had come to Lynn claiming to be a doctor, selling an electric disc that he insisted would prevent disease. The doctor was married, but when he came to Lynn he consorted with the 16-year-old Mary Prouty and, with her parents' alleged approval, the two lived together at 12 Empire Street, with Mary giving birth to a baby there. When he found the disc didn't sell well, he came up with a new scheme of selling bogus rights to a new style of ship anchor.⁹²⁴ He was taken to court on charges of lewd conduct with Mary Prouty; Ida Prouty, his wife, testified that "the doctor is one of the greatest scoundrels living, and that his whole life has been a fraud." John Moriarty, who kept a boot and shoe store on Munroe street, testified that for a long time he had paid the doctor's rent, grocery bill, and supplied him with fuel; when asked why he would supply the doctor with so much money, he replied with embarrassment, "It was because I was a d-d fool, I suppose."⁹²⁵

Like the rest of the nation, Lynn in the 1880s had become a juggernaut, and amidst the loud clamor of its progress, it wasn't enough to be the best, make the best remedy, or to have built a better mouse trap; it had become equally important to wave the flag from the top of the hill and shout from the rooftops. For this reason, sign painters and bill posters were commissioned to cover buildings, fences, barns, and boulders with signage. The bill posters of Lynn stayed busy:

The bill poster, like the alewife, has made his appearance in this village. As he passed down Chestnut street he first tackles the gate-house. He pastes one of his bills upon this. Then the Bowler house catches his eye. He strikes a bee line for the gate, passes through, crosses the lawn and pauses at the end of the house. He dips it in his paste brush and slaps it on the clapboards; on go two posters. ... and starts off to ornament (?) other property. This building is now more interesting than ever. It only needs a few circus pictures to make it complete. Isn't this business carried a little too far? Posters are well enough in their place, but when it comes to plastering them all over people's property, it is rather too much.⁹²⁶

Lynn's papers had become a miniature version of Lynn's landscape, chock-full of ads for goods and services provided by vendors from far and near, competing for attention with all the eye-catching images, creative wordplay, and fancy type styles available. An ad in *The Lynn Reporter* for *Foo Choo's Balsam of Shark's Oil* had all of the flashiness of a sideshow barker's pitch, "This Oil is abstracted from a peculiar species of small White Shark, caught in the Yellow Sea, known as *Carcharodon Rodeleth*. Every Chinese fisherman knows it. ... Its use became so universal that for over 300 years no Deafness has existed among the Chinese people."⁹²⁷

Some of the traveling healers were genuine in their belief about their methods but others had created a persona as a point of difference, hoping to attract the curious, the hopeful, and certainly the desperate and gullible. A doctor named Sheppardson and also known as "Dr. U-TA-WA-UN," followed the well-worn trail of Indian medicine healers into Lynn, but he distinguished himself as "the great Indian medicine prophet." From his encampment at the Lynn Hotel, he announced he could cure "any and all diseases," using only the vegetable remedies from the "fields, forest, and glens of his native country, but his ads didn't specify his tribe or the location of his tribal lands.⁹²⁸ Another doctor named Fritz offered magnetic healing by the laying on of hands, "healing the sick, curing the deaf and blind and restoring the crippled and deformed."⁹²⁹ Edwin W. Davis was a Lynn shoemaker who also sold magnetic healing through the use of steam cabinets called *Dr. French's Electro Magnetic Vapor Bath*, which he claimed was especially helpful to cure weak lungs and remove humors from the blood, by sweating them out, no doubt.⁹³⁰ But the Butmans of Lynn, long listed as medical electricians, sold a popular competing brand, *Dr. Conant's Compound Vapor Baths* and warned, "Beware of imposters who are imitating these baths ... There's one on Franklin St., Lynn, ... doing a dangerous work." Their ad featured a detailed image of a patient enclosed up to his chin in the medicated steam cabinet with signage on the side that read, "Disease and Poison Expelled or Disinfected."⁹³¹

Solomon H. Holbrook moved to Lynn from Salem to treat patients using “his wonderful gift called intuition,” through which he was able to “correctly discern and successfully treat the most difficult cases.”⁹³² Intuitive medicine – discernment without conventional physical examination, was practiced by many healers, but few as dramatically as brothers Alfred and Sidney Hargrove, “English Astrologers & Intuitive Physicians.” They set up a practice out of 80 Liberty Street in November 1882, ready to answer questions about peoples’ illnesses, “the best mode of treatment, critical periods, etc.,” as well as questions about business, “matrimonial predictions … travels, wills, secret undertakings, divorces, enemies …” and so on; in other words, they would address anything about which anyone worried. They ascertained through “ASTRO-PHYSIC”:

An astrological judgment wherein can be correctly ascertained the true cause of chronic diseases, either atmospheric or constitutional, by erecting a map or figure of the heaven, and by careful observation of the different positions of the planetary bodies, they at once see with wonderful accuracy the origin of the disease, the nature, symptoms, and the changes from one stage to another, together with full particulars in regard to the organs which are afflicted.⁹³³

At a time when astronomy, comets, and the like were of increasing popular interest, the Hargroves were purveying astrology as a science of the stars to cure disease and assured that they had “treated thousands of cases by this method” and provided “purely vegetable remedies prepared by us.” Such specialized expertise cost more than the more mundane methods: ladies paid \$1.00 and gentlemen \$1.50. Advice by mail cost \$2.00 and a stamp.⁹³⁴

As unusual as the astrophysical sphere was in the crowded medical marketplace, there was still competition. Mrs. Brusilla certainly had one of the most mysterious and exotic monikers among healers in Lynn during the decade; she promoted herself as the “Herb Doctress and Egyptian Fortune Teller, The Seventh Daughter of the Third Generation,” able to “tell the Past, Present, or Future by the planet you were born under or by Physiognomy.” Like the Hargroves, she could also use her omniscient astrological skills for purposes beyond health matters; she would find missing items, lost friends (“whether living or dead”) and discern what part of the country would be “luckiest” for her customer. “Advice free concerning diseases.”⁹³⁵

In stark contrast to the astrological healers, H. J. Smyth, a surgeon of the National Surgical Institute in Philadelphia, was at the Sagamore Hotel in November 1883, ready to treat all cases of curvatures and distortions of the spine, crooked feet, legs, arms, and hands, diseases of the hip, knee, and ankle joints, bones, and chronic ulcers, paralysis and more, and had an assistant who could provide “mechanical appliances” like braces, when required.⁹³⁶

Throughout the decade, healers and medicines in Lynn were as thick as flies, swarming over the diseased and infirm, doggedly promising the efficacy, even the superiority, of their methods and products, and equally determined to gobble up all the profit they could from the citizens of the busy city. But when it came to devouring the city, they had competition.

In 1851, just a year after the population of 14,257 incorporated into the city of Lynn, historian Alonzo Lewis made a well-reasoned prediction:

It is somewhat surprising that people who erect large and valuable buildings in thickly populated streets should build so many with clapboards and shingles; especially in a place that abounds with clay, and where there is rock material enough for all the houses in Lynn for five centuries to come. They will probably improve upon this wooden custom, when a few destroying fires shall have taught them better.⁹³⁷

The city had its share of fires over the ensuing decades, some worse than others, but by 1889, Lynn had much more than tripled in population from the time of Lewis’s prediction, and the “thickly populated streets” he saw had become congested downtown blocks of factories and businesses, many with brick shells, but thick with “wooden custom.” Given the opportunity, a flame allowed to escape beyond its designated lamp, stove, or furnace, and lick a nearby board or beam,

would become a giant lucifer, bent on its imperative to burn everything in its path. Fire had an unquenchable appetite and stayed hungry year upon year, flaring up and burning down buildings and lives here and there in the city throughout the decade. It was referred to frequently as “the devouring element,” the hellish monster that consumed all it touched.⁹³⁸

Fire did not have to be a five-story conflagration to ruin lives – an exploding kerosene lamp destroyed just as surely. In the space of four months, two Lynn women died from such a fire in sadly similar circumstances. Mrs. Mary B. Phelps and Mrs. Bridget McCormick were both in their homes when the kerosene lamp they were using exploded. The voluminous clothing of each ignited instantly, consuming the woman within. Mrs. Phelps ran from her house, a screaming torch, where men ran to her aid, covering the flames with their coats, and carrying her into a neighbor’s house. Mrs. McCormick’s “corsets had taken fire and held the flames close to her person,” seriously burning her breast and abdomen, as well as her back and legs, plus it was feared she had inhaled the flames. She too, ran from the house in flames and men nearby tore her burning clothes off, then carried her back inside. Both women had burned to death from an originally small, tame flame that they had carried around in a lamp.⁹³⁹

When buildings burned, the tragedy was measured first and foremost in lives lost, followed by those poor who lost everything, and finally by whether the wealthy owners had insurance sufficient to cover their losses. The tinder box that was former mayor James N. Buffum’s planing mill went up in flames one October night in 1880 and spread to neighboring buildings like a row of wooden dominoes just waiting for their turn: J. Otis Marshall’s woodworking shop was next, followed by the shops of Allen & Boyden, box makers, then to a string of sheds that led to the wharf along Lynn’s waterfront, “which were soon a living blaze.” The conflagration also spread to Margrane’s store on Market street, which was quickly ablaze, but that was extinguished by a bucket brigade, without the aid of the fire department, which was having its own problems. In its haste to get to the fire, the fire engine called Extinguisher ran into Owen Mullen’s milk wagon and knocked it over.⁹⁴⁰ Lives weren’t lost, so the fire was summarized in financial terms, like a business deal between fire and insurance. Buffum was seriously underinsured but he was wealthy, so within a week, he had a large number of men constructing two large buildings and an engine house to replace what was lost.⁹⁴¹ A few months later, in the dead of winter, another large fire occurred where a morocco factory was destroyed and other buildings were damaged in the heart of the city; “the fire lighted up the heavens with a lurid glare, which was seen for miles around,” and like with Buffum’s fire, people flocked to the scene to watch the inferno. Despite the serious financial losses, the owners were well insured, but several hundred men had instantly lost their employment “which is an especial hardship at the present season”; they were tenants living in houses along Sea Street that during the fire “were driven from their beds … and sat shivering among the remnants of their little property, presenting a pitiable spectacle.”⁹⁴²

The fire at a rubber goods factory in March of 1881 had the notable incident of a worker jumping from a second story window.⁹⁴³ It underscored the serious need for Lynn’s multi-story factories and tenements to have fire escapes. When a fire in the basement of the Keene Brothers’ Willow Street factory produced billows of smoke that filled the highest reaches of the six-story building, panic ensued on the top floors. The workers there did not know the fire had been effectively put out in the basement and assumed by the smoke that a fire was raging right below them, so the employees crowded together, going down the fire escape to safety; “men crowded the girls in a way that to say the least was peculiar” [meaning intimate, with bodies pressed up against bodies] “and increased the alarm of the latter very much.”⁹⁴⁴ Although the actual damage in the basement was a very small financial loss, the event underscored “the danger to operatives in lofty buildings” and the discomforting blessing of fire escapes:

The escape on Keenes’ building is a succession of stairways with a handrail, but it is a giddy pathway at best, and to the girls half suffocated with smoke, and in sudden fear of a terrible death, it was not an easy matter to come down. But suppose it had

been a perpendicular ladder, as is the case on some of the factories, broken limbs and perhaps worse casualties could not have been prevented.

This incident ought to convince every manufacturer in the city of the wisdom of providing some means of escape in addition to the ordinary routes of egress. We understand that there are some large factories that have positively no means of escape from the building except the regular interior stairways, which in case of a fire would act as flues to conduct smoke and flame to the upper floors, and drive the workmen out of the windows to be dashed to death in the street. We hope the Inspector of Buildings will give his early attention to this matter, and see to it that the horrors of a holocaust be not added to any disaster that may come to our city by fire.⁹⁴⁵

In February 1882, a fire originated in the store of Edwin Evans, dealer in gas fixtures and lamps, caused by the store being filled with gas from a leaking pipe, which came in contact with a kerosene lamp that had been left burning, causing an explosion, and setting the building on fire.⁹⁴⁶ A month later at the Goodwin shoe last factory on Spring Street, the steam boiler exploded at 5:45 a.m., just before men were due to arrive at the shop for the workday.⁹⁴⁷ John Poole was well aware of the explosion and its aftermath, “Great explosion this morning. Building knocked into kindling wood. One or more lives lost and several hurt. Boiler blown one thousand feet over houses[;]
damaged two.”⁹⁴⁸ The generally accepted trajectory of the massive, 1,580-pound boiler was straight up, 200 feet in the air and landing 700 feet away. In its descent, the boiler stripped off part of the top of a house, crossed Newhall Street, and struck the house of Councilman Charles F. Burrill before rebounding to the sidewalk. Mr. and Mrs. Burrill were thrown out of bed by the concussion and furniture was thrown in all directions. John B. Moore, the engineer, was killed in the explosion and five others were injured; Eben Goldthwaite got “an ugly cut on the face” and Perley Doyle was injured in the stomach and bowels by timbers falling on him; his back was also injured and his face was badly burned; and William Quereaux had fractured several bones in his pelvis, which his doctor considered serious but not fatal, and also sustained light bruising on his face and body.⁹⁴⁹ Edward Vickery, a carpenter, gave a compelling eyewitness account to the disaster:

I was on the corner of Spring and Broad ... when the explosion took place. The sound was terrific. ... I saw the roof of the Judkins shop, which was literally blown into atoms, split open in the middle, each side of the roof swaying to the side, as the building was lifted into the air, and then fell. At the same time the boiler flew up above the whole, appearing to mount three hundred feet in a diagonal course, and swept with lightning speed toward the bank building, as I thought, on Exchange street. So high an altitude did it reach, and so rapid was the motion, that it appeared to be the shape of a ball, and no larger than a man's head. ... A man stated that he saw the [large] section of the boiler, sailing through the air, surrounded by flying bricks. He said it looked like a huge football, with a lot of birds in chase.⁹⁵⁰

David S. Thrasher and Steven Hanson were injured by flying bricks.⁹⁵¹ All of the victims were transported to their homes and boarding houses because the hospital did not yet exist. Eleven years earlier another boiler had exploded on the same spot at about the same time of morning. That explosion killed Frances Clarence Alley, a 16-year-old boy who worked in the shop and had gone down into the boiler room, and it injured a Salem man who was “peddling oils”; he died a few days later.⁹⁵² Perhaps coincidentally, the next book John Poole elected to read nine days later was *Dante's Inferno*.⁹⁵³

On 11 September 1887 another tragic fire resulted in more loss of lives than any other in Lynn over the decade; no other fire even came close. The lives lost were all horses. John Poole recorded in his journal, “Went to fire at 3 this morning[;]
20 horses killed.”⁹⁵⁴ The official number turned out to be nineteen. At 2:45 a.m., an officer walking his beat saw flames rising from the roof of a building on Pleasant Street, so he immediately rang in the alarms. The building was sixty feet long by forty feet wide and two and a half stories high. Soon the whole fire department arrived, to

find the second floor of J. B. & W. A. Lamper's large stable completely in flames. Although an attempt was made, it was impossible to save the horses; the runway to the stable was a mass of flames. "The frightened animals could be heard running around the stable, and later, when the smoke had nearly suffocated them, they were heard groaning horribly."⁹⁵⁵ John Poole was there; he must have heard the groans, but the brief mention in his journal was enough of a remembrance for him. Later that morning he went to church and then to the cemetery, perhaps making peace with it all in his own way.

In the rear of the stable there were a number of pigs, but they were able to be driven out safely. Ironically, just like the boiler explosion on Spring Street, another stable fire had occurred in the exact same location sixteen years earlier and sixteen out of seventeen horses had perished in that fire.⁹⁵⁶ The ghosts of fires past were coming back to haunt Lynn that lessons had not been learned and enough safety measures were not being consistently applied to prevent unnecessary disaster. Alonzo Lewis's prediction was feeling pretty spooky, and the decade wasn't over.

In early March 1888, Lynn and the Northeast was hit with a major blizzard, one of the worst in many years. Strong winds, high tides, and heavy winds combined with several feet of snow and rain after midnight that finished blanketing everything in a hard crust. Throughout the region some 400 people died and farm animals froze, but Lynn was spared from human loss, at least. A singular occurrence did occur in the Shoe City, however; time stopped. Every clock in the city was stopped by the storm.⁹⁵⁷ At that moment of timeless, frozen time, the last thing that Lynn seemed to need to worry about was fire.

But time started up again and life continued. Lynners had to be struck by the rather staggeringly repetitious news of major fires occurring in the business and industrial areas of major cities near and far. Vital swaths of major cities across the country were being incinerated: fifty buildings in the business blocks of Savannah, Georgia and New York City ("the biggest and fiercest fire New Yorkers have witnessed in this generation") both were in flames in April 1889, and a few months later, Seattle, Washington's conflagration covered thirty-one blocks.⁹⁵⁸

Fire came much closer to home when Massachusetts communities were scorched. Haverhill's manufacturing district was in ashes in February 1882, and the business portion of Hopkinton was destroyed in April of the same year.⁹⁵⁹ Marblehead, Lynn's close neighbor, suffered a terrible fire due to flammable construction in its business center in December 1888, putting nearly 2,500 people out of work. There was special concern for them, "... suffering will follow this disaster, and many a family that depended on the earnings of its members for the necessities of life will find hard times the coming winter."⁹⁶⁰ The city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire was extraordinarily rattled by a Lynn medium who had predicted that a major fire would destroy the business portion of the city, "In some instances storekeepers packed up their goods and were prepared to move at short notice in case of fire, but no fire occurred."⁹⁶¹

Lynn responded with compassion to the tremendous losses suffered by other cities; collections were taken, official well wishes were sent out, and especially for close neighbors like Marblehead and Boston, firefighters, police, local militia and others were dispatched to help. But for Lynn itself, business, building, and life continued without pause; no frozen clocks would stop its progress. Fires, when they happened, were dealt with and put out. In fact, so bullish was one business in Lynn's future prospects that it made a substantial investment to grow with the city. The W. M. Currier & Co., Lynn's big clothing merchant, announced in February 1889 that business had been so good, it had outgrown its old store and decided to build a magnificent new five-story building at the heart of the downtown, on the corner of Union and Almont streets. The grand edifice would cost \$100,000 (\$2.8 million in 2020 USD). Mr. Currier said it would not only be "an ornament to the city, but the most complete and elaborate business block Lynn has ever seen." It was going to be built of brick with a brownstone front in a Renaissance architectural style, with an oval window of copper, ten feet high and eight feet wide, decorating the center of its elegant front facade. The interior would be finished entirely in quartered oak and would have steam heating and

electricity throughout. It would contain its own barbershop and eight bathrooms and the first passenger elevator in Lynn's history that would carry customers through all levels of the handsome, grand clothing store.⁹⁶²

Ten months later, on November 12th, the building was finally finished and ready for what in 1889 was already the all-important Christmas shopping season. Currier proudly announced, "We propose to reappear from our seclusion in such a manner as will make a considerable stir in the commercial puddle of Lynn."⁹⁶³ Anticipating that people couldn't wait to see what it looked like inside, Currier had skeleton keys inscribed "Key to the Mystery" and hung on residential doorknobs throughout the city with an invitation to the grand opening attached.⁹⁶⁴ Their grand opening announcement explained that they had spared no expense to make the store's interior "surpass in elegance and artistic effects anything of the kind in the country" and urged the public to come see for themselves.⁹⁶⁵ And they did. "Just how many did attend [the opening] is utterly impossible to state, for during the entire evening, for 20 yards on either side [of] the entrance, the sidewalk was filled with a surging tide of humanity, all eager to cross the threshold of the store." Inside they were greeted by a brass band and "clerks ... armed with a double supply of politeness, and well they needed it, for a crowd such as that ..."⁹⁶⁶ Seeing what the competition had built, two other Lynn clothing businesses had also placed large front page ads above and next to Currier's grand opening announcement, hoping that advertising some great bargain prices would prevent a mass exodus to Currier's opulent new palace.⁹⁶⁷

On Monday, November 25th, Lynn was looking forward to the Thanksgiving holiday in just three more days and Christmas coming up in a month. Currier's clothing store had been open for almost two full weeks and all was going well. When Lynners settled in to their homes that night, they read in *The Daily Evening Item* about the most recent adventures of Henry Morton Stanley, exploring darkest Africa, fighting the Wambutta pygmies, and they saw the advertisements for gold slippers and chinchilla overcoats for sale, that Pillsbury Flour, Royal Baking Soda, and turkey platters were available for holiday cooking, and perennial favorite, Uncle Tom's Cabin, was going to be performed at Lynn Music Hall again. The weather forecast on page two indicated "cooler, clearing weather" but no mention of wind or fire in the sky – it was wrong.⁹⁶⁸

When John Poole sat down to write in his diary the events of Tuesday, 26 November 1889, he first recorded that it was "pleasant all day but quite cold." The temperature had dropped fifteen degrees from the previous day, going from 40 degrees Fahrenheit to 25 degrees; then he noted how hot it had gotten:

Worked as usual until noon. At 12 AM fire broke out in Mowers block on Almont St and burned out nearly all the business part of the City[.] Central Sqr[,] Union, Spring[,] Exchange, Broad, & Beach Sts to the water[.] Our shop on Box Place escaped, but we took a large part of the machines & goods out. Fin[ally] under control now 11 PM.⁹⁶⁹

Writing with hindsight and from the safety of his home, his diary entry sounded calm and controlled, but the day was anything but that. He stopped working at noon and, since he had become a foreman in the shop, he probably let everyone else leave as well because even from his shop, it was easy to see the fire that had burst above the rooftops just three blocks away, as the crow flies, and it was spreading viciously and quickly like, well, wildfire – right towards them.

The fire started just a few minutes before noon in a shoe factory on Almont Street near the corner of Oxford; the boiler might have exploded or perhaps something in the engine room directly below caught fire, but hell had broken loose too quickly and the destruction was too complete to ever be sure. What was certain was that it was the middle of the day on a workday and many lives were in jeopardy in that building and the many businesses nearby as soon as the fire touched the first boards and beams in the wooden building. When a worker heard the cry of "Fire!" he went to the elevator to close the door, but the fire got through the shaft first and "burst upon him, burning off his moustache and eyebrows; he barely escaped from the building"⁹⁷⁰

A physician happened to be on Willow Street, the next street over from Almont, when he saw a man run out of a big brick building, yelling "Holler fire! Holler fire!" The doctor went inside the building and found that flames were indeed climbing up the brick walls and he realized in an instant that the building was doomed. He ran out of the building and over to the Central National Bank, "burst open the door, and shouted to the astonished bank officers, 'Get out of here at once while you can, your building is all on fire[!]'” He repeated the warning in other parts of the building, then as he and another man quickly bounded down the stairs, a machine crashed through the fire-weakened floor above, striking the man on his shoulder and the doctor on a toe. The other man was knocked to one side, but the doctor grabbed him by the collar and pulled him into the relative safety of the street. Less than ten minutes later, the entire building was in ruins.⁹⁷¹

The flames of fire had spread into an inferno across buildings and then into a gigantic conflagration, incinerating block after block of the city's business district, destroying the "very heart and nerve center" of Lynn.⁹⁷² A *Boston Globe* reporter covered the fire's progress until 2:30 p.m., when he had to get the story in to make deadline. At 12:15 p.m. he said some predicted the flames couldn't be stopped until they reached Union Street, which was just at the end of the block. At 12:35 p.m. the flames had crossed Central Avenue to the south and was lighting up Pike's Cigar Store and the building containing the Western Union Telegraph. At 12:50 p.m. the winds shifted from the southwest, pushing the march of the flames up Union Street; the old Sagamore House that had been a preferred lodging for so many travelers over the years, had already burned, and the flames had found the rear of the Currier's two-week-young landmark store. Ten teams of men with wagons were removing the large stock of clothing out the front entrance as the fire was attacking the back; an "immense lot of clothing was [nonetheless] consumed by the flames."⁹⁷³ At 2:00 p.m. the fire had crossed the railroad tracks and burned the Central Depot; any part made of wood was gone, leaving its distorted iron frame, which a *Boston Globe* reporter wrote, "looks like the skeleton of a mastodon."⁹⁷⁴

In his last report at 2:30 p.m., the *Globe* writer reported, "The scenes in the city streets at this hour beggar description. Vehicles of all sorts and descriptions have been brought into use and the removing of goods from houses and stores in the path of the fire, which is spreading, goes rapidly on."⁹⁷⁵ John Poole didn't know – no one knew – how bad it was going to get or how far it was going to spread; therefore the salvaging of store and household goods and shop equipment and materials was going on everywhere near where flames could be seen or heat was felt. Trying to stay ahead of the advancing flames, stores and homes for an entire block were rapidly stripped of their contents. "Showcases 15 feet long were hurried out by the frantic proprietors and their zealous volunteer assistants. Clothing, books, tinware, clocks, boots and shoes, and countless other articles were bundled into express and handcarts, and madly whirled away toward a place of safety."⁹⁷⁶ Mrs. Kelly's piano, her prize possession, was taken from her home on Almont Street to the safety of the sidewalk on Mount Vernon Street (just southeast of Central Depot), but the fire ended up reaching far beyond that area and the piano got buried in the ruins of the factories that collapsed around it.⁹⁷⁷ In the early stages of the fire, the Central Depot had been chosen as the place to put retrieved goods to be safe from the flames, but they had sadly underestimated the endurance and the course of the fire.⁹⁷⁸

The goods piled under the depot disappeared for two reasons: they were either burned with the building or they were "stolen by the crowd, eager for mementos of the fire." A firefighter from one of the towns east of Lynn, who was supposed to be helping out like many did, was instead helping himself. He was seen carrying away a bunch of shoes in his arms and when asked where he was going with them, "he coolly replied that they had been given to him."⁹⁷⁹ From the first signs of flames and enormous plumes of smoke brazenly advertising in the sky above the tragedy unfolding underneath, thousands of people were traveling to Lynn from surrounding towns and cities, including and especially from Boston, imbued with morbid curiosity or heavy hearts.⁹⁸⁰ Among the tourists were those who planned to profit from tragedy. "By the time the fire had reached

the new Currier building, [thieves] began their work, and with every pretense of offering assistance they committed the most daring thefts.”⁹⁸¹ The other class of thief was there as well, “Pickpockets and other featherless birds of prey were on hand in great numbers, and the police who were gunning for just such game flashed [exposed] a covey of them who arrived on the early afternoon trains from Boston.”⁹⁸²

The *Globe* reporter had to stop tracking the fire at 2:30 to file his hot news story, but the fire kept going, fueled by the large number of wooden factories, shops, and outbuildings, and by nature, which provided a strong wind, “There is a heavy wind blowing and the sight is fearful to contemplate . . . Big cinders are floating through the air, and one or two awnings have already taken fire and burned.”⁹⁸³ An *Item* reporter corroborated that the winds were pushing the fire still further, “The wind set in, blowing a perfect gale at 2.30, rushing up Mt. Vernon street, the alleys and side openings serving as so many vast flues to carry the sparks towards Exchange street.”⁹⁸⁴ Although the fire never reached Market Street, the heat felt along it was intense and one business there completely covered their building’s façade with rolls of carpet and canvas that had been thoroughly soaked in water with more continuously poured on them, and flying sparks were immediately dealt with whenever they tried to lodge on the covering or the building.⁹⁸⁵

Amid the crackling of the fires, the yells of firefighters, militia, police, and onlookers, and the noise of brick walls collapsing, the explosions of boilers, steam pipes, and gas lines in rapid succession could be heard, “at times as to almost resemble a bombardment.”⁹⁸⁶ The inferno continued its relentless attack towards the harbor, with its intense heat and lethal flames accelerating and following the unpredictable directions of the capricious winds. Horse car rails on Spring Street were warped by the heat, rising above the street three feet in some places. Once large, majestic buildings were reduced to a chimney, a small piece or two of wall, and “garnished with twisted and warped steam pipes, rearing their ends fantastically from their surroundings,” like twisted sticks of licorice candy left behind by a careless child. Brick, iron, and granite each appeared to have been devoured as quickly as wood.⁹⁸⁷

Mankind and nature seemed tangled together in confused desperation. Doves circled a few times over the flames, then suddenly plunged to their deaths. People were seen carefully putting their feather mattresses on the sidewalk, then throwing their mirrors out the window. A lady in a soaking wet silk dress and stylish sacque was seen “rushing around with a frantic grasp on a bottle of catsup.”⁹⁸⁸ The fires left behind an apocalypse of brick ruins draped in a pall of char and gray, pierced with flashes from angry cinders, and ribboned with swirls of smoke. The ghostly pallor was further animated by gusts of wind, like a filthy, choking dust storm. Lynn’s business district had taken on an ashen complexion, the color of life just before death.

By 5:00 p.m. the blaze had penetrated south of Broad Street and east of Beach, to the largely residential neighborhood of factory workers that the newspapers referred to as “the tenement district”; almost all of the buildings there were made of wood and they burned to the ground very quickly.⁹⁸⁹ The firefighters made the difficult decision to concentrate their resources on preventing the fire from reaching the gas works further down on Beach Street rather than to save the residential homes because if that facility exploded, it would have devastating consequences for the neighborhoods nearby. As it turned out, many of those homes were destroyed nonetheless, but the fire was stopped just before the gas works, just before 6:00 p.m. The worldly possessions of the now homeless laborers lay on the sidewalks because lack of money prevented them from transporting their things any great distance from the fire. “One old lady, who must have seen nearly 80 summers, sat on an old bed tick, rocking to and fro and moaning in a most piteous manner.” Beside her sat a much younger woman, staring at the fire with tears rolling down her face, while her baby nursed. It was also reported that hundreds of tearful workmen stood among the ruins of their workshops, “seeming almost stunned by this great calamity, and wondering where they can go to work. . . At the beginning of winter with such a prospect[,] no wonder there are so many sad hearts in Lynn tonight.”⁹⁹⁰

Nighttime came, trying to hide the sins of the day, but everywhere along the new hellish landscape were “seething beds of flames, … constantly fanned by the cold north wind, and made to shoot upward and illume not only the ruins but the country afar.” At times, the evening wind “swept savagely across the burning waste, causing dense clouds of ashes and smoke to rise and nearly suffocate the spectators.” A moon made silver by the constant smoke dimly illuminated the city that had been laid to waste over the course of the past seven hours. Men and women “by the score,” suddenly unemployed *and* homeless, wandered aimlessly through the streets in freezing temperatures, “to keep warm during the chilly hours.” Down the streets that just one evening past had come to peaceful rest after businessmen and customers had animated the streets with Monday’s sounds of healthy commerce, gangs of “cutthroats, thieves, [and] thugs … [now] prowled around the dark and lonesome places … only prevented from their evil work by the presence of the soldier boys, the scores of special police and the firemen on duty.” Among these protectors were the aging members of Lynn’s G.A.R. Post 5, who had last served their country with weapons some twenty-five years earlier.⁹⁹¹

As had happened with all the other battlefields on which they had served, there were casualties; most were inflicted upon the brave firefighters and police. There were cases of smoke inhalation, injuries from falling timber, bricks, glass, and other debris. Firefighter James E. Tarbox received a painful cut on his head from glass falling from the Currier building.⁹⁹² Firefighter Fred Searles was conveyed to Lynn Hospital with “serious if not fatal injuries” from falling timber and was carried to the hospital.⁹⁹³ A firefighter from Beverly was injured when the floor on which he was standing gave way, dropping him into the cellar on top of pipes. He was taken unconscious to a nearby house where two physicians attended him and pronounced his case hopeless, “stating that the injured man could not live till morning. He was at once taken to the Lynn Hospital in the ambulance, and here his condition was reported as much more favorable.” The septuagenarian police captain John A. Thurston, who had survived a long career full of danger, from the battlefields of the war to being knifed by the homicidal maniac Vannar, weathered another attack, this time from the inferno. Suffering from smoke inhalation and being quite severely burned on the head and face, he was removed to Nelson’s drug store, then taken to the police station, and finally to his boarding house. Stories were told of injuries received by employees trying to leave the upper floors



Ghost Town. Albumen print, 1890. Souvenir hunters rummage through the debris months after the Great Fire of 26 November 1889. Smoke stacks, walls, and other debris still stood as ghostly reminders of Lynn’s former business center. (Collection of the author.)

of the factories as word of the fire was passed on, but the reports were difficult to corroborate since most people went or were taken to their homes instead of the hospital for recovery from many minor injuries that likely occurred during the pandemonium.⁹⁹⁴ And like the account of the unnamed physician pulling a man to safety, there were stories of heroics that blossomed as the fires died. One was of J. D. Wade, a firefighter who pulled two men away from where a chimney fell moments later. Trapped in an upper story of a shoe factory engulfed in flames, screams for help from the women workers were heard by members of the Broad Street engine company. They ran up stairways filled with smoke and helped the girls to a ladder placed against the building; all reached the ground “amid the applause of the crowd.”⁹⁹⁵

On Wednesday, November 27th, John Poole recorded in his diary, “First Snow. Snow in Morning changed to rain at night. Got on machines & stock back this morning[.] Started up room before 9.A.M. Ruins look dreary this morning[;] walls & chimney standing. Mud & water everywhere. 6 Companies of MSS. V.M. [Massachusetts Volunteer Militia] on duty.”⁹⁹⁶ What he didn’t mention was that his shop stood at the edge of the “dreary ruins”; the previous day it sat on the doorstep to a vibrant city, but when he returned in the morning, his workplace was teetering on the edge of Armageddon; north of Box Place had been obliterated. Chimneys and random sections of brick building walls were all that remained, randomly protruding from the ashes, rubble, and muck like a surreal cemetery, an Atlanta after Sherman. Dreams and plans for great prosperity had been killed and replaced by absolutely nothing. It was “a melancholy reminder of what a splendid servant and terrible master fire is.”⁹⁹⁷ Alonzo Lewis’s prediction of 1851 had come to pass, but he was just one of many who had known this day was coming; it seemed inevitable that Lynn would be taking its turn among Chicago, New York, Haverhill, Marblehead, and the rest. The terrible day had finally happened and the business portion of the city was a smoking ruin. “The large and handsome buildings that were the pride of our people, and the evidence of enterprise and wealth, have vanished in flame and smoke.” In addition to the loss of the many shoe factories and suppliers that had built Lynn were many of the shops and business that had made it livable and contributed to its success: three banks, three newspapers, several drugstores and jewelers, the Currier clothing emporium and Pike’s corner cigar store; Plumstead & Son’s harness factory; the Sagamore House hotel; the liquor businesses of Edward Heffernan, J. S. Rock, and the Hoyt Brothers; G. F. Bartol’s paint shop, Herbert’s stationery supplies, Hill’s restaurant, the offices for Western Union Telegraph, Goodyear Rubber, American Express, and Singer Sewing Machine; and the laundries of Charles R. Blake and Wung Lung.⁹⁹⁸ The fire incinerated the factories and buildings of 82 shoe firms, 158 wooden mercantile buildings, 129 houses, 12 stables, a church, and more, for a total of over 330 buildings.⁹⁹⁹ The Great Fire, as it came to be remembered, had broiled 31 heavily occupied acres; the value of buildings, goods, and personal possessions lost was estimated at just under \$5 million (\$141 million in 2020 USD).¹⁰⁰⁰ Actually, the impact on the economy was far greater: many hundreds of workers had lost their jobs, and 162 families were made homeless.¹⁰⁰¹

The day after the fire was also the day before Thanksgiving and now the *Daily Evening Item* found itself catering to two distinctly different audiences: those who lost nothing and those who lost everything. Awkwardly, it still went forward with a sample Thanksgiving menu in its pre-Thanksgiving issue, recommending oysters, quail, and lamb chops for breakfast; and for dinner, Blue Point Oysters, Consommé Royale, Broiled Smelts, Sauce Tartare, Duchesse Potatoes, Ragout of Mallard Duck, Roast Turkey, Escarole Salad, Canned Peas, Plum Pudding, etc., followed by an article about how to carve a turkey.¹⁰⁰² The overwhelming feast was balanced with a call to action for those who had lost so much – a sharing of blessings, just like the Item had previously called upon from the citizens for the building of the Lynn Hospital:

The saddest feature of the great fire was the poor people who were burned out of house and home, and wandered about the streets with no place to go to. Wherever their distress was known it was promptly relieved, and school-houses, halls, and church vestries were promptly opened for their shelter. Their misfortune will appeal to the

charitable and the call will not go unheeded. To-morrow will be a dismal Thanksgiving at best to those who have lost their little all, and every one who can spare something to aid another should remember the distressed victims of Tuesday's fire.¹⁰⁰³

Donations came in from compassionate souls all over the country. Lynn had often taken its turn helping others in their time of need and now that kindness was being returned, "The bread that she had cast upon the waters, when she had it to spare, floated back in her time of need."¹⁰⁰⁴ On Thanksgiving Day, Poet John Greenleaf Whittier wrote to his friend, Lynn Mayor Asa T. Newhall, "I cannot longer wait to express my deep sympathy for those who suffer from the disastrous fire of the 26th inst. I inclose check for \$50 and hope on their Thanksgiving Day all hearts and purses will be opened. Thine truly, John G. Whittier."¹⁰⁰⁵ The outpouring of support continued in from Boston, Gloucester, Maine, and Springfield; by the 30th of November, over \$27,562.42 had been received and more kept coming. Lynn's physicians and undertakers collectively contributed \$700 of that total.¹⁰⁰⁶ Etta Poole's millinery shop contributed a two-dollar donation for the fire relief fund.¹⁰⁰⁷ Mayor Newhall ordered some schoolhouses to be cleared of their benches to make room for as many feather mattresses in their place on the floor as possible for the estimated 200 displaced, homeless families.¹⁰⁰⁸ Lynn charities organized a hasty meal of soup and crackers on that terrible first night and did what they could to provide a Thanksgiving meal and other support in the days ahead.

External focus on Lynn might have been more sustained, had not Boston suffered its own conflagration on Thanksgiving Day. Lynn knew it was going to have to rely principally on its own citizens to rebuild. W. M. Currier and B. F. Spinney both hired 100 men to clean out the debris from their properties so that they could rebuild. Some of the dislodged Lynn businesses rented out space elsewhere in town and even in neighboring towns, in order to keep their shop sales and factory production going.¹⁰⁰⁹ Roughly eighty percent of the total value of \$5 million of lost property was covered by insurance; most of the affected businesses were going to hurt, but survive.¹⁰¹⁰ Conversely, recovery was going to be difficult for the few hundred families that had lost their jobs and/or homes, and had no insurance or savings with which to start rebuilding their lives.

John W. Poole spent most of Thanksgiving Day "among the ruins," probably reflecting on the future of Lynn and his family in the devastated city. By Sunday, December 1st, he seemed ready to get on with life and tired of those who were dwelling on the past, "Thousands in town to day to see the ruins[;] tried avoiding them all day."¹⁰¹¹ Looking ahead was the best strategy to find the way forward. There were no treasures in the rubble; no comfort in embracing memories of what once was; no sustenance in ashes; no cure in burned livelihoods.

On November 27th, as soon as the fires and smoke were gone, Lynn's aldermen began serious discussions about seizing the opportunity to make the best of the devastation that was left behind. As hard as it had been to endure, the fire literally cleared the way for the city to correct the mistakes of the past and to ensure a safer future.

The old Lynn was laid out to meet a different state of affairs than now confronts us. The streets did well enough 50 years ago, but they were entirely inadequate to the demands of 1880-89. What shall be said of Lynn, if with the present opportunity to layout suitable thoroughfares, she enters 1890 bound to the old lines? Sentiment has disappeared in smoke with the old landmarks. Old things have passed away and all things on the burned district must be new. Let us take plenty of room for the new Lynn that is to rise from the ashes of the past. Another such opportunity will never come. There is nothing to pay for old buildings or for removing them. The land alone remains...¹⁰¹²

The aldermen conferred about new requirements for building permits and the opportunity for street widening. The major thoroughfares that coursed through the burned-out district needed to be wider, given the large volume of wagon and carriage traffic, including the congestion of wagons and carriages hitched up on both sides of the street, plus the addition of horse car lines to several



Survivor. Stereoview image of Toppan's Pharmacy at Union Square. Toppan's pharmacy building stood on the surviving edge of the Great Fire, just across the street from its furthest eastward advance. The stereoview is probably from earlier in the decade, well before the Great Fire event. This photograph appears to have been intended as a promotional image for his business. Toppan is in the foreground in white shirtsleeves, hands on hips. Based on the long apron, his young clerk is leaning on the other side of the entrance and a third man of unknown significance is in the background of the entrance. Two other people are in the bay window above the horse; his wife may be the one leaning in the window. The horse and chaise may be the business's delivery vehicle and it stands in front of a large sign for the store which reads, "WARREN TOPPAN, APOTHECARY" above and "FANCY ARTICLES & PERFUMERY" below; at the center is a scene of the Good Samaritan administering to the beaten man (an often-used motif for Lynn drug businesses throughout the century). The banner, "DRUGS & MEDICINES" is positioned above the retracted awning in the front of the building above the showcase windows. Medicine bottles are displayed on the far left in the showcase and on the other side of the building's far left corner stands a cigar store figure of undetermined type. (Collection of the author.)

of the streets.¹⁰¹³ In addition to the wisdom of accommodating the growing traffic, wider streets meant wider firebreaks and a better chance of preventing the fire on one block from spreading to another.

The *Item* reported that the “wide-awake citizens of Lynn,” had convened an unusual but important Sunday meeting to follow up on the critical topic of rebuilding. With only a few hours’ notice, the December 1st meeting was nonetheless well-attended by the city’s aldermen, leaders of the fire department, and the superintendent of the Lynn Fire Alarm Telegraph System, among others, all having gathered at the fire department’s Broad Street engine house. New requirements for building permits was the focus of discussion. Fire Department Chief Engineer Abraham C. Moody explained that the greatest hindrances to firemen fighting fires were the live wires overhead, the large wooden buildings (including saw mills, stables, and wood-working shops, apparently because they were virtual tinder boxes, filled with wood), and buildings over four stories. Chief Moody proposed three principal changes to accomplish a modernized business district: (1) no more wooden buildings; (2) no buildings of any type taller than four stories, and (3) almost all wires be buried in the ground instead of remaining overhead.¹⁰¹⁴

Chief Moody’s urging that no more wooden buildings be built downtown was not likely to have generated any debate among the activists convened; memories of the inferno that had just destroyed hundreds of buildings made that proposal’s rationale obvious to everyone in attendance. An editorial in the same issue had also reinforced the popular attitude, “the erection of wooden buildings within the centre of the city *must be emphatically forbidden*.¹⁰¹⁵ Chief Moody then proposed that new buildings in the burnt-over business district be no taller than four stories because the fire department’s hoses only had sufficient water pressure to reach the fourth floor. Finally, he proposed that all wires, except fire alarm and street car wires, should be buried in the ground, the danger of electrocution from electrical, telegraph, and telephone wires being too great when the wires came down in the course of fires, and certainly more dangerous with everything getting soaked from the firehose water.¹⁰¹⁶ From his Sunday pulpit, one of Lynn’s ministers had preached, “In a great fire, God is on the side of those who have strong vaults, fire walls and iron shutters”; and, “To save life in the future was doubtless one reason why God permitted this catastrophe.”¹⁰¹⁷

There would be more discussion and debate ahead, especially when businessmen would take issue with the costs of such improvements, but the voices of optimism were being heard as early as the day after the fire, ‘It is too early to even approximately estimate the extent of the terrible blow which has been dealt our city, *but that she will recover from it is not for a moment to be questioned*. … although the disaster is a serious one, our people have not lost heart, but will promptly set about recovering what is lost.’¹⁰¹⁸

Though the Great Fire had taken so much from so many, *no lives had been lost*, as improbable as that would have seemed during the city’s battle against hellfire on the 26th of November 1889. Everything else could be rebuilt.

Chapter 9 Notes

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1. Thomas was still listed as a farmer in 1870, at age 80; see *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: China, ME, p.48 (verso), dwelling 472, household 450.
 2. Hannah Rowe’s first marriage to Thomas Soames occurred on 16 February 1845 and her second marriage to Alfred Dinsmore was on 16 November 1848; see *Marriage Records of Waldo County Maine Prior to 1892*, Vol.1, p.125 (first marriage), Vol.2, p.116 (second marriage).

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3. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Waterville, ME, p.100 (verso), dwelling 132, household 140 (Quack Doctor, spelled “Qack Doct” in original); p.109 (verso), dwelling 221, household 251 (D-d Fool, spelled “D-d Fooll in original). In addition to being opinionated, the census taker was also a bad speller.
4. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Waterville, ME, p.101 (recto), dwelling 139, household 146 (Dinsmore).
5. Kennebec (Maine) County Court Records, Index No.10652, Vol.14, p.536, Box 127, File 4.
6. Kennebec (Maine) County Court Records, Index No.11701, Vol.CD-1, p.68, Box 136, File 43.
7. Portland Civil Births, Vol.4-10, 1782-1892.
8. S. B. Beckett, *The Portland Directory, and Reference Book, for 1858-9* (Portland, ME: Brown Thurston, Steam Printer, 1858), p.67. Dinsmore was listed at 53 Fore Street, which was almost directly across the street from the depot for the Grand Trunk Railway.
9. Maine Birth Records, City Clerk’s Office, Portland, Maine, 5 December 1858.
10. Item in feature column, “Police Office,” *The Morning Freeman* (St. John, New Brunswick, Canada), 2 November 1862. Although Alfred’s life was not an exhibition of religiosity, he may have invoked his Quaker roots as justification for being a conscientious objector and avoiding the battlefield by leaving the U.S.
11. Advertisements, *The New Brunswick Courier*, 13 February 1864; *The Morning Freeman*, 20 February 1864. The Balsam ad ran in *The Morning Freeman* from 20 February 1864 until 17 May 1864; the bitters continued until 27 April 1865.
12. Advertisement, *The Morning Freeman*, 24 December 1861. Research conducted by Briony Hudson, Keeper of the Museum Collections, Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, determined that John G. Sharp had never been a member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain. Letters, 7 and 14 June 2004, Briony Hudson, London, to Andrew V. Rapoza.
13. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Globe* (St. John, New Brunswick Canada), 30 January 1864.
14. Advertisement, *The New Brunswick Courier*, 26 June 1841.
15. Advertisement, *The Morning Freeman*, 18 February 1869, listed T. Lenihan as the “Successor to Dr. Sharp,” and advertising *Sharp’s Balsam of Hoarhound and Anniseed*.
16. Advertisement, *Portland Daily Press* (Portland, Maine), 29 October 1868; based on available issues of the newspaper, the ad ran through at least 29 January 1869, but may have run through the end of April 1869.
17. For the two instances of borrowing, see Grantee’s Records, Cumberland County, Maine, Vol.362, p.446 (16 August 1865) and Vol.365, p.209 (5 November 1868).
18. Letter, William C. Dinsmore, China, ME, to Thomas Dinsmore, 4 March 1866 (original in possession of Thomas Dinsmore, descendant).
19. *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Carmel, ME, p.14 (verso), dwelling 123, household 126 (Dinsmore); Palermo, ME, p.42 (verso), dwelling 338, household 340 (Connor). Jesse Connor was a significant citizen and businessman in Pittsfield, Maine, with involvement in many key business ventures. See Sanger Mills Cook, *Pittsfield On The Sebasticook* (Bangor, ME: Furbush-Roberts Printing Co., Inc., 1966), pp.23-24, 38, 41.
20. *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Pittsfield, ME, p.12 (verso), dwelling 103, household 117 (Connor); all of the other occupations listed are found on pp.9-13.
21. Mills Cook, *Pittsfield On The Sebasticook*, p.24 (temper). “Merchants of patent medicine” was listed over multiple years in *The Maine Register* (1873), pp.424-425; (1874), p.429; (1875), p.446; (1876), p.457.
22. E. P. Robinson, “Historical Sketch of Saugus,” *The Bay State Monthly* (Boston, MA: John N. McClintock and Co., December 1884).
23. Library of Congress Copyright No.5513, dated 25 April 1874. Embossed bottle (collection of the author). The orthography of the printed bottle label was not identical to the handwritten copyright registration. Where the latter listed “Hoarhound and Anise Seed,” the bottle label read, “Horehound and Anise-Seed.”
24. In 1998 several cases containing over 500 of these bottles were found in the cellar of a stable attached to a house in Pittsfield – all in mint, unused condition, still packed in straw. Many of the bottles had sharp edges, prickers, and fins from the glass-making molds. Most of the aqua, hinge-molded bottles suffered from weak embossing. Information shared by the private homeowner in 1999.
25. Charles H. Harris counterfeited the Dinsmore product with his own *Old Dr. Churchill’s English Tonic Bitters* and later, in Saugus, Dinsmore produced *Mrs. Dinsmore’s English Tonic Bitters*. Unlike the balsam product, however, Dinsmore did not seek trademark protection for the bitters product.

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26. *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Newry, ME, p.1 (recto), dwelling 4, household 4, lists Harris's real estate value at \$3,500 and personal estate at \$300.
27. At the outset of Harris's involvement, *The Oxford Democrat*, a Paris, Maine, newspaper, drew the attention of their readers to an ad for *Mrs. Dinsmore's Great English Cough Balsam* and another for *Sharp's English Tonic Bitters*. In terminology that indicating familiarity and support of Harris in his new enterprise, the editor's puff read in part, "Mr. Charles Harris of Bethel is one of the proprietors of these remedies. We have no doubt that their introduction will be rapidly pushed ... under his management." Both ads list the partnership as "Connor, Dinsmore & Harris, Proprietors, Lynn, Mass." (Note that Paris, Maine, is 22 miles from Bethel, Maine.) These ads show that Connor was still involved in the partnership in March 1877, but the *Maine State Year-Book* (Portland, ME: 1872-1878) ceased to list the partnership of Connor and Dinsmore in its 1877-78 issue, after showing its existence from 1872 through March 1877. See *The Oxford Democrat* (Paris, Maine), 13 March 1877. Both Harris products were later promoted on an undated handbill exclusively as the products of "Harris & Co.," of Bethel, Maine, the "Manufacturers and Proprietors." In the handbill, *Mrs. Dinsmore's Great English Cough Balsam*, had been renamed *Mrs. Harris's Great English Cough Balsam* and *Sharp's English Tonic Bitters* had been renamed *Old Dr. Churchill's English Tonic Bitters*. (Handbill in the collection of the Kit Barry Ephemera Archive of American Studies, Brattleboro, VT).
28. *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Meredith, NH, p.20 (verso), dwelling 216, household 255 (Dinsmore). The family's location in Meredith reflected only where they were at the time the census was taken, possibly on vacation or trying to provide some remedial country air and atmosphere for Hannah who died a little more than a year later; however, they lived before and after that date in Saugus.
29. Bottle (collection of the author). The bottle label reads, "MRS. / DINSMORE'S / ENGLISH TONIC / BITTERS / A SURE CURE FOR / DYSPEPSIA, / INDIGESTION, Diseases of the / LIVER AND KIDNEYS / Bowel Complaints / And General Debility / Unsurpassed in giving strength and tone to the system, and are peculiarly suited to females. . . . A. M. DINSMORE & CO. / Manufacturers & Proprietors / Saugus, Mass."
30. *Biographical Review, Containing Life Sketches of Leading Citizens of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1898), Vol.28, p.525.
31. Obituary, *The Lynn Reporter*, 22 April 1881, reported Hannah's cause of death as Bright's Disease; Obituary, *Lynn City Item*, 23 April 1881, indicated she died of heart disease. Oddly, the Saugus Death Records register does not list the cause of death.
32. The most extensive obituary of Hannah Dinsmore appeared in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 22 April 1881. It indicates that she "was laid to rest in the cemetery at Saugus," but there is no record of her burial at Saugus's Riverside Cemetery, even for the pauper's section.
33. Notice, "Dissolution of Copartnership," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1881, announced the dissolution of the partnership between Alfred M. Dinsmore and Lemuel M. Brock, then went on to explain, "The business of manufacturing Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam will be carried on by L. M. Brock & Co."
34. Alfred tried to distinguish his version as the true preparation by a combination of naming it after the originator, Sharp, and then packaging it in a distinctive twelve-sided bottle with a bilingual label. It stretched across eleven of the sides, with *Sharp's Balsam of Horehound and Anise-Seed* over one half and a French version, *Baume de Sharp Ou Marube et Graine D'Anis* over the rest, and warned consumers in two languages, "Each bottle of the GENUINE Balsam, originally prepared by the late Dr. J. G. Sharp, has this label, all others are spurious." As an exclamation point, the one exposed glass panel was even embossed SHARPS BALSAM. This emphasis seems to have been done with good reason – there was another company in New Brunswick in the late 1880s (with an additional outlet in Montreal), advertising Sharp's Balsam especially heavily in 1887 – the Sharp's Balsam Manufacturing Company in New Brunswick, Canada.
- The label on the Dinsmore product listed the partnership of Connor & Dinsmore, Proprietors. Bottle (collection of the author). Alfred had reigned the partnership with his brother-in-law, most likely out of the continuing need for cash infusions but once again the partnership did not last long for a second time, and his proprietorship became listed as A. M. Dinsmore & Co., Proprietors, in Calais, Maine on a trade card. The card lists three medicines in his product line-up: Dr. Sharp's English Tonic Bitters and Sharp's Balsam, using the same slogan that Brock was using on the Dinsmore Balsam: "Cures Croup in One Minute, Cough in One Day." It also listed a liniment called *Dr. Sharp's Alpine Liniment*, which did not have a precedent while he was in Lynn, although after his departure, Brock also added a liniment he called *Curine*. Dinsmore's Calais trade card lacked the quality and impressive that Brock was able to afford; it reflected Alfred's last gasp in the medicine business. The Calais trade card image can be seen at:
<https://www.peachridgeglass.com/2019/09/daily-dose-september-2019>
35. Death Records, City of Calais, Maine, p.28, 31 August 1894, listed Alfred M. Dinsmore as dying at 74 years old of general debility. Alfred was buried in the pauper's section of Calais Cemetery, Block 25, Lot 4. See Calais Cemetery Records of Internment, Book D, 1879-1905, p.61

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36. Brock took out a half-page advertisement in Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* on 16 and 23 November 1881; each ad displayed four impressions of Mrs. Dinsmore's new and improved image.
37. "Facts for the Public," advertising brochure for Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam, about 1881. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
38. Prototype tin (collection of the author). The shape of the cough drops was as described by Virginia Jones, a great-granddaughter of Lemuel M. Brock in an 18 October 1992 letter to Andrew V. Rapoza. (Images of the prototype tin and the production tin that was developed from it are found in Appendix E.)
39. Article, "Hotel Changes Hands," *Lynn City Item*, 4 June 1881.
40. Puff, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 November 1881. For the production of medicines, the term "laboratory" was used at the time to describe where medicines were manufactured; it had the equivalent meaning to what a manufactory was for shoes.
41. In the summer of 1889 Brock moved his Dinsmore goods from the Lynn Hotel to a new location on Market Square. (The part of the Lynn Hotel vacated by L. M. Brock's enterprise was going to be entirely renovated and furnished with plate glass fronts, apparently to prepare its use as a store or business front. Interestingly, another business at the hotel left there at the same time as Brock; it was bottler Jacob Koch – perhaps he was the bottler for Brock's medicines in the early years?) Feature column, "West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 July 1889. By the next year Brock had relocated his business from Market Square to what would be his permanent laboratory building at Breeds Square; see *The Lynn Directory, 1890* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1890), Vol.25, p.97. The building on Breed's Square was painted yellow with red trim; see feature column "West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 July 1889.
42. The headache pills and *Curine* were promoted on the packaging for the cough balsam. Box (collection of the author). Lynn residents' testimonials for the benefits of *Curine* in the cure of neuralgia and rheumatism in Advertisements, *The Lynn Transcript*, 20 April 1883, 10 August 1882.
43. 1885 sales as noted on an advertising trade card shaped like a piece of hard tack (collection of the author).
44. Author's note: I bought my first home in Lynn many years ago. Although I had no idea at that time, my house was one of those in Lynn's Brockville neighborhood, built by Lemuel Brock with money he gained by successfully selling *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam*. He sold it to Anne Hurd for \$350 in 1889 – one house for the price of 1,400 bottles of his balsam – no wonder real estate seemed like a good investment. Hurd? Don't even get me started!
45. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 21 April 1882.
46. J. A. McArthur, M.D., *Consumption and Tuberculosis. Notes on Their Treatment by the Hypophosphites* Second Edition (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1880), p.34. This booklet contained testimonials for McArthur's products by physicians from all over the U.S.; later booklets were similarly replete testimonials of support from the medical fraternity.
47. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 June 1880.
48. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1882 (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original).
49. Article or Puff, *The Lynn Record*, 16 September 1881.
50. Letter, F. G. Scott, Lombard, IL, to Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, 30 March 1880, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 160, Folder 3142 (emphasis in original).
51. Mrs. Dinsmore advertising trade cards (collection of the author; many are pictured in Appendix E).
52. Booklet, "Proven Facts of the 19th Century," ca. 1886-1889. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) The booklet includes promotional information for Brock's complete product line during the late 1880s: *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam*, *Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle, and Pimple Eradicator*, *Mrs. Dinsmore's Headache and Liver Pills*, and *Devine's Hair Grower*; L. M. Brock & Co., were listed as General Agents for Devine's.
53. The *Lynn City Item* reported Hatfield Soule's vanishing and followed up with several updates about his continued disappearance and Charlotte's Soule's desperation; see Articles, "Mysteriously Missing," 1 February 1879; "The Missing Lynn Man," 15 February 1879; "Not Heard From," 5 April 1879; and "Personal," 7 June 1879. Charlotte Soule was listed in *The Holiday Greeting* of December 1881 as the "successor to H. N. Soule." Hatfield Soule continued to be listed with residence at various Lynn addresses in 1880, 1883-84, 1885, and 1886, with the 1883-84 and 1885 directories listing him as the proprietor of "Soule's moth eradicator," but while he had apparently returned to Lynn, his occupation may have been just a device for legal protection for his wife's assets. In 1886 he was listed without any occupation. The 1887 directory stated that on 9 March 1887 he died of cerebral disease, probably a Victorian euphemism for death from mental illness and he may have suffered from it for years and accounted for his confusing disappearance in the Midwest. See the *Lynn Directory for 1883-4* (Boston: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1883), p.418, 1886, p.461, and 1887, p.462.

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54. Advertising sheet, *The 1881-82 Holiday Greeting*, Lynn, Mass., December 1881, Vol.1, No. 1. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
55. Advertisements, *Lynn City Item*, 2 July 1881 (Healy); *The Lynn Reporter*, 22 September 1882 (Van Buren).
56. Advertisements, *Lynn City Item*, 28 May 1881; *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881, 3 June 1881, 3 February 1882, 24 February 1882.
57. John J. Callahan was listed in the Lynn directories of 1883-4 and 1885 as a shoemaker living at 44 Union Street, even though he was advertising his Alaska brand of medicines as early as December 1882 and extensively through 1883-1885. See ad, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1882. He changed his occupation to patent medicines in the *The Lynn Directory, 1886* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1886), p.101, but then had retreated back to shoemaking by 1891 (p116). There was also a brief reappearance of the Alaska Oil advertising in the first half of 1900, but then that, too, disappeared.
58. There is no evidence, however, that Callahan registered the illustration as a trademark and later, other companies used the same design to emphasize their cold weather-related products, like a fur company and an ice cream manufacturer.
59. Advertising trade card for *Digestine*, Lynn, Mass., about 1884 (collection of the author).
60. Advertising trade card for the trade card business of F. W. Gardiner (collection of the author). Gardiner also advertised directly to card collectors that he would send 45 different designs of "Chromo Picture Cards" as trade cards were often called, for 15 cents in stamps. See Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 12 February 1881.
61. Advertising trade cards for the medicines of George B. Thurston, Lynn, Mass., about 1885-1895 (collection of the author).
62. Advertising trade card for the medicines of the L. M. Brock Co., Lynn, Mass., about 1885-1895 (collection of the author).
63. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 12 March 1881.
64. Article, "Mania for Cards," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1880.
65. Article, "The Card Craze," *Daily Evening item*, 8 December 1880.
66. Article, "Card Crazed Criminal," *Daily Evening item*, 9 February 1881.
67. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1881.
68. Puff, "Advertising Cards," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1881.
69. Article, "TRADE AT HOME. Great Inducements Offered By Lynn Stores," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1881.
70. A year of he opened his trade card store, Barry was selling shoe supplies on 185 Union Street, eight doors down from where his trade card store had been. See *The Lynn Directory, 1882* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1882), p.53. He died of consumption at 32 years, 8 months, 28 days; see Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 28 April 1876, No.229; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
71. Postcard, The Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., to F. W. Freeman, Newton Lower Falls, Mass., dated 11 August 1887 (postmarked 4 October 1867); (collection of the author).
72. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1881 (Moody) and 1 March 1881 (French).
73. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 March 1881 (Ira P. Jefts, George W. Jefts).
74. Items in feature column, "City and Town," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 April 1881 (Toppan, Leonard).
75. Postcard, The Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., to F. W. Freeman, Newton Lower Falls, Mass., dated 11 August 1887 (postmarked 4 October 1867); (collection of the author).
76. Advertising trade cards, Alaska Compound Company polar bear: prototype black and white version (about 1882) and full-color version (about 1883) (collection of the author).
77. Notice, "Lynn, September 1880," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 3087.
78. Letter, John V. Craven, Salem Glass Works, Salem, NJ, to C. (Charles) H. Pinkham, Lynn, MA, 25 February 1882, LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 3087. It seems that Craven was genuinely shaken by the mistake with the Pinkham order; his hypothetical made no sense, given the error his company had made. If the Pinkhams had put the vegetable compound in the blood purifier bottles, customers would possibly have imbibed the vegetable compound that they thought was blood purifier; accidentally taking the blood purifier when they should have been taking vegetable compound was not even a possibility given the nature of the glass company's mistake. There is no record of how the situation was rectified by the Pinkhams.
79. "Book of Ailments," LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.537, p.23: entry dated 19 December (1879).
80. Obituary, "Death of D. R. Pinkham," *Lynn City Item*, 15 October 1881. See also Obituary, "Death of Daniel R. Pinkham," *The Lynn Reporter*, 14 October 1881.

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81. Item, "Funeral," in feature column, "Glenmere," *Lynn City Item*, 22 October 1881.
82. Obituary by W.H.G. [William Henry Gove, close personal friend of William Pinkham; he married Will's sister, Aroline, in 1882], "In Memoriam. William Henry Pinkham." *The Lynn Bee*, 24 December 1881.
83. Article, "The Late W. H. Pinkham," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1881.
84. Item in feature column, "Glenmere. Village Gossip," *Lynn City Item*, 24 December 1881.
85. Letter, Lydia E. Pinkham, Lynn, Mass., to unidentified customer, 2 December 1881; LEPMCSL, MC181, General Correspondence, Box 167, Folder 3115.
86. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising* (Lynn: Lydia E. Pinkham Company, 1953), Vol.1, 1875-1953, p.20.
87. Article, "Pinkham's Laboratory," *Lynn City Item*, 23 April 1881 (Wyoma); Item in feature column, "Wax Threads," *Lynn City Item*, 24 December 1881 (Weeks & Potter).
88. Item in feature column, "Glenmere. Village Gossip," *Lynn City Item*, 8 October 1881.
89. Item in feature column, "Wax Threads," *Lynn City Item*, 22 October 1881.
90. Expense Book, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.73, lists the advertising expenses by year from 1881-1891; Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, pp.39 and 52 list advertising as a percent of sales for 1881-1890.
91. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences* (Lynn, MA: self-published, 1954), p.8; see also Item in feature column, "Glenmere Gossip," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1882.
92. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.34.
93. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.34.
94. Expense Book, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.73; Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.39.
95. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.20; see also Chapter 5, H. P. Hubbard, pp.34-41.
96. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.46.
97. Item in feature column, "Wyoma. Around the Village," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1883.
98. Item in feature column, "Glenmere. Gossip," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 April 1883.
99. Return of a Death (Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, 17 May 1883) in Death Returns 1881-1884 microfilm #004278997 and Physician's Certificate, in Death – Physician Returns 1883-1884 microfilm #004278995, both in *Vital Records, 1684-1900* for Lynn, Massachusetts (Family History Library, Salt Lake City, UT).
100. Through mid-1880, beyond the labors of the immediate family, the hired hands at Lydia E. Pinkham & Sons consisted of three men but no females (Federal Census of 1880: Special Non-Population Schedule 3: Manufacturing [1 June 1879 – 31 May 1880], Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts, p.3, line 9). Three years later, Lydia's obituary mentioned that "the lady clerk in her employ" had placed a bouquet on her casket (obituary, "Obsequies. The Funeral of Mrs. Lydia Pinkham, on Saturday Last," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 May 1883). Under the remaining two decades of Charles' regime as company president, the female employees in the correspondence department dramatically increased to keep pace with the surge of incoming mail.
101. Lydia Pinkham, Will, *Essex County, Massachusetts, Probate Records and Indexes 1638-1916*, Massachusetts Probate Court (Essex County), Vol.439 (1883-1884), p.101.
102. Return of a Death (Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham, 17 May 1883), microfilm #004278997 and Physician's Certificate, microfilm #004278995, both in *Vital Records, 1684-1900* for Lynn, Massachusetts (Family History Library, Salt Lake City, UT). Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA- LYDIA PINKHAM DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 May 1883, also confirmed that "her vitality was so wasted" from the stroke, "she did not wholly recover from its effects."
103. Article, "Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham's Funeral," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 May 1883. In gravestone art, a harp with a broken string traditionally represented a life cut short.
104. Squizzle, no title, *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald* (St. Joseph, MO), 26 May 1883.
105. Squizzle, no title, *The Lyons Republican* (Lyons, KS), 7 June 1883.
106. Article, no title, *Helena Weekly Herald* (Helena, MT), 24 May 1883.
107. Item, no title, *The Richmond Item* (Richmond, IN), 23 May 1883.
108. Item, no title, *The Biblical Recorder* (Raleigh, NC), 30 May 1883
109. Squizzle, no title, *The Frankfort Roundabout* (Frankfort, KY), 2 January 1883.
110. Item, no title, *Ellsworth Reporter* (Ellsworth, KS), 31 May 1883.
111. Item, no title, *The Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), 5 June 1883.
112. Item, no title, *Valley Spirit* (Chambersburg, PA), 23 May 1883.
113. Article, "The Lamented Lydia," *Princeton Clarion-Leader* (Princeton, Indiana), 24 May 1883.

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114. Letter, Nathaniel [Rev. Nathaniel Merrill], North Wilbraham, MA, to Isaac [Pinkham], 18 May 1883; LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 157, Family Records. Merrill was married to Georgianna Pinkham, sister of Isaac. They lived in North Wilbraham, MA. Isaac and Lydia had gone to visit the Merrills (Isaac's sister, Georgianna, and her husband, the Reverend Merrill) the previous summer, returning in August. See Item in feature column, "Personal," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 August 1882.
115. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.7.
116. Lydia Pinkham, Will, *Essex County, Massachusetts, Probate Records and Indexes 1638-1916*, Massachusetts Probate Court (Essex County), Vol.439 (1883-1884), pp.100-103.
117. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.7.
118. Item in feature column, "Banner Correspondence," *Banner of Light*, 6 October 1883, p.3.
119. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.52.
120. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, pp.46 57 (South America), 59 (monitored).
121. Item in feature column, "Glenmere. Miscellaneous," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 September 1883.
122. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.52.
123. The title and detailed descriptive caption of the Lydia E. Pinkham Brooklyn Bridge Card was identical to the Currier and Ives 1881 chromolithograph; the trade card was drawn with slightly simplified boat traffic and other details, but was clearly based on the lithograph. The Brooklyn Bridge was not completed until 1883, so the Currier and Ives effort was in advance of completion and the Pinkham's trade card was as well, being produced at least by 1882, according to Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.47; however, this company narrative sometimes blends family legend with fact, including some regarding the naissance of this trade card. On page 15 it describes how "time and time again he [Dan] would sit staring at the Brooklyn Bridge," but at best, he could only have been watching its construction. Dan died in October 1879 and prior to that he would have only been able to view the two towers and a cobweb of wires and workers traversing them working on the construction; crossbeams, trusses, and roadway had not been installed. The story further states he ran to the post office and wrote to his Will about his idea, but there was no such reference to the bridge in his correspondence to his brother.
124. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ONLY SOUR BEER. Frauds Practiced on Patent Medicine People. The Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. Stop it. Details of an Interesting Case," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1883. The Swindler was Walter F. McCrea of Chicago.
125. Item in feature column, "VARIETY," *Greensboro North State* (Greensboro, NC), 20 December 1883.
126. Letter, C. A. Rich, Boston, MA, to The Lydia Pinkham Co., Lynn, MA, manuscript, 12 June 1884 (collection of the Lynn Museum and located in the Phillips Library: Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company Records, call number Lynn MAN 4, box 1, folder 3). The telegraph response was written in at the bottom of the letter.
127. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.54.
128. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, pp.9-10.
129. Expense Book, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.73; Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, pp.39,52.
130. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.57.
131. Expense Book, LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.73; Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.52.
132. The building still exists with the year of its construction above the roofline. The building has a fourth level when including the full basement.
133. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.67.
134. Advertisement, *Fall River Daily Evening News* (Fall River, MA), 7 February 1890.
135. *Fifteenth Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston, MA: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1884), p.xii.
136. *Fifteenth Exhibition of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association*, pp.156-160; the Lougee company was listed on p.159.
137. Pamphlet, "Dr. R. W. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound." (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
138. Occupations other than physician for Robert W. Lougee included shoemaker, real estate, and nurseryman. See *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850: Weymouth, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, p.292 (recto), dwelling 911, (Robert W. Lougee: Shoe Maker); *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870: Weymouth, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, p.106 (verso), dwelling 800, (R. W. Lougee: Nursery); *Greenough's Cambridge Directory for 1882* (Boston, MA: W. A. Greenough & Co., 1882), No.31, p.169 (real estate). At his 1891 death at 77 years old in Somerville, MA, he was again listed as a nurseryman. See Deaths Registered in the City of Somerville, p.333, line 292; New England Historic

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- Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com. His repeated involvement in the nursery business suggests his comfort level with plants.
139. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.69.
 140. Formula Book in LEPMCSL, MC181, Manufacturing Records, Box 132, Vol.536.
 141. Pamphlet, "Dr. R. W. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound." (Collection of the author: Rapoza.); emphasis is added on the amount of other medicines consumed; emphasis of the product name, *Vitalizing Compound*, is as in the original.
 142. Labeled example of the bottle (collection of the author).
 143. Pamphlet, "Dr. R. W. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound" (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
 144. Letter, Charles F. Abbott, Ossipee Centre, NH, to R. W. Lougee, 1 November 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 145. Letter, M. P. Douglas, Claremont, NH, to the Lougee Medicine Co., 15 November 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 146. Letter, Geo. B. Whittredge, Concord, NH, to Dr. Lougee, 21 March 1888, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 147. Letter, North J. Sanborn, Newmarket, NH, to Dr. Lougee, 9 April 1888, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 148. Letter, A. C. Ward, Claremont, NH, to "Doctor" (Dr. Lougee), 7 Dec 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 149. Dr. Robert W. Lougee's parenthetical notations were written in at the bottom of Letter, A. C. Ward, Claremont, NH, to "Doctor" (Dr. Lougee), 7 Dec 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records (emphasis in original).
 150. See the assorted correspondence in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records. For reference to advertising on the fence at the Medford Base Ball Grounds, see Letter, R. J. Dwyer, 42 Court St. Boston, to the Lougee Medicine Co., 7 June 1888.
 151. Letter, [Charles W.] Frary, Bradford, NH, to Lougee Medicine Co., 30 September 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 152. Letter, [Charles W.] Frary, Newport, NH, to The Lougee Medicine Co., 5 October 1887, in LEPMCSL, MC181, Vol.327, Lougee Medicine Company records.
 153. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.69.
 154. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.69 (advertising); Expense Book, LEPMCSL, MC181, Box 202, Vol.72 lists over \$600, largely in \$12 weekly payments to Lougee for his labor, plus loan repayments to Jacob Welch, including one of \$500 (\$13,622 in 2020 USD). There is no corresponding record, however of the amount of loans Welch made to the company; this expense book lists payments made to Welch, but not whether his loans to the company were completely repaid.
 155. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.69 (formulas, stock). For Welch's death date and cause of death, see Article, "Jacob Welch Cuts His Throat," *Boston Post*, 20 September 1888.
 156. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, p.70.
 157. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising*, Vol.1, pp.63-64.
 158. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences*, p.7. Along with the many pieces of unfounded gossip about the finally famous Pinkhams was the observation of a Lynn newspaper in September 1883 that he had named his new baby girl, Lydia. Cute, but not correct; her name was Lucy. See Item in feature column, "Personal," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 June 1883. There was also a mention in 1884 that a granite statue was being erected to the memory of Lydia E. Pinkham. (See Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 November 1884.) Author's note: I have not become aware of a statue of Lydia; only a plaster bust residing in the Pinkham collection at the Schlesinger Library.
 159. Article, "Gone But Not Forgotten," *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), 21 May 1883.
 160. Letter to the Editor, "Scenes in the House – Position of Parties," *New York Daily Herald*, 18 December 1839 (Washington); Article, "Another Scare," *The Sacramento Bee* (Sacramento, CA), 6 January 1873 (San Francisco); editorial, no title, "The News (Newport, PA), 29 June 1877 (Brooklyn); Item in feature column, "State Giblets," *Chase County Courant* (Cottonwood Falls, KS), 6 April 1877 (Wichita); Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "Arab."), Dec. 1, 1877, "Letter from Harrisburg," *The York Daily* (York, PA), 4 December 1877 (Harrisburg, PA); Article, "About This and That," *The Daily Evening Express* (Lancaster, PA), 25 April 1870.
 161. Article, "George Francis Train on the Great Disaster," *Public Ledger* (Memphis, TN), 20 October 1871.

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162. *Annual Report of the Police Department of the City of Lowell for the year 1883* (Lowell, MA, Campbell & Hanscom, 1884), p.8.
163. Article, no title, *The Lynn Record*, 15 April 1881.
164. Squib, *The Inter Ocean* (Chicago, IL), 8 August 1874.
165. Article, "Food and Drink," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 November 1880 (emphasis added).
166. *Second Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1882 (Lynn: John MacFarlane & Co., 1883), p.6.
167. Letter to the Editor (by V.), "A Sad Spectacle," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1882.
168. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "Nildesperandum"; Latin for "Never Despair"), "Never Despair," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 February 1883.
169. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), p.331 (Inebriates); *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1886 (Lynn: Woodbury S. Prentiss, 1887), p.10, listed the number of arrests for drunkenness for 1883 and 1884.
170. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1891 (Lynn: Whitten & Cass, 1891), p.8.
171. Article, "Treatment of Prisoners," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 September 1881. See also other Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*: "LYNN'S LOCK-UP," 30 August 1881; no title, 30 August 1881.
172. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1881.
173. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... GUARDIANS OF PEACE," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 January 1888.
174. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... FORTY-FIVE LICENSES," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 April 1889.
175. Item in feature column, "Police Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 April 1889.
176. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, p.250, 10 July 1884, No.365; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
177. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 October 1884.
178. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, p.301, 22 February 1889, No.133; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
179. Article, "Just in Time ... Serious Illness of Charles P. Berry – A Double Dose of Opiates Nearly Proves Fatal," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 October 1884. It's not clear why the article's author thought rum and morphine constituted a double dose of opiate.
180. Article, "OVERDOSE OF MORPHINE," *Lynn City Item*, 3 September 1881; see also Article, "Overdose of Morphine, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 August 1881.
181. Article, "ANOTHER OVER-DOSE CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 May 1886 (batteries); Article, "Mrs. Long Recovered," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 May 1886 (teaspoonfuls).
182. Article, "Sudden Death," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1886 (emphasis added).
183. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 7 January 1885, No.9; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com. An inquest does not appear to have been conducted.
184. Margaret ("Maggie") Harris and LaForest Williams were married on 6 April 1876; she was listed as eighteen years old. Marriages Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 30 June 1896, No.343; Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011; Article, "ATTEMPTED SUICIDE," *Lynn City Item*, 10 January 1880 (bedbug).
185. Paris Green was also used as a and as a green pigment for many applications, notably in wallpaper, clothing. Article, "TIRED OF LIFE," *Lynn City Item*, 20 November 1880.
186. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TIRED OF LIFE," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 April 1882.
187. Article, "ATTEMPTED SUICIDE," *The Lynn Record*, 30 November 1883 (money, home, father, wife); Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ATTEMPTED SUICIDE," 26 November 1883 (tired).
188. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ATTEMPTED SUICIDE," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 November 1883.
189. Article, "DEATH BY POISON," *Lynn City Item*, 14 May 1881.
190. Article, "A DETERMINE SUICIDE," *The Lynn Record*, 3 August 1883.
191. Article, "ATTEMPTED SUICIDE," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1880.

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192. Article, "Probable Suicide. A Discouraged Man Dies of a Dose of Morphine," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 May 1885.
193. Article, "Probable Suicide. A Discouraged Man Dies of a Dose of Morphine," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 May 1885.
194. Article, "Probable Suicide. A Discouraged Man Dies of a Dose of Morphine," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 May 1885.
195. Article, "Bloody Assault and Robbery," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880.
196. Article, "Bloody Assault and Robbery," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880. The article's description of Baker's body also mentioned his pocket watch and chain being taken, as evidenced by a part of the chain that was still connected to his vest.
197. Article, "Bloody Assault and Robbery," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880.
198. Article, "The Assault on Baker," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880.
199. Article, "The Assault on Baker," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880.
200. Walter A. Baker was still listed as a tinsmith living at 224 Essex Street when the census for that neighborhood was taken on 8 June 1880 and he is found listed as a tinsmith in Lynn for years later; see *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.21, dwelling 106, household 59.
201. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn, 1880-1889*. Total arrests for drunkenness for these years was 10,012 and for assaults (all types described) 1,772.
202. Article, "STABBED IN THE NECK," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 January 1880 (emphasis added).
203. Article, "THE RAGPICKER'S RACKET," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1880.
204. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... MURDER," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 January 1887.
205. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Young Girls in Trouble," 30 July 1881, and "The Assault Case," 1 August 1881; item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1881.
206. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "Resident"), "Hoodlums on the Common," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 June 1885.
207. Article, "A SERIOUS ROW. Brickyard Roughs Assault Police Officers." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 September 1881.
208. Article, "Brickyard Row," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 November 1883.
209. Article, "FELONIOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 June 1888.
210. *Report of the Superintendent of Schools*, located in *Report of the School Committee of the City of Lynn, 1880, 1886-1889*. Truancies ranged from 788-856 for each of the years tabulated. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn, 1880-1889*. Total arrests of minors for the decade was 2,035, which is the equivalent of 12% of the 16,604 arrests for those years.
211. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... SUNDAY DISTURBANCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 February 1882. The racist-inspired harassment by the boys mirrored the attitudes they heard in their homes or neighborhoods; an 1887 article in the *Daily Evening Item* stated that the laboring class of Lynn were patronizing and encouraging the Chinese laundries despite the fact that "personally, and through their organizations, they decry the presence of the Chinaman, debar him from landing on these shores," and repeated old chestnuts like, "The Chinese must go." The article continued that in 1882 there was a total of only two or three American and Chinese laundries operating in Lynn, but by 1887 there were fourteen, of which seven were Chinese laundries employing thirty-nine Chinese laundry workers. "Thus it will be seen Lynn is coming to be looked upon as a Chinamen's paradise." Article, "THE CHINESE LAUNDRYMEN. An Increase In the Mongolian Population in Lynn – Their American Brethren Somewhat Disturbed – Some Plain Statements of Facts," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1887.
212. Article, "Bad Boys," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 July 1883.
213. Article, "More Stone Throwing," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 November 1883.
214. Article, "Juvenile Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 February 1882.
215. Article, "CRIMINAL EPIDEMIC," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1882.
216. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1882. For another item of peddling without a license, see under the same column on 22 June 1882.
217. Article, "Look Out for Him," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1882.
218. Article, "Look Out!" *Daily Evening Item*, 13 December 1881.
219. Article, "FELONIOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 May 1882.

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220. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1885 (Lynn: Woodbury S. Prentiss, 1886), p.10. Total number of tramps provided with lodgings was 5,453 in 1885 and 5,363 in 1886.
221. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1885, p.11.
222. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1886, p.11.
223. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1888, p. 13. In this report the police station is described to comprise six cells for men, designed to accommodate two per cell, and three cells for women that hold one woman each.
224. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1887 (Lynn: Woodbury S. Prentiss, 1888), p.10 (movement). See *Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor of the City of Lynn*, 1888 (Lynn: John F. McCarty & Bro., 1889), p.6 (abandoned). The short-lived lodge for wayfarers was located at 16 Barker's Court.
225. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TOBIN TAKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1883.
226. Article, "A Case of Vagrancy." *Daily Evening Item*, DEI, 1 April 1879 (1876); Article, "An Old Offender," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1882 (1879).
227. Article, "An Old Offender," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1882 (breaking). Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TOBIN TAKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1883 (Lawrence).
228. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TOBIN TAKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1883.
229. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT. A Defenceless Woman Attacked by a Tramp," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883.
230. *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.25, dwelling 222, household 295 (spinal). Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT. A Defenceless Woman Attacked by a Tramp," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883 (struggled).
231. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TOBIN TAKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1883.
232. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883.
233. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883.
234. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883.
235. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... OUTRAGEOUS ASSAULT," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1883.
236. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TOBIN IDENTIFIED," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1883 (nervous, unmoved). Annie's convulsions were mentioned in article, "THE LYNN ASSAULT CASE. Patrick Tobin Identified by Miss White as Her Assailant," *The Boston Globe*, 24 May 1883.
237. Article, "TOBIN HELD FOR TRIAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 June 1883. In the late nineteenth century there were many Irish immigrants and American-born children of Irish descent named Patrick Tobin and therefore it is difficult to pinpoint the rest of the subject Patrick Tobin's life subsequent to the start of his trial for the assault of Annie L. White. It should be noted, however, that a slightly intoxicated Patrick Tobin was arrested for selling liquor on Sunday out of a milk can in an unoccupied stable on Wave Street, Lynn. See article, "Sunday Liquor Selling" *Daily Evening Item*, 21 May 1888. There was also interesting and perhaps ironically coincidental coverage in one of the Lynn newspapers of a Patrick Tobin being shot, probably fatally, in Northampton, Massachusetts by an "Officer White," in 1889, after Tobin and a gang of roughs threw stones at the two officers who were trying to break up their "drunken carousal." See article, "NORTHAMPTON ROUGHS. They Assault Two Officers Who Tried to Arrest Them – One Rascal Will Die," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1889.
238. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1883 (emphasis added).
239. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... MURDERED," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 June 1886. According to this article, "Tramp's Paradise" was also known as the "Willows." Period maps show a small lane off of Seymour Ave by the name of Willow Court; now it is Seymour Court. Perhaps Willow Court was so name for being in the area of the "Willows" that was also "Tramp's Paradise." The Lynn death register shows the name of one adult male, named Peter Thompson, who died on 23 June 1886, but lists no cause of death, no occupation, and no record of place of birth or information about his parents. It's surprising they even found out his name. See Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 23 June 1886, No.392; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
240. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1880-1889. Total arrests for larceny for these years was 1,068.
241. Items in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1882 (turkey), 28 October 1882 (duck).
242. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Lynn City Item*, 1 November 1879.
243. Article, "Burglary," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1880.

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244. Article, "Stolen Dinners," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1883.
245. Article, "A Bad Man," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1884.
246. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 September 1883.
247. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 September 1883.
248. Article, "Clothes Line Robbed," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1880.
249. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1880-1889. Arrests for breaking and entering totaled 254 for the subject years.
250. Article, "BURGLARY IN GLENMERE," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 June 1882. Charles' spring coat was noticed missing a few days later and assumed to be taken during the robbery; see item in feature column, "GLENMERE. Village Notes," *Daily Evening item*, 15 June 1882.
251. Article, BURGLARIES IN LYNN." *Daily Evening Item*, 9 October 1882.
252. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST ... THE DEAD BURGLAR. The Remains Still Unidentified By Friends. Committed to the Grave at Pine Grove. Who He Was will Never be Known," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1888.
253. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1880-1889. Arrests for the three cited offenses were in 1886-1888 (oleomargarine), 1888-1889 (lobsters), railroad (1886).
254. Notice, "CITY OF LYNN. CAUTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 June 1881. Also see item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1885.
255. Article, "BIG INJUN. Play Cards Sunday – White man No Gamble – Ambulance Free Ride," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 July 1888. The article further explained that on Monday morning (the 16th) all of the card players were in court and, through an interpreter, all pleaded guilty to card playing and were let off upon the payment of costs, amounting to \$5.53 per defendant. The circus's agent paid the bill and the Indians were next seen in the street parade that day.
256. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THE GAMBLERS. Sunday Gathering of the Sports Disturbed. Injured by Jumping from the Windows," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 March 1883.
257. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THE GAMBLERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 March 1883.
258. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ANOTHER RAID. Marshal King Visits the Old Sagamore Building. The Proprietor and Three Other Men Arrested. Large Lot of Gamblers' Tools Captured," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1888.
259. Article, "A WILD WOMAN. ... Hotel Keeper Attacked With Pictures," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1881.
260. Article, "INDECENT LITERATURE," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 October 1887.
261. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 June 1882.
262. For instances of the city's brothel convictions, see items in feature column, "Police Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 July 1882, 2 October 1882, and 9 July 1883 and for prostitution, see item in feature column, "Police Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 March 1888.
263. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... FLAX POND HOTEL. Marshal King Scoops Inmates and Liquors. Sealskin Saeques and Silks in the Police Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 February 1888.
264. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... FLAX POND HOTEL," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 February 1888.
265. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 6 November 1880. Lyon's presence in Lynn dates from at least 1874-1881.
266. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1883.
267. Feature columns titled "Divorces Granted," were run in *The Lynn Record* and the *Daily Evening Item*.
268. Article, "Divorces Granted," *The Lynn Record*, 29 April 1881 (Lord) and Articles, Divorces Granted," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 (Flood) and 29 (Ramsdell) April 1881.
269. Articles, "EDGERLY VS. EDGERLY," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 May 1881, and "Matrimonial Infelicity. Lynn Parties Unhappily Joined Together are Separated by Order of the Court," *Lynn City Item*, 14 May 1881.
270. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "THE SOCIAL SENSATION. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE HUMILIATING TALE. ... A Prospective Suit for Divorce," 7 June 1878 (attractive), and "CONNUBIAL CONTENTIONS. Startling Result of a Visit to Barnum's – A Young Wife Locked Out by her Irate Husband – Prospective Work for the Lawyers," 5 June 1878 (High School). Both articles reference her visit to the circus.
271. Article, "EDGERLY VS. EDGERLY," *Daily Evening Item* 12 May 1881.
272. Article, "THE EDGERLY SCANDAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 June 1878.
273. Article, "EDGERLY VS. EDGERLY. The End of the Noted Case – Divorce Granted to the Husband," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 May 1881.

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274. Article, "THE LYNCH DIVORCE CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 May 1883.
275. Article, "Divorces Granted," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1884.
276. Article, "Divorces Granted," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 December 1887.
277. Article, "WEST LYNN SCANDAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 October 1889.
278. Article, "BLETHEN VS. BLETHEN. Another of Lynn's Celebrated Divorce Cases at Salem – The Decision Reserved," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881.
279. Ages of the Blethens in 1875 are on the basis of their ages listed in *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, MA, p.74, dwelling 488, household 369, and Marriages of Stoneham, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, p.143, 2 November 1851, No.19; Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Marriage Records, 1840-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013. The age of Frances P. Shute is on the basis of her age listed in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.37, dwelling 255, household 369 (15 Summer St.). The Blethen's wealth in 1870 was listed as: \$10,000 real estate and \$10,000 personal estate (\$196,792 each in 2020 USD); they also had a housekeeper and domestic servant living with them. Note that Alonzo C. Blethen was living at the house of Abigail S. Shute, the mother of Fanny P. Shute; see 1880 census, p.65, dwelling 533, household 639 (1 Pleasant St.).
280. Article, "BLETHEN VS. BLETHEN," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881. Mary Shute likely was the only female dental assistant in Lynn, at least in 1875 when she started, and perhaps in the country, as Mrs. Blethen's attorney suggested. In response to my inquiry, The American Dental Assistant Association graciously offered its earliest reference to a dental assistant as being in 1885, where Dr. Edmund Kells, "a pioneering dentist operating from New Orleans, enlisted the help of his wife, Malvina Cueria to assist him during dental procedures." (See en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dental_assistant#the_first_dental_assistant.) in reply, I submitted the evidence of Fanny P. Shute as dental assistant to Dr. Alonzo C. Blethen in 1875.
281. Article, "BLETHEN VS. BLETHEN," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881.
282. Article, "BLETHEN VS. BLETHEN," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881.
283. Article, "BLETHEN VS. BLETHEN. Judge Endicott Finds the Doctor Guilty of Adultery, and Grants a Divorce and the Custody of the Children to the Wife," *Lynn Transcript*, 17 June 1881.
284. Marriages of Reading, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, p.247, 14 November 1889, No.36; Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Marriage Records, 1840-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013.
285. Article, "Wife Beater in Court," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1881.
286. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST ... VITRIOL THROWING," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 February 1889 (emphasis added)
287. Article "BRUTAL ASSAULT. Martin Brennan Beats His Wife With a Club And Threatens to Bury An Axe in Her Head," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1889.
288. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... A MEAN MAN," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 February 1882. In the article, the cast iron skillet was referred to as a "spider."
289. Article, "MURDEROUS ASSAULT. Outrageous Treatment By a Brutal Husband. Jealousy and Liquor Important Factors ...," *Daily Evening Item* 22 October 1889.
290. Article, "WIFE BEATER. He Abuses His Wife in a Shameful Manner and Gets Six Months in the House of Correction," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1881. The article identifies Catherine's husband as Eugene Dailey, but their marriage record lists him as James F. Dailey, 21, shoemaker in Lynn, married to Catherine Healey, also a resident in Lynn. See Marriages Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, p.219, 15 June 1878, No.139. The identities and ages of the Dailey's two daughters are based on Births Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, p.256, 7 July 1880, No.243 (Margaret May) and p.273, 2 November 1881, No.457 (Lizzie). Ancestry.com *Massachusetts, Birth Records, 1840-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013. The birth record of Margaret May lists her father as James Dailey but the birth record of Lizzie Dailey lists her father as Eugene Dailey, so perhaps he was known by both names.
291. Article, "WIFE BEATER. He Abuses His Wife in a Shameful Manner and Gets Six Months in the House of Correction," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1881.
292. Article, "WIFE BEATER. He Abuses His Wife in a Shameful Manner and Gets Six Months in the House of Correction," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1881.
293. Article, "Divorce Case," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1881. Cruelty could betoken physical, mental, emotional, or a combination of these, but there was no further description in the article of the type of cruelty exerted by William Hall upon his wife.
294. Notice, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 February 1881.

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295. Article, "A BAD FATHER. Patrick Galvin Goes Down for Two Months Because He will not Provide for His Family," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1882. The children's ages in 1882 are on the basis of their ages listed in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.21, dwelling 164, household 241 (24 Ezra St.).
296. Article, "BABY FARMING," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 October 1889. The two infants died ten days apart, on 11 and 21 September 1889.
297. J. G. Pinkham, M.D., Medical Examiner, "Some Remarks Upon Infanticide, with Report of a Case of Infanticide by Drowning," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1 November 1883), Vol.109, No.18, pp.411-413. See also, Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... CASE OF INFANTICIDE. Body of an Infant Found in a Privy. An inhuman Mother Murders Her Child. The Body Warm When Found by the Police," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1882.
298. J. G. Pinkham, M.D., "Some Remarks Upon Infanticide, with Report of a Case of Infanticide by Drowning," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1 November 1883), Vol.109, No.18, p.413.
299. J. G. Pinkham, M.D., "Some Remarks Upon Infanticide, with Report of a Case of Infanticide by Drowning," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1 November 1883), Vol.109, No.18, p.413.
300. Article, NOT WISELY, BUT TOO WELL. The Terrible Result of an Abortionist's Work – Criminal Malpractice Causes a Lynn Girl's Death – Arrest of the Physician and of the Girl's Lover," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 May 1881.
301. The *Massachusetts State Census for 1855*, Chicopee, MA, p.40, dwelling 238, household 282 (clergyman). In 1850 he was as a physician, living with his wife Hannah, in Augusta, Maine, so he apparently started off in medicine, switches to religion, and then back to medicine. (See *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1850*: Augusta, ME, p.50, dwelling 296, household 356.) He had practiced as a physician in at least Norway, South Paris, and Bethel, Maine, and Colebrook, New Hampshire, prior to returning to Lynn in 1881 (see Article, "Dr. Green Again," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1881).
302. Article, "A REVOLTING CRIME," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1881 (\$30); Article, "The Alleged Abortionist Held for Trial," *The Oxford Democrat*, 7 June 1881 (\$5,000). For the decision of the court, see article, "Inquests Held," *Lynn City Item*, 18 June 1881.
303. In 1850 they also had a year-old son named Albert H. Green who apparently did not live long; he was not listed in the 1855 Massachusetts census, although three other children did. (See *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1850*: Augusta, ME, p.50, dwelling 296, household 356.) They had six children living with them in Lynn in 1870, but only \$1,500 in personal property and apparently did not own the home in which they were living. (See *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, MA, p.74, dwelling 484, household 633.) Article, "Dr. Green Again," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1881 (debt); his petition to bankruptcy court for insolvency was thrown out by the judge because he was unable to pay the required deposit for such action. It was also reported that Green had been an agent for the Phoenix [Mutual] Life Insurance Company of Hartford, Connecticut, and "was continually in hot water with the company and the insured in regard to the financial affairs, etc." (see Article, "THE MALPRACTICE CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1881).
304. Hannah Green was listed with cancer of the womb in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Colebrook, NH, p.13, dwelling 102, household 118.
305. Article, "DR. GREEN SENTENCE. He Gets Two Years in the House of Correction – Davis Goes Free." *Lynn City Item*, 5 November 1881. No death record for Hannah has been found, but Benjamin F. Green was remarried to Lizzie Hankinson of Lynn on 8 September 1883 and was still listed as a physician. "The bride was attired in a costume of black velvet, en train, heavily embroidered and decorated with flowers with a floral coiffure." See Article, "Matrimonial," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 September 1883.
306. Article, MORE MALPRACTICE. Another Sewing-Machine Agent Implicated. A Young woman Dies Mysteriously," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 October 1881.
307. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THREE INQUESTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 January 1882.
308. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THREE INQUESTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 January 1882.
309. Article, "THE McAULIFFE CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 January 1882 (too sick); article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THREE INQUESTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 January 1882 (table).
310. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THREE INQUESTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 January 1882.
311. For Toms' occupation and the composition of his family, see *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.43, dwelling 340, household 499.
312. Article "CORKEN IN COURT," *The Boston Globe*, 9 December 1882. For the account of their meeting, also see Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ALLEGED MALPRACTICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882.

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- 313. Article “CORKEN IN COURT,” *The Boston Globe*, 9 December 1882.
 - 314. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … ALLEGED MALPRACTICE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882.
 - 315. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … ALLEGED MALPRACTICE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882 (instruments). Article “ALLEGED MALPRACTICE,” *The Lynn Reporter*, 1 December 1882 (appearance).
 - 316. Article “DR. CORKEN. Unable to Give Bail he Goes to Jail – Other Complaints Against Him,” *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1882.
 - 317. Article, “ORGANIZED INIQUITIES. Unsavory Revelation of a Cottage Hospital in New England. A Tale Unfit to be Told,” *Wheeling Register* (Wheeling, WV), 2 December 1882.
 - 318. Article “ALLEGED MALPRACTICE” *The Lynn Reporter*, 1 December 1882.
 - 319. Article “DR. CORKEN. Unable to Give Bail he Goes to Jail – Other Complaints Against Him,” *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1882.
 - 320. Item in feature column, “Lynn Locals,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 1883.
 - 321. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … DR. CORKEN. Jury Out all Night Before Reaching a verdict,” *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1883.
 - 322. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … DR. CORKEN. Jury Out all Night Before Reaching a Verdict,” *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1883.
 - 323. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … DR. CORKEN. Jury Out all Night Before Reaching a Verdict,” *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1883.
 - 324. *The Salem Gazette* was quoted in article, “Dr. Corken’s Case,” *Daily Evening Item*, 20 February 1883.
 - 325. Article, “Dr. Corken in Jail,” *Daily Evening Item*, 11 April 1884 (Dorchester); item in feature column, “1ST EDITION … NEWS IN BRIEF,” *The Fall River Daily Herald*, 24 May 1884 (prison).
 - 326. Massachusetts Death Records, Boston, 14 April 1891, No.35; Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Death Records, 1841-1915* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013.
 - 327. Massachusetts, State and Federal Naturalization Records, 1798-1950, 1871, p.167, lists William Corken of Saugus, Doctor. National Archives at Boston; Waltham, Massachusetts; ARC Title: *Petitions and Records of Naturalization , 8/1845 - 12/1911*; NAI Number: 3000057; Record Group Title: *Records of District Courts of the United States, 1685-2009*; Record Group Number: RG 21 (Scotland); 1841 England Census (St. Mary, Cumberland, England), for the Burrough of Carlisle, Township of Scotch St., No.73, lists William Corken, 20 yrs, as a Dissenting Minister; Class: HO107; Piece: 176; Book: 5; Civil Parish: St Mary; County: Cumberland; Enumeration District: 3a; Folio: 7; Page: 33; Line: 7; GSU roll: 241285 (dissenting); article, “Temperance Festival,” *Hereford Times* (Hereford, England), 16 July 1842 (champion).
 - 328. Item in feature column, “Married,” *Gloucester Journal* (Gloucester, England), 22 March 1843 (married); item in feature column, “BIRTHS,” *Hereford Journal* (Hereford, England) 22 March 1843.
 - 329. Article, “Stafford,” *Staffordshire Sentinel and Commercial & General Advertiser* (England), 14 April 1855.
 - 330. Article, “Carrickfergus Auxiliary to the Ulster Society for Promoting the Education of the Deaf, Dumb and the Blind,” *Belfast Morning News* (Belfast, Ireland), 22 September 1860.
 - 331. Article, “Farewell Soiree and Presentation to the Rev. W. D. Corken, Carrickfergus,” *The Belfast Morning News* (Belfast, Ireland), 5 August 1862.
 - 332. Article, “Address to the Rev. W. D. Corken, Carrickfergus,” *Belfast Morning News* (Belfast, Ireland), 5 August 1862.
 - 333. Item, no title, *South London Chronicle* (London, England), 30 June 1866 (Bermondsey); Article, “The Brentford Clothing Club,” *Uxbridge & W. Drayton Gazette* (Uxbridge, England), 25 November 1865 (poor).
 - 334. “FEMALE MEDICAL SOCIETY,” Benjamin W. Richardson, M.A., M.D., editor, *The Social Science Review* (London: George A. Hutchison, 1865), p.90.
 - 335. Article, “FEMALE DOCTORS,” *Liverpool Mercury* (Liverpool, England), 28 June 1866.
 - 336. “Female Medical Society,” *The Victoria Magazine*, May 1867, pp.199, 215-216.
 - 337. Register of St. Luke’s Asylum (London, England), No.24,088; Ancestry.com: UK, Lunacy Patients Admission Registers, 1846-1912.
 - 338. Register of Holborn Workhouse (London, England); Ancestry.com: London, England, Workhouse Admission and Discharge Records, 1764-1930.
 - 339. Register of Hanwell Asylum (London, England), No.33,936; Ancestry.com: UK, Lunacy Patients Admission Registers, 1846-1912.

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340. Item in feature column, "DEATHS," *South London Chronicle*, 25 September 1869; British Newspapers.com.
341. The Steamship Batavia departed Liverpool, England on 1 March 1871 (per Lloyd's List). William and Charles Corken are listed in the Passenger List of Steamship Batavia, 13 March 1871 (see The National Archives at Washington, D.C.; Washington, D.C.; Series Title: *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, Massachusetts, 1820-1891*; Record Group Title: *Records of the U.S. Customs Service*; Record Group Number: 36; Series Number: M277; NARA Roll Number: 079 (located at Ancestr.com). Further details of the voyage are located in item in feature column, "Mail and Ship News," *Western Daily Press*, (Bristol, England), 15 March 1871. Article, "Valedictory Service to the Rev. W. D. Corken," *Wigan Observer and District Advertiser* (Wigan, England), 24 February 1871 (Master).
342. Article, "Valedictory Service to the Rev. W. D. Corken," *Wigan Observer and District Advertiser* (Wigan, England), 24 February 1871.
343. He was listed as W. D. Corken, M.D., minister at the Union Evangelical church for Salisbury and Amesbury in 1871; see The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts. 1871. *Minutes of the Sixty-Ninth Annual Meeting, Easthampton, June 20-22* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1871), p.101.
344. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item*, 24 July 1880.
345. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... DR. CORKEN," *Daily Evening item*, 16 February 1883 (Edinborough).
346. Article, "DR. CORKEN. Unable to Give Bail he Goes to Jail – Other Complaints Against Him," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1882.
347. "Business Directory of the Village of Salisbury," *The Newburyport Directory* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport, & Co., 1872), No. XV, p.i (1873); Rev. Elias Nason, M.A., *A Gazetteer of the State of Massachusetts* (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1874), pp.56, 447 (1874); Petition for Naturalization, U. S. Circuit Court, Boston, MA, Vol.93, p.167 (1876); National Archives at Boston; Waltham, Massachusetts; ARC Title: *Copies of Petitions and Records of Naturalization in New England Courts, 1939 - ca. 1942*; NAI Number: 4752894; Record Group Title: *Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1787-2004*; Record Group Number: RG 85.
348. Article, "Valedictory Service to the Rev. W. D. Corken," *Wigan Observer and District Advertiser* (Wigan, England), 24 February 1871. In his farewell speech at the Silverwell Congregational Church, Corken stated "he was anxious to assure the meeting that he was not at all tired of labouring for Christ in good old England, but that for many years of his life his preferences were in favour of the stars and stripes, of the glorious home of the pilgrim fathers - the land of the free. He must confess that his sympathies were with its gigantic institutions, social, political, and religious, and especially the latter, and while the sweet memories of old England would be evergreen in his heart, he hoped to live to render some services to his Master on the other side of the waste of waters.
349. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Liberal League," 18 October 1878 (Lynn) and "Liberal League," 22 October 1878 (Syracuse).
350. Article, "Valedictory Service to the Rev. W. D. Corken," *Wigan Observer and District Advertiser*, 24 February 1871. The Liberal League values specified were listed in article, "Ingersoll's New Party," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 September 1879.
351. Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, *As He Is. A Complete Refutation of His Clerical Enemies' Malicious Slanders* (New York: The Truth Seeker Company, 1910), p.114.
352. Letter to the Editor, by W. D. Corken, M.D., Lynn, MA, *The Index, a Weekly Paper Devoted to Free Religion* (Boston, MA: Index Association, 1878), Vol.9, p.488)
353. Article "CORKEN IN COURT," *The Boston Globe*, 30 November 1882.
354. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 December 1882 (emphasis added). The gentleman who paid for his release might have been his son.
355. Advertisement, *Lynn City item*, 3 January 1880.
356. Advertisement, *Lynn City Item* 24 July 1880.
357. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... DR. CORKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1883.
358. Advertisement, *The Lynn Record*, 20 January 1882.
359. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1878.
360. Article, "COTTAGE HOSPITALS. THE GENERAL COMPARED WITH THE COTTAGE SYSTEM. Objection to the General System – Some Advantages to the Cottage and Home Institutions," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1881.

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361. Summer Street used to start at Market Street; Corken's English Cottage Hospital was on the portion of Summer Street between Pleasant and Market streets.
362. Article in feature column, ITEM EXTRA ... ALLEGED MALPRACTICE. Arrest of Dr. W. Duncan Corken, of Lynn, President of English Cottage Hospital Society," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882.
363. Advertisements, *Lynn City item*, 3 January 1880 (Uterine) and *The Lynn Record*, 20 January 1882 (periodical); (emphasis added to both quotes).
364. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ALLEGED MALPRACTICE. Arrest of Dr. W. Duncan Corken, of Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882.
365. Item in feature column, "DEATHS," *The Boston Post*, 16 April 1891. His death record listed his age as 80 and cause of death as hepatic colic. (See Massachusetts Death Records: Boston, 14 April 1891, No.35; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*).
366. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1882.
367. Henry Melanchthon Guilford and Nancy Alice Brown were married on 1 July 1879; he was listed as a physician and she had no occupation (see Marriages Registered in the Town of Framingham, 1879; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1911-1915*, on Ancestry.com). In the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, MA, p.9, dwelling 161, household 70, Henry, 26, is listed as a trader; Ashland, NY, p.9, dwelling 64, household 66, Nancy, 18, is listed as a school teacher. In the *Massachusetts State Census, 1865*: Whatley, MA, dwelling 77, household 77, Henry Guilford, 22, is listed as a farm laborer. There are few standard historical records of them beyond these sources, perhaps because, as with later life, they were using a number of aliases.
368. The 1880 census lists Charles E. Ames, 27, brewer, wife Mary E., 24, and son Charles C., 1 year old (see *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Lynn, MA, p.48, dwelling 424, household 525).
369. Article, "CRIMINAL MALPRACTICE. Death of a Young Woman from Burlington. Dr. Alice Guilford Behind the Bars. A West Lynn Business Man In the Case," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1886.
370. Article, "IN HER FATHER'S ARMS. Unfortunate Susie Taylor Breathes Her Last. She Who Left Home full of Life and Hope is Carried Back a Corpse. Arrests Made in the Lynn Malpractice Case," *The Boston Globe*, 2 January 1886.
371. Article, "THEY MET AT A DANCE. Vicissitudes of Susie Taylor's Life and Love," *The Boston Globe*, 24 January 1886 (crying). Article, "SUSIE TAYLOR. She Died at Dr. Guilford's House, on Lewis Street. Dressed up and Taken to Burlington. Arraignment of Ames and the Guilfords," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1886 (choicest). Article, "IN HER FATHER'S ARMS," *The Boston Globe*, 2 January 1886.
372. Article, "SUSIE TAYLOR," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1886
373. Article, "IN HER FATHER'S ARMS," *The Boston Globe*, 2 January 1886.
374. Article, "THE GUILFORDS. Unable to Get Bail, They Go to Jail," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1886. Annie J. Dyer's cause of death listed as abortion (see Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 8 August 1885, No.512; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com).
375. Article, "CRIMINAL MALPRACTICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1886.
376. Article, "CRIMINAL MALPRACTICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1886 (emphasis added).
377. Article, "THE GUILFORDS. Unable to Get Bail, They Go to Jail," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1886.
378. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... SUSIE TAYLOR. How the Cause of Her Death Was Discovered," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 January 1886.
379. Article, "GUILFORDS AND AMES," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1886.
380. Article, "VICTIM JENNIE PETERS. Testifies Against Dr. Alice Guilford of Lyn. ... The Many Operations Performed at the House of the Accused," *The Boston Globe*, 16 May 1886 (emphasis added).
381. Article, "DR. GUILFORD ON TRIAL," *The Boston Globe*, 17 May 1887.
382. For the details on sentencing, see Article, "Dr. Alice Guilford. Charged With Criminal Malpractice in New Haven. Her Husband, Dr. Gill, Also Arraigned There," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1898. Article, "DR. ALICE' SENTENCED," *The Boston Globe*, 2 March 1887 (banished).
383. Article, "TURNED STATE'S EVIDENCE," *The Mourning Journal-Courier* (New Haven, CT), 16 March 1898. Henry's conviction and sentence in Article, "THE BRIDGEPORT MYSTERY," *Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), 16 September 1898.
384. The first two packages found were reported in Article, "MURDER MYSTER. Woman's Body, Cut Up, Found in Bridgeport. ... THE TRUNK AND ARMS ARE STILL MISSING," *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), 13

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- September 1898. The second two packages were found in Article, "THE BODY FOUND. It Had Been Cut Into Four Parts. VITAL ORGANS REMOVED. SKILL OF A SURGEON SHOWN IN THE WORK." *Hartford Courant*, 14 September 1898.
385. Article, "STILL UNIDENTIFIED," *Hartford Courant*, 15 September 1898.
386. Article, "MRS. GUILFORD IN NEW YORK," *Washington Times*, 16 September 1898 (New York); "AN AMERICAN MYSTERY – LADY DOCTOR ARRESTED IN LONDON," *Glasgow Herald Glasgow, Scotland*, 4 October 1898 (England). The case was heavily covered by newspapers in the U.S. and Great Britain.
387. Article, "MRS. GUILFORD SENTENCED TO ONLY TEN YEARS," *The Buffalo Enquirer* (Buffalo, NY), 11 April 1899.
388. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... CRIMINAL MALPRACTICE. A Lynn Woman Arrested and Locked Up," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 July 1888.
389. Article, "S.F.T.P.O.C.A," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 March 1881 (Stone); item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1881 (Young).
390. Article, "Roasted Alive," *The Lynn Record*, 13 July 1883.
391. Article, "Dogs Poisoned," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1886.
392. Letter to the Editor, by George E. Emery, 28 April 1883, "Words About Birds in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1883 (emphasis added).
393. Letter to the Editor, by George E. Emery, "As to Some Rare Birds Hereabouts," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1883.
394. Article, "A Neglected Child," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 November 1880. His age and full name are in article, "RAILROAD COLLISION," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 November 1880. He had suffered a severe scalp wound to the skull, three inches by two inches, in a V-shaped tear, and one of the fingers on his left hand was "jammed off."
395. Article, "Provided With a Home," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1880 (Thorn). The testimonial describing his use of McArthur's syrup for three of the children Dixwell cared for in his role with the MSLSAC was dated Boston, Mass., 29 August 1880, and appeared *Can Consumption be Cured?* (booklet, October 1886; collection of the U.S. National Library of Medicine: <https://collections.nlm.nih.gov>), (Hypophosphites). It is not yet clear whether the Lynn SPANC was a local chapter of the state organization for which Dixwell was the general agent from 1878-1880. The name of the state organization was eventually standardized to the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (MSPCC).
396. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... DESERTION. Four Little Children Without Food or Fire. Father and Mother Both Neglect Them. Love of Tum Stronger than Love of Offspring," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1883.
397. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: St. Louis, MO, p.577, dwelling 68, household 72. The day the Waite household was enumerated was 31 JUL 1850, and Arthur was listed as nine months old.
398. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: New London, CT, p.539, dwelling 447, household 647. At the time of the census, Henry K. Flagg was listed as a music teacher, but in 1861 he was listed in Worcester, MA, as proprietor of the Balm of Excellence (See *The Worcester Almanac, Directory, and Business Advertiser, for 1861* (Worcester, MA: Henry J. Howland, 1861), p.68. The label on his medicine bottle read, "PROF. H. K. FLAGG'S / BALM OF EXCELLENCE / Price 25c ... Prepared and Sold by Prof. H. K. Flagg, Worcester, Mass. (see Jim Holst, *Pontiled Medicine Price Guide* (privately printed, 11th edition, 2012), p.90. For most of career (dating from 1866 until his death in 1894), he was an Adventist preacher, usually being listed as Elder and sometimes as Rev.
399. *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: St. Louis, MO, p.18, dwelling 105, household 161.
400. Article, "THE FAIR," *Public Ledger* (Memphis, TN), 19 October 1871 (excellent). He also had a sign painting business back in 1869 (predating his cigar making) in St. Louis and had two others working for him. See *Edwards' Eleventh Annual Directory, City of St. Louis for 1869*, p.788. Waite advertised as a sign and ornamental painter with designing a specialty; see advertisement, *The Memphis Daily Appeal*, 17 March 1883 (the ad ran from 24 FEB 1873 – 20 MAR 1873). The birthplace of his second son, Harry Herman Waite, was listed on Harry's 1899 marriage record; see Michigan Marriage Records, p.488, 15 November 1899, No.3018 (Michigan Department of Community Health, Division of Vital Records and Health Statistics; Lansing, MI, USA; *Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867-1952*; Film: 65)
401. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS. An Interesting Story of the Life of the "Converted Clown," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887.

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402. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887. This account specifically places Waite's sideshow with the "Great Pacific Combination" traveling circus and the incident of fire and Waite's epiphany as occurring near Austin Texas in the summer of 1875. An item from the *New York Clipper*, 28 August 1875, p.175, stated, "Hilliard & Hamilton's Great Pacific Combination are reported as having done a good business in the Southwest. A correspondent informs us that they have avoided the storms which have sorely beset other tent shows, and that they have had their canvas wet only since July 5. ... The show is now in Illinois, and will be at Princeville Aug. 24." Since the traveling show wintered in Orwell, Ohio, had been to the Southwest and scheduled to arrive at Princeville, Illinois (north of Peoria) in late August, it would appear that their time in the Southwest was during the summer and they were on their return trek, corroborating the acct of Waite's sideshow drama in the Austin, Texas, area in the summer of that year. The 17 April 1875 issue of the *New York Clipper*, p.1, listed the circus as "Hilliard & Hamilton's Great Pacific Combination and Free Balloon Show." A Prof. Oberdoff made ascensions every afternoon in his air-ship, "City of Mexico." ... No fakirng or gambling will be allowed by the proprietors."
403. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887, indicated he traveled to Rutland, Vermont, by way of Austin ,TX, to St. Louis, Missouri, to Toledo, Ohio (where he had time to play three-card monte with a Dutchman, winning \$110), to Rutland. In 1875 he would have been able to travel the entire route by train, making the distance in about a week.
He was referred to as "Rev. Arthur A. Waite of St. Louis, Mo., ... the speaker," in item in feature column, "Local Mention," *The Rutland Daily Globe*, 10 June 1875. The item further explained that about 125 people were present in the tent during the evening previous to Waite's arrival. Given the date of his first appearance as a revival speaker in Vermont, he could have left the Austin sideshow in early June, making its appearance there, along with the fire and explosion, what would generally be considered late spring rather than early summer.
- Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887, also stated, "Years before he had also been a preacher in St. Louis, at one time having five colored churches under his charge; but falling from grace he had again taken up with the wild life of a tent showman until ... he had "Found the Lord" again way down Texas." Nothing has been found to substantiate this statement. He seems to have been engaged as a sign painter and cigar maker in St. Louis during 1869-1870 and he appears in Memphis at least by October 1871, so there seems to have been only a few short gaps of time (1868, June 1870-September 1871) when he could have filled that role; something for future researchers.
404. Article, "Tent Meetings," *The Rutland Daily Globe* (Rutland, VT), 14 June 1875.
405. Article, "Tent Meetings," *The Rutland Daily Globe*, 4 August 1875.
406. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887. The population of Sandy Hill, New York (later called Hudson Falls), is according to the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*.
407. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887. The population of Sandy Hill, New York (later called Hudson Falls), is according to the *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*.
408. Item in feature column, "NEW HAMPSHIRE," *Boston Post*, 9 June 1879.
409. Item in feature column, "NEW HAMPSHIRE," *Boston Post*, 9 June 1879. The arrangement of the "seats, ring, &c., arranged in circus style," is found in an item in feature column, "EDITORIAL NEWS JOTTINGS," *The Plattsburgh Republican* (Plattsburgh, NY), 14 June 1879.
410. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887.
411. Article, "Y.M.C.A. Notes, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1880 (rapidity). Business card (collection of eclectibles.com).
412. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887 (monstrous); Program, "SPIRITUALISM! Its FACT AND FRAUD! (1881) (collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society; emphasis added).
413. Program, "SPIRITUALISM! Its FACT AND FRAUD! (1881) (collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society).
414. Advertisement, *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 16 September 1879.
415. Article, "Y.M.C.A. Notes, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1880 (Huntington); Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887 (flocked).
416. Article, "Y.M.C.A. Notes, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1880.
417. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1880.
418. Article, "Mediums vs. Sleight-of-hand," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1880.
419. Article by George Washburn, D.D., *Herald of Truth*, A Religious Monthly Journal (Elkhart, IN), January 1881, Vol.18, No.1, p.8.

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420. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1880.
421. Article in feature column, "WOODEND," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 May 1880.
422. The relationship of Cain and Toms was described in article, "CORKEN IN COURT," *The Boston Globe*, 9 December 1882 and article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... ALLEGED MALPRACTICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1882.
423. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887.
424. Article, "A Booming Donation," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 June 1881.
425. Articles, "Glad Tidings Tent," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 July 1881 (Hutchinsons) and 13 August 1881 (Barkers).
426. Item in feature column, "By The Way," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 July 1881.
427. Articles, "Glad Tidings Tent," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1881 (Bad) and 13 August 1881 (Tramps).
428. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1881.
429. Article, "Glad Tidings Tent," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1881.
430. Article, "BAND OF HOPE. Five Hundred Children in Line – They March Through the Streets of Lynn – A Pretty Site," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 August 1881.
431. Item in feature column, "Glenmere," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 September 1881.
432. Article, "Glad Tidings Tent," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 September 1881.
433. Editorial, "An Inquiry," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1881.
434. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887.
435. Article, "Waite Tabernacle," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1881.
436. Article, "Elder Waite's Movements," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1881.
437. Article, "WAITE'S WICKEDNESS," *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887.
438. Article, "Elder Waite's Movements," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1881.
439. Editorial, "An Inquiry," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1881.
440. Squib, *The Fitchburg Sentinel* (Fitchburg, MA), 22 December 1881.
441. Item in feature column, "GENERAL AND PERSONAL," *St. Joseph Gazette-Herald* (St. Joseph, MO), 30 December 1881.
442. Article, "MORE ABOUT THE ELDER," *The Boston Globe*, 25 December 1881.
443. Article, "BETHEL CHURCH. ELDER WAITE'S UNBECOMING ACTIONS DENOUNCED," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 January 1882.
444. Article, "WAITE! The Ex-Elder in New Jersey as "Dr. Bundy." Showing as a "Medium," is Detected and Owns Up," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 January 1881.
445. Article, "Elder Waite's Movements," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1881.
446. Article, "Rev. A. A. Waite in His new Role of Spiritualist," *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, 4 February 1882.
447. Article, no title, *Religio-Philosophical Journal*, 4 February 1882, quoting the *Anti-Monopolist and Local* (Rochester, NY), 21 January 1882.
448. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... WORD FROM WAITE. He Wants to Come Back to Lynn." 26 April 1882.
449. Article, "WAITE'S NEW TENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1882.
450. Article, "GOOD-BYE WAITE. The Elder Leaves Lynn for Good and all. Life Troubles too Great for Him to Bear. His Destination and Whereabouts Unknown," *Daily Evening Item* 13 October 1882.
451. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... MORE ABOUT WAITE. An Essex Count Man Meets the Ex-Elder. Successful Campaign in the Great Southwest. Medicine Man for the Wichita Indians," *Daily Evening Items*, 16 July 1888. The correspondent's account dates his meeting with Waite in Texas occurred as occurring in August 1888, seven years before Waite's time in Lynn.
452. Article, "WAITE SHOWING AGAIN. He Travels under the Name of Dr. McKean. Exhibited Last Evening at Stanstead, Canada Endorsed by "Prof. Bundy," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 November 1882.
453. Article, "ELDER WAITE. The Missionary in the Medicine Business at St. Paul, Minn.," *The Lynn Reporter*, 28 February 1883.
454. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 March 1884.
455. Deserion as the original grounds for divorce was mentioned in Article, "WAITE'S TROUBLES. *Daily Evening Item*, 12 October 1882. The final grounds for divorce was adultery, per Notice, "Legal," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 February 1883. The Item explained that adultery was the only grounds accepted by the Adventist faith of which

H. K. Flagg was an adherent and they were of the belief that Flagg was pushing his daughter for the divorce on those grounds. The alleged evidence of the letters to “lewd women” discovered by the detective, if planted fakes, could have been contested by Waite, but he did not, and the fact that he did ultimately father children by Lena Capron (and possibly married her as well, although the marriage record has not been found), would suggest there was truth to the adultery claim and was not the fabrication of Waite’s father-in-law and about which his wife, Ellen, would have had to be perjuring herself in her legal notice of divorce, referenced above.

- 456. Article, “The Converted Clown,” *The Galveston Daily News* (Galveston, TX), 15 July 1886 (London); Squib, *The Tonganoxie Mirror* (Tonganoxie, KA), 30 September 1886 (Cincinnati); Article, “WAITE’S WICKEDNESS,” *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887 (luxury).
 - 457. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … ELDER WAITE. Further Particulars of His Crooked Exploits. A Patent Medicine Concern One of His Victims. The Scamp Sait to Have Married a Kentucky Girl,” *Daily Evening Item*, 21 November 1887; Article, “WAITE’S WICKEDNESS,” *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887 (Dr. Stacey).
 - 458. Article, “WAITE’S WICKEDNESS,” *Newburyport Daily Herald*, 30 December 1887 (Dr. Stacey).
 - 459. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … ELDER WAITE. … His Sudden Flight into Canada … Lena Capron Weds Him at Hartford, Conn. He Names Their Daughter “Lynn,”” *Daily Evening Item*, 20 January 1888. Arthur and Lena became parents again, to Karl A. Waite, in 1893 in Alliance, Ohio. (Ancestry.com. *Ohio, County Marriage Records, 1774-1993*, p.339 [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016.) and there may also have been another child, Edna Gertrude Waite, born 1891, but this cannot yet be substantiated.
 - 460. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … MORE ABOUT WAITE,” *Daily Evening Items*, 16 July 1889.
 - 461. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … MORE ABOUT WAITE,” *Daily Evening Items*, 16 July 1889.
 - 462. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA … MORE ABOUT WAITE,” *Daily Evening Items*, 16 July 1889.
- In 1892 Ellen Waite remarried to Eugene T. Ferrin, a Lynn paper hanger, it was his third marriage and her second (see New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, MA; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1911–1915*, p.402, 6 March 1892, No.107; Ancestry.com [database on-line]); the marriage was brief, as he was remarried in 1894. In that year he with his now grown son in Butte, Montana, and cast off his title, “Elder,” replacing it with “Doctor.” The team of Waites were “telling the newspapers how fakes deceived susceptible people,” then proceeding to put on public seances in Butte, and while exposing the frauds, they gave “the genuine manifestations.” Lynners were regaled with a two-column article reviewing the exploits of the man that much of Lynn had come to despise. See article, “SPIRITS AND THE LIKE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 10 July 1894.
- In 1897 Arthur Waite went by the name “Luke Leslie” working out of Springfield, Illinois, when he was scamming women out of their money, promising to put them in touch with their deceased loved ones. He claimed the deceased answers their questions through him, in particular, the hiding places of “secreted treasures” they had left for those who would give Leslie (Waite) a ten-dollar gold piece. He provided each who gave him the gold piece a receipt that promised he would return the gold piece on a certain date, 13 August 1896. On the appointed date, he did not appear as promised; a warrant was sworn out for his arrest by Jennie F. Spurrier, a dentist, and he was located in Alabama and brought back to face trial in Springfield, Illinois. “When he entered and saw her, his anger got the better of his discretion and he forthwith spewed out volumes of vitriolic abuse at the woman, using every foul and nasty epithet that is anywhere known in the vilest slang of the streets. Mrs. Spurrier, however, quietly held her peace in a lady-like manner and said never a word in reply to the self-styled mediumistic fortune-teller.” Waite was convicted and imprisoned, but even there, was called upon by prison management to provide exhibitions of magic for visiting committees from the legislature. “He is conceded to be one of the most interesting characters ever incarcerated in prison in this state.” In January 1898 he was called upon to use another of his skills, painting the ceiling of the prison hospital with images of flowers and birds. Upon his release from prison, he ran a shooting range in southern Illinois and practiced palmistry in Rock Island. In 1902 Chicago police were asking for background on “Leslie,” suggesting he had gotten in trouble with the law again. (See sangamoncountyhistory.org, website for the Sangamon County, IL Historical Society.) He remarried for the third time, at 42 years old, on 25 September 1899 to Mary E. Eakin, 32 (see Ancestry.com. *Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.). In the 1900 census, Ellen Waite was listed as a widow, suggesting she was clearly out of touch with her former husband Arthur, who was still alive. Waite died in 1903 and was buried at the Woodlawn Cemetery in Toledo, Ohio in the Waite family plot containing the remains of his mother and some of his siblings, burials ranging from 1897-1934. Interestingly and curiously, his grave marker reads, “ARTHUR A. WAITE / LOVING HUSBAND OF / ELLEN A. WAITE.” Although she died in Palmer, Massachusetts, Ellen A. Flagg Waite died in 1923 and was also buried in the Waite family plot. (see Ancestry.com. *U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.)
463. Journals of John W. Poole, manuscript, 1881-1894. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) Each year is contained in a separate journal.

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464. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*: Cape Elizabeth, ME, p.50, dwelling 377, household 377; William "D." [B.] Poole was listed as a "Mariner"; in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Cape Elizabeth, ME, p.21, dwelling 201, household 209; William B. Poole was listed as a "Sailor." John visited his father on 1 January 1881 on the schooner, Ariadne, when it was docked at Portland, ME; John also noted that his father sailed for Cuba on 4 October 1881 (see Journal of John W. Poole, 1881).
465. Journal had worked at a shoe factory in the Portland area prior to leaving for Lynn, so his previous work experience may have helped him to get quickly situated in Lynn (see the *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Cape Elizabeth, ME, p.21, dwelling 201, household 209; John W. Poole, was listed as "Works in Shoe Factory"). Journal of John W. Poole, Memoranda section in the back of the journal for 1881, lists Etta's Lynn address for that year.
466. Journal of John W. Poole, 20 March 1881.
467. Journal of John W. Poole, Memoranda section in the back of the volume for 1884.
468. Journal of John W. Poole, 03 June 1881. On 18 June, his father brought him some spectacles and "Cigerettes," which he underlined, perhaps to underscore his discomfort at receiving a gift from his father of something he was trying to give up.
469. Journal of John W. Poole, 15 September 1881.
470. Journal of John W. Poole, 12 April 1883 (Hamlet); 20 May 1882 (Koran); 11 April 1883, 18 September 1883, and 22 August 1885 and 9 February 1889 (Physiology); 14 May 1885 (surgery); 22 December 1887 (Jeckell). *Flowers of the Sky* was referenced in "Books Read During Year" in the back of the journal for 1883. His journal entry of 19 June 1883 recorded that he had told his mother he had decided to go to college. He took classes in Latin, Rhetoric, & Algebra in September 1883, but by his entry of 20 March 1884, he was suffering too much illness and decided to give up school. "Sure sorry."
471. There is nothing in the 1881 or the 1884 journals proving that they are the first and/or last journals he maintained, nor is there anything in either suggesting that there were other volumes. Note that his spelling is not good and also inconsistent; this may be because he had little formal education, but also may reflect that he was not careful, given that the journals were written as a record for himself.
472. Journal of John W. Poole, 18 January 1882.
473. Journal of John W. Poole, 14 November 1884 (umbilicus, bad), 21 December 1884, hypochondriac, intense), 30 January 1885 (severe), 31 January 1885 (Abdominal).
474. Journal of John W. Poole, 30 January 1885.
475. Journal of John W. Poole, 23 December 1884 (inguinal), 13 May 1885 (hurts).
476. Journal of John W. Poole, 3 March 1885.
477. Journal of John W. Poole, 19 June 1885 (flax), 20 June 1885 (hot), 23 August 1886 (liver).
478. Journal of John W. Poole, 1 July 1885.
479. Journal of John W. Poole, 17 April 1882 (*Gilead*), 5 Nov 1884 (cubeb), 23 March 1887 (Brown's), 9 Feb 1887 (Elixir), and 26 June 1886 (hellebore). *Mason's Cholera Mixture* was listed on the back flyleaf of Poole's volume for 1884.
480. Journal of John W. Poole, Memoranda in the back of the volume for 1881 (Stevenson); Addresses in the back of the volume for 1886 (Freight); listed in his journal as "Freiah."
481. Journal of John W. Poole, 26 November 1881.
482. Journal of John W. Poole, 18 (liver) and 19 (heart) April 1882.
483. Journal of John W. Poole, 11 May 1882. Poole didn't give the exact title of the Cullis book, calling it simply "Faith Cure Book"; it could have been *Faith Cures, or Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick* (1879), or *More Faith Cures: or, Answers to Prayer in the Healing of the Sick* (1881).
484. Journal of John W. Poole, 6 June 1882.
485. Journal of John W. Poole, 7 June 1882. James 5:14-15 (King James Version) reads: (14) "Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; (15) And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him."
486. Journal of John W. Poole, 27 June 1881 (thumb); 13-21 September 1882 (fingers).
487. Journal of John W. Poole, 10 April 1885
488. Journal of John W. Poole, 12 October 1889 and 10 December 1889.
489. Item in feature column, "Wax Threads," *Lynn City Item*, 29 January 1881.
490. Articles in the *Lynn City Item*, 28 February 1880.

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491. Journal of John W. Poole, 11 November 1885.
492. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... AN EX-SOLDIER KILLED," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 March 1884.
493. Article, "Accident at the Circus Ground," *Lynn City Item*, 8 October 1881.
494. Article, "Lynn City Government," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1884.
495. Article, "SANITARY ASSOCIATION. Second Annual Report – Bad Drainage and Ventilation common in Lynn," *Daily Evening item*, 22 September 1881.
496. Article, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 6 July 1883.
497. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TROUBLE IN FLAX POND," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 August 1882.
498. Article, "FLAX POND NUISANCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 August 1882.
499. Article, "FLAX POND WATER. EXAMINATION OF THE POND BY OFFICIAL EXPERTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 August 1882.
500. Article, "Good Words for Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 May 1881.
501. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 July 1881.
502. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com: 26 July 1882, No.451 (Maguire); 18 July 1882, No.438 (Hunnewill); 10 February 1882, No.91 (McArthur);
503. The list of physicians in the business directory portion of the Lynn Directory for 1880 contained forty-eight names; see *The Lynn Directory, 1880* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Davenport & Co., 1880), pp.410-411. By the end of the decade, the same list in the 1889 edition of the directory had grown to seventy-eight names; see *The Lynn Directory, 1889* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Murdock & Co., 1889), pp.607-608.
504. Article, "Professional Indifference. 8 physicians – 7 refuse to help," *Lynn City Item*, 15 May 1880.
505. Article, "The Doctors Again," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1881.
506. Editorial, "What Ails the Doctors," *Lynn City Item*, 24 April 1880.
507. Article, no title, *Lynn City Item*, 1 October 1881.
508. Letter, A[ndrew] Baylies, Lynn, Mass., to Aunt, manuscript, 27 October 1881. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.); italics are added; underlines are in the original).
509. Article, "Surgical Operation," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 May 1883.
510. Article, "A Wonderful Recovery," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 July 1883.
511. Article, "LYNN LIBEL CASE. A Physician vs. a Roman Catholic Clergyman. Alleged injury to the Doctor's Practice. \$10,000 Claimed by the Physician as Damage," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 January 1883.
512. Article, "LYNN LIBEL CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1883.
513. Article, "LYNN LIBEL CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 January 1883.
514. Article, "McDONALD VS. STRAIN," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1883.
515. Item in feature column, "LOCAL LINES," *The Boston Daily Globe*, 9 October 1882 (treasurer); Article, "PROFESSOR CORKEN. His Particular Duties at the Bellevue Medical College," *The Boston Daily Globe*, 30 November 1882 (professor).
516. R. K. Noyes, M.D, *On the Self Curability of Disease* (Lynn: L. C. Parker, 1880), pp.v (misnamed), 18 (absolutely); (emphasis in original).
517. R. K. Noyes, M.D, *On the Self Curability of Disease*, pp.23 (educated), 24 (doubt).
518. Advertising trade card for R. K. Noyes, M.D., Medical Adviser and Surgeon (collection of Dr. Ben Zuber Swanson).
519. Article, "THE STORY OF TWO BILLS," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 August 1878. The other doctor was Henry W. Boynton.
520. Article, "DRUGS DENOUNCED," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 July 1880.
521. Article, "The Legislature," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1882.
522. Article, "DRUGS DENOUNCED," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 July 1880.
523. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 January 1882.
524. Circular for the Bellevue Medical College, in "Fourth Year's Announcement. – Bellevue Medical College, Boston, Mass.," *Journal of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Legislative Council; Second Session of 1887* (Sydney, Australia: Charles Potter, Government Printer: 1887), Vol.41, Part 3, p.90.

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525. Circular for the Bellevue Medical College, *Journal of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Legislative Council; Second Session of 1887*, Vol.41, Part 3, p.90.
526. Circular for the Bellevue Medical College, *Journal of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Legislative Council; Second Session of 1887*, Vol.41, Part 3, p.90.
527. Article, "PROMISES HELD OUT." *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 26 November 1882.
528. Article, "MEDICOS MADE TO ORDER," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 November 1882.
529. Article, "MEDICOS MADE TO ORDER," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 November 1882.
530. Article, "IS IT BOGUS? A Strange Story from Illinois. A Medical Diploma Sent to an Unknown Applicant," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 26 November 1882 (emphasis added).
531. Article, "TRIO OF SWINDLERS. Alleged Spiritual Manifestations Proved Fraudulent. The Show Denounced by Lynn Spiritualists," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 May 1882.
532. It should be noted that the English Cottage Hospitals and Bellevue Medical College both had significantly longer lists of board members than just Corken and Noyes, and one more individual who was significantly involved in both was Charles J. Eastman; however, the accounts of these two enterprises have detailed only the roles of Corken and Noyes because they were the two principals and both were living in Lynn. Noyes claimed that Eastman had started the college and he (Noyes) was "simply a hired tool," starting off as a professor, then elected to be the president. See article, "DR. NOYES INTERVIEWED. His Connection with the Bellevue Medical College and Its Operations," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 26 November 1882.
533. Article, "DR. NOYES INTERVIEWED," *The Boston Sunday Globe*, 26 November 1882. Among the announcements during its annual meeting held on 16 June 1882, The Massachusetts Medical Society communicated that women would not be admitted and that Dr. Rufus K. Noyes of Lynn had been expelled from the society "for unprofessional conduct"; see article, "Massachusetts Medical Society. Its Annual meeting – No Admission for Women – Warm Discussion," *The Lynn Reporter*, 16 June 1882.
534. Article, "BELLEVUE COLLEGE. ... Why It Was Decided to Discharge All Hands in the Case," *The Boston Globe Supplement*, 16 December 1882.
535. Article, "DO MASSACHUSETTS LAWS LEGALIZE FRAUD? Drs. Eastman, Noyes and Corken Discharged," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 December 1882.
536. Article, "BELLEVUE COLLEGE. ... Why It Was Decided to Discharge All Hands in the Case," *The Boston Globe Supplement*, 16 December 1882.
537. Article, "DO MASSACHUSETTS LAWS LEGALIZE FRAUD? Drs. Eastman, Noyes and Corken Discharged," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 December 1882.
538. "Another Diploma Mill," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (7 December 1882), Vol.107, No.23, pp.545-546.
539. Letter, James Fogg, Lynn, Mass., to "hin & abba," manuscript, 8 July 1883. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) James Fogg was listed as a McKay operator in *The Lynn Directory for 1883-4*, p.185.
540. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com: 8 July 1883, No.411.
541. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.89, 94-95.
542. Journal of John W. Poole, 6 September 1881.
543. Articles, "YELLOW TUESDAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 September 1881, and "DARK TUESDAY," *The Lynn Reporter*, 9 September 1881.
544. Article, "EDWIN MARBLE'S BURIAL," *Lynn City Item*, 24 January 1880. See also James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.84.
545. Article, "A Ghost Story," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 October 1881.
546. Article, "A Ghost Excitement," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 November 1881.
547. Article, "Ghostly," *The Lynn Reporter*, 12 January 1883.
548. Article, "SPIRITUALISTIC FRAUDS. An Alleged Séance at Odd Fellows' Hall, on Sunday Night," *The Lynn Reporter*, 23 March 1883.
549. Article, "MENDACIOUS MEDIUMS. A Boisterous Spiritualistic Entertainment. Guitar Playing, Slate Writing and Table Lifting," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 March 1883.
550. Editorial, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 23 March 1883.
551. For key advertisements of Joshua H. Orne, see *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1881, 15 August 1883, 1 January 1884. See also advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1883 (Madam Furmont).

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552. Program card, "Celebration in Lynn of the 40th Anniversary of Modern Spiritualism" (collection of the author). Article, "Spiritualist Society," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 March 1888.
553. Puff, "Mesmerism and Fun," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1885.
554. Article, "Mesmerism and Fun," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1885.
555. Squib, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 August 1883.
556. Article, "THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT. Account of a Visit to these Wonders – How They Seemed to a Lynn Man," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 May 1885.
557. Item in feature column, "WEST LYNN," *Daily Evening item*, 14 November 1889.
558. Fossil remains of the triceratops were first found in 1887, the stegosaurus in 1876, and the brontosaurus in 1874.
559. Item in feature column, "Itemites," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 August 1879 (frog), Squib, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 February 1878 (bird).
560. Letter to the Editor by George E. Emery, "As to 'Evolution' – Responsive," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1884.
561. Article, "The Missing Link," *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 June 1883. A female with hypertrichosis became a sideshow performer in the 1880s, by the name of Krao, and billed as the "Missing Link," and "A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man," according to an advertising trade card featuring her as a child, standing in the jungle.
562. Poole read William Denton's *Is Darwin Right? Or, The Origin of Man* (1882); see Journal of John W. Poole, 1884; listed in the back of the journal under his heading, "Books Read."
563. Letter to the Editor by George E. Emery, "As to 'Evolution' – Responsive," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1884 (emphasis in original).
564. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "Evolution"), "Give Darwin a Chance," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1884.
565. Article, "The Noted Scientist Passes Away. End of an Active Life," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 April 1882.
566. Article, "Y.M.C.A. Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 September 1880.
567. Item in feature column, "WYOMA. Village Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1883.
568. Helen Wright, *Sweeper in the Sky: The Life of Maria Mitchell First Woman Astronomer in America* (New York: The Macmillan Company 1949), pp.128, 238.
569. Maria Mitchell's small wooden astronomical observatory on Green Street still stood as of 2020. See James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.340.
570. Article, "Popular Science Monthly," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 October 1883. John W. Poole struggled in his efforts to construct a telescope, noting on 16 March 1883, "Worked all the evening on Telescope but could not make it work[;] don't think my lenses will go together." See also his notes dated 17, 29, 31 March, 2 Apr1883. Eventually, on 13 November 1885, he bought a telescope, for \$4.00; see journal and attached cash ledger for that date.
571. Item in feature column, "Personal," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 September 1882. In John Poole's journal entry of 14 April 1883, he paid a twenty-cent fee to look through a telescope.
572. Item in feature column, "CITY, AND TOWN," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 July 1879.
573. Article, "TO-DAY'S SPOT ON THE SUN," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 December 1882.
574. Article, "PRACTICAL EDUCATION. Prof. McIntyre's Lecture on the Planets – An Interesting Entertainment," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 March 1883.
575. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 March 1885.
576. E. O. Jordan, Gl. C. Whipple, C.-E. A. Winslow, *A Pioneer of Public Health: William Thompson Sedgwick* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1924), p.57.
577. Article, "First M. E. Church," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1888.
578. Article, "First M. E. Church," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1888 (Lynn); Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item* 30 April 1888 (Charlestown).
579. Article, "Y.M.C.A. Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1881 (emphasis added).
580. Article, "What the Microscope Says," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1881.
581. Journal of John W. Poole, 18 May 1883 (highlands), 26 November 1883 (Nahant); on 5 April 1883, he noted that Etta stayed over at his place "and helped me fix my specimens." The round-trip to Nahant (over six miles round trip) was excessive and Poole subsequently regretted it, "walked down to Nahant after Specimens got a few and then very tired and lame tonight in consequence of the walk."

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582. Journal of John W. Poole, 10 March 1886.
583. Journal of John W. Poole, 21 March 1887.
584. Journal of John W. Poole, 13 November 1885.
585. Journal of John W. Poole, 28 November 1885.
586. Article, "A Great Discovery," *The Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, IN), 31 October 1885.
587. Article, "LOUIS PASTEUR, THE EMINENT SCIENTIST" *Richmond Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), 5 November 1885.
588. Article, "Popular Science," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1885.
589. Article, "Going to See Pasteur," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1887.
590. Article, "Gone to See Pasteur," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1888.
591. Article, "Cured from Mad Wolf Bite," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 May 1888.
592. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... HYDROPHOBIA," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 July 1889.
593. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... HYDROPHOBIA," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 July 1889.
594. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "Public Danger"), "Those Horrid Stumps Again," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 September 1883.
595. Item in feature column, "Town Talk," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 July 1884.
596. Article, "A Plea for Silver," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 June 1889.
597. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1888.
598. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 19 January 1884.
599. John G. Merrow advertised himself as of Lynn, Massachusetts in newspaper advertising from 1884-1886 and appeared in the list of physicians for Lynn in the *Essex County Directory for 1886-87* (Boston, MA: Briggs & Co., 1886), p.456 and for 1888-89, p.469, with the additional note, "cancer," and then appeared in the list of physicians of the Lynn city directories from 1887-1890, usually with the additional note, "catarrh specialties."
600. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1885.
601. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1886.
602. Journal of John W. Poole, 1889; in the "Memoranda" section, immediately after the chronological journal entries.
603. Decade census numbers based on the U.S. federal censuses; the list of physicians was included in the business directory portion of each Lynn city directory.
604. *The Lynn Directory, 1890*, pp.636-637.
605. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1881.
606. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST ... SINGULAR SOMNOLENCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 February 1887.
607. Mary A. Cross, widow, born in India of English parents, died of paralysis at 79 years, 2 months, 11 days; see Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 8 March 1887, No.153; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com .
608. Article, "RELIC OF CANCELLORSVILLE. A Man Coughs up a Bullet After Carrying an Ounce of Lead in his Body for Over Eighteen Years," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1881.
609. Article, "RELIC OF CANCELLORSVILLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1881.
610. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1881. Robert W. Creighton lived on another fourteen years after the incident.
611. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1882.
612. Articles, both titled "Cancer Removed," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1881 (silver); 11 February 1881 (spider).
613. Article, "Dr. Weeks's Patient," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1882.
614. Item in feature column, "GLENMERE. Village notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 June 1882. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 23 July 1883, No.440; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com .
615. Puff, "Veterinary Surgeon," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1883.
616. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 February 1880. Stratton later took up residence in Swampscott; see *Lynn Directory for 1883-4*, p.675.
617. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1880.

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618. Article, "A Curiosity," *Lynn City Item*, 31 January 1880.
619. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1884 (M.D.C.); item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 November 1884 (life-long); article, "Canine Surgery," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 August 1883. The number of registered dogs (726 in 1881) was listed in article, "Dogs in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 July 1881.
620. Orris P. Macalaster was born on 30 Jul 1828; see *The Dental Cosmos: A Monthly Record of Dental Science* (Philadelphia, PA: Samuel S. White, 1869), Vol.33, p.599. He went to dental school later significantly later in life than most students, at forty-one years old. His graduation from dental school as found in *The Dental Cosmos*, Vol.11, p.197; note that Macalaster's first name was misrepresented on the list of graduates as "Oscar" instead of the correct Orris. Macalaster practiced dentistry in Portland, Maine, until his departure for Lynn in 1879. From his graduation in 1869 until 1878 he was in partnership with his brother Neil and their ads referred to the business as the Macalaster Brothers; see Advertisement, *Portland Daily Press* (Portland, ME), 16 November 1876 and *Biographical and Historical memoirs of Adams, Clay, Webster and Nuckolls Counties, Nebraska* (Chicago, The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1890), p.277.
621. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 November 1879 (reliable); (emphasis added). *The Dental Cosmos*, Vol.11, p.197 (Dentition).
622. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 February 1882.
623. Advertisement, *Portland Daily Press*, 16 November 1876. When he was in Lynn, he also advertised his use of ether, probably in combination with the nitrous oxide; see Notice, "Dental Notice," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 September 1880.
624. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 June 1882.
625. United States Patent Office, Letters Patent No.283,800, dated 28 August 1883, for Uriel K. Mayo, of Boston, Massachusetts. "Anaesthetic Mixture." An updated version, Letters Patent No.320,150, dated 16 June 1885, added lady's slipper, and skull-cap, valerian, and stramonium (jimsonweed)
626. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item* 26 March 1884.
627. *The Vegetable Anaesthetic* (Boston, MA: Boston Vegetable Anaesthetic Co., 3rd edition, 1885), pp.22-23.
628. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1884.
629. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1888.
630. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1884 (Electric).
631. Product Box, about 1879 (collection of the author). One panel also reads "John W. Perkins Company, Gen'l Agts., Portland, Maine," so the example was probably printed in 1879, the last year Macalaster was in Portland, and the first year he was in Lynn. By at least 1882, the product was being sold through Goodwin of Boston. Advertisement, *The Portland Daily Press*, 6 September 1879, listed Macalaster as of Lynn, Mass.
632. Journal of John W. Poole, 13 October 1881 and Cash Accounts in the back of the journals for 13 October 1881 and 23 October 1882. His journal entry for 23 October 1882 indicated that he went to the dentist to have his tooth pulled, but he did not find the doctor in; he then went to Aspinwall's, a pharmacy, and the Cash Account for that day shows he purchase a vial of the obtunder. For his tooth pulling at Macalaster's, see 24 December 1882.
633. The list of late nineteenth century local anesthetics, their properties, action, and efficacy, including the ineffectiveness of morphine as a local anesthetic, has been provided by the kind assistance of George S. Bause, Honorary Curator and Laureate of the History of Anesthesia, Wood Library-Museum of Anesthesiology, American Society of Anesthesiologists, 1061 American Lane, Schaumburg, IL 60173-4973, USA.
634. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 January 1885.
635. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1885 (emphasis in original).
636. Article, "Grant's Life Again Despaired Of," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1885 (Grant).
637. Parke, Davis & Co., *Coca Erythroxylon and Its Derivatives*, (Detroit: Scientific Department of Parke, Davis & Co., 1885), p.4.
638. Parke, Davis & Co., *Coca Erythroxylon and Its Derivatives*, p.17.
639. For more detail on Freud's observations and conclusions about cocaine, see Sigmund Freud, *Uber Coca*, translated by Steven A. Edminster; additions to the translation by Frederick C. Redlich; contained in *Cocaine Papers*, R. Byck, editor (New York: Stonehill Publishing Company, 1974).
640. Article, "Ruined by the Use of Cocaine," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1885.
641. Article, "CRAZED BY COCAINE," *The Indiana Herald*, 30 December 1885.
642. Article, "CRAZED BY COCAINE," *The Indiana Herald*, 30 December 1885.
643. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1886.

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644. Item in feature column, "LOCAL MENTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 April 1883.
645. Article, "Death in Green Velvet," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 June 1883.
646. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1878.
647. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 November 1881.
648. Article, "The Danger Before Us," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 December 1885.
649. Advertising trade card for *Mrs. Soule's*, Lynn, Mass., about 1888 (collection of the author).
650. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 13 July 1883 (Bador); Promotional booklet for products of the L. M. Brock & Co., about 1888 (*Dinsmore's*). (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
651. Advertising trade card for *Digestine*, Lynn, Mass., about 1884 (collection of the author).
652. Letter to the Editor, by George E. Emery, historian, "THE NEW BUSINESS OF LYNN. A Word Regarding the Patent Medicine Business Hereabouts," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 April 1883.
653. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 October 1882, 6 November 1882.
654. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1883, 1 January 1884, 21 September 1886.
655. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 15 December 1884.
656. Charles S. Abbott appears only in the *The Lynn Directory, 1887* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1887), p.33. In the 1888 directory, he is listed as removed to Ayer, MA, where at 46, he married a second time, to Abby C. Sleeper, 29. The bottle of *Dr. Abbott's Blood-Purifying Sarsaparilla*, 1887 (height: 9 1/8"; aqua glass; unembossed; blown in the mold; bead finish; labeled; collection of the author).
657. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1884.
658. Article, "Horrible Monstrosity," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 December 1882. The parents had considered raising the "monstrosity for speculative purposes, some ignorant people assuring them there was a fortune in it"; however, their priest and others convinced them that the mother should stop nursing the child and allow it to die.
659. Letter to the Editor, by George E. Emery, "THE NEW BUSINESS OF LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 April 1883.
660. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1885.
661. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 November 1885.
662. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1888.
663. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 February 1889.
664. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 May 1889.
665. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 18 August 1889 (ONAR), 19 August 1889 (Huldah; emphasis added).
666. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1889.
667. Article, "This is the Age of Humbug," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 December 1880 (emphasis added).
668. Article, "This is the Age of Humbug," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 December 1880 (emphasis added).
669. Article, "This is the Age of Humbug," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 December 1880 (emphasis added).
670. Advertisement (for *Capucine Porous Plasters*), *Daily Evening Item*, 4 April 1883 (emphasis added).
671. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1882.
672. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1883.
673. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1884.
674. Advertisements, *Portland Daily Press*, 8 March 1884 (Bergengren); *Daily Evening Item*, 18 December 1888 (Bascom).
675. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 31 January 1884.
676. Article, "Lynn's Business Review ... The Digestine Company," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 February 1884.
677. Articles, "DRUGGISTS IN COUNCIL. Mass. State Pharmaceutical Association Formed," *Lynn Transcript*, 19 May 1882; "Medicine Mixers," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 September 1883.
678. Advertising trade card for J. W. Colcord, Lynn, Mass., about 1880 (collection of the author); Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1880.
679. Advertising trade card for J. W. Colcord, Lynn, Mass., about 1880 (collection of the author); Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1880.
680. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts State Pharmaceutical Association* (Lynn: W. S. Prentiss, 1884), p.27.

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681. Article, "DISGUSTED DRUGGISTS. Their Efforts for a Sixth-Class License Fail," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 May 1882.
682. Item in feature column, "Municipal. Mayor and Aldermen," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 February 1883.
683. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "X.Y."), "LOOK OUT FOR TYPHOID FEVER, How to Do So," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1882.
684. Article, "Prevalence of Typhoid," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 September 1883.
685. Journal of John W. Poole, 11 January 1883.
686. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "X.Y."), "LOOK OUT FOR TYPHOID FEVER," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1882.
687. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "X.Y."), "LOOK OUT FOR TYPHOID FEVER," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1882.
688. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn for the Year Ending December 31, 1889* (Lynn: John F. McCarty & Co., 1890), p.13.
689. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), p.21.
690. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), p.22.
691. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), p.23.
692. Mortality in 1880 from Article, "City Physician's Report," *The Lynn Reporter*, 16 February 1883; mortality and reported cases in 1881-1889 from *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), p.8.
693. *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), p.13.
694. Article, "Diphtheria Signs," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1882.
695. Article, "Affecting Incident," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 December 1881. The death of Lillian W. Aborn of diphtheria, at 3 years, 3 months, 2 days, as listed in Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 27 December 1881, No.791; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
696. Article, "Sad Bereavement," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 December 1881.
697. The rate of diphtheria infections resulting in death was determined from the death and infection data reported in *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1889), Table IV, p.7.
698. Article, "Successful Surgical Operation," *The Lynn Reporter*, 13 May 1881. Also see article, "SUCCESSFUL SURGICAL CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 May 1881.
699. Item in feature column, "Skillful Surgical Operation," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1885.
700. Emphasis added.
701. Death of Annie C. Lovering, the daughter of Mayor Henry Lovering, in Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 15 March 1882, No.178; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com. See also article, "Funeral of Mayor Lovering's Child," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1882.
702. Journal of John W. Poole, 9 October 1886 (birth), 13 April 1887 (teething), 29 December 1887 (eczema), 25 January 1888 (congestion, onion), 10 April 1888 and 20 May 1888 (ears, boric), 3 August 1888 (stomach), 24 January 1889 (measles), 9 December 1889 (tonsilitis). John described the pouch of onion as an "onion pocket." He also recorded boric acid as "Beroac" Acid.
703. Journal of John W. Poole, Memoranda in the back of the volume for 1886. He also noted the botanical name of black willow: salix nigra.
704. Item in feature column, "WEST LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 December 1889. The list of possible symptoms associated with La Grippe are listed in James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.342.
705. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... A PLAUSIBLE THEORY. A poisonous Plant has Tainted the Atmosphere." *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1889.
706. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... HARMLESS (?) GAS," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 November 1883.
707. Article, "MORE VICTIMS," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1883.
708. Article, "ASPHYXIATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1883.
709. Article, "Nearly Suffocated," *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 November 1883.
710. Article, "Flies Versus Health," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 October 1882.
711. Department of the Interior, *Reports on the Water-Power of the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), Part 2, p.200.

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712. Item in feature column (by pseudonym "Azof"), "THINGS TALKED OF," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1883.
713. Item in feature column (by pseudonym "Azof"), "THINGS TALKED OF," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 September 1883.
714. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1883.
715. Notice, "Echo Grove," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 September 1883.
716. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 August 1883.
717. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1883.
718. Notice, "CARD OF THANKS," *Lynn City Item*, 4 June 1881.
719. Article, "GENEROUS DEED. A Legless Man Made Happy by the Present of Artificial Limbs," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 October 1882.
720. Article, "The Flower Mission," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1882.
721. Article, "DANGEROUSLY ILL. Lewis Street Closed for Travel to Aid the Recovery of a Very Sick Person," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 September 1889.
722. Article, "DANGEROUSLY ILL," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 September 1889. Carrie Thomas survived, and lived until at least 1900; see *Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*: Lynn, MA, p.13, dwelling 246, household 318.
723. Article, "Watcher's Society," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 January 1881.
724. Article, "Y.M.C.A.," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 August 1880.
725. Article, "THE DAY NURSERY," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 January 1889.
726. Article, "CHILDREN'S HOME," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1881.
727. Article, "Generous Gift," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 April 1882.
728. Article, "Need of a Hospital," *Lynn City Item*, 14 February 1880.
729. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym, "S."), "Why not Build a Hospital?" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 November 1881.
730. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1881 (Lynn: John Macfarlane & Co., 1882), p.8.
731. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... A SICK MAN'S TROUBLES. No Hospital for Him but the Workhouse," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1882.
732. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., 1918), p.27.
733. Article, "LYNN CITY HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 October 1880. Than the drums were made of tin is found in James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.70.
734. Item in feature column, "Police Court," *Lynn City Item*, 12 March 1881. See also item in feature column, "CITY AND TOWN," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 October 1880.
735. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.25.
736. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, pp.32 (Ladies'), 37 (concert), 35 (children's).
737. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.32.
738. Article, "LYNN CITY HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 March 1883.
739. Articles, "Generous Bequest," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1882; "Eliza A. Peele's Will," *Lynn Transcript*, 27 April 1883. According to Article, "Lynn Hospital. Annual meeting and Election of Officers – Abstracts from Annual Reports," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1883, the hospital was slated to receive \$25,000 from the will of Miss Peele; however, the *Transcript* article indicated \$10,000 would go to the Lynn Hospital.
740. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.43.
741. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "LYNN HOSPITAL," 20 December 1881 (considerations, requirements); "Purchase of a Hospital Site," 30 December 1881 (Hathorne).
742. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "J.F.K."), "The Proposed Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1882.
743. Letter to the Editor (by pseudonym "X."), "The Hospital Site," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 April 1882.
744. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.45.
745. Article, "Gift to the Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1882.
746. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, pp.45-46.
747. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "The First Patient!" 6 March 1883 (hanging); "Not to the Hospital," 7 March 1882 (retracted).
748. Article, "Lynn City Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1883.

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749. The starting hospital staff is covered in both Article, "Lynn City Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 March 1883 and Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.46, but the two lists do not correspond exactly. The newspaper account describes H. Mordough, a male, as the head nurse, but no head nurse is listed in the list of salaries, unless he is the same as person described in the history as "a man for general work." Also, the matron is listed as Mrs. Maxwell in the *Item* article but as Miss Clara Cowie in the history. The start-up plans for the hospital were very fluid, so there were likely several shifts in personnel, just as the physical arrangements needed to change due to the larger expected demand for beds.
750. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... SAD ACCIDENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1883.
751. Item in feature column, "DEATHS," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 March 1883.
752. Article by B. F. Spinney, "LYNN CITY HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 March 1883. Also Article, "THE LYNN HOSPITAL. What Has Been Done at this Institution Since Its Opening," *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 March 1883.
753. Article, "LYNN HOSPITAL. A Visit Made to the New Institution," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 June 1883.
754. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1883.
755. Article, Critical Surgical Operation, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 October 1883.
756. Article, "Pickpocket Arrested," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1883.
757. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital*, p.47.
758. Journal of John W. Poole, 1 June 1882.
759. Journal of John W. Poole, 16 August 1884.
760. Journal of John W. Poole, 19 August 1884 (emphasis added).
761. Journal of John W. Poole, 20 August 1884.
762. Journal of John W. Poole, 21 August 1884.
763. Journal of John W. Poole, 29 September 1885.
764. Journal of John W. Poole, 11 April 1887; also see Cash Account for the same date at the back of the volume; admission to the museum cost him twenty-five cents; this was the same amount charged by Doctor Heidemann's Great Museum of Anatomy that had appeared at Tremont Hall in April 1884. Heidemann's museum consisted of "about 1,000 specimens in wax, representing Anatomy, Embryology, and Ethnology." While it was for adults only, one day a week it was open to ladies. See Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1884.
765. Journal of John W. Poole, 12 January 1887 (stitched), 8 January 1888 (hose).
766. Journal of John W. Poole, 1 March 1886. *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Meredith, NH, p.21 (recto), dwelling 201, household 209. Annie Morrow the daughter of William B. Poole and one year older than John.
767. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... FATAL BURNING ACCIDENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 March 1885 (apron); Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Brutal Assault. A Man's Face Laid Open with a Broken Lamp," 9 June 1885 (man); "LYNN HOSPITAL. A Great Boon to the Poor of the City. Very Difficult Surgery Performed There," 26 March 1885 (lame, novel).
768. Articles in feature columns in the *Daily Evening Item*, "ITEM EXTRA ... HORRIBLE ACCIDENT," 16 July 1886 (vat); "ITEM EXTRA ... SERIOUS EXPLOSION," 14 September 1886 (barrel).
769. Article, "PROBABLE MURDER. Two Men Have a Fatal Dispute on Base Ball," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 July 1887.
770. Article, "ITEM EXTRA ... SAUGUS WATCHMAN SHOT," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 January 1889.
771. Article, "Lynn Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 September 1885.
772. Article, "Big Indian," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 July 1882.
773. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.282.
774. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.330.
775. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 July 1883 (1883); Article, Growth of Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1887 (1887).
776. Article, "RETROSPECT OF 1882. Prosperity the Disease of the Country – Caution, the True Remedy – Improvements in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1883.
777. Item in feature column, "By The Way," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1884.
778. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.222 (1828), 85 (1880).
779. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.330 (1883), 331 (1884).

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780. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA LYNN AND NAHANT," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 January 1889 (1889). The Lynn Street Railway had been connected to Swampscott by at least 1877; see feature column, "LYNN CITY STREET RAILWAY CO.," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 December 1877.
781. Item in feature column, "GLENMERE. Village Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 June 1882.
782. Article, "Hullo Yourself," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 March 1881.
783. Article, no title, *Lynn City Item*, 10 September 1881 (September); article, "HELLO! HELLO! Growth of the Telephone in Lynn and Vicinity," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1883 (March).
784. Article, "Bowing by Telephone," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 February 1883.
785. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST ... FIGHT WITH KNIVES," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 October 1889.
786. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1888, p.15.
787. *Annual Report of the City Marshal of the City of Lynn*, 1888, p.15 (1888); article, "HELLO! HELLO! Growth of the Telephone in Lynn and Vicinity," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1883 (1883). The article didn't specify whether "per day" meant every weekday or every day of the week. On a 5-day basis, the 2,000 per day average would yield 520,000 in a year; based on 7 days per week, call volume would have reached 730,000 in a year. The article further explained that for the five switchboard operators "to attend to all and answer the innumerable calls promptly it requires patience and nerve."
788. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1882.
789. Article, "ELECTRIC LIGHTING. Hearing Before the Committee on Streets," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1882.
790. Article, "ELECTRIC LIGHTS. Market Street Brilliant with New Illuminators," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1882.
791. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1882.
792. Letter to the editor (by pseudonym, "SHOP GIRL"), "The Ten-Hour Law," *The Lynn Reporter*, 12 October 1883.
793. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1883.
794. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1882.
795. Article, "Fine Drug Store," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 August 1882.
796. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 March 1882.
797. Notice, "Read This," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 March 1882 (belts); puff, "Electricity," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 March 1882 (appliances).
798. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 March 1883.
799. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 June 1887 (emphasis added).
800. Article, "A NEW ENTERPRISE," *The Lynn Reporter*, 16 March 1883 (150); Article, "The Thomson-Houston Road at Lynn, Mass.," *The Electrical World*, 8 December 1888, Vol.12, p.303 (2,200).
801. Journal of John W. Poole, 21 March 1887. Poole identifies his brother Roscoe by the nickname Ross. Roscoe was fourteen years younger than John; in 1887 he was sixteen years old. See *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Cape Elizabeth, Maine*, p.21 (recto), dwelling 201, household 209.
802. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... DEATH BY ELECTRICITY," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 March 1888.
803. Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts, 30 March 1888, No.253; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
804. Article, "THREE O'CLOCK. SUCCESSFUL LYNN BOYS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 April 1888.
805. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.337.
806. Article, "The Thomson-Houston Road at Lynn, Mass.," *The Electrical World*, 8 December 1888, Vol.12, p.303.
807. Article in feature column, "ITEMM EXTRA ... MAKING MILLIONS. Fortunes Recently Made By Lynn Men. Thomson Houston Stock the Philosopher's Stone," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1889.
808. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.329.
809. Article, "The Thomson-Houston Road at Lynn, Mass.," *The Electrical World*, 8 December 1888, Vol.12, p.303.
810. *TWENTY THOUSAND Rich New Englanders: A List of Taxpayers Who Were Assessed in 1888 to Pay a Tax of One Hundred Dollars or More* (Boston: Luce & Bridge, 1888), pp.45-50.
811. Journal of John W. Poole, Cash Accounts in the back of the volumes for 1881-1889.

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812. Journal of John W. Poole, 21 January 1888 (boys), 2 October 1885 (Knights). He was also responsible for laying off and hiring workers on 24 November 1886, 28 and 29 September 1888, and 27 December 1888.
813. Journal of John W. Poole, Cash Accounts in the back of the volumes for 1881-1889. Poole wrote his current residential address conspicuously on the inside cover or fly leaf of each annual journal.
814. Journal of John W. Poole, 23 June 1885 (ring, suit); 5 October 1885 (bedroom ["chamber set"], mattress).
815. Journal of John W. Poole, 11 September 1882, 3 and 23 November 1885 (banked); 22 October 1886 (Lovejoy).
816. Journal of John W. Poole, 31 December 1886.
817. Journal of John W. Poole, 30 July 1888. Men were hired to put in a new floor in the back room of the store and John went in to do some painting from 23-30 March 1888. Etta was listed among the milliners as "Mrs. E. B. Poole, 79 Market Street," in *The Lynn Directory, 1889*, p.603.
818. Article, "Moulton-Niles," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 January 1889.
819. Article, "Wedding in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 November 1881.
820. For the occupations of the family of Walter Ames, see *The Lynn Directory, 1882*, p.53.; Walter's grandfather, Daniel Ames, as listed in *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, MA, p.544, dwelling 705, household 991.
821. Article, "Wedding at West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1882.
822. Autograph album of Kate Sturtevant Chandler, Lynn, Mass., 1885-1889. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
823. From the *Daily Evening Item*: advertisement, 25 March 1882 (Calico); item in feature column, "GLENMERE. Village Notes," 28 January 1882; article, "Masquerade Ball," 4 February 1882; article, "Antiquarian," 10 November 1882 (Antique); article, "Paper Carnival," 2 May 1885 (Paper); item in feature column, "WYOMA. Mum Sociable," (Mum).
824. According to the *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* for the Diamond Historic District, Lynn, Mass., Section 8, p.1, the origin of the name, Diamond District, is unknown, "but it is believed that "Diamond District" came into use in the 19th century as a generic term (e.g., Gold Coast) reflecting the relative affluence of the property owners who initially developed the area"; however, a word search of the *Daily Evening Item* from 1877 through the end of 1899 for the exact phrase "Diamond District" failed to produce any results.
825. Article, "Wedding at West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1882.
826. Item in feature column, "WYOMA," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 August 1885 (tonsorial); advertising trade card (collection of the author), (capillarial); item in feature column, "PEABODY. Milk Dealers," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1884 (lacteal); Article, *Daily Evening Item*, Piscatorial," 7 November 1882 (piscatorial).
827. Articles, "Bloody Assault and Robbery," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1880 (bagnio); "ATTEMPTED SUICIDE,"], *Lynn City Item*, 31 January 1880 (quietus, euchre).
828. Article, "Don't Use Big Words," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1881.
829. Article, "Anti-Slang Society," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 November 1882.
830. Article, "Tobacco Habit with Women," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 June 1881.
831. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 September 1886.
832. Feature column, "Feminine Fancies," *The Lynn Reporter*, 18 August 1882.
833. Article, "Echoes," *The Lynn Reporter*, 18 August 1882. Parasol handle design was found in article, "Parasol Flirtation," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 August 1883.
834. Article, "AUTUMN OPENINGS. Milliners Ready to Adorn Fair Customers," *Daily Evening Items*, 1 October 1889.
835. Advertising counter show card (collection of the author).
836. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 March 1884.
837. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
838. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TRAVELING ABROAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 July 1889. The traveler identified herself as M.I.A., which initials would likely have been recognizable to others at least within her circle of family and friends.
839. Article, "HERE AND THERE," *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 September 1882.
840. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 July 1882.
841. Article, "Summer Notes. Wafting of Little News Items from the Different Resorts," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 July 1882.

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842. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1888.
843. Item in feature column, "WYOMA. Around the Village," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 December 1881 (Niles).
844. Article, "PICKED UP INSANE. Lynn Man Found Wandering About the Streets in a Missouri Town," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1882.
845. Article, "Going to Florida," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1883. Other examples of Lynn residents going to Florida can be found in articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, 18 and 29 May 1883, and 12 and 20 October 1883.
846. J. M. Hawks, M.D., *The East Coast of Florida. A Descriptive Narrative* (Lynn: Lewis & Winship, 1887); all advertising are on unnumbered pages at the back of the book.
847. Article, "AN ALLIGATOR KILLED," *The Lynn Reporter*, 24 August 1883.
848. Article, "Lynn Cottages Rented," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 April 1883.
849. Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 4 August 1882.
850. Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 September 1882. The drought is addressed in D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex county, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), Vol. 1, p.343, "An extraordinary drought prevailed during the latter part of the summer [of 1882]. Most of the crops about Lynn were absolutely ruined, the unripe fruit dropped from the trees, and much of the shrubbery and many of the trees had the appearance of having been exposed to fire-blasts. Yet the springs and wells did not indicate any very marked deficiency of moisture somewhat below the surface. We had an uncommonly long succession of very warm days, with westerly winds and clear skies. And the peculiar effect on vegetation was, no doubt, attributable rather to the burning sun than the lack of moisture." The summer rentals in the Diamond District were probably plumbed to the city's reservoir and given the drought, the ponds making up the reservoir were probably very low on clean water for any purpose. As has been previously explained, complaints about Lynn's ponds as a water source escalated when the ponds' water levels were low.
851. Article, "THE BOSCOBEL," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1883.
852. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.330.
853. Items in feature column, 'Locale Mention,' *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1884 (Novelty), 18 February 1885 (clocks).
854. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 January 1884 (dandelions), 22 January 1884 (pickle), 18 December 1883 (combination), 29 January 1884 (plumbing, Moore), 7 August 1884 (sprinklers), 14 July 1885 (sanitary).
855. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 December 1882 (Reds); article, "Polo at Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 November 1882 (Salem).
856. Articles, *The Lynn Reporter*, "The Lynn Yacht Club," 23 June 1882 (regatta), "Lynn Boat Clubs," 16 June 1882 (Neptune).
857. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... LYNN YACHT CLUB," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 August 1887.
858. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 July 1883.
859. Journal of John W. Poole; there are many instances, but see especially 30 May and 18 June 1883.
860. Article, "LAWN PARTY," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 July 1889.
861. Squib, "Challenge," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 May 1884.
862. Article, "The Glass Ball Match," *Lynn City Item*, 14 May 1881.
863. Journal of John W. Poole, 2 October 1888.
864. Notice, "NOTICE TO BICYCLISTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1880.
865. Item in feature column, "Local Mention," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1885.
866. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Mishaps to Cyclists," 27 March 1883 (header), "Mishap to a Bicyclist," 29 March 1883 (doctor).
867. Article, "BICYCLISTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1883.
868. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 April 1885 (fonts and sizes are representational, not identical to original).
869. Journal of John W. Poole, 14 October 1886 and Cash Accounts in the back of the journal for October.
870. Advertisements, *Lynn City Item*, 20 March 1880 (Buffalo); *Daily Evening Item*, 15 November 1886 (Pomeroy)
871. Article, "Oscar Wilde," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 September 1882.
872. Item in feature column, "AMUSEMENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 May 1889.
873. Article in feature column, ITEM EXTRA ... ARBOR DAY. Alvin Joslin Plants a Tree on Goldfish Island," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 April 1889.
874. Advertisement, *Lynn Transcript*, 30 June 1882.

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875. Journal of John W. Poole, Memoranda section in the back of the journal for 1886.
876. Journal of John W. Poole, 3 April 1887 (camera); 6 April 1887 (photographer).
877. Article, "REVIEW OF 1888," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1889.
878. Articles, "Palette Club," *Lynn Transcript*, 26 May 1882 (twenty), *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1882 (ladies). Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1884 (Green), 11 February 1884 (Walcott).
879. Article, "LYNN ARTISTS. FINE EXHIBIT OF CHARCOALS AND WATER COLORS," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 November 1881.
880. Article, "Sullivan in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1883.
881. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1887.
882. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... SHOE CRAFT OF LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1883.
883. Article, "Burr Picking," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 November 1882.
884. Notice, "Lynn, September 1880," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 3087.
884. Letter, Charles Kendall Clark, Office of Joseph N. Smith, Fine Boots and Shoes, 226 Union St. Lynn, MA, to Cousin Jane, manuscript, 5 February 1887. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
885. Article, "UNHEALTHY LITERATURE. Some Specimens Sold to Little Boys in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1889.
886. Notice, "Lynn, September 1880," LEPMCSL, MC181, Folder 3087.
886. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THE OLD STORY. Boy Ambitious to Become a Dime Novel Hero. Police Corral Him and the Indians are Safe," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1889.
887. Article, "THE GREAT CARAVAN PARADES LYNN. Crowds Witness the Pageant – One of the Finest Street Shows Ever Seen in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 July 1882.
888. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.282.
889. Article, "BARNUM'S GREAT SHOW ... Wonders of the Exhibition Enjoyed by Thousands," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 July 1882.
890. Article, "JUMBO COME AND GONE," *The Lynn Reporter*, 28 July 1882. Advertisements in Lynn newspapers for 1881 and 1882 stated only that admission was at the ordinary rates, ticket prices in advertisements for Barnum's circus in *The Lynn Record*, 8 July 1876 and *Daily Evening Item*, 22 June 1885, listed the price as fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children; so "ordinary price for performances for 1881 and 1882 were likely the same as in years preceding and following."
891. Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 10 June 1881.
892. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 July 1882, used this phrase specifically to describe the anticipation for the circus.
893. Journal of John W. Poole, 29 May 1886 (Union). Six years earlier, tightrope artist John Denier accomplished the same feat on a wire cable strung across Munroe Street; see article, "Tight-Rope," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 July 1880.
894. Article, "BARNUM'S GREAT SHOW ... Wonders of the Exhibition Enjoyed by Thousands," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 July 1882.
895. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 June 1885.
896. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 28 October 1882. Advertising trade cards were made featuring each member of the troupe. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
897. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 April 1880.
898. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1881 (Theatre); article in *Daily Evening Item*, 31 October 1881 (Washburn's).
899. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1882.
900. Item in feature column, "AMUSEMENTS," *Lowell Daily Courier*, 22 March 1883.
901. Editorial, "IT DOES BEAR FRUIT," *The Boston Globe*, 16 December 1883.
902. Article, "The Man Bear," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 December 1882.
903. Article, "The Man Bear," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 December 1882.
904. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 19 January 1883.
905. Article, "AN ALLIGATOR BOY. A Curious Freak of Nature – A Child with Scales Like an Alligator," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 August 1883.
906. Article, "Only an Ichthyositic Boy," *The Sun* (New York, NY), 17 April 1883.

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907. Article, "AN ALLIGATOR BOY. A Curious Freak of Nature – A Child with Scales Like an Alligator," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 August 1883.
908. Squibs, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 September 1883 (1st), 17 September 1883 (following).
909. Item in feature column, "Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1883.
910. Article, "THE COUNTY FAIR," *The Daily News* (Lebanon, PA), 8 October 1883.
911. The type of image progression described was from *Catalogue of the Parisian Gallery of Anatomy and Medical Science Now Open At 397 Washington Street, Opposite Haywayrd Place FOR GENTLEMEN ONLY* (Buffalo, NY: Warren, Johnson & Co., 1872). At this Boston museum, a doctor named Robert J. Jourdain was available for consultations at a rate of \$5.00 (\$106.67 in 2020 USD). (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
912. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 May 1889.
913. As it turned out, the planned Thanksgiving Day opening was also two days after the Great Fire in Lynn and the new dime show was set up on the northeastern edge of the devastated fire zone. The area was full of locals and out-of-towners who were free from work and morbidly curious about the result of Lynn's great fire. Those searching for morbid fare could do no better than attend the new dime show that day.
914. Article, "THE LATEST! ... FATAL SHOOTING," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
915. Sartelle was listed as a painter in *Deaths Registered in the City of Henry G. Wright, Massachusetts*, p.614, 29 November 1889, No.1455; New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com. His gravestone lists him as 26 years, 2 months, 19 days at death. See gravestone in Welcome O. Brown Cemetery, Barton, VT; on Ancestry.com. U.S., *Find A Grave Index, 1600s-Current* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012.
916. Article, "THE LATEST! ... FATAL SHOOTING," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
917. Article, "THE LATEST! ... FATAL SHOOTING," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
918. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
919. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1880.
920. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 December 1880 (hundreds), 9 November 1881 (baffled), 11 February 1881 (tumor). Catherine Pierce was sixty-one at the time of her tumor removal and died at seventy-eight, sixteen years later; see *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 27 April 1897, No. 383; New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
921. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 November 1882.
922. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1881 (emphasis added).
923. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 June 1883.
924. Article, "A SWINDLER ARRESTED. Charles E. Marshall of Lynn in a Tight Place. Boston and Lynn Parties Victimized – Marshall Guilty of Several Crimes," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1880.
925. Article, "MORE ABOUT MARSHALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 November 1880.
926. Letter to the Editor (by X.), "The Bill Poster," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 May 1881.
927. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 19 May 1882.
928. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1883. This was his only ad in this Lynn paper and it didn't mention his Indian name; that appeared in another ad of his in the *Fall River Daily Evening News*, 29 May through 1 June 1883.
929. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 19 March 1889.
930. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 September 1882.
931. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1888. The Butman's ad did not specify the French unit being sold by Davis as the competition. His ad had run six years earlier and it is possible that there were several other brands of units sold in Lynn during the intervening years.
932. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1884.
933. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1882. Their first names were abbreviated in the Lynn ad, but found in full in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Providence, RI, p.10 (verso), dwelling 65, household 1036; Alfred, 29, Astrologer, and Sidney, 28, Book Agent, were born in England.
934. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1882.
935. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1883.
936. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1883.

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937. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* (Lynn: T. Herbert and H. J. Butterfield, 1851), p.14.
938. Article, "IMMENSE CONFLAGRATION. LYNN AGAIN VISITED BY THE DEVOURING ELEMENT," *Lynn City Item*, 30 October 1880 and on at least a dozen other occasions in the *Daily Evening Item* from 1880-1897.
939. Articles, "THE DEVOURING ELEMENT," *Lynn City Item*, 13 November 1880 (Phelps); "THE DEADLY KEROSENE," *The Lynn Reporter*, 18 February 1881 (McCormick's); also see article, "A WOMAN FATALLY INJURED," *Lynn City Item*, 19 February 1881. The cause of death for 38-year-old Mary B. (Lenfesty) Phelps was listed as "Burn" and 42-year-old Bridget (Heath) McCormick was listed as "Burned to Death"; see *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 9 November 1880, No.704 (Phelps); 15 February 1881, No.88 (McCormick); New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com.
940. Article, "IMMENSE CONFLAGRATION. LYNN AGAIN VISITED BY THE DEVOURING ELEMENT," *Lynn City Item*, 30 October 1880.
941. Article, "EXTENSIVE BUILDING OPERATIONS BY J. N. BUFFUM & CO," *Lynn City Item*, 20 November 1880.
942. Article, ' ANOTHER LARGE FIRE. MOROCCO FACTORY DESTROYED AND OTHER BUILDINGS DAMAGED,' *Lynn City Item*, 22 January 1881.
943. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.88.
944. Article, "FIRE AND SMOKE. Keen Brothers' Factory on Fire – Narrow Escape of Some of the Operatives," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 July 1881.
945. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 15 July 1881.
946. Article, "DISASTROUS FIRE," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1882.
947. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.282.
948. Diary of John W. Poole, 15 March 1882 (great); 24 March 1882 (Dante's).
949. Articles in feature columns of the *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1882: "ITEM EXTRA ... BOILER BURST! Terrible Explosion on Spring Street," (Goldthwaite, Doyle); "POSTSCRIPT ... LATER DETAILS," (Quereaux).
950. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... THE EXPLOSION. Interesting Account by an Eye-Witness. ... The Shock Distinctly Felt a Mile Away," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1882.
951. Articles in feature columns of the *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1882: "ITEM EXTRA ... BOILER BURST!" (Thrasher); "ITEM EXTRA ...THE EXPLOSION," (Hanson).
952. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ...THE EXPLOSION," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1882. The newspaper account lists the explosion has having occurred "nine or ten years ago" and the boy's name as Clarence F. Alley; however, the original explosion on that site was eleven years earlier, in October 1869 and the fatalities were Frances Clarence Alley, 16, and Warren R. Reeves, 32, an oil merchant from Salem. See *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 11 October 1869, No.429, listed it as Frances C. Alley, 16 years, 6 months; cause of death, "Accident." New England Historic Genealogical Society; Boston, Massachusetts; *Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911*; on Ancestry.com; *Births Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 14 April 1853, No.240, confirming his name to be Francis Clarence Alley; Warren R. Reeves, 32, Oil Merchant, No.398, died October 1869, "Explosion Steam Boiler," National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Non-population Census Schedules for Massachusetts, 1850-1880*; Archive Collection: T1204; Archive Roll Number: 22; Census Year: 1869; Census Place: Salem, Essex, Massachusetts; Page:165.
953. Diary of John W. Poole, 24 March 1882.
954. Diary of John W. Poole, 11 September 1887.
955. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... LAMPERS' STABLE BURNED. Nineteen Horses Perish by Suffocation," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1887.
956. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... LAMPERS' STABLE BURNED," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1887.
957. Article in feature column, "FOUR O'CLOCK ... THE STORM IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1888.
958. Articles from the *Daily Evening Item*: "LOSS \$750,000. Savannah, Ga., Visited by a Serious Conflagration, 8 April 1889 (Savannah); article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... BIG FIRE IN NEW YORK," 20 April 1889 (New York); "The Seattle Fire," 6 June 1889 (Seattle).
959. Articles in feature column of the *Daily Evening Item*: "ITEM EXTRA ... HAVERHILL FIRE," 18 February 1882 (Haverhill); "POSTSCRIPT ... FIRE AT HOPKINTON," 4 April 1882 (Hopkinton).

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960. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... TERRIBLE FIRE. Marblehead in Flames Again. Entire Business Part Swept Away, *Daily Evening Item*, 26 December 1888.
961. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... BY TELEGRAPH. CREDULOUS PORTSMOUTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 January 1889.
962. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... NEW BUSINESS BLOCK. Magnificent Five-Story Structure to be Erected," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1889.
963. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1889.
964. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1889.
965. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1889.
966. Article, "A MAGNIFICENT STORE," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 November 1889.
967. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 November 1889 (New England, Massachusetts).
968. Items in the *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1889: article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... STANLEY'S TRAVELS," (Stanley); advertisements; item, "Blue Hill Indications," (cooler). The Blue Hills Observatory was located in Milton, south Boston.
969. Diary of John W. Poole, 26 November 1889.
970. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS. Terrible Visitation to Our City. Swept by Acres of Flame. The Largest Shoe Factories Burned. Central Church Destroyed. Three National Banks are Wiped Out," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
971. Article, "A PHYSICIAN'S STORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889; the physician's name was not provided in the article.
972. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED. Five Millions Lost. Lynn a Cauldron of Fire. Heart of the City Gone. Hundreds of Families in Distress," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889
973. Article, "LATEST! ... FLAMES," *The Boston Globe*, 26 November 1889 (Sagamore, Currier); article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889 (immense).
974. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
975. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
976. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
977. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
978. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
979. Commemorative booklet, *Lynn's Great Fire! Graphic Description of the Great Conflagration, November 26, 1889* (Salem, MA: Haines & Ide, 1889), p.11. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
980. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
981. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
982. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889
983. Article, "LATEST! ... FLAMES," *The Boston Globe*, 26 November 1889.
984. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
985. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
986. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
987. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
988. Commemorative booklet, *Lynn's Great Fire!* pp.11 (doves), 15 (catchup). (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
989. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
990. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
991. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
992. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
993. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
994. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889. The commemorative booklet, *Lynn's Great Fire!* p.13, states "The conflagration was remarkably free from accidents. It could not be learned that anybody was seriously hurt, and only a small number of minor hurts were picked up by reporters." The absence of fatalities has been confirmed and few serious injuries were mentioned in association with the hospital but while there were certainly minor injuries, the statement that there was only a small number is certainly true given the thousands of workers and residents who were affected by a fire that spread so dangerously quick and far.

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- 995. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889. This story was either pleasant fiction or the result of inaccurate note-taking by the reporter because the account listed the burning building being on Market Street, but while that street felt the heat and smoke of the fire close by, none of its buildings were engulfed in flames.
 - 996. Diary of John W. Poole, 27 November 1889.
 - 997. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889. Anderson was inspired to write this when looking at the "blackened remains" of the boiler and furnace he believed were responsible for the fire, but it applies equally well to all of the fire's impact.
 - 998. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA ... IN RUINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889. This article refers to the Chinese laundryman pejoratively as "Charley One Lung," but in January 1890, he was more accurately identified as Wung Lung; see article, "THE CHINESE LOTTERY," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 January 1890.
 - 999. *Lynn: its Representative Business Men and Points of Interest* (New York: Mercantile Illustrating Company, 1893), p.26.
 - 1000. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.342-343.
 - 1001. Edwin A. Start, "The City of Lynn," *The New England Magazine* (Boston: New England Magazine Co., 1891), Vol.4, p.499. [online at hathitrust.org]
 - 1002. Article, "TO CARVE A TURKEY," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
 - 1003. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889.
 - 1004. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.343.
 - 1005. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA! ... INSURANCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1889.
 - 1006. Article, "FOR NEEDY ONES," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1889.
 - 1007. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA! ... BUILDING. Music of Hammer and Trowel," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 December 1889.
 - 1008. Article by Thomas F. Anderson, "RUINED," *The Boston Globe*, 27 November 1889.
 - 1009. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA! ... LOCATING," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
 - 1010. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.342.
 - 1011. Diary of John W. Poole, 28 November 1889 (among); 1 December 1889 (Thousands).
 - 1012. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889.
 - 1013. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 November 1889. A man driving through Munroe Street in 1882 was unable to drive between two wagon teams also on the street, "the space being too narrow, his buggy came in contact with one of the wagons, smashing it and throwing the driver under one of the wagons"; see article, "Take More Room," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 November 1882.
 - 1014. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST! ... SUNDAY MEETING. Suggests in the Matter of Rebuilding," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1889.
 - 1015. Article, "FIVE YEARS' FIRES. The Danger From Wooden Buildings in the Business Districts." *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1889 (emphasis added).
 - 1016. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST! ... SUNDAY MEETING," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1889.
 - 1017. Article, "VOICE OF THE PULPIT. Clergymen of Lynn allude to the Recent Disaster – Hopeful Utterances," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1889.
 - 1018. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 November 1889 (emphasis added).

Volume 3 Index

—A—

- Abbott & Blake, 577
- Abbott, Charles S., 879
- Abbott, Grace E., 591
- Aborn, James E., 886
- Aborn, Lillian, 886-887
- abortifacients, 687, 841
- abortion, 546, 548-552, 565, 581, 682, 730, 740, 777, 832, 834-835, 838-842, 861
- abortionist, 548-549, 551, 554, 831-834, 839, 841, 842
- ABUSE:
 - alcohol, 581-583, 637
 - birds, 842-843
 - child, 555, 697, 698, 830-831, 843
 - drug, 588, 640, 641, 878
 - prosperity, 899
 - public trust, 598
 - self, 565
 - spouse, 612, 655-656, 829-831, 842
- Academy of Music, 562, 577
- ACCIDENTS: 583, 630, 688
 - axe, 673
 - campfire stove, 659
 - elevator, 556-557, 564, 732
 - factory, 556-557, 567-568, 857
 - fall, 556, 560
 - gun, 712
 - horse, 550, 899
 - icy sidewalk, 701-702, 705
 - kerosene lamp, 640, 672
 - machinery, 564, 568, 736
 - overdose, 586-588
 - poisoning, 586-587, 640, (arsenic) 878; (gas) 888; (lead) 878
 - train, 558, 564, 626-627, 630, 857, 896, 899
- Adams, Charles, 575
- ADDICTIONS: 661
 - alcohol, 581-583, 585, 587-588, 817
 - morphine, 586-588, 719, 816, 818, 877
 - narcotics, 565
 - opium, 586-587, 608, 815
 - sexual addictions, 565, 571, 655, 827
 - tobacco, 708
- ADULTERATED FOOD & MEDICINE: 879
 - almond flavoring, 600
 - baking powder, 878
 - cough drops, 879
 - cream of tartar, 564
 - food extracts, 879
 - gumdrops, 600
 - milk, 544, 581
 - pineapple flavoring, 600
 - sugar, 564
- advertising trade cards (see *trade cards*)
- Ahearne, Cornelius Jr., 606-607, 818
- Alaska Compound Company, 799, 880, 934
- Alden, Mrs. Sarah A. (and Solomon), 617
- Aldrich, Allen P., 580
- Allard, Fannie, 591
- Allard, Franklin, 591
- Allard, Lucy V., 590
- Allard, William, 591
- Allen, Benjamin 662
- Allen, Jacob A., 627
- Allen, James, 662
- Allen, Mrs. Wm., 806
- Allen, Miss Myra D., 872
- Allen & Boyden, 920
- Alley, Benjamin K., 639
- Alley, Benjamin M., 616
- Alley, Frances Clarence, 921
- Alligator Boy, 914
- allopath (see *conventional medicine*)
- almshouse, 553, 574, 579, 593-597, 630, 662, 746, 843, 894-897
- Alplanalb, Madam, 799, 866
- Alvin Joslin, 910
- Ambler, Rev. James B., 662
- A.M. Dinsmore & Co., 791, 932
- American Express, 927
- Ames, Charles E., 840
- Ames, Walter, 902
- Amesbury, MA, 707-709
- amputation, 556-557, 568, 625, 734, 736, 815, 857, 894, 898
- Anderson, Adolphe L., 571
- anesthesia: 625, 634-636, 875, 877, 956; (chloroform), 625, 816, 817, 875; (ether), 606, 634-636, 639, 705, 757, 758, 857, 875
- angel band, 612
- angel treatments, 703
- animalculae, 543, 546, 600, 619, 868
- antiphrodisiac, 889
- Anti-Slang Society, 903
- aphrodisiac, 642
- Appleton, Sarah, 611
- Appleton, William R., 706
- Arcade Saloon, 558
- Arens, Edward J., 721
- Aspinwall, Charles, 866
- astronomy, 867-868

Atkins, Benjamin H., 573
 Atkinson, William D., 641
 Atwill, W. H., 869
 autograph albums, 590-591, 661, 766, 799, 903

-B-

“baby farms,” 553-554
 Bachelder, Carrie E. J., 826
 Bacheller, Breed, 598
 Bacheller’s Grocery, 648
 bacteria, 868, 871, 872, 885
 Badgely, Mr. R. O., 724
 Bagley, Sarah O., 707
 Baker, George D., 640
 Baker, L. M., 905
 Baker, Mrs. (millinery), 559, 564
 Baker, Mrs. L. M., 658
 Baker, William A., 816, 818-819
 Bancroft, Samuel Putnam (“Putney”), 710, 715, 717
 Bancroft, Thomas F., 627
 Bancroft & Purinton, 627
 Barker, Charles Otis, 629
 Barlow, David Hatch, 661
 Barnum, P. T. (and circus), 562, 608, 686, 693, 697
 Barrett, Marshal, 583, 585
 Barrow, Albert, 817, 819
 Barry, Darius, 670, 899
 Barry, E. Albion, 817
 Barry, Emma, 803
 Barry, George W., 710, 720-721, 800, 802
 Bartol, G. F., 927
 Bartoll, John Jr., 627
 Barton, S. A., 894
 Bascom, Isaac K., 884, 900
 baseball, 909
 Baylies, Andrew, 822, 859-860
 Bean, Benjamin Franklin (“Frank”; and Emma), 541, 542, 726; children: Ada, Ida and May (triplets), 541-542; Walter Franklin, 541
 Bean & Johnson, 541, 727
 Beckford, Professor William P., 884
 Bedford, MA, 666-667, 673, 678, 692, 695
 Beede, Charles O., 855
 Beede, Miss Abby D., 658
 Bellevue Medical College, 861, 862-863, 953
 Bennet, Gilman, 894
 Berdge, Joseph P., 567
 Berdge, Mrs., 858
 Bergengren, Frederick Wilhelm Alexis, 559, 600, 638, 639-640, 644, 686, 694, 733, 744, 759, 760, 797, 817, 848, 884
 Berry, Charles P., 815

Berry, William H., 887-888
 Berry, Willie H., 887-888
 Berry & Hawkes, 668
 Bessom, Ruth A. (and Edward), 586
 Beverly, MA, 591, 725
 bewitched baby, 660
 Bigelow, Mr. and Mr. James, 577
 Bisbee, George W. (and Margaret E.), 828
 bitters, 641-642, 645, 647, 653, 654
 Bixby, George H. (of Boston), 634
 Blake, Charles, 597
 Blake, Charles R., 927
 Bland, Thomas A., 612
 Blethen, Alonzo C. (and Frances S.), 828-829
 Blondin, Charles, 705
 bloodletting, (leeches), 601, 606, 625
 blue glass remedy, 621
 blue-light theory, 621-622
 Bly, Charles L., 564, 638, 644
 Bly & Newman, 558, 641, 744
 Board of Health, 593, 594, 599, 604, 654, 857, 862, 899

BODY AILMENTS AND ABNORMALITIES:

asthma, 620, 639
 back problems, 639, 649, 655, 701
 bad breath, 651
 biliousness, 602, 641
 black worms (blackheads), 642
 bladder complaints, 634
 boils (furunculi), 633, 659, 890
 bowel complaints, 624
 bronchitis, 639, 880
 bruises, 645, 648
 bunions, 620, 645
 burns, 627, 645, 659
 canker, 651
 catarrh, 608, 615, 856, 871, 872
 cerebral meningitis, 864
 choking, 651
 constipation, 568, 591, 655, 697, 880
 contracted muscles, 639
 convulsions, 544, 600, 605, 823, 858, 859
 corns, 620, 645
 cough, 586, 602, 605, 619, 651, 653, 696, 712
 cramps, 648, 655, 681
 croup, 554, 555, 605, 642, 653, 793, 886
 diarrhea, 553, 554, 599, 681, 720, 811, 888, 907
 dizziness, 641, 889
 dropsy, 620, 639, 711, 860
 dyspepsia, 558, 608, 620, 649, 653, 655, 659, 687, 879, 884, 900, 904
 exhaustion, 612, 618, 625, 635, 655
 fever and ague, 671
 fistula, 639
 food poisoning: lead, 558; potatoes, 755
 freckles, 645, 905
 frozen limbs, 645
 gallstones, 606

- hair loss, 642, 680
 headaches, 607, 612, 641, 645, 653, 802, 816,
 839, 855, 879, 880, 890, 904, 910
 impotence, 608, 642
 infection, 552, 705, 833, 835, 885, 887, 895
 insomnia ("wakefulness"), 587, 651
 joint aches, 645, 647
 kidney complaints, 697, 839
 lame back, 648
 liver complaint, 618, 641, 648, 653, 659,
 loss of appetite, 653, 879, 888
 lung complaints, 568
 nerves, 608, 620, 681, 713, 912
 neuralgia, 617, 636, 655, 720, 721, 796, 827, 834,
 904, 912
 nightmares, 651
 paralysis, 608, 625, 805, 858, 872, 900, 919
 pelvic abscess, 634, 654
 piles, 568, 620, 689
 pimples, 645, 827, 905
 retention of urine, 636
 rickets, 608
 ringworms, 642
 ruptures, 639
 sciatica, 655, 708
 skin problems, 880
 sores, 581, 605, 620, 818, 827, 882
 sore throat, 648
 spermatorrhoea, 608, 827
 sprains, 645, 648
 stomach pains, 651, 888
 sunburn, 642
 thirst, 544, 564, 651, 791
 tooth decay 642
 urinary troubles, 643
 uterine catarrh, 608
 uterine tumor, 612, 654
 whooping cough, 552, 554, 555, 822
- Bogan, Edward, 557
 Bogardus, Captain, 909
 Booth, Edwin, 672
BOTANICAL (VEGETABLE) REMEDIES
 (predominant plant ingredient):
 arnica, 702
 belladonna, 587, 613
 black cherry bark, 810
 black cohosh, 682, 777
 bloodroot, 625, 810
 buchu, 810
 bugle weed, 700
 calisaya bark, 642
 cardamom seed, 642
 chocolate root, 696
 citric acid, 642
 cloves, 642, 875
 coca, 608, 877, 910
 cubeb, 641, 856
 dandelion, 577, 641, 642, 880, 908
 ergot, 613
 fenugreek, 682, 685, 777, 778
 flaxseed, 696
 gentian, 642
 golden seal, 625, 642, 700
 gum arabic, 696
 honey, 696
 hops, 642, 875
 Jamaica ginger, 907
 juniper berries, 810
 laudanum, 573, 585-588, 628, 741, 818, 903
 life root (squaw weed), 682, 685, 778
 lobelia, 695
 mandrake, 696, 810, 884
 marigolds (*taraxacum*), 602, 625, 642
 morphine, 585-587, 625, 702, 705, 719, 787-788
 815-819, 827, 855, 875-877, 879, 884, 912
 opium, 554, 585-587, 588, 608, 617, 625, 639,
 815, 817, 827, 875, 877, 879, 884
 paregoric, 586, 696
 peppermint, 607
 Peruvian bark, 810
 pleurisy root, 682, 685, 700, 777, 778, 803
 prickly ash, 641, 711
 pumpkin seed, 563, 607, 810
 pyrola, 695, 696
 red rose, 642, 809
 rosemary, 700
 sarsaparilla, 605, 641, 693, 810, 856, 871, 879,
 880, 884
 sassafras bark, 696, 748
 senna leaves, 696
 sweet marjoram, 642
 unicorn root, 682, 685, 777, 778
 white oak bark, 695
 wild tea, 648
 wormwood, 810
 yellow dock, 641, 696, 880
- bovine vaccine lymph, 596, 743
 Bowers' photographic parlor (Wilder T. Bowers), 542
 Boyce, William S., 572
 Boyle, Edward, 586
 Boynton, Miss S. A., 658
 Breed, Allen B., 907
 Breed, Bowman Bigelow (and Hannah), 606, 619,
 627, 628, 630, 631, 655, 764
 Breed, Francis W., 903
 Breed, Henry A., 576
 Breed, Nathan, 583
 Breed's Square, 600, 933
 Brennan, Martin (and Mary), 829
 Brock, Lemuel, 582, 583, 672, 672, 725, 793-795,
 798, 800, 905, 933
 Brockton, MA, 688
 Brooklyn, NY, 807-808
 Brown, Charles R., 632, 833, 838
 Brown Charles W., 641, 797
 Brown, William (see *William Vannar*)
 Brusilla, Mrs. (spiritualist healer), 919
 Bryant, Annie L., 576
 Bubier, Samuel M., 556, 564, 569, 701

Buffalo Bill, 563-564, 589, 735, 910
 Buffum, James N., 656, 670, 920
 Bulfinch, Jeremiah, 643
 Bunk, Joe, 898
 Burk, Jerry, 870
 Burke, Tobias, 732
 Burnham, Coeleb, 609, 632
 Burns, Catherine, 826
 Burpee, William Partridge, 911
 Burr bottle, 544-545, 728-729
 Burrill, Charles F., 921
 Burrill, Edward, 911
 Burrill, Edward Jr., 907
 Burr, Milo, 680, 776
 bustles, 558, 654
 Butler's (provisions store), 558
 Butmans (medical electricians), 918
 Butterfield, Miss. C. A., 658
 Byrne, Mary H., 891

-C-

Cadet Hall, 542, 543
 Cahill, George, 552, 605, 607, 634, 654, 746
 Cain, Abby L., 834-835, 848
 Callahan, John J., 799, 802, 880, 933, 934
 Cambridge, MA, 669, 685, 770
 Cambridgeport, MA, 685, 778, 800
 Cannon, Thomas (of Clinton), 896
 Capron, Lena, 848, 850, 852, 853, 949, 950
 Carey, Ann, 555
 Carleton, Charles, 830
 Carr & Morse's Temperance Dining Rooms for Ladies & Gents, 583
 Carsley, Hiram, 563
 Carter, John, 744
 Carter, Harris & Hawley, 679
 Carruthers, John, 621-622
 Catholic, 570, 578, 593, 600, 823, 860
 Centennial Hall, 612
 Central Drug Store, 600, 640, 759
 Central Market, 651
 Central National Bank, 923
 Central Railroad Depot (Station), 616, 603, 874, 894, 924
 Central Square, 562, 626, 686, 734, 820, 826, 858, 868, 900, 913, 923
 Central Steam Power Company, 639, 800
 Chamberlain, Maj. William D., 649-650
 Chamberlain, W. C., 870
 Chandler, Albert F., 903
 Chandler, Kate Sturtevant, 902-903
 Chandler, Mary, 832

Chandler, Susan, 551-552
 Chandler, William (see *Undertaker William M. Chandler*)
 Chang and Eng, 542
 Chapman, Miss S. E., 658
 charlatan (see *quackery*)
 Charles Blaisdell's saloon, 911
 Chase & Co., J. W., 907
 Chase, Nathan D., 674, 675, 692
 Cheever, Ruria, 556
 Chelsea, MA, 596, 605, 673, 679, 735, 743, 757, 758, 772, 881, 897
 Cheney, Sadie J., 826
 Chicopee, MA, 586
 "Chief Marshal Barrett's Curiosity Shop," 585-586
 Children's Home, 894, 909, 913
 chiropodist, 608, 620, 621, 645, 797, 873, 874
 cholera infantum ("summer complaint"), 544, 552, 554-555, 599, 662, 663, 681, 724, 767
 Christian Science, 705, 718, 719, 720, 722, 726, 735, 783, 787
 circus, 824-825, 827, 845, 846, 857, 880, 913-914, 918, 941, 947, 964
 city marshal, 585, 594, 601, 640, 655, 697, 732, 739, 740, 814, 821, 824-825, 831, 832, 834, 839, 842, 865, 894, 899, 961
 city of sin, 813-814
 Clark, B. W., 594
 Clark, Charles Kendall, 912
 Clark, George Edward ("Yankee Ned"), 646
 Clark, Steven W., 600
 Clarke, Jennie P., 551
 Clifftondale (Saugus), 824
 Cluff, John Parker, 724
 Cobb, Ellen, 833
 cocaine, 876-878
 Coffin, Charles A., 634, 901
 Colcord, Joseph W., 640, 642, 644, 694, 884, 885
 Coleman, Hannah, 557
 Coleman, John, 519
 Collin, James, 823
 Collins, Frank H. (and Ella J.), 831
 Collins, Patrick, 818
 Comstock Laws, 740, 826, 838
 Congdon, John H, 824
 Connell, Mary Ann, 593
 Connell, Patrick, 817-818
 Conner, Joseph G., 824
 Connors, Patsey, 895
 Connor, Jesse, 791-792, 931-932
 Connor & Dinsmore, 792, 932
 conventional medicine (allopathic, heroic, regular), 548, 605, 607, 608, 611, 624, 625, 626, 632, 633, 634, 654, 668, 688, 700, 719, 835, 862

- Conway family, 554
 Cook, Rev. Joseph, 568-570, 575, 581-582, 714
 Cooke, Lucy Ainsworth ("Sleeping Lucy"), 608, 748
 Cooley, Louisa, 575
 Corken, Margaret Webb, 836
 Corken, William Duncan, 833-840, 860
 Corcoran, Elizabeth, 553
 corset, 507, 521, 525, 528, 543, 559, 564, 568, 612, 654, 656, 658, 729, 904, 905, 919
 Craven, John V., 802
 Creighton, Robert W., 873
 Crogan, Mrs. Mary, 860
 croquet, 909
 Croscup, Armanella, 653-654, 763
 Cross family, 554
 Cross, Mary, 872
 Cullis, Charles, 856
 Cummings, Candy, 560
 Cummings, O. S., 626
 Currier building (see *W. M. Currier & Co.*)
 Currier, Abraham, 576
 Currier, Warren H., 644
 Currier & Co. (clothing), 922-925, 926, 927, 928
 Cushing, Alvin M., 787, 593, 602, 624, 632, 701, 719, 782, 833, 887
 cuspidors (spittoons), 600, 697
 Cutter, Abbie, 623, 658, 754
 Cutter, Ephraim, 869
CYCLING:
 Eagle Bicycle Club of Lynn, 910
 Lynn Cycle Club, 909
 Star Bicycle Club of Lynn, 910
 Cyr, Oliver (Julia, and children), 744
- D-**
- Dadman, Rev. J. H., 671
 daguerreotype, 662, 663, 767
 daguerreotypist, 604, 605, 717, 746
 dangers of servants, 571
 Dailey, James (and Catherine), 830-831
 Dailey, Susan B., 815
 Danvers, MA (South Danvers), 591, 669
 Darwin, Charles, 542, 637, 661, 703, 735, 867, 954
 (see also *Missing Link*)
 Davenport Brothers, 706
 Davidson, Mrs. M. A., 831
 Davis, Edwin W., 918
 Davis, Ellen, 819
 Davis, Herbert, 831
 Davis, Horace, 583
 Davis, Jennie L., 827
 Deblois (family), 589
 Delano, Augusta, 636
 delivery wagon, 882, 892
 diagnostic tools (laryngoscope, ophthalmoscope, rhinoscope, stethoscope), 882
 Dickinson, Mrs. Julia B. 611, 658
 Digestine Company, 799
 Dillingham, George (and Francenia), 749, 799
 dime novels, 912, 914
 dime shows, 914
 Dinsmore, Alfred, 790-793, 795, 796, 798, 930, 931, 932
 Dinsmore, Benjamin Franklin, 791, 792
 Dinsmore, Hannah (Somes), 790-793, 795, 798, 930, 932, 943
 Dinsmore, Moses, 790, 792
 diphtheria, 885-887
 diploma mill, 863
DISABILITIES:
 blindness, 565, 587, 588, 592, 604, 615, 637, 647, 836, 918
 deafness 554, 565, 570, 615, 616, 618, 621, 645, 690, 836, 838, 853, 918,
 emotional impairment (depression, despair, despondency, hysteria, irritability), 554, 555, 572, 573, 576, 577, 580, 583, 585, 586, 587, 588, 590, 603, 608, 618, 636, 638, 650, 655, 660, 661, 692, 694, 697, 783, 812, 817, 834, 845, 851, 875, 887
 lameness (crippled), 575, 591, 615, 621, 622, 648, 649, 655, 659, 701, 717, 722, 723, 724, 725, 855, 857, 874, 875, 885, 914, 918, 954
 mental illness (insanity) 555, 565-567, 569, 615, 618, 621, 664426-527, 619, 693, 709, 757, 758, 768, 846, 882, 889
DISEASES:
 anemia, 542, 549, 877
 bowel complaints, 620, 624, 723, 760, 793, 932
 brain disease, 591, 867
 cancer, 613-614, 648, 750, 832, 859, 873, 898
 cholera, 596, 645, 646-647, 650
 cholera infantum, 544, 552, 554-555, 599, 662, 663, 724, 767
 consumption (tuberculosis), 552, 554, 573, 591, 599, 607-608, 615, 621, 635, 639, 643, 645, 668, 692, 695, 707, 710, 712, 715, 753, 781, 800, 802, 803, 804, 838, 859, 860, 869, 878, 880, 881-884, 934, 947
 diphtheria (1876 epidemic), 597, 601-603, 604, 628, 745, 885-887
 disease of the spine, hip, joint, 591, 639, 702
 dysentery, 555, 599, 602, 639, 645
 hydrophobia (rabies), 870-871
 inanition (feeble birth, marasmus), 542
 La Grippe, 889
 lung diseases, 655, 875
 membranous croup, 886, 887
 mercurial disease, 639
 pleurisy, 591, 639
 pneumonia, 555, 659, 681, 682, 700, 777, 803

rheumatism, 605, 617, 639, 644, 648-649, 672, 707, 724, 762, 880, 900
scarlatina, 602
scarlet fever, 552, 555, 591, 599, 605, 624, 730, 749, 885, 886, 888
scrofula, 695, 696, 707, 781, 810, 811, 869, 871
seminal disease, 639
skin disease, 639, 642, 696, 878
smallpox, 555, 565, 605, 616, 743; (1872 epidemic), 593-599
syphilis ("French disease"), 554, 858, 877
tumor, 605-607, 612-613, 623, 636, 654, 687, 695, 700, 712, 873, 882, 897, 917, 965
typhoid, 552, 555, 599-601, 602, 607, 633, 635, East Saugus, MA, 668
868, 877, 885-886, 888, 890
ulcers, 620, 623, 639, 655, 682-683, 687, 810, 811, 855, 875, 919
Divine, Mrs. Edward, 818
Dixwell, John, 843
Donlon family, 889
Dorchester, MA, 679, 835
Dougherty, George, 557
Dow, Frank H., 912
Dow, Moody, 665
Doyle, Perley, 921
Drew, David Fogg, 542, 727
Driver, George, 645
Drury, George H., 636
Drury, George L., 639
Dudley, Thomas, 641
Dunbar, Everett H., 576
Dunbar, Wilhelmina E., 587
Duggan, Maggie, 574
Durgin, Mrs., 645

-E-

Eagle Saloon, 558, 645
East Saugus, 668
Eaton, E. B. 598
Echo Grove (picnic park), 560, 577, 583, 624, 642, 649, 734, 891, 893, 902-903, 908
Echo House, 583
Eddy, Asa Gilbert, 720
Eddy, Mary Baker Glover (see *Glover, Mary Baker Patterson, and Morse, Mary*), 700-726, 755, 783
Edgerly, Albert W., 564, 735, 827
Edgecomb, Mrs. L. C., 723
Edison, Thomas, 563, 899
Egyptian Camel Itch, 592
Elbridge, William O., 640
Electrical Developments in Lynn:
electrification of Market Street, 900
electro therapeutics, 900
Emmanuel's Bazar, 598

embossed bottles, 640, 642, 802, 885, 931
Emerson, John S. (and Mrs. Dr. Emerson), 553, 605, 606, 625, 627, 631, 632, 633, 650
Emery, Benjamin F., 654
Emery, George E., 668, 842-843, 867, 879, 904
emmenagogue, 546, 548, 682, 729, 777, 817
emetic, 585-587, 639, 817
Empire fire engine house, 647
English Cottage Hospital, 839, 861, 953
epizootic epidemic (1872), 591-593
Erickson, Frank, 824
Essex County Homeopathic Society, 624
Essex Hall, 577
Essex, Hannah, 553
Essex Quartette, 562
Essex Medical Society, 588
Essex South District Medical Society, 604, 619, 741, 754, 764
Estes, Elizabeth, 664, 768
Estes, Guilielma (see *Guilielma Estes Ripley*)
Estes, Lydia (see *Lydia Estes Pinkham*)
Estes, Ruth Ann, 661
Estes, William (and Rebecca), 664, 667, 668, 768
Etherington, Walter D., 648, 762
euphorbia mezeron, 889
Eureka Saloon, 558
Evans, Edwin, 920
Evans, George, 555
Exchange Hall, 562

-F-

Fairbanks, George W., 615, 649
Fairfield, H. P., 610
Fall River, MA, 689, 732
Farrell, Henry (and Sarah E.), 828
Farrell, Mary, 842
FEMALE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ISSUES
("diseases peculiar to women," "female complaints"): 546, 548, 639, 655, 679, 682, 683, 687, 691, 694, 699, 729
amenorrhea, 655, 682, 777
childbirth, 553, 573, 830, 860
dysmenorrhea, 655, 682, 777, 874
fetal malposition, 654
foot-powered sewing machines, 654-655
leucorrhea (the "whites"), 682, 683, 777
menorrhagia, 655, 682, 764, 777
miscarriage, 546, 655
post-partum hemorrhages, 654
pregnancy, 546, 548, 682, 697, 831, 834, 840
prolapsed uterus (falling of the womb), 636, 639, 655, 682, 683, 687, 695, 726, 748, 777, 789
sexual excitement, 655, 877, 888
uterine tumors, 612, 654
female physicians, 836, 873, 874

- Filene's Pavilion, 558
 First Baptist Church, 562
 First National Bank, 572
 First Universalist Church, 562
 Fitch, Mrs. Mary E., 575-576
 Fitzgerald, Catherine, 831
 Flagg, Elder H. K., 845
 Flanagan, William H., 916
 Flanders, Miss Arvilla A., 902
 Flanders, Martha J., 632, 633, 659, 726
 Flax Pond House, 826, 849
 floating population, 570
 Flood, William, 827
 Fogg, James, 864
 Ford, Sarah J., 554
 Forman, Jacob Gilbert, 596, 614, 642, 884
 Foss, Ida, 826
 Fossa, Domica, 821
 fouled air, 544, 602
 fouled water, 602
 Fowler, Bud, 560
 Fowler, Orson Squire, 622
 Fox Hill Bridge, 549, 551
 Fox sisters, 664, 749
 Frahill children, 602, 745
 Franklin Grocery Company, 648
 Frazier Building, 558
 Frazier, Lyman B., 576
 Freleigh, Mrs. E. V., 856
 French, Elizabeth J., 900
 French, Frank F., 802
 French & Caverly, 577
 Freud, Sigmund, 877
 Fritz (magnetic healer), 918
 Frizzell and Williams, 875
 frozen body, 552, 596
 Fuller, Henry L., 639
 Furbush, Noah, 668
 Furmont, Madam, 866
 Gloucester, MA, 639, 759, 760, 831, 928
 Glover, Mary Baker, 707-708, 715, 720, 755, 783,
 785, 786, 787, 789 (see also *Eddy, Mary Baker*
 Glover; Patterson, Mary Morse)
 Goat Saloon, 558
 Goldthwaite, E., 688
 Goldthwaite, Eben, 921
 Goldthwait, Sarah, 552
 Goldthwait's stable, 874
 Goodell, Jonathan W., 587, 632, 633
 Goodridge, Henry S., 598
 Goodridge, Herbert, 759
 Goodridge, Mary, 555
 Goodwin shoe last factory, 921
 Goodyear Rubber, 927
 Gordon, Edward, 824
 Gould, Miss R. A., 658
 Gove, Mary S., 541, 661
 Gove, William H., 698
 Grahamism, 701
 Graves, Thomas Thatcher, 586, 587, 596, 741, 743,
 763-764
 Great Fire, 923-930
 "Great Indian Medicine Prophet," (see *Or-ra-gon-set*)
 Greenbackism, 589-590
 Greenback Club of Lynn, 590, 697
 Green, Charles Edwin Lewis (C. E. L. Green), 911
 Green, Benjamin F., 624, 832, 834, 943
 Green, Josephine, 724
 Greenleaf, Catherine, 658, 667, 678, 737, 765, 775
 Grenier, Helen, 724
 Griffin's Fancy Bakery, 559, 733
 Griffin, William W., 869
Guide for Women, 541, 686, 688, 690, 691, 692, 693,
 776, 778, 807
 Guilford, Henry, 842, 946
 Guilford, Nancy Alice, 840-842
 gymnasium, 558, 894
 gypsies, 578, 669

-G-

- Gaffney, James M. 820
 Gallagher, Patrick (and Margaret), 819
 Galloupe, Charles W., 887-888
 Galloupe, Isaac Francis, 554, 605-606, 607, 613, 625,
 627, 632, 633, 634, 654, 741, 747
 galvanic battery (see also, *magneto-electric machine*),
 563, 634
 Galvin, Patrick (and Julia), 831
 Gardiner, Frank W., 799-800
 Geary, Charles H., 880
 George C. Goodwin Company, 679, 881

-H-

- Hall, Edward A., 651
 Hall, Susan, 585
 Hall, William H. (and Ella E.), 831
 Ham, Miss Lizzie, 639
 Hamilton, MA, 591
 Hanes, Lydia, 605
 Hanley, Patrick, 823
 Hansen, Steven, 921
 Hardiman, Miss Annie, 890
 Hargrove, Alfred & Sidney, 918
 Harriet Beecher Stowe, 562

Harris children, 602
 Harris, William J., 831
 Hart family, 554
 Hart, George D., 899
 Hart, Joseph H., 885
 Haskell, John C., 909
 Hastings, Isaac, 817
 Havens, Mrs. S. R., 644
 Hawkes, John Milton, 907
 Hawkes, Mary, 579
 Hawkes, Nathan Mortimer, 675, 774
 Hawks, Esther Hill, 633, 655, 658-660, 726, 817, 907
 Hawks Park (FL), 907
 Hawks & Pinkham, 660
 Hayes, Thomas, 640
 Haywood, Edward S., 606
 Haywood, Isabel P., 632, 633, 659, 765
 Hazelwood, Rev. Francis T., 869
 Heald, Amory, 568
 Heald, M. C. 568, 582
 Healey's Arcade, 563
 Healy, Augusta, 679, 776, 799
 Heffernan, Edward, 899, 927
 Heiskell & Newhall, 649
 Hemean, Emma S., 619
 Henry Morton Stanley, 923
 Herbert, Geo. C., 800, 927
 Herrick, Albert S. (of Lowell), 607
 Highland James, 646-647
 Hill, Alfred E., 587
 Hill, Frank P., 640
 Hill, Henry A., 586
 Hill, Lebbeus, 634
 Hill, Mrs. Lizzie, 717
 Hodgeman, Joseph B., 666
 Hodges, Chauncey A., 639, 679, 686
 Hodgkins, Joseph E., 559
 Hoitt, City Marshall, 825, 865
 Holbrook, Solomon H., 918
 Holden, Thomas (and Celia E.), 828
 Homan, Mrs. Elizabeth "Bessie" (and John), 634-637,
 757
 Home for Aged Women, 892
 homeless (see *floating population*)
 homeopathy, 593, 624-626, 631, 632, 633, 635, 640,
 702, 705, 708, 747, 754, 759, 783, 816, 835, 862
 Hood Farm, 577
 Horn, Clara, 826
 Hotel Boscobel, 908
 Houghton, John C., 869
 Howe, Stewart D., 643
 Hoyt Brothers, 899, 927

Hoyt, Lynn Constable, 827
 Hunnewill, Rebecca, 958
 Hurd, Dr. J., 678
Dr. J. Hurd's Catarrh and Sick Headache Remedy, 679
Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound (see under LYNN PROPRIETARY HEALTH PRODUCTS)
 Hurd, J. H., 815
 Hutchins, Isaiah M., 818
 Hutchinson Family, 848
 Hutchinson, Miss Lizzie E., 905

-I-

Indians, 578, 579, 589, 615, 645, 651, 762, 825, 853,
 882, 912, 914, 941, 949
 infanticide, 831-832
 Ipswich, MA, 574, 579, 591, 721, 732
 irregulars (see *UNCONVENTIONAL HEALTH PUREVEYORS*)
 Irving, William, 593
 itinerants, 560, 579, 608, 620, 621, 650, 734, 821, 882

-J-

Jackson, Horace W., 881
 Jamaica Ginger, 907
 J. B. Locke & Co., 910
 J. B. & W. A. Lamper's stable, 921
 Jefts, George F., 802
 Jefts, Ira P. 802
 Jennings, Thomas D., 645
 Jepson, Fred, 575
 Johnson, C. Asa, 587
 Johnson, Christopher, 577
 Johnson, David N., 566, 656
 Johnson, G. N., 717
 Johnson, John B., 651
 Johnson, Luther, 560
 Johnson, Prof. C. N., 622
 Johnson, Robert M., 703
 Johnson the butcher, 559
 Johnson, William E., 826
 John L. Sullivan, 911
 Jordon, Sewall, 823
 Josselyn, George W., 577
 Judkins, Lena, 810-811
 Judkins, R. C., 810-811

-K-

Charles Kane, 888
 Kane, Peter, 888
 Keefe, Alice, 602

- Keefe, John, 602
 Keefe, David (and Fannie), 602, 745
 Keefe, Timothy, 602
 Keene Brothers factory, 920
 Keene, George W., 569, 656, 677
 Kelley's Road House, 826
 Kellogg & Co., 900
 Kennedy, Richard, 708-710, 714, 718, 719, 721, 755
 kerosene manufacture, 668-669
 Kimball, Gilman (of Lowell), 607
 Kimball, Nathan, 662
 Kimball, Officer, 639,
 King, City Marshal, 825, 842
 Kingsford, William, 543, 565, 594, 596, 618-619
 Kirtland House, 861, 874, 897
 Kittredge, Eliza B., 645
 Knox, Charles E., 577
 Knox Building, 577
 Knowlton, Mrs. Annie, 842
 Koch, Robert, 868
 Koing, Mrs. John A., 907
- L-**
- Lakeman, Joseph, 648
 L. A. May & Co., 818-819, 871, 908
 Lamper, Mrs. J. B., 564
 Lamson, Warren H., 911
 Lancaster Block, 588
 Lane, Arthur Wellington, 695, 700
 Lane, (Pinkham) Ernest, 699, 772
 Lane, Frances Pinkham (see *Frances Pinkham*)
 Lane, Samuel, 671, 771, 772
 Laporte, Z., 828
 Langblin, William, 826
 Larrabee, W. J., 639
 Latimer, George W., 581
 Lawrence, B. M., 917
 Lawrence, MA, 693, 822
 Leavitt, Harry, 901
 Lewis, Alonzo, 660, 668, 770, 919, 922, 927
 Lewis, Dio, 612
 Lewis, Joseph T., 743
 Libbey, Charles W., 907
 lightning (danger and strikes), 541, 542, 563, 565, 798, 803
 Lily Langtry, 910
 Lindsey, Augustus C., 818-819
 Litch's grocery store, 888
 Littlefield, Horace Greely, 576
 Liverpool, Joshua, 616, 751
 Livingston, Alexander, 645
 L. M. Brock & Co., 905, 932, 933,
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 699
 Long Depression, 792, 821
 Long, Fannie A., 816
 Looney, Annie, 817
 Lord, Celia A., 827
 Lord, C. W., 592
 Lord, Edward, 833
 Lothrop, Miss., 815
 Lougee, Ella S., 610
 Lougee, Lorenzo J. (and Annie M.), 610, 748
 Lougee Medicine Company, 790, 809, 810, 937
 Lougee, Robert W., 809, 936, 937
 Louise Pomeroy (Miss), 910
 Lovejoy, Charles, 588, 606, 610, 631, 817, 896, 897, 902
 Lovering, M. A., 958
 Lovatt, Galen W., 609, 615, 617, 750
 Lowell, MA, 607, 614, 650, 749, 814, 871
 Loy, Hi, 820
 Lummus, Hatty, 613
 Lunenburg, MA, 665-668
 Lung, Ah, 820
 lung expander, 565
 Lung, Wung, 927
 Luscomb, Mary E., 548, 730
 Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, 899, 936
 Lydia E. Pinkham's Sons and Co., 804
 Lynch, William K. (and Etta), 828
 Lynn barges, 560; (*Belle of Lynn*, *Gipsey Queen*, *Jolly Joker*, *Lady of the Lake*), 560, 734
 Lynn baseball teams: (Clippers, Kirtlands, Live Oaks, Quicksteps, Third Story), 560, 574-575, 654, 686-687, 734
 Lynn Bonnet and Hat Bleachery, 559
 Lynn & Boston Horse Railway Company, 673, 722
 Lynn Brass Band, 903
 Lynn Cadet Hall, 543, 543
 Lynn Camera Club, 911
 Lynn Charitable Association, 665
 Lynn City Hospital (also Lynn Hospital), 629, 630, 631, 633, 659, 688, 756, 588-594, 640, 708-709, 756-757, 817, 894-898, 926-927, 959, 960
 Lynn city missionary, 574, 630, 632
 Lynn Common, 560, 586, 634, 820, 848, 866, 908, 915
 Lynn Common Council, 689
 Lynn Emigration Association, 589
 Lynn Flower and Fruit Mission, 892
 Lynn Freeman's Institute, 766
 Lynn High School, 564, 600, 630, 670, 674, 735, 764, 813, 827
 Lynn Homeopathic Medical Society, 624, 632
 Lynn Hospital (see *Lynn City Hospital*)

Lynn Hospital Association, 631, 633
 Lynn Hotel, 582, 583, 647, 665, 672, 764, 773, 793,
 795, 796, 899, 915, 918, 933
 Lynn Medical Society, 542, 549, 600, 604, 605, 607,
 624-625, 628, 629, 640-634, 640, 650, 654, 747,
 754, 756-757
 Lynn Music Hall, 541, 562-563, 567, 568, 575, 589,
 649, 656, 657, 672, 715, 727, 735, 819, 846, 853,
 895, 910, 922

LYNN NATURAL FEATURES:

Birch Pond, 599, 600, 890
 Blood Swamp, 602, 669, 691
 Bog Meadow, 602, 603, 770, 857
 Breed's Pond, 599, 600
 Devil's Den, 669
 Dungeon Rock, 570, 625, 660, 669, 675, 766,
 822, 865, 908
 Flax Pond, 600, 600, 603, 826, 827, 842, 849,
 857, 870, 878
 Floating Bridge Pond, 552, 732, 842
 Gipsey Pond, 669
 Goldfish Pond, 910
 High Rock, 868
 Indian Hill, 669
 Lynn Beach, 552, 579
 Lynn Woods, 580, 602, 822, 823, 842, 908
 Saugus River, 549, 575, 577, 771
 Seldom Good Pasture, 669, 731
 Sluice Pond, 600, 600, 673
 Stacey's Brook, 603
 Strawberry Brook, 602, 858
 Wyoma Lake, 670

LYNN NEIGHBORHOODS

Brockville, 796, 853, 933
 Brickyard, 820
 Diamond District, 903, 962, 963
 Dye House Village, 600, 669
 East Lynn, 823, 834
 Glenmere, 589, 590, 598, 626, 647, 675, 697,
 742, 771
 Graves End, 589, 675
 Poverty Point, 669
 Tower Hill, 560, 597
 Washington Square, 553
 Waterhill, 820
 West Lynn, 552, 558, 560, 563, 568, 577, 580,
 596, 600, 638, 642, 672, 773, 822, 823, 828,
 858, 865, 873, 888, 899, 901, 909, 933
 Woodend, 648
 Wyoma (Wyoma Village), 552, 576, 578, 589,
 598, 600, 602, 647, 669-673, 675, 676, 677,
 679, 681, 691, 698, 741, 742, 771, 772, 773,
 774, 775, 793, 804, 813, 857, 903

LYNN PROPRIETARY HEALTH PRODUCTS:

(also see Appendix A)
Alaska Blood Purifier, 799, 880
Alaska Catarrh Compound, 799, 880
Alaska Oil, 799, 880, 933
Anodyne Nitrous Oxide, 875
Anti-Bilious Bitters, 611
Atkinson's Bronchia Pastilles, 641

Atkinson's Citrate Magnesia, 641
Atkinson's Extract of Jamaica Ginger, 641
Atkinson's Toothache Drops, 641
Bador & Taylor's Hair Invigorator, 879
Balm of Gilead, 856
Bascom's Mandrake Sarsaparilla Compound,
 884
Bascom's Pulmonic Cough Balsam, 884
Bascom's Rheumatic Powders, 884
Blood Purifier and Vitalizer, 642
Brown's Amarine Bitters, 641, 797
Brown's Sarsaparilla, 856
Celebrated Perfected Spectacles and Eye-Glasses, 621
Ceylon Perle Drops, 802
Chamberlain's Sure Cure for Cholera, Dysentery, and Diarrhoea, 650
Clover Cure, 809, 810
Clovertine, 654
Compound Elixir of Damiana, 642
Curine, 796
Digestine, 799, 879, 884
Dr. Abbott's Blood-Purifying Sarsaparilla, 880
Dr. C. H. Geary's Egyptian Catarrh Cure, 880
Dr. Corkin's English Tonic
Dr. Crooker's Vegetable Bitters, 641
Dr. H. W. Jackson's Universal Worm Powders,
 881
Dr. J. Hurd's Grecian Compound, 678-681, 685
Dr. Macalaster's Tooth Powder for Children,
 875
Dr. Macarthur's Syrup of the Hypophosphites,
 608, 843, 844
Dr. Norman's Foot Salve, 621, 645, 801
Dr. R. W. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound, 809,
 810, 811, 907
Dr. William Kingsford's English Family Pills,
 619
Dr. William Kingsford's Great Blood Purifier or Great Humor Medicine, 619
Drss. S. D. Mason's Vegetable Decoction, 659
Dubee's Great French Tape Worm Remedy, 642
Echo Grove Mineral Spring Water, 642, 649, 893
Elixir of Phosphate & Calisaya, 856
Etherington's Rheumatic Liniment, 648-649
Excelsior Cough Balsam, 642, 796
Excelsior Hair Oil, 653
Female Restorative Bitters, 611
Forman's Diarrhoea and Dysentery Cordial, 642
Forman's Elixir of Wild Cherry, Taraxacum and Calisaya Bitters, 602-603, 642
German Blood Purifier, 642
Hart's Beef, Iron and Wine, 885
Heiskell's Magic Salve, 649
Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases, 649
Indian Cough Syrup, 645
Infallible Cure for Rheumatism, 648
Jockey Club House Bitters, 641, 759
Juniper Kidney Cure, 809, 810
Kittredge Bitters, 645
Life Boat Bitters, 647, 648

- Locke's Coca Wine*, 910
Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, 676, 680, 681, 682, 683, 685, 686, 687, 688, 691, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 726, 776, 792
Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Purifier, 696
Lydia E. Pinkham's Liver Pills, 697
Macalaster's Obtunder, 855-856, 875
Magnetic Catarrh Cure, 647
Magnetic Salve, 647
Mason's Cholera Mixture, 856
Mrs. Croscup's Catarrh Bitters, 653
Mrs. Croscup's Vegetable Pills, 654
Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam, 796, 798, 800, 933
Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough Drops, 795, 796, 879
Mrs. Dinsmore's Headache Pills, 796
Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters, 645, 761, 802, 880
Mrs. Shapleigh's Canker and Diphtheria Cure, 879
Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator, 649, 796, 879, 905, 906, 933
Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup, 650, 651, 652
Mr. Thurston's Canadian Balsam, 842
New England Balsam, 642, 797
Onar, 881
Oramunda, 641
Paris Pearl, 645
Porter's Mollifex, 883-884, 900
Rhodes Fountain of Life, 879
Roserine, 649
Russian Instant Relief, 642
Seavers' Celebrated Cough Syrup, 649
Shield Tooth Powder, 653
Splendid Wash for Sores on Animals, 621
Stimpson's Cordial, 642
Swedish Botanic Compound, 642, 797
Swedish Lung Balsam, 642, 797
Swedish Pepsin Pills, 642, 797
Tar Drops, 645
The Asthma Preparation, 839
The Berlin Powder, 839
The Celebrated Annissette Cordial, 641
The English Tonic, 839
The Indian Tincture, 839
Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup, 642, 884, 885
Thurston's Family Balsam, 652
Thurston's Hoarhound and Tar, 652
Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters and Blood Purifier, 652, 763
Thurston's XXX, 653
Thurston's XXX Death to Pain, 652, 653
Trichopoin, 641
ULTIMATUM (cough drops), 645
Vegetable Restorative Bitters, 642
Victor's Restorative and Preservative for the Toilet (aka *Floridin*), 642
Vitalizing Compound, 809, 810, 811, 812, 907, 936
Waterhouse's Improved Bed-Seat for Invalids, 649
Waterginsen Bitters, 645
XLNT Tooth-ache Drops, 642
Zanzibare, 647
2905 (worm powders), 651
Lynn School Committee, 658 670, 677, 697, 698, 774, 775
LYNN STREETS, AVENUES, ETC.:
Abbott, 577
Adams, 584
Almont, 552, 922, 923, 924
Andrew, 916
Ash, 563
Ashton, 896
Atlantic, 902
Beach, 889, 923, 925
Boston, 550, 581, 584, 598, 669, 670, 674, 678, 688, 694, 771, 772, 775, 779, 810, 896, 898, 911
Box Place, 923, 927
Broad, 572, 574, 598, 648, 717, 723, 824, 895, 899, 900, 913, 921, 923, 925, 927, 930
Brookline, 848, 849
Buffum, 902
Cambridge, 553, 889
Campbell, 577, 694
Carnes, 648, 828, 888
Central, 557, 600, 759, 828, 889, 914, 924
Chancery, 580
Chatham, 613, 750, 848, 849
Chestnut, 555, 602, 668, 770, 833, 909, 918
Cliff, 822
Collins, 574, 819
Commercial, 579, 613, 731
Cottage, 888
Curve, 551, 731
Daniel, 577, 669, 674, 770
Elm, 553, 623, 896
Empire, 917
Essex, 577, 598, 613, 644, 818, 855, 902, 939
Estes, 662, 665, 666, 768
Exchange, 557, 778, 921, 923, 925
Fayette, 593
Federal, 822
Franklin, 577, 579, 618, 697, 918
Friend, 575
Glenwood, 558
Harbor, 581, 743, 870
High Rock, 902
Howard, 644
Hudson, 569, 670, 694
Kirtland, 649
Laighton, 818, 896
Lewis, 892, 946
Liberty, 918
Lover's Leap, 854
Lynnfield, 672
Mailey, 553, 745
Mall, 552
Mansfield, 577, 674
Maple, 697, 748
Market, 541, 557, 558, 559, 560, 563, 577, 585, 587, 598, 600, 609, 610, 621, 636, 639, 645, 686, 701, 725, 728, 748, 782, 823, 832, 840,

- 841, 843, 894, 898, 900, 904, 910, 913, 920,
925, 945, 961, 962, 967
- Moore, George W., 869
- Moore, John B., 921
- Mountain, 557
- Mount Vernon, 924, 925
- Mudge, 654, 763
- Mulberry, 821
- Munroe, 558, 562, 577, 583, 641, 644, 744, 782,
825, 891, 898, 915, 917, 964, 968
- Nahant, 796, 873, 882
- Neptune, 821
- Newhall, 613, 648, 921
- New Ocean, 814
- North Common, 828
- Ocean, 570, 603, 896, 902, 903, 908
- Old Boston, 669
- Oxford, 553, 701, 731, 782, 787, 916, 923
- Pearl, 819, 890, 892
- Pleasant, 593, 599, 602, 634, 635, 661, 743, 921
- Rockaway, 744, 901
- Rogers, 902
- Sachem, 598, 840
- Sagamore, 896
- Sea, 920
- Smith, 593, 859
- South Common, 568, 671, 708,
- Spring, 921, 925
- Strawberry, 648
- Summer, 583, 607, 613, 748, 772, 839, 945
- Sutton, 555, 870, 914
- Tirrell, 843
- Tremont, 639, 650, 894, 913
- Union, 571, 600, 600, 645, 745, 762, 800, 818,
820, 855, 856, 864, 884, 898, 913, 922, 924,
933, 934
- Washington, 555, 560, 732, 806, 862, 872, 896,
916
- Waterhill, 598, 603, 631, 745, 820, 839, 890,
894, 896
- Western, 584, 601, 675, 676, 796, 804, 813, 824,
826, 838, 896, 899
- Whiting, 613
- Williams, 577, 770
- Willow, 563, 820, 920, 923, 940
- LYNN WARDS:**
- Ward 1, 556, 670, 677, 771, 775, 901
 - Ward 2, 556, 590, 901
 - Ward 3, 637, 901
 - Ward 4, 901
 - Ward 5, 901
 - Ward 6, 901
 - Ward 7, 556, 901
- Lyon, Albert, 556
- Lyon, Edward L., 617, 827, 882, 917
- Lyon, James M., 703
- M-**
- Mack, Katie, 697
- Macalaster, Orris P., 796, 855-856, 874-878, 955, 956
- Maclean Asylum, 664
- Macomber, Horatio N., 727
- Magenson, Oscar, 829
- magneto-electric machine (see also, *galvanic battery*),
609, 615, 617, 621, 622, 623, 649, 655, 659, 702,
762
- Magoun, Miss Susie, 708
- Maguire, Charles P., 858
- malicious animal magnetism, 718
- Marble, Edwin, 580, 625, 865
- Marble, Frank H., 639
- Marblehead, MA, 679, 899, 922, 927, 966
- Margrane's store, 920
- Marsh, Andrew J., 826
- Marshall, Charles E., 917
- Marshall, George, 826
- Marshall, J. Otis, 920
- Martin, John, 613
- Mason, John J., 843
- Massachusetts Medical Society, 548, 549, 549, 554,
604, 606, 618, 628, 631, 632, 633, 660, 749, 754,
755, 757, 758, 861, 863, 872, 873, 895, 953
- Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association, 668, 669,
770
- Macfarlane, John, 688
- maternal impression, 915
- Mayo, Uriel K., 874
- McArthur, John Ambrose, 568, 594, 604-605, 607-
608, 621, 633, 639, 746, 752-753, 756, 796, 797,
834, 843, 858, 933
- McArthur, Robert, 858, 878
- McAuliffe, Mary, 833, 858
- McCarthy, Daniel, 815
- McCormick, Mrs. Bridget, 919
- McDavitt, Captain James, 598
- McDonald, John, 606
- McDonald, Robert, 873
- McDonald, William A., 860, 870, 871
- McFarland, Mrs. Perez, 659
- McGlue, John, 874
- McGuire, Francis J., 870
- McGuire, Mrs., 824
- McGuire, Patrick, 870
- McIntyre, Professor Farrington, 868
- McKay, John, 593
- McKenney, Michael, 557
- McKeon, John, 606
- McLane, Marion A., 551
- Meacom, George E., 642
- Meader, Charles C., 825
- Meagher, William, 874
- Mears, Henry C., 576
- memento mori*, 544, 663

- Menns, Walter K., 563, 735
 Merrill, A. P., 406
 Merritt, Deputy Sheriff Charles, 662
 Merrow, John G., 871
 mesmerism, 711-713, 717, 718, 721
 Messinger, W. H., 634
 microscope, 868-870
 midwife, 629, 746, 839, 840
MINERAL AND CHEMICAL REMEDIES:
 arsenic, 585, 617, 641, 817, 843, 857, 870, 878-879, 905
 boric acid, 642, 888, 958
 camphor, 632, 668, 770, 875
 carbolic acid, 607, 875, 885
 chloral, 586, 605, 746
 potassium chlorate, 642
 strychnine, 586, 608
 sulpho-carbolate of soda, 602-603
 Missing Link, 542, 867, 954
 Mitchell, Maria, 867
 Mitchell, Mrs. Charlotte, 658
 Mitchell, Samuel, 819
 Mitchell, William F., 574
 Moody, Abraham C., 930
 Moody, M. F., 802
 Moore, George W., 869
 Morfett, Belle A., 816
 Moriarty, John, 917-918
 Morrow, Willie M., 887-888
 Mott, Elizabeth, 542-543
 Moulton, George, 902
 mountebank (*see quackery*)
 Mower's Block, 923
 M. S. Burr & Co., 679, 728
 Mudge, William R., 588
 Mudgitt, Isaac (and family), 589
 Mullane, John, 817
 Mullen, Owen, 920
 Mulpus Brook, 666, 682
 Munroe, Timothy, 577
 Museum of Anatomy, 915-916
 Music Hall, 910
 Musso, George W. (and Mrs.), 611, 617, 749
- N-**
- Nahant, MA, 583, 699, 754, 796, 797, 827, 869, 873, 882, 886, 899, 902, 908, 954
 Nanfan, Margaret Webb, 835
 Neal, City Marshal George C., 821
 Nealy, Charles W., 816
 Nelson's drug store, 926
 Neptune Boat Club, 909
 New England Female Medical College, 659
- New England Medicine Company, 596
 Newhall, Abby M., 658
 Newhall, Asa Tarbell, 548, 832, 927-928
 Newhall, Mayor A. T., 892
 Newhall, Betsy (and Rufus), 599
 Newhall, Charles E., 644, 649, 651, 760
 Newhall, Edward, 605, 634, 730, 817, 833
 Newhall, E. H. (shoe factory) 888
 Newhall, Erastus, 644
 Newhall, Herbert, 871
 Newhall, James R., 567, 592, 664, 724, 727, 736, 737, 864, 866, 908, 913
 Newhall, Mary, 613
 Newhall, S. C., 840
 Newhall, Stephen C., 873
 Newhall & Wellington, 563
 Newman, Lovejoy (and Lizzie), 610, 749
 Newmantonian Society, 610
 Nichols, Frank O., 640
 Nicholson, Joseph, 553
 Niles, Florence, 902
 Niles, William D., 692
 Niles, William H., 902, 907
 Norman, Henry, 620, 645, 797
 North Adams, MA, 571
 North Lake Division, Sons of Temperance, 578, 671, 772
 Noyes, Rufus King, 861-862
 nurse, 616-619, 629, 710, 792, 803, 809, 833, 837, 840, 841, 855, 860, 892, 896, 898, 925, 959
 Nye, James Munroe, 605, 606
- O-**
- Octagon Block, 577
 oculist, 621, 790, 873
 Odd Fellows Hall, 622, 623, 657
 O'Hara, Charles (and family), 889
 "Old Galeucia House," 577
 "Old Jumbo," 826
 "Old Sash and Blind Factory," 593
 Old Western Burial Ground, 552
 Oliver, Arthur W., 817
 Oliver, Charles F., 559, 609
 Oliver, F. E., 586
 Oliver, Stephen Jr., 576
 Oliver, Thomas Clarkson, 911
 omnibus, 667-668, 670
 Onset, MA, 624
 optician, 608, 621, 802, 873, 874
 Or-ra-gon-set, 615
 Orcutt, Consider, 542
 Orne, Joshua H., 866

Orr, J. R., 879
 Osborne's (shoe store) 580
 Oscar Wilde,, 910, 911
 overdoses: (alcohol), 585; (hydrate of chloral), 586;
 (iodine), 585; (laudanum), 587; (morphine), 588,
 815, 817; (opium), 586; (white vitriol), 586
 Ozonized Air, 639

-P-

Paged, Edward A., 911
 Page, George F. (and Amanda A.), 610
 Page and Bailey, 645
 Paine, George, 568
 painkiller: cocaine, 876-877
 Palace Photography Saloon, 558
 Palette Club, 911
 Panic of 1873, 573, 576, 653, 672, 676, 677, 686, 770,
 821
 parasites: (lizard), 618-619; (pinworms), 651;
 (tapeworm), 605, 616, 619, 650-651
 Parke, Davis & Company, 877
 Parker, Timothy, 648
 Parrott, John R., 567
 Pasteur, Louis, 868, 870
 Patterson, Mary Morse, (and Daniel), 700-705, 707,
 718, 725; (see also *Eddy, Mary Baker Glover;*
 Glover, Mary Baker)
 Payne, George H., 639
 Peabody, MA, 579, 580, 670, 692, 771, 779, 812, 899
 peddlers (hucksters), 543, 544, 559-560, 573, 581,
 605, 643, 665, 698, 715, 733, 734, 761, 785, 790,
 792, 798, 821, 880
 Peele, Miss Eliza, 895
 Pendexter (officer), 553
 Perley, Daniel, 606, 628, 730, 755, 755
 Perry, Cornelia D., 828
 Perry, Esther Francis, 570
 Petty, John R., 828
 pessaries, 623, 654, 687
 pesthouse, 597, 598, 599, 629, 632
 Pestrana, Julia (also see *Missing Link*), 542
 Peters, Jennie, 841
 Pevear, Henry A., 584
 Pevear's (morocco factory), 584, 619, 740
 Phelps, Mrs. Mary B., 919
 Philbrick, Mrs. Emily A., 639
 Phillips, Benjamin, 598
 Phillips, Benjamin J., 598, 631-632
 Phillips, Catherine, 598
 Phillips, C. Bryant, 616-617
 Phillips, Franklin A., 649, 762
 Philpot, William (Kate, and baby William), 593, 743
 phrenology, 594, 609, 622-624

Pierce, Mrs. Catherine, 917
 Pierce, Ivory W. M., 740
 Pierce, W. M., 582
 Pike, J. N., 622, 734, 924, 927
 Pine Grove Cemetery, 599, 600, 600, 602, 677, 707,
 774, 824, 865; (Pine Hill), 668
 Pinkham, Aroline Chase, 666, 667, 674, 689, 695,
 697, 698, 767, 770, 772, 773, 778, 809, 813, 934
 Pinkham, Arthur Wellington, 700
 Pinkham Block, 576
 Pinkham, Charles Hacker (and Jennie Barker Jones),
 662, 776, 802, 804, 807, 808, 809, 812, 823, 852,
 891
 Pinkham, Daniel (and Abigail "Nabby" Hawks), 660,
 665, 678, 765; (children): Anna, 660; Caroline,
 660; Charlotte, 660; Charlotte Maria, 660;
 Christine, 660; Georgiana, 660; Isaac (see
 below); Mary Ann, 660
 Pinkham, Daniel Rogers (first by name), 662, 663,
 618, 719-720, 767
 Pinkham, Daniel Rogers (second by name), 589, 590,
 772, 779, 803, 808, 907
 Pinkham (Lane), Frances Ellen, 661, 662, 665, 666,
 667, 693, 695, 772, 780
 Pinkham Hall (Wyoma Hall), 578, 589, 671-672, 673,
 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 680, 742, 774, 775
 Pinkham, Isaac, 564, 576, 577, 661, 662, 664, 665,
 672, 673, 679, 738, 803, 806, 807
 Pinkham, Joseph G., 546, 548, 549, 549, 550, 596,
 608, 610, 624, 625, 630, 632, 634, 656, 728, 730,
 743, 745, 746, 770, 805, 831, 833, 838, 873, 890,
 896, 899, 916
 Pinkham, Lydia Estes, 660-700, 726, 795, 796, 797-
 799, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 880
 889, 899, 935, 936, 937
 Pinkham, Mary Adaline, 661
 Pinkham Perfumery Company, 809
 Pinkham, William H., 658, 678-679, 742, 772, 775,
 779, 800, 803, 907
 Pinkham & Brown, 661
 Pinney, Miss Belle S., 650
 pirates, 625, 660, 669, 675, 865
 Pitts, Philip (of Saugus), 898
 Pittsfield, ME, 792, 931
 plaster, 544, 559, 576, 613, 641, 856, 918, 937
 Plummer, George H. (and Susan) 607
 Plumstead, Matthew, 697, 747
 Plumstead & Son's harness factory, 927
 pollution: (air) 888; (water) 857, 890
 Poole, Harold, 888
 Poole, John W. (and Alvaretta, aka "Etta") 854-857,
 864, 867, 868, 869, 872, 875, 886, 888, 889, 897-
 898, 901, 909, 910, 911, 913, 915, 921, 923, 924,
 927, 928, 950, 951, 954, 961
 Poor Debtors Oath, 804
 Poor Farm, 894

Pope, Harriet, 556
 Porter, Harry N., 883-884, 900
 Portland, ME, 790-791, 854, 856, 950, 955, 956
 postmortem photography, 573
 Poyen, Charles, 738
 pregnancy prevention, 546, 548
PRETENSIONS OF SUCCESS
 clothing fashions, 904
 Hotel Boscobel, 908
 language, 903
 Lynn Yacht Club, 909
 millinery fashions, 904-905
 summer home names, 908
 Proctor, Benjamin, 558, 638, 642, 797
 Prouty, Edward F., 864
 Prouty, Ida, 917
 Prouty, Mary, 917
 Providence, RI, 406
PUBLIC MEDICAL EDUCATION:
 Cutter, Abbie: 623, 658, 754
 Hawks, Esther Hill, 658, 726, 907
 O'Leary, Mrs. H. B. O., 658
 Welch, Mary Elizabeth Breed, 659, 726
 Pyne, John T., 820

-Q-

quackery, quack (charlatan, humbug), 541, 548, 578, 608, 609, 628, 613, 614, 616, 617, 624, 625, 628, 644, 648, 649, 653, 702, 706, 790, 836, 8511, 853, 861, 870, 882, 883, 917
 quack medicines (nostrums), 554, 560, 618, 679, 882-884
 quarantine, 555, 593, 594-596, 598, 599, 603-604, 605, 629, 743; (red flag), 598, 603, 744, 553, 555, 560, 696; (hospital), 629-630
 Quereaux, William, 921
 quickening, 546, 549
 Quigley, Katie, 828
 Quimby, Phineas Parkhurst, 702-703, 718, 783, 785
 Quinn, Patrick (and Catherine), 581

-R-

Raddin, Miss Arabella A., 902
 Raddin John, 577, 649, 891, 902
 Raddin's Wharf, 577
 Radford, Mrs., 905
 Railroad House, 588, 598
 Ralstonism, 735
 Ramsdell, Alonzo D., (and Mary F.) 827
 Rappeport, Abraham, 874
 Reading, MA, 596, 829
 Reform Club, 825
 regular (see *conventional medicine*)
 Relay House (Nahant), 583
 Reynolds, William B., 607, 632, 633

Rhodes, John E., 644
 Rhodes, Theodore H., 879
 Rice, F. H., 639
 Rice's (drugstore), 588
 Rich, Nathaniel W., 589
 Richardson, Mrs. Dr. S. A., 659
 Ridley, Mrs., 824
 Ripley, Clara E., 658
 Ripley, Guilielma Estes, 668, 768
 Rivers, George, 575
 Robbins family, 570
 Robinson, Grace, 706
 Rock, J. S., 927
 Roome, Charles, 583
 Roots, Mrs. James, 613
 Roundy, Susan, 584
 Rowe, William, 823
 Rowley, Bernard, 581
 Rowley, MA, 591
 Russell, Enoch G. (and Caroline), 542, 543; children: Edgar, 542-544 (triplet); Frank, 542; Fred, 542; George, 542; Herman, 542-544 (triplet); Jennie, 542-544 (triplet); Laura, 542; Percy, 542
 Russell, Thurston, 907
 Ruth, Alexander, 576

-S-

Sagamore House (Hotel), 600, 611, 615, 616, 618, 620, 622, 623, 641, 643, 649-650, 672, 760, 815, 825, 827, 838, 856, 882, 899, 917, 919, 924, 927
 Salem, MA, 579, 620, 664, 679, 721, 741, 744, 765, 813, 829, 835, 895, 909, 918, 966
 Sanitary Association of Lynn, 604, 628, 629, 631, 756, 858
 Sargent, Mrs. Adelia, 579
 Sargent, Lucius C., 558, 645, 761, 802, 880
 Sargent, Nellie, 549, 730
 Sartelle, Professor H. F., 916
 Saugus, MA, 579, 660-661, 668, 754, 761, 765, 768, 792, 793, 837, 898, 931, 932
 Saugus River, 549, 575, 577, 771, 824, 907
 Saunders, Fred, 874
 Sawtell, Stephen H., 576, 593
Science and Health, 703, 715, 717, 719-720, 722, 724, 783, 785, 787
 Scribner, Amos P., 724-725
 S. C. Tozzer & Co., 895
 séances, 706-708, 717, 720
 Searles, Fred, 926
 Seavers, George W., 649
 Sedgewick, W. T., 868
 Shannahan, William, 830
 Shapleigh, Mrs. Margaret A., 879, 887

- Sharp, John G., 791, 931
 Shattuck, Charles, 627
 Shattuck, Harriet, 627
 Shaw, City Marshal, 825, 894
 Shaw, Mary, 660, 766
 Shepardson (Indian medicine healer), 918
 Sherman (physician), 594
 Shipman, Lucien E., 734
 Shipton, Mother, 864
 Shorey, John L., 559
 Short, Philip, 598
 Shute, Miss Fanny P., 828
 Simons, Debbie, 580
 Simpson, William (see *Alligator Boy*)
 Singer Sewing Machine, 927
 Sisson, Albert H., 900
 Skay, Job, 670
 Sleeper, George F., 685
 "Sleeping Lucy," (see *Lucy Ainsworth Cooke*)
 Smith, Laura Cuppy, 671
 Smyth, H. J., 919
 Snow, Abby, 613
 Snow, James A., 745
 Snow & Messinger, 576, 639, 640, 642, 643, 885
 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 593, 842
 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 698
 Society for the Protection of Abused and Neglected Children (SPANC), 843
 soda fountains: 558, 878 (Tufts' Arctic Fountain), 558, 638; (Tufts' Radiant), 638
 Somerville, MA, 551, 579, 622, 664, 736, 768, 936
 Sons of Temperance, North Lake Division, 578, 671, 772
 soothing syrups, 554, 645
 Soule, Charlotte (and Hatfield), 798, 933
 Southwick family, 570
 spelling matches, 562
 Spinney, B. F., 928
 Spinney, Lester, 557
 Spinney, Mattie L., 590
 spiritualism, 565, 609, 618, 664, 671, 675, 677, 706, 707, 708, 717, 720, 749, 775, 846, 848, 850, 852, 853, 865-866
 spittoons, 600, 745
 Spofford, Daniel ("Harry") Harrison, 719-722
 Sprague's store, Chandler, 639
 Sprague, W. D., 907
 Springfield, MA, 589, 928
 Stanley, Charles S., 710-711, 714, 721, 722, 785
 Stanstead, Quebec, Canada, 804, 852
 St. Clair, Mrs., 639
 Stearns, Dr., 917
 Stearns, Francis, 576
 Stephenson, C. A., 559
 Stevens, Frank D. S., 830, 838, 856, 870, 887, 897, 898, 915
 Stevens, Thomas, 874
 Stevenson, Dr., 856
 St. George Dining Room, 621
 Stickney, Edward C., 916
 stillbirths, 554, 731
 Stoddard, Susan, 613
 Stone, Mrs. Emeline Augusta, 604
 Stone, Frances L., 552
 Stone, Marshal William, 580, 842, 895
 Strain, Father, 860
 Strong, William, 674
 Sudbury, MA, 696
 suicide, 573, 583, 585-586, 587-588, 741, 812, 814, 815, 817-818, 819, 878, 903; (laudanum), 818; (morphine), 818
 summer complaint (see *cholera infantum*)
 Swan, Anna E. 627-628
 swill milk, 544
 Symonds, Alice, 826

-T-

- Tapley, Phillip P., 564
 Tapley, Warren, 634, 638, 641, 643
 tapping, 634
 Tarbell, William E., 613
 Tarbox, George O., 593
 Tarbox, James E., 926
 Tarbox, James Monroe, 873
 Taylor, Professor, 611
 Taylor, Susie, 840
 Tebbetts, C. B., 894
 telephones, 563, 609, 808, 863, 895, 899, 900, 930, 961
 telescope, 867-868
 Temperance Oyster House, 583
 tenement squalor, 554
 Tewksbury, J. W., 674
 The Long Depression, 674
 The Radical Club, 657
 Thomas, Miss Carrie M., 892
 Thomas, Edward Agustus, 576
 Thompson, Edward J., 785
 Thomas, Rufus, 892
 Thompson, William, 620, 628
 Thomson, Elihu, 908
 Thomson-Houston Electric Company, 889, 901, 916
 Thorn, Harwood, 843
 Thrasher, David S., 921

Thurston, Albert Theodore, 651, 738, 762
 Thurston, George B., 651-653, 763, 797, 800
 Thurston, John A. (and Eliza), 585, 762, 774, 926,
 Tingley Compound Company, 881
 Tingley, Mrs. Huldah, ,
 Tobin, Patrick, 822
 Todd, George Clarkson, 679, 776
 Toms, Mansfield, 833, 848
 Tom Thumb, 542
 Toppan, Warren, 638, 687, 694, 797, 802, 874, 929
 Tozzer, Clarence, 558, 764, 895
 Townsend, Professor W. H., 866
 tracheotomy, 605, 887, 897
 Tracy, Cyrus, 868
 trade cards, 793, 795-796, 798-802, 807, 813, 861,
 880, 889, 932, 933, 934, 936, 954, 964
 tramps (see *floating population*)
 Travers, E. M., 796
 Traverse, Susan S., 587
 Tremont Hall, 898
 triplets: (Bean Triplets) 541-542, 727; (Russell
 Triplets) 542-546, 679, 727, 728, 729, 799
 trocar, 634
 Trask, Charles H., 576
 Truell, Susie J., 588
 Tucker Block, 891
 Tucker, Marcus E., 891
 Tucker's tobacco store, 898
 Turner, Frederick, 897
 Tuttle, George H., 700, 722, 786
 Tuttle, Jane, 823
 Tyler, Mrs. Ada, 819
 typhoid fever, 886

-U-

UNCONVENTIONAL HEALTH PURVEYORS:
 astrological healers, 609, 611, 717, 918-919
 botanical (vegetable) physicians, 565, 618, 648
 cancer and humor doctors, 608, 613-615, 750,
 859-860, 871-872, 873-874
 clairvoyant physicians, 551, 609-612, 617-618,
 658-659, 703, 717, 720, 748, 799, 866
 eclectic healers, 612, 617-618, 659, 861, 882, 883
 electric physician, 615, 618, 750, 918
 faith cure, 856
 homeopaths, 587, 593-594, 602, 606, 608, 612,
 624-625, 626, 632, 633-635, 637, 640, 642,
 659, 701-702, 705, 708, 747, 756, 783, 791,
 816-817, 832-833, 838, 862, 887
 Indian doctors, 615, 809-810, 918
 magneto-electric healers, 609, 615, 617, 619,
 621, 622, 623, 655, 659, 702, 918
 mesmeric doctor (animal magnetism), 702, 708,
 709, 718, 748, 785

metaphysical healing, 627, 705-707, 708, 714,
 719-721, 722, 856
 odycians, 608, 747-748
 phrenologists, 608
 specialists: (chiropodists), 608, 620, 621, 645,
 873-874; (psychopaths); 608, 747-748;
 (sex advice lecturers), 608
 spiritualist healers (healing mediums), 612, 617,
 622, 625, 707, 708, 717, 918-919
 Undertaker William M. Chandler, 597, 824
 Union Block, 664
 "Universalopathy," 633
 Urann, Frederick W., 615, 750
 uterine disease and abnormalities, 546, 565, 655

-V-

vaccination, 593-596, 598, 599, 628, 720, 743, 746,
 861-863
 Valpey & Son, S. B., 563
 Vannar, William (aka William Brown), 583-585, 651,
 740, 819, 926
 Verity, Sarah, 549, 730
 vermifuges, 554, 650, 881
 VERMIN: 579, 719, 752
 rats, 571, 575, 878, 889
 Verry, Addie, 688
 vesication (blistering), 606
 veterinary, 874
 Vickary, Nathan, 551
 Vickery, Edward, 921
 Vieira, Joseph, 598, 630
 Vincent, Agnes, 821

-W-

Wade, J. D., 927
 Wah Lee, 571
 Waite, Rev. Arthur A. (and Ellen), 845-854, 865, 947,
 948, 949, 950
 Walcott, Andrew P., 911
 Walden, Edwin, 902
 Walden, Edwin Jr., 902
 Waldron, Catherine, 618-619
 Walsh, Councilman, 614
 Ward, Ralph O., 891-892
 water cure (establishment), 688
 watchers for the sick, 616, 892
 Waterhouse, George H., 649
 Wayland, MA, 666-667
 W. B. Gifford & Co., 904
 Webster, John O., 549, 554, 602, 609, 631, 634, 650,
 655, 727, 741, 746, 756
 Webster, Mother, 707-708
 Weeks, Jonathan, 613, 615

Weeks, Joseph C., 613-614, 873
Weeks & Potter, 693, 752, 804, 881
Welch, Jacob, 809, 810, 891
Welch, John, 829
Welch, Mary Elizabeth Breed (M. E. B. Welch), 656, 658, 726 , 833
Weld, Mrs. William H., 650
Wenham, MA, 591, 661, 766
Wentworth, Charles, E., 649
Wentworth, H. S., 917
Wentworth, Nellie M. 828
Wentworth, Sally, 708,
Wentworth, Sara A., 549, 730
West Lynn Amateur Telegraphic Association, 563
West Lynn Boat Club, 909
Western Union Telegraph, 924, 927
White, Miss Annie, 822-823
White, George A., 560
White, Lloyd T. (and Mary A.), 822
Withey, Amos I., 637
Whitten, Officer, 585
Whittier, John Greenleaf, 927-928
Widow & Orphan's Society, 892
Wilder, Fred W., 643-643, 644
Williams, Emma Maria, 541, 726
Williams, Margaret, 817
Wilson, James G., 576
Wilson and Logan, 650
Winship, Frank S., 910
Winslow, Mrs. Abbie, 725
Witherell, Jeremiah, 555, 732
Withey, Charles H., 563
W. M. Currier & Co. (see *Currier & Co.*)
Wood, Sara J., 826
Woodbury, Sarah, 672
Woodhull, Victoria C., 657
Woodman, George S., 632
Woodbury, Charles Herbert, 911
Woodbury, Seth D., 577
Wool, Alice Swasey, 724-725
Worcester, MA, 586, 741, 767, 916, 947
Wright, Henry G., 661
Wright, Rev. Nathan R., 711
Wright, Wallace W., 711
Wyman, Poole and Worthen (grocery store), 573
Wyoma Band, 673
Wyoma Hall (see *Pinkham Hall*)
Wyoma Trotting Park, 673, 773, 795, 796

-Y-

Yankee panics, 592
Yeaton, George H., 621
Yell, Moses, 751
Yellow Tuesday (1881), 864
York, Seth, 823
Young, Lena, 688, 695
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 831, 867, 869, 892, 894
Young's Hotel, 560

-Z-

zymotic disease, 886

-X-
xenophobia (racism), 554, 570