

# PROMISING CURES

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

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



**Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures**

ANDREW V. RAPoZA

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Andrew V. Rapoza

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## Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures



## **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

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## Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures

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<b>Chapter 10: 1890-1899 – <i>Exposing The Naked Truth</i></b>	987
Cosmetic Surgery – 991, Electrifying ... & Shocking! – 1020, Money Madness – 1028, Secret Ingredients – 1054, Complete Transparency – 1068, Panics, Plagues, & Tender Mercies – 1077, Alien Invasion – 1101, Future Tense – 1117, Chapter 10 Notes – 1132	
<b>Epilogue: 1900-1929 – <i>City of the Dead, Land of the Living</i></b>	1165
Death & Old Medicine – 1165, New Battles, New Weapons – 1167, Broken, Beaten Up, & Busted – 1191, Epilogue Notes – 1207	
<b>Volume 4 Index</b>	1215
<b>Postmortem</b>	1226
<b>Appendix A: Lynn, Massachusetts, Proprietary Health Products</b>	1227
<b>Appendix B: Lynn, Massachusetts, Trademarks for Proprietary Health Products</b>	1261
<b>Appendix C: Health Product Endorsements of Lynn Residents</b>	1311
<b>Appendix D: Health in Lynn’s Popular Culture</b>	1331
<b>Appendix E: Mrs. Dinsmore’s Jeweled Casket</b>	1353
<b>Appendix F: Lydia E. Pinkham Co. Booklets for U.S. Distribution</b>	1375

# 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 4 – LATE-CENTURY EXPOSURES

### Chapter 10: 1890-1899 – *Exposing the Naked Truth*

Promising Cures of the 1890s.	992
Interior of Examining Office of Geo. H. Newell, Optician, about 1893.	993
F. L. Barnard, Jeweler and Optician.	993
Multi-legged Attacks.	999
Physical Culture Through the Eyes of a Child, 1893.	1004
<i>"How Boston's Garbage Has Affected Our Beaches."</i>	1017
<i>"Over 100 Feet Above the Earth."</i>	1026
The Cough Drop Candidate, 1892.	1029
The Pinkham Wagon Train, 1896.	1042
The Living Legend, 1894.	1044
Business Cards of Magnetic Healers in Lynn from the 1890s.	1051
Searching for the Bullet in Hanley, 1896.	1073
Edward Trevert, <i>Something About X RAYS For Everybody.</i>	1076
X-ray of a 6-fingered Hand.	1076
Quarantine Placard, 1890s-1910s.	1082
Cholera House, 1892.	1104
<i>"HE SWALLOWS THE DOSE AT LAST."</i>	1116
(advertisement) The Mayor of Lynn.	1131

### Epilogue: 1900-1920 – *City of the Dead, Land of the Living*

Infant Incubator Showroom, Wonderland Amusement Park, Revere Beach, MA	1168
Patient Outpatients.	1172

Pride of the Maternity Department.	1172
Young Patients and Their Nurses.	1173
Lynn Hospital Day Pin and Ribbon, both about 1906.	1173
Sputum Cup and Sputum Flask.	1175
Brothers Forever.	1177
Promising Cures from 1900-1929.	1179
The Factory of Charles Crompton & Sons, about 1910.	1186
Crompton's Delivery Wagon, 1910.	1187
Burrill's Tooth Powder Fleet	1189
Burrill Advertising Postcards & Ink Blotter.	1190
<i>Delmac</i> Box Art, about 1901.	1195
<i>Crompton's Extract of Ginger</i> , to take the edge off of Prohibition.	1204
The Wet Cellar in a Dry State.	1205
Cootie Game, 1927.	1206
20 <sup>th</sup> Century Tonic.	1207



❧ Chapter 10: 1890-1899 ❧

## Exposing the Naked Truth

*The sick man ... What he wants is a cure, and it makes little difference to him whether the “regular” or the “irregular” methods are employed.*

Letter to the editor by “Liberty”  
*Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1894

*Electricity does nearly all that drugs can do and leaves no poison behind in the system. ... Science knows only cold facts: It knows nothing of superstition and performs no miracles.*

Edward Trevert  
*Electro-Therapeutic Hand Book*, 1898

**E**lihu Thomson owned Lynn. Other men had more money, the mayor and aldermen ran the city, and the police force had the shiny badges and billy clubs, but Elihu Thomson had the power. He brought great wealth, importance, respect, and acclaim to the city – and he brought electricity. As Lynn emerged from its own ashes, it positively glowed with promise and potential; it was being transformed by the powers of electricity and Elihu Thomson. The future seemed brighter than ever.

The impact of this inventor was the difference between night and day. The old city had hobbled into the decade on the heels of a devastating fire. Shoemaking sputtered while factories rebuilt and restocked; some of the burned-out manufacturers relocated to other cities. Even worse, when the new decade arrived, shoe orders were often soft, like old worn-out leather that could no longer provide a full day’s work.<sup>1</sup> Over the years, Lynn had done all it could to mechanize and modernize its ancient craft, but its livelihood had been cobbled together with just shoes, a necessary but lackluster commodity. Like Gardner’s chairs and Fall River’s fabrics, Lynn just was what it was, doing what it had always done. A woman’s shoe and a cobbler’s hammer were permanently fastened to the city seal long ago because frankly, shoemaking was expected to keep the city vibrant forever. As the future approached, Lynn needed a new spark of life.

From Thomson’s genius flowed hundreds upon hundreds of electrical inventions that received patents.<sup>2</sup> Sales of electrical equipment from the Thomson-Houston Electric Company that bore his name eclipsed ten million dollars by 1890 (\$284 million in 2020 USD) and it employed over 4,000 people in 1892; even the company’s acronym – T.-H. E. Company – as it was constantly abbreviated, proclaimed its unique importance.<sup>3</sup> Thomson’s home, a splendid mansion looking out on Nahant Bay and the ocean beyond, was big enough to one day become Swampscott’s stately town hall. He was referred to by adoring disciples with the same super-human reverence as Thomas Edison: the latter being anointed the Wizard of Menlo Park and the local hero as the Wizard of Swampscott.<sup>4</sup> He was consistently deified in Lynn’s newspapers like he had replaced St. Cripsin as the city’s patron saint; he could probably have walked on water if he wanted to, but he was too busy letting there be light.

Those who put him on his towering pedestal were his biggest fans. In a city steeped in the tradition of shoemaking, the electrical wizardry of Elihu Thomson must have magnetically pulled at the line workers in the shoe factories who dreamed of attracting more copper, silver, and even gold to their pockets. Twenty-four-year-old Alexander Stanton was one such dreamer, a Lynn shoe worker dabbling in the wizard's world of electrical invention because he felt inspired to harness electricity like Lynn's resident genius had done so many hundreds of times. Elihu Thomson had made a fortune generating an invisible force out of nothingness; maybe Alexander Stanton could do it, too.

Alexander knew a lot about nothingness: he was born and raised in it. He was the third of eight children born in an impoverished family that moved around a great deal in search of work. At twelve years old he was already at work in a New Bedford cotton mill, along with his brothers who were fourteen and sixteen.<sup>5</sup> The family had moved there from far upstate New York, perhaps to escape the painful memory of losing one of the children in a tragic, avoidable accident. The parents had temporarily left the house, leaving their children fooling around at home, the oldest being thirteen. A four-year-old tyke climbed into a chair and pulled over a lamp set in a window; it struck him on the head, breaking the lamp and spilling the oil on the little boy and his clothing, which immediately ignited. His siblings, nine-year-old Alexander among them, watched with horror their little brother's last moments: "Frightened by the fire and made frantic by the pain of the burns, he rushed for the door, trampling with his bare feet on the broken glass. ... His neck, back legs and feet were burned almost to a crisp, and, though medical aid sought in every way to save him, or at least relieve his sufferings, he lingered only until Saturday morning."<sup>6</sup>

Their father was unemployed in New Bedford as his young sons toiled in the mill; perhaps the local economy didn't need another miller or maybe he hadn't been able to recover emotionally from the tragic loss of his child. Two years later, Alexander was a fifteen-year-old shoe cutter in Haverhill, and in the next year, 1884, a shoe cutter in Portland, Maine, although the rest of his family had moved to St. Louis, Missouri.<sup>7</sup> Father Stanton was still struggling: a notice appeared in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in May of that year that he was missing and "his family is very anxious to hear from him; he is 45 years old, gray hair and beard ...."<sup>8</sup> Alexander stayed in Portland for the next several years, probably sending some of his wages to help his mother out, and in 1887 he likely learned by letter from her that another younger brother had died in a drowning accident in the Mississippi River.<sup>9</sup>

As the new decade arrived, Alexander, now a young man and an experienced shoe cutter, moved down to Lynn and found employment in a shoe company at 3 Box Place, across the street from where John Poole worked.<sup>10</sup> Moving to Lynn after the Great Fire had decimated many of the shoe factories was a brave move for the young shoe cutter, but the city's other, newer industry, electrical products, intrigued him and, even while continuing to earn his keep by cutting shoe leather, he learned what he could about electrical circuitry and came up with his own product and hope to improve his lot in life.

He applied electrical science to a hairbrush – not the deceptive flummery that the popular *Dr. Scott's Electric Hair Brush* provided with just a magnetized rod embedded in its handle, even though it was impressively embossed with swirling vines, floating banners, regal emblems, a fistful of lightning bolts, the catchy motto, "THE GERM OF ALL LIFE IS ELECTRICITY," and the word "ELECTRIC" emblazoned across the whole in tremendous letters.<sup>11</sup> Despite being loaded with ornate promise, the Scott products gave only a mild tickle of static electricity to the user, but Alexander Stanton invented – and patented – a real, honest-to-goodness *electric* hair brush. It wasn't anywhere near as fancy and fine as the Scott hairbrush, but embedded in its plain brush head was a complete electrical circuit: wires, resistors, capacitors, inductors, diodes, and transistors – the same circuit that powered T.-H. E. Company's horseless trolleys, giant dynamos, and equipment-lifting cranes – but miniaturized into the head of a hairbrush.

Stanton promised in his patent application that his hairbrush would change gray hair back to its natural color, in effect reversing Nature's aging process and rejuvenating users' heads with its energy and strength – an electrical fountain of youth for the hair.<sup>12</sup> His hairbrush design had a hunchback over the bristles – a large cast iron shell housing a battery of two metallic plates, one copper the other zinc, surrounded by asbestos packing moistened with sulphuric acid. Wires from the plates wound around an induction coil in a second compartment below, which then connected to fine copper wire filaments embedded in the brush tufts of Columbia grass, every brushstroke on the head giving little tingles.<sup>13</sup> On paper, at least, it was electrically effective and with the sulphuric acid and asbestos, potentially a little dangerous; but its medical efficacy would have to be decided by customers.

In the 13 November 1891 issue of the *Daily Evening Item*, a daily feature titled "Electrical Notes" listed the most recent patents issued to Lynn inventors and, sitting boldly among the newest electrical patents of Elihu Thomson and three of his associates who assigned the rights for their inventions over to T.-H. E. Company, was Alexander Stanton, awarded Patent Number 462,599 for his electric hairbrush. It was a heady moment for the lowly shoe cutter to see his name appearing next to the great wizard and other inventors at T.-H. E. Company.

Stanton had some faithful friends who were willing to help capitalize a start-up business to produce and sell his brushes.<sup>14</sup> Now the energized young inventor would greatly benefit from the endorsements of some well-respected Lynn businessmen to put him in the spotlight on the road to success. Lynn's first annual board of trade gala was coming up, but he was not yet an accomplished somebody who had been invited; however, his patent notice had been in the paper, so maybe someone at the dinner would have a few good words to say about his invention; maybe even the Wizard himself.

In a word, the board of trade's inaugural gala was magnificent. It was a convocation of over a hundred and fifty Lynn businessmen who had unequal bulges in their wallets, but a kindred drive to succeed. It seemed like everyone who was anyone (and some who were trying to become someone) were there: Charles H. Pinkham, leader of a nation-wide patent medicine empire; Dr. Frank D. S. Stevens, Lynn's former city physician; Charles R. Rumsey, Alexander Stanton's employer; hotel proprietor Nelson J. Wales; W. M. Wires, the prolific photographer; Mayor Elihu B. Hayes, and a bluebook-worthy list of manufacturers, lawyers, and bankers, all rubbing elbows with storekeepers and carpenters, the bellwethers of growth.<sup>15</sup> This was a night to bask together in their city's success and their own victories, sharing war stories, and perhaps swapping a few business cards, while luxuriating in their elegant new meeting hall and being served a banquet of the finest foods. The elaborate feast was not meant for dieters or dyspeptics; plates and platters were filled with Blue Point Oysters on the Half Shell to Filet of Beef with Mushrooms and Red-Headed Duck with Jelly, Potatoes ala Crème, Lobster Salad, Chicken Croquettes with French Peas, Roman Punch, and a selection of nineteen desserts, among many other delights. No expense was spared – nothing was too good for Lynn's scions of success.<sup>16</sup> The *Daily Evening Item* covered every bit of the epic event with the enthusiasm of an outsider sneaking peeks of an exciting baseball game through a knothole in the fence: "The tables in the hall were handsomely prepared, and in addition to ample electric light provided there were softly gleaming banquet lamps at every other board."<sup>17</sup> Added to these points of light were the flickering orange firmament of cigarettes that had been served along with the entrees. D. Herbert Sweetser, the president of the board of trade, told the packed room of elites, "We have as able, enterprising, far-sighted businessmen as can be found in any community. Their success in the industries for which we have a world-wide reputation is proof of this."<sup>18</sup> He was preaching to the choir.

After dinner was over, cigars were distributed to all of the sated guests and "when the smoke of lighted cigars became a signal for the post-prandial exercises," President Sweetser rapped the room to order.<sup>19</sup> Three vaunted speakers were the honored, invited guests for the evening's program. The first two speakers from Boston spoke as eloquently as they could about the

importance of trains and fire insurance; then the room of Lynn leaders focused their attention on the person from whom they most wanted to hear: their local hero, Elihu Thomson, the final and most anticipated speaker. Mayor Hayes's introduction couldn't have been more full of praise and admiration if he had been nominating Thomson as the next president of the United States; doubtless, many in the room would have unhesitatingly seconded the nomination:

"Of all the manufacturing establishments among us, we all take the greatest pride and satisfaction in the Thomson-Houston Electric works. ... The establishment of this great business enterprise here has made Lynn one of the great manufacturing cities in the country. ... Gentlemen, I shall have the pleasure next of presenting to you a man whose inventive genius and scientific research has made these accomplishments possible; a man who, although comparatively a new man among us, *the city of Lynn will owe more in the future for her advancement and progress in upbuilding than to any other gentleman.* ..." The Mayor then asked that a genuine Lynn greeting be given the distinguished speaker. *The audience to a man arose and vigorously clapped and vocally expressed their pleasure in his being there, the ovation lasting several minutes.*<sup>20</sup>

Elihu Thomson stood at the podium and humbly, graciously waited for the thunderstorm of applause and shouting to stop and the lightning of cigars to resume. All ears hung on the solitary voice suspended above the plumes of self-satisfied smoke. Where would he start his keynote comments? Would he predict some of the electrical discoveries about to be made at his plant or maybe make a prognostication about the amazing changes electricity would bring to the world in the future? Perhaps a business review of the awesome growth and power of T.-H. E. Company and the ever-increasing wealth it was bringing to the investors and to Lynn? No; none of these. The packed audience of Lynn's biggest movers and shakers hung on every word as this wonderworker began his address by hurling a bolt of verbal lightning that struck ... the electric hairbrush:

As the representative of the Thomson-Houston Company I must say these words before going farther. I may say a few words on the Limitations of Electrical Work. It is said that electricity can do everything, and it is advertised as ready in all sorts of belts, brushes and nostrums as a cure for all diseases. You have only to tie the article to you in some fashion or other and you may be cured of anything. *But intelligence is rising above faith and I believe all of you have lost confidence in the electric hair brush or other contrivance.*<sup>21</sup>

In just a few words, the oracle of everything electrical, the Wizard of Swampscott, had smashed Stanton's electric hairbrush as swiftly and surely as the head waiter would swat and sweep away a fly from the edge of a banquet platter. Thomson didn't call out Stanton by name, but he certainly knew about him. Stanton was the only person in Lynn to have created an electric hairbrush and it was announced in the same list of invention patents as those of Thomson and his fellow legitimate inventors at T.-H. E. Company. Thomson had disparaged Stanton's brush, grouping it together and tossing it away with all forms of electrical quackery. Thomson was the inventor par excellence, the influential icon, and he was unabashed to say exactly what he thought about the matter. Now, without question, it was what everybody in the room thought as well. Near the end of his talk, Thomson hurled another lightning bolt – a rather hair-raising promise of his own: "We are asked to suppose that some genius may bring out something that will displace electricity. Let him come, and the chances are the Thomson-Houston Company will gobble him up." The electrifying talk had charged the entire room and Thomson was once again loudly applauded when he was done.<sup>22</sup>

Lynn's board of trade gala introduced an era dominated by blind ambition. In front of everyone that mattered, Thomson had dismissed Stanton's invention as meritless; maybe it was or maybe it deserved a chance, but with Nero's thumb down, the wounded gladiator was doomed regardless. The room was full of equally ambitious, proud businessmen who left the banquet more determined than ever to trust the wisdom of a living legend rather than to speculate on the hair-brained inventions of

nobodies. The gap between a poor man's dreams and a rich man's success had widened into a huge, gaping abyss, less possible to cross than ever. Alexander Stanton had gambled everything but was forced to quickly fold; blind ambition beat a flush of hope and an electric hair brush was not a trump card. Throughout the decade, other Lynn laborers found industry's leaders were holding all the aces and it was almost impossible to beat them.

Goliath had crushed David. Alexander Stanton's dreams had been smothered as Elihu Thomson had promised. Stanton's hair brush was never mentioned again and probably didn't even make it into production. A few months after the banquet, his father died in the poor house in St. Louis; the death records noted that he had become insane.<sup>23</sup> Alexander moved to St. Louis to be with his widowed mother, taking odd jobs that had nothing to do with shoe cutting or cutting-edge electricity.<sup>24</sup> Back in Lynn, the Thomson-Houston Company merged with Thomas Edison's company, becoming the General Electric Company – one of the biggest, most powerful companies in the world.

## **COSMETIC SURGERY**

For centuries, shoe manufacturing had been Lynn's lifeblood and its factories had become the geographic and economic heart of the city's downtown, pumping life into the arteries of businesses and homes. In many other communities a sudden disruption of business would have been fatal, but Lynn was determined to diagnose the raging fire of the previous November as nothing more than an unfortunate, survivable heartburn. The invigorating infusion of electrical business also eased the pain and let the city focus on rebuilding. The elimination of the old landscape right down to the canvas meant that a new masterpiece could be created; Lynn could be redesigned into something better than it ever was. After just a little more than a year of rebuilding, Lynn felt that it had emerged not from hellfire, but a baptism of fire, reborn and free of the sins of its past, "The appearance of the city was greatly improved by this cleansing fire. Some of the old buildings were small, many were shabby, and not a few rickety, but the new buildings are all of a good size, are massively built of stone and brick, and contain the most improved apparatus for the supply of heat, light, steam and water."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, it almost seemed that if the city had not burned by accident, hindsight would have recommended they torch it on purpose.

In the decade after the Great Fire of 1889, Lynn was driven to elevate its stature throughout the land into one of the nation's greatest cities; a report by the Bureau of Statistics emboldened that goal: "Lynn is an important city, being the largest shoe manufacturing centre in the country. ... [another] matter of pride [is] in [its] possession of the largest electric works in the world."<sup>26</sup> Although Lynn's population had vaulted impressively throughout its history and to a new high of 55,727 in 1890, the goal of becoming a city of 100,000 was boldly discussed in the newspapers, with some even believing it could be achieved by the end of the decade.

Determined to rebuild, improve, and grow, and to otherwise multiply its superlatives, Lynn was chasing its own version of Manifest Destiny. Building construction was carried on at a frenetic pace, especially in the first few years, rebuilding what was lost in the fire, but also adding new landmarks to the skyline. An *Item* squib in June 1893 reported, "Lynn carpenters and painters, masons and plumbers, and in fact all mechanics who desire to work, now have their hands full. Builders know not which way to turn in order to complete their contracts."<sup>27</sup>

During some excavations through the ruins of the fire, a few surprises were uncovered that gave pause. One downtown dig unearthed the 1823 slate gravestone of the almost two-year-old Eliza Bethiah Alley. Digging through the ruins at the corner of Exchange and Mount Vernon streets, workers found the old gravestone covering a partially filled in well. It was a mystery why the marker was there instead of in a cemetery, but the past was not confessing its secrets and the crew continued digging undeterred.<sup>28</sup> At another excavation site on Union Street, an intact bottle of medicine called *Hydroleine* had been located under the ruins of the fire, "and no one knows [for]

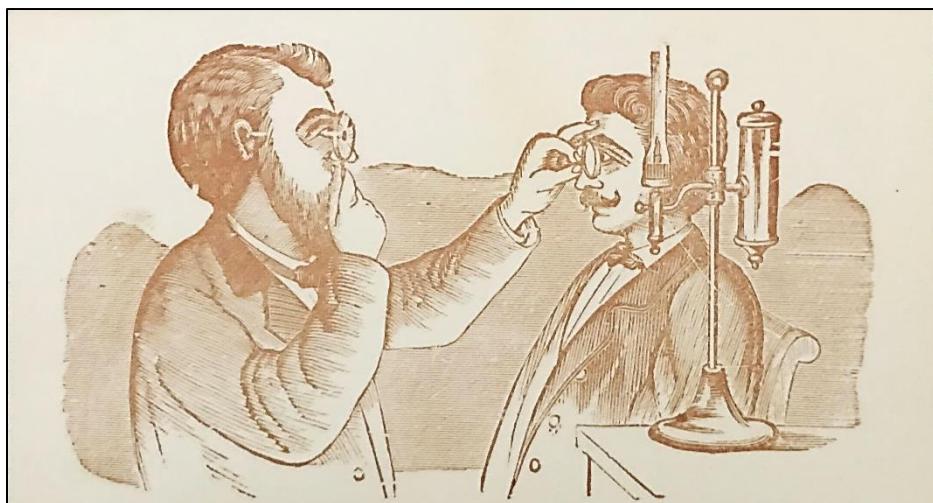


**Promising Cures of the 1890s.** Amid the celebrated successes of x-rays, bacteriology, and other discoveries, some medicine makers were latching on to the tone of emerging science in the 1890s. Their proprietary medicine advertising started aligning their products with science more than the miraculous and mysterious of the past. Thus, *Bubier's Laxative Salz* by the New England Laboratory Company, was a blandly serious-sounding product name compared to *Lummus's Aromatic Vegetable Bitters* for the same issue a half century earlier, and the Puritan company's specific listing of three popular and well-regarded ingredients in its *Beef, Iron and Wine*, seemed far more respectable and reliable than *Woodward's Eureka Compound* of the previous decade.

In this photograph (clockwise, left to right:) FURBUSH'S MAGNETIC CREAM (round, label-only tin); BU-LAX (trademark name; also known as BUBIER'S LAXATIVE SALZ, clear, embossed BIM bottle); QUICKSTEP (trademark name; also Frye's Remedy / For / RHEUMATISM; label-only tin cylinder); ROCK-RYE / AND / HONEY (by Edward Heffernan; small bottle with reproduced label [from newspaper ad] and large bottle with original label; both clear, BIM embossed bottles); PURITAN / BEEF IRON AND WINE CO. / LYNN, MASS. (smokey gray, embossed BIM bottle). Sizzle wasn't gone, but scientific was the new fashion getting the attention. (Note: X-RAY Headache Tablets was not a Lynn product, but it was sold in 1896-1899. The sign is used only to enhance the display; it has not yet been found in Lynn advertising, but it is certainly possible that it was sold there. All collection of the author; Furbush tin the gift of Dan Cowman, deceased.)



**Interior of Examining Office of Geo. H. Newell, Optician, about 1893.** 18 City Hall Square. He advertised in the October 1893 *Daily Evening Item* as an Ophthalmic Optician, "Gives special attention to cases of headaches, No charge for examination." (Collection of the author.)



**F. L. Barnard, Jeweler and Optician,** 307 Union Street. Trade card, about 1888. Barnard's subsequent advertisements in the 1890s updated this image, with his hair and beard going white and his patient's moustache losing its handlebar curl; however, the optical equipment did *not* receive a makeover. (Collection of the author.)

how long before that. The mixture is pure white in color, and may be just as good as it was when prepared, but no one around here has nerve enough to sample it."<sup>29</sup>

After just the first year of rebuilding, an *Item* editorial gushed, “... the city has made remarkable progress, the blackened ruins ... having dissolved from view to make way for handsome and massive structures. Streets have been widened, sidewalks paved, corners rounded, new avenues opened, and hope and courage exhibited on every hand. The prospects for the future were never brighter ....”<sup>30</sup> The widening of Elm Street necessitated the removal of bodies from the vaults on that side of the Old Western Burial Ground. The tomb of the Lummus family was opened and twenty bodies were removed and reinterred at Pine Grove Cemetery.<sup>31</sup>

At the conclusion of the city’s third year of reconstruction since the inferno, the *Item* was again blowing Lynn’s horn, “Lynn to-day stands second to no other city of proportionate population in this country. ... There is not a city in the Commonwealth whose work of building begins to approach that of Lynn. ... over 1,000 buildings have been erected in this city since December 1891, and this, too, in a city of less than 60,000 population.” Compared to the loss of 330 buildings and dwellings, the rate of construction and growth was truly remarkable and the growth curve was projected to continue steeply higher, making the heady goal of “100,000 population that Lynn is striving so pluckily to reach” seem, perhaps, a little less impossible.<sup>32</sup>

The largest percentage of each year’s building construction was houses. In the first two years after the fire, 218 houses were built in Ward 3 (East Lynn) and in Ward 6 (surrounding the Thomson Houston plant) 215 were completed; the demand for homes near the company’s West Lynn “River Works” location far exceeded the supply.<sup>33</sup> Back in the burned district (Ward 4) during the same period, 100 houses had thus far been built where 129 had previously stood, which was perfectly logical to one newspaper correspondent: “The city’s centre is already densely populated, and the only way that one can build, outside of a few vacant and gold-edged lots that mark the Great Fire of 1889, is up towards the sky.”<sup>34</sup> While fire grabbed all the attention that devastating November day, construction quickly took over as the city’s big story. The *Daily Evening Item* could only report what it saw: “Lynn is growing – and it never was before growing so fast.”<sup>35</sup>

Beautiful architectural renderings of each grand new factory and business block were featured in the *Item* along with a description of their beauty, modernity, substantialness, and impervious construction. Looking at the artist’s concept of the next new building was like peering into a crystal ball to catch a glimpse of what marvel would rise from the ashes to make Lynn even more special and glorious. The much-anticipated architect’s view of Lynn’s new railroad station came with a description of its “fine architectural features and superior workmanship” and promised that it would be “an ornament to the city.”<sup>36</sup> It was certainly all that, but it was not alone in deserving such praise – there were several stunning ornaments being unveiled in Lynn throughout the decade. A large new Lynn High School was built for the ever-growing number of students; some of the exciting, modern features were the 450 incandescent lamps illuminating the whole school and the facilities for the study of natural science. The old school had no laboratory but now were there two rooms for the study of physics and one for chemistry, “complete with hoods and flues for carrying off deleterious gasses, so that these may not injure the health of pupils at work in the room, nor be diffused through the building.”<sup>37</sup> Lynn also finally built another pressing need on its wish list: a new, larger almshouse loaded with updated features. It provided care for up to 300 and included a hospital room, wash rooms, water closets (to replace outhouses), and the “very best” heating, lighting, and drainage. The basement had kitchens, boiler rooms, a laundry, workingmen’s rooms, storerooms, and cells for the violently insane.<sup>38</sup> Also, after years of political wrangling, Lynn finally got its U. S. Post Office, in 1899, paid for by Uncle Sam, and the final ornament to make the city sparkle was its new library located right next to the city hall. Its exterior architecture was as dramatic and timeless as the artistic detail inside was beautiful and classic. Plans were also announced at the end of the decade for an elegant shore drive and promenade along Lynn’s oceanfront.<sup>39</sup> Even a new ice cream and candy store debuting in 1896 was designed to be an

ornamental delight: “The store is fitted in a style of elegance unknown to Lynn before. A striking feature is an arrangement of finest French plate glass mirrors [throughout the store], the myriad reflections almost rivalling the effect of the famous Crystal Maze.”<sup>40</sup>

At mid-decade a newspaper article described Lynn’s ancient Attwill house, built in 1682 on what became the town’s common. A stream flowed southeasterly from a pond near the house, then meandered into the moribund Witch Creek, which snaked its way through uninhabited land and forbidding swamp to Lynn Harbor. The area of old Witch Creek had changed dramatically by the end of the century: the creek was dried up and built over, trains slashed back and forth night and day across where the creek had once croaked, and streets and buildings were constantly building up a place that centuries earlier only a witch could love.<sup>41</sup> Lynn had fully embraced city life and there was no going back.

New building codes and insurance requirements in the fire’s aftermath ushered in a greater construction emphasis on fire safety. Factories especially were created with skins of brick, brownstone, and granite over bones of iron. Roofs were finished off in slate or metallic shingles.<sup>42</sup> The immense, six-story V. K. & A. H. Jones’s factory building at the corner of Broad and lower Washington streets required about 800,000 bricks in its construction.<sup>43</sup> The Tapley Building on the corner of Broad and Farrar streets was nearly as tall and colossal, built of brick and iron with two “fire-proof staircases,” one of which extended from the street to the roof, “making a fire escape that will afford every facility for egress.”<sup>44</sup> The new Pevear Block was not only impressive in its own massiveness but its construction required the demolition of old wooden buildings that were an eyesore as well as a threat to safety:

The erection of new buildings in this city since the great fire of 1889 has mainly been on the territory swept by the flames or on hitherto unoccupied ground. But when a section of land where wooden buildings have been an eye-sore in their towering dilapidation is cleared to make way for a fine large brick structure[,] it is a matter of special improvement and progress. The Pevear Block … supplants a row of crazy wooden boxes that helped to give Munroe street a poverty-stricken aspect. It also covers a section where the conflagration made quick work, not only with wood, but with brick structures, and in the area of its ground plan will be the largest building in the city. [running 166 feet along Munroe Street; 141 feet on Washington Street, and five stories tall. There would be eleven stores on the first floor along with a passenger elevator and three freight elevators] … it marks the advance of a fine class of buildings on the territory now occupied by old and flimsy wooden traps that remain from the great fire.<sup>45</sup>

Even Goldthwait’s new horse stable was built of brick with a slate roof, “and is as nearly fire-proof as it is possible to make it.”<sup>46</sup> The Boyd Brothers’ wooden potato chip factory had three fires within two months (arson was suspected) and the third time it was completely destroyed. The brothers finally decided to fight fire with fire-proof:

Within three weeks a new chip factory will be erected on Boston street, … near the corner of Washington street, by Boyd Bros. … The new structure … will be made of corrugate sheet iron in order that it may be a protection against fire. In it there will be four kettles which will be erected in a fireproof floor of brick and earth. … There will be no windows on the right side, nearest the adjacent wooden buildings, and on the rear there will be an iron door for the protection of the building itself against fire. …<sup>47</sup>

Besides better construction, other measures were added to improve the odds of buildings and people surviving fires. The fire alarm system around the city was critical for alerting the fire and police departments before fires grew out of control; 108 fire alarms were rung in Lynn in 1890 alone. Automatic building sprinklers and thermostat alarms had also “demonstrated their usefulness” early in the decade, putting out fires within the new brick buildings where they had started, but causing significant water damage in the process.<sup>48</sup> In November 1892, the *Item* reported “HORROR AVERTED” when some boarders escaped the burning Quincy House hotel by climbing

down the rope ladders in their rooms.<sup>49</sup> Building fires were still going to happen, but the new safety measures were protecting lives and improved the odds of saving the building from total ruin.

Watching the city rebuild and grow was as riveting as it had been to watch downtown burn down. Shortly after the fire, the *Daily Evening Item* capitalized on the public's interest by sponsoring a contest for the best essay responses to the topic, "A NEW LYNN" with the instruction, "State what should be done to give Lynn 100,000 Population in the shortest possible time, and what would lead to its greatest possible development and future success."<sup>50</sup> The newspaper must have been delighted with the response; seventy-six essays were received, and for months Lynners read their neighbors' many suggestions and dreams for the city they all shared. Essays were submitted under such pen name disguises as Phoenix, Old Time Shoemaker, Prophet, Seer, Hurry Up, and Evolution, and their suggestions for growing Lynn were often just as imaginative.

Some wanted new industry in the city; recommendations included making straw hats for both sexes, a carriage business, and industries that used skilled workers, like the watch companies of Waltham and the Colt firearms factory in Hartford. A few cotton factories, a contestant named Justin suggested, "would go far towards increasing the population to one hundred thousand in 1899." The most frequently repeated suggestion was the establishment of a board of trade that could encourage new business to the city; it was a recommendation that the city adopted shortly after the contest. Other popular suggestions included elevating the railroad to stop all the accidents and building a long wharf into Lynn's harbor after deeply dredging it for large ships. An entrant by the abbreviation "N.T." had a clear vision for a much more useable and pleasant harbor:

To make Lynn attractive as a residence a large part of the harbor should be filled up and the sewers should be carried out to deep water. ... a wide channel, say three or four hundred feet wide could be dredged out. ... If this were done it would give us deep water at low tide so that vessels could come in at any stage of the tide ... I do not believe that any of the residents of Lynn in the vicinity of the harbor would object to this method of getting rid of the "Smells of Lynn."<sup>51</sup>

For some of the essayists, a better Lynn just meant a good spring cleaning. An essayist named West Lynn opined that vacant lots needed to be cleared of what fellow essayist Free Lance described as "vile rubbish, old brooms, tin cans, [and] dead cats." Improving the condition of streets and sidewalks was on the agenda for a large number of contestants; One Who Walks wrote, "I do not believe there is a city in New England which is more bitterly cursed with dirty, broken walks than this beautiful city of Lynn" and another writer agreed, "Our sidewalks should be attended to at once, and the "bridle paths" [the rutted dirt streets] throughout our city must be drained." Ideas ranged from the simple to the grandiose: Clement C. Clay just wanted to plant flowers on Lynn Common while Equality envisioned a sea wall from Little Nahant to the Saugus River. John Paul's idea was even bigger – a proposal that deserved its own award for the most fantastic dream: building a breakwater wide enough for a dozen or more railroad tracks, stretching from Nahant to Egg Rock, then to Swampscott with an opening to accommodate large freight vessels,

... then Lynn would have the largest body of still water (as a harbor) in the world. Lynn then being 25 or more miles nearer the ocean than Boston, Boston would soon become but a "suburb." Lynn could afford to sacrifice her beach, as there are enough in her neighborhood. Some might say the wave-power, outside the breakwater, would be too strong, being so far out. If so, when a storm is coming, oil the waves. All the above is possible, or am I wild?<sup>52</sup>

Despite the often widely varied visions, opinions, and approaches, all of the essayists shared a love for their city and a dream for its greatness. The essayist An Interested Laborer wrote, "rebuild the city in such a manner that the stranger may be impressed." Citizen wrote, "Lynn is not and never has been a doomed city. Lynn ought to be the second city in population if not in wealth in the State. That is bound to be, there is little doubt." A number of essays focused not on new

buildings or businesses, but on harmony between the people of Lynn, laborers and capitalists, and government leaders and citizens. Carpe Diem wrote succinctly, “apply the Golden Rule.” The closing sentence of a prize-winning essay was, “I wish for my native city, citizens who will unite to make her more beautiful, more prosperous and more broadly intelligent than ever before.”

Lynn’s complexion was undergoing its makeover much like some of the essayists’ suggestions and despite the more outlandish ones. An important part of the New Lynn was the improvement of its health. In April 1891 *The Lynn Transcript* published a study by Lynn’s health department of deaths by contagious diseases for the four decades that Lynn had been a city (1850-1890); it showed that “the result of systemic efforts to improve our sanitary surroundings” had been reducing death by most forms of contagious disease. Of the illnesses it tracked as contagious, deaths by typhoid, scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, consumption, pneumonia, cholera infantum, whooping cough, and diarrheal diseases were all trending downward,

... cancer seems to be the only disease against which medical skill is powerless to make progress. Science has in this field a grand opportunity for achievement. *We have heard the spread of cancerous diseases ascribed to the free eating of lobsters, and have heard of a physician, well and favorably known in Lynn, who is successfully using tom-alley from the lobster as an antidote for cancer.* The subject will well repay further research.<sup>53</sup>

The board of health had taken another bow in a speech before the Women’s Suffrage Club the previous week. Frank F. Brigham explained the role of the board was to “make such regulations ... respecting nuisances, source of filth and cause of sickness. ... The power given the board of health of a town or city is *theoretically* without limit, but *practically* it is limited and confined to the bounds which public opinion gives it.” During the previous decade attempts to enforce its regulations were thwarted by a judge who preferred “persuasion to prosecution,” but in 1890 eight warrants were secured against abutters who refused to connect to the public sewer line; all of the prosecutions resulted in conviction “or speedy compliance with the law.” It used to be very difficult to keep up appearances, Brigham explained, when there was no power to enforce the orders of the board, but a law had recently been passed that imposed a fine of \$20 per day for non-compliance within a specified time, of anything declared a nuisance by the board. “Such arbitrary power should never be used to persecute any individual nor harm any industry unless the public health demands it. *But when such demand is made, the rights of the few must give way to the good of the many.*”<sup>54</sup> Brigham went on to describe that with such authority, enforced by the courts, the board of health had been instrumental in improving Lynn’s health at the start of the century’s last decade:

- Members of the health department quickly isolated cases of contagious disease as soon as they were identified, placarding the house with quarantine signs and leaving behind instructions on how to deal with the disease behind closed doors (isolation and disinfection).
- A decade earlier, swine were scattered all over Lynn, including in its thickly settled portions, but the board had recently passed a regulation prohibiting swine from being kept within the city limits; so just a very few were now found in the outskirts.
- The soap works on Chestnut Street were a nuisance in that section of the city for years but a location had recently been granted on the marshes near the Saugus line, thus removing the objectionable business from a thickly settled part of the city.
- For years the aptly named Bog Meadow had been a disease-breeding mess densely surrounded by homes, but with the soap works relocated and its drainage removed, the city had begun planning to make a public park of the unsightly and unhealthy locality.

- The health department had twenty men managing seven teams of horses and wagons who were emptying open cesspools and offensive outhouse vaults and constantly removing outside sink spouts and filth in yards.
- The vaults and cesspools that ran all along Stacey's Brook: had been removed, "thus relieving the eastern section of the city of a sluggish, filthy stream." Strawberry Brook had been similarly improved.
- Sewer lines were being added to streets (like Harbor and Amity) that didn't have them.
- Getting abutters to connect to sewer lines was perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the board, said Brigham, "This is the ideal plan to remove human excrement as far away as possible from our dwellings ... vaults and cesspools within a few feet of our cellar are hidden but nonetheless real dangers to human life."<sup>55</sup>

An examination of the City Physician's reports for the four decades spanning 1850-1890 showed deaths of children under five had steadily dropped, from 46.2% of the city's deaths during the decade ending 1860 to 35.4% in 1890, and more of Lynn's seniors were living beyond sixty (improving from 13.6% in 1860 vs 20.9% in 1890) – young and old Lynners were living longer.<sup>56</sup> Sanitation was a dirty business, but someone had to do it – and Lynn's health department was finally doing it well. Lynn's health was starting to get under control.

Scientific discoveries of the bacterial cause of disease were changing the tactics of fighting off sickness, not only at the city's cesspools and sewers, but also within the home. Homeowners who could afford upgrading were adding sanitary plumbing to conduct hot air, hot water, and steam heat through their homes.<sup>57</sup> George E. Sleeper had set up a model room in his Munroe Street store to display embossed and decorated earthenware sink basins, the newest flushable water closets piped to overhead water tanks, bath tubs with nickel trimming, and the whole lavatory finished off in various-colored marble. The modern indoor plumbing and ventilating connected to all of these appliances was also displayed to answer "the important question of correctly caring for the fatal sewer gas[:] ... in one pipe, by means of glass sections, the water is seen rushing down and in another pipe feathers attached to the interior show[ing] that the current of air is forced in the right direction."<sup>58</sup> Even those homeowners who could only dream of such improvements could afford to fight disease by simply killing flies. Research had proven that the house fly was a scavenger and a "vehicle in which contagious diseases are spread. It poisons wounds, and may carry deadly virus from decaying organic matter into food."<sup>59</sup> To stop their annoying and sickening invasion of the home, W. B. Gifford sold window screens for twenty cents each.<sup>60</sup> Fly bottles, insecticides, and *Tanglefoot* flypaper could also be affordably added to the arsenal – even a rolled-up newspaper, precursor to the soon-to-be-invented flyswatter – worked in a pinch, empowering the humblest homeowner to fight disease.<sup>61</sup>



**THROUGHOUT THE EBB** and flow of the 1890s, life was offering more to enjoy in every moment – far too much to allow sewer gas, flies, or other slings and arrows to interfere. The struggles and triumphs of John and Etta Poole continued to typify the improvement and enjoyment of life during the decade that came from hard work and commitment. The tone and flow of John's 1890s diaries are distinctly different from those of the 1880s. While in the 1880s the younger John recorded the minutiae of his life – every book he read, everything he did, etc., his 1890s diaries had large gaps between entries and many of the days that were filled in contained only two often-repeated sentences: "Went to work as usual. The evening spent reading +c." He and Etta had accepted life roles centered around their growing family: having children, providing for them, taking care of them, and healing them from sickness. John would work all day, come home, take



**Multi-legged Attacks.** Bacteria had come to be seen as dangerous, but how to fight invisible foes was not clear. The next line of tiny, dangerous invaders – rats, mice, flies, bedbugs, cockroaches, and lice – could be seen, fought, and defeated, at least temporarily. Seen here are some solutions from the 1890s: a glass flycatcher, a wooden cylinder of *Rough on Rats* poison, and trade cards dramatizing the war against bugs and vermin. (All collection of the author.)

care of Harold, then leave him with John's mother so he could go to Etta's store to pick her up when she closed up shop for the night.

In March of 1891, John was worried about Etta, who had been “sick all night” in the late stages of her pregnancy. The birth was clearly imminent, so after getting his mother-in-law to stay with little Harold, John went to the shoe shop to get things ready to function without him, then notified Etta’s doctor to be ready to come over as soon as he called for him. John worked part of the afternoon while Etta was in pain all day.<sup>62</sup> At 5:15 AM the next day, it was time; John called for the doctor who arrived sometime between 6:00 and 7:00 (John’s memories swirled in his head as he tried to remember the details of that day), “Girl baby borne at 9:05 a.m. Etta suffered very much; baby strong & bright tonight.”<sup>63</sup>

Once again, John had to focus on resuming his duties, and this time he also had to pitch in at his wife’s store as well, while she recuperated. The birth had occurred inconveniently just days before Etta’s store was to have its grand debut of the spring line – in order to stay in business, it was critical to participate in this seasonal event in which all the millinery shops competed. Two days after the birth, John stuffed and hand-addressed all 150 invitations and envelopes to the opening.<sup>64</sup> A few days later, after another full day’s work at his job, he worked at the store all evening, helping to get the store ready to open for the Spring line event and didn’t get home until 10:45 PM.<sup>65</sup> His diary shows him continuing to straddle his day job and supporting his wife’s business late into the nights during Spring fashion week. He noted, “Streets crowded[:] some trade.”<sup>66</sup>

The Pooles couldn’t keep up the new pace of their lives with two small children, however, so it was decided that Etta would sell the store. Etta sold the store on August 6<sup>th</sup>; she had paid

\$1,500 three years earlier and sold it for \$1,400.<sup>67</sup> Although there was a loss on the sale, it bought them lost time to spend with their two children and even afforded John some free time to occasionally pull out his camera and take pictures. They had also earned money from her business and his job sufficiently to take care of their family and still be able to buy some of the nice things in life. A couple of days after the store was sold, John bought himself a Model Number 4 Kodak camera for \$50, just in time (the next day) to take pictures of "Harold's fifth birthday[;] he feels grand in his first pants."<sup>68</sup> Back in February 1890, John had bought a new Waltham watch as a gift for his wife for \$28.50 (discounted from \$30).<sup>69</sup> The camera and watch would have been considerable purchases for the majority of Lynn wage earners who averaged a weekly pay between \$10 to \$20 at mid-decade; John made \$17 weekly from 1890 until 1895 when his weekly wage went up to \$20.<sup>70</sup> His income and expense records showed that the Pooles weren't struggling, but they weren't wealthy either, and such purchases were the extravagant exception for their budget – an occasional taste of the good life. Judicious control of hard-earned money was an important practice because there were so many enticements to become the envy of one's neighborhood. Lewis B. Breer, Merchant Tailor, was a great example of offering affluence for a price; he advertised that the more you spent on stylish clothes the more attractive Lynn would become:

HELP BUILD A New Lynn. By having your clothes made to fit you. Nothing denotes prosperity more than stylish well-fitting habiliments. Let us have first-class buildings and streets, but above all let us dress well, that strangers visiting our fair city may be so impressed by our personal attractiveness that they will permanently abide with us. "Costly thy habit as thy purse will buy."<sup>71</sup>

Another ad used a humorously unnerving image to sell homeowners on the need to keep their lawns looking beautiful: "A GRAVEYARD for a lawn is not desirable but how can you prevent dogs burying bones in your yard unless you use a "Hartman" Steel Picket Fence which Beautifies Without Concealing?"<sup>72</sup> The epitome of affluence was purchasing the unnecessary. Among the many frivolous gewgaws offered during the decade were souvenir spoons. These little sterling silver mementos of places visited quickly mushroomed into the souvenir spoon craze of the early 1890s. The Salem Witch spoon sold in the thousands and, not to be outdone, the hottest two silver spoons from Lynn commemorated not the T.-H. E. Company or the shoe industry, but Moll Pitcher & Dungeon Rock.<sup>73</sup> The fortune teller and the pirate who would have been angrily hung from gallows in the late-seventeenth century were instead being proudly hung on display racks in the late-nineteenth century. Emphasizing in a rather extreme way that souvenir spoons had become a craze in 1891, one horseback rider in Lynn's July 4<sup>th</sup> parade was covered in spoons and carried a six-foot-long spoon.<sup>74</sup>



**LYNNERS LOVED THEIR SPOONS**, but an even bigger fad of consumerism had taken hold – the bicycle craze. The velocipede had undergone several improvements in steering, safety, and comfort and the new improved versions came to be known as bicycles. They were no small expense, with models for adults ranging from \$40 to \$80 and even some at \$125, but they were enthusiastically purchased in Lynn.<sup>75</sup> It was estimated that at mid-decade there were at least 5,000 bicyclists in Lynn.<sup>76</sup> They were going everywhere, from riding illegally on sidewalks (often because the rutted roadbed was so bad) to being clustered in multi-wheeled herds, stampeding through the countryside. Everyone rode: men and women, boys and girls. A Lynn bicycling enthusiast tried to capture in words the public's love affair with bicycles:

The whole country seems to be affected with the mania for these whirlingigs. The prattling babe pushes its way boldly into the world on wheels. Men with patriarchal beards, on "Safeties," go bowling calmly out on it. Blushing (?) maidens, with spreading arms and fluttering sleeves, flit about here and there, like butterflies. ... Then, of course, there are bicyclists - proper, half-man, half-machine .... These ... are

generally young men who have sunk every available nickel in their machines, and who find them as necessary to existence as the air which they breathe. These can be seen in herds of hundreds.<sup>77</sup>

The Safety Bicycle was especially popular for women because it had a “drop frame” to accommodate women’s long skirts, but they still got caught in the chains, so bloomer-style pants or short, knee length skirts became popular in Lynn. Some of the female bicyclists of Lynn organized their own club. Female teachers were creating a hubbub by teaching classes in the same abbreviated skirts which they had worn while riding their bicycle to school. The school committee tried to resolve the matter by asking the teachers to have a second, longer skirt to wear once at school. It sounded like a majority call for ankle-length modesty but it was actually the selective morality of one. A single member of the school committee was the agitator, asking the rest of the committee to look at the matter “from an artistic rather than a moral standpoint. That is to say, there are some teachers who look good in a skirt that comes but little below the knees. There are others who would look much better in a skirt that touches the floor, and these others, it is declared, are the ones aimed at by the reformers.”<sup>78</sup> In short, pretty women could let their legs show; others should keep them covered.

The swiftness and relative quietness of a bicycle caused many accidents with pedestrians, street cars, horses, trains, and other cyclists. Elihu Thomson and Henry B. Sprague, while riding a tandem bicycle, were both thrown off and “Professor Thomson had the misfortune to break a small bone in the right leg near the ankle, also spraining the ankle.”<sup>79</sup> The injuries forced the professor to remain home, recuperating for several weeks. Despite the frequent injuries to the cyclists and their machines, the Lynn Bicycle Club resisted attempts to control their freedom to go where and when they wished. They petitioned against a bill that would require them to carry a lantern at night while riding, on the grounds that it was unnecessary and an unjust restriction.<sup>80</sup> In a sales pitch to sell the America brand bicycle, Walter Porter & Co., of 133 Union Street posted the alleged testimonial of the health benefits of bicycle riding. It was written facetiously in the well-recognized patent medicine style of testimonial with a humorous pseudonym and spurious Lynn address:

Dear Sirs: –

Having had a severe case of dyspepsia, was advised by LYNN DOCTORS to ride a bike. Having tried all the leading makes without relief, decided as a last chance to try the AMERICA. After riding it about two years was entirely cured.

Yours forever,  
JOE ICKINGNOT,  
19 Starvation avenue, Highland Flats.

P.S. - I shall always ride the America.<sup>81</sup>

One of the great benefits of this sizable purchase was touted to be its health-giving properties. It was clearly a type of exercise equipment that got people out of the home, factory, and even the gymnasium, into the fresh air. The Lynn bicycle enthusiast who had described the popularity and universality of the sport also described its health benefits as well as the sacrifices to attain them.

I have been told over and over again that this exercise is the best in the world; that a wheel is a whole gymnasium in itself, and a medicine chest to boot; that it develops great bundles of fibrous tissue and iron cords and muscles, etc., in all sorts of places; and that as a health producer it relegates all patent panaceas, by whatever name, to the cold shades of oblivion .... it gives a man the appetite of an ostrich, and adds scores of years to his life. ....

Now when I had observed a herd of cyclists after a 20-mile run on a sweltering day in July, panting along in a cloud of dust of their own raising, with eyes starting from their sockets, tongues lolling out, the perspiration streaming down their parboiled faces, and having the tout ensemble of victims doubled up in the final throes of cholera morbus, I naturally paused to ask the question: – “Is this health and is this pleasure?”<sup>82</sup>

The 1890s were a decade squarely focused on ideal form and fashion: women with hourglass shapes, perfect complexions, and smoldering Gibson Girl faces, expertly coiffed and always wearing the latest fashions, and muscular men with Olympic athlete physiques and chiseled good looks, in sleek-lined suits and high-polish shoes. Simply by scanning the crowd at a train station or church meeting produced plenty of evidence that an excess of the era's rich foods and inactive lifestyles caused obesity, fatigue, and illness, so plain foods and exercise were pursued by those for whom the luster of the good life was not found in indulgence and leisure but sacrifice and effort. The culture had conformed to the ideal, expending time, effort, and expense on exercise. A new two-story, fully equipped gymnasium building was proposed for Lynn in June 1890; a compelling description of the need for it blended with the benefits to be offered:

The Elixir of Life failed utterly to restore youth to the aged, but there is no question that plain food, hygienic clothing, serenity of mind and proper physical exercise practically arrest the flight of years. ... The enthusiastic work of a new convert to health practice will often bring about a trained condition, but to keep in that condition by constant exercise is very difficult indeed. At this time he needs the gymnasium, where he can flock with his fellows and stimulate his flagging energy with fencing, boxing, etc.<sup>83</sup>

For those unwilling to indulge in the expense or social interaction of a gym membership, there were opportunities offered for exercise at home. In November 1895, Howe's Rubber Goods invited the public to its store to see demonstrations of the Whiteley Exerciser in use by a young Swedish female demonstrator for the manufacture. Howe's put her in their show window, exercising for all to admire; her well-toned body was clearly intended to represent the result of using the exerciser.<sup>84</sup> George S. Sanborn, a Lynn toolmaker, came up with his own idea for exercise equipment and needed a venue to display it to the public.<sup>85</sup> He might have been able to find a willing shopkeeper who would put his invention in the show window, but where he actually ended up showing off his machine, either by careful strategy or strange happenstance, was a new dime museum called the Lynn Musée. It was established in downtown Lynn and constantly offered exhibits and performers that amazed, titillated, or amused, such as "Fannie Mills, the Ohio Girl with the BIG FEET," "Jerry Crowley, THE LIVING SUICIDE, who hangs himself at every exhibition," "McKenna, the Human Ostrich, [who] eats tacks, nails, stones, knives and ... LIVE FROGS," and the especially popular Millie and Christine, the GIRL WITH TWO HEADS." In this carnival of curiosities, Sanborn was given his turn on center stage.<sup>86</sup>

Sanborn patented his device as an exercising apparatus. In his patent application, he explained, "My invention relates to improvements in exercising apparatus in which a representation of a human figure, constructed wholly or in part of a resilient or elastic material" underneath which large springs gave bendable structure to the legs, arms, and neck, which supported a life-like rubber head. Sanborn continued, "The object of my invention is to produce a more attractive exercising apparatus of this class and to afford an exercise similar to that of an actual boxing contest," followed by eleven more paragraphs of description.<sup>87</sup> What it all added up to was a very elaborate punching bag in the shape of a man.<sup>88</sup> The museum's managers beefed up Sanborn's invention a bit for the paying crowd, billing it as "The Lynn Unknown," "the invention of a Lynn genius," and "nothing less than a mechanical pugilist."<sup>89</sup> A member off the audience at each performance was invited to step up and box with Sanborn's invention and the results were said to be "extremely amusing" and that "as a means of muscular development this invention of Mr. Sanborn's is without an equal. Don't miss seeing it."<sup>90</sup> Sanborn's exercise dummy may have had its lights punched out because it seems to have disappeared from view once it left the stage.

Boys and young men were actively encouraged to participate in all forms of exercise, especially in the gymnasium, because boxing, fencing, and resistance exercises (with weights, Indian clubs, etc.) were seen as excellent preparation and inducement for young men to become members of the militia. The *Item* urged the addition of a gymnasium to the new state armory that

was soon to be built on South Common Street, explaining “it would be a matter of comparatively small cost, to have a gymnasium connected,” and that at its completion would “silence forever this senseless twaddle that such a building is absolutely necessary.”<sup>91</sup>

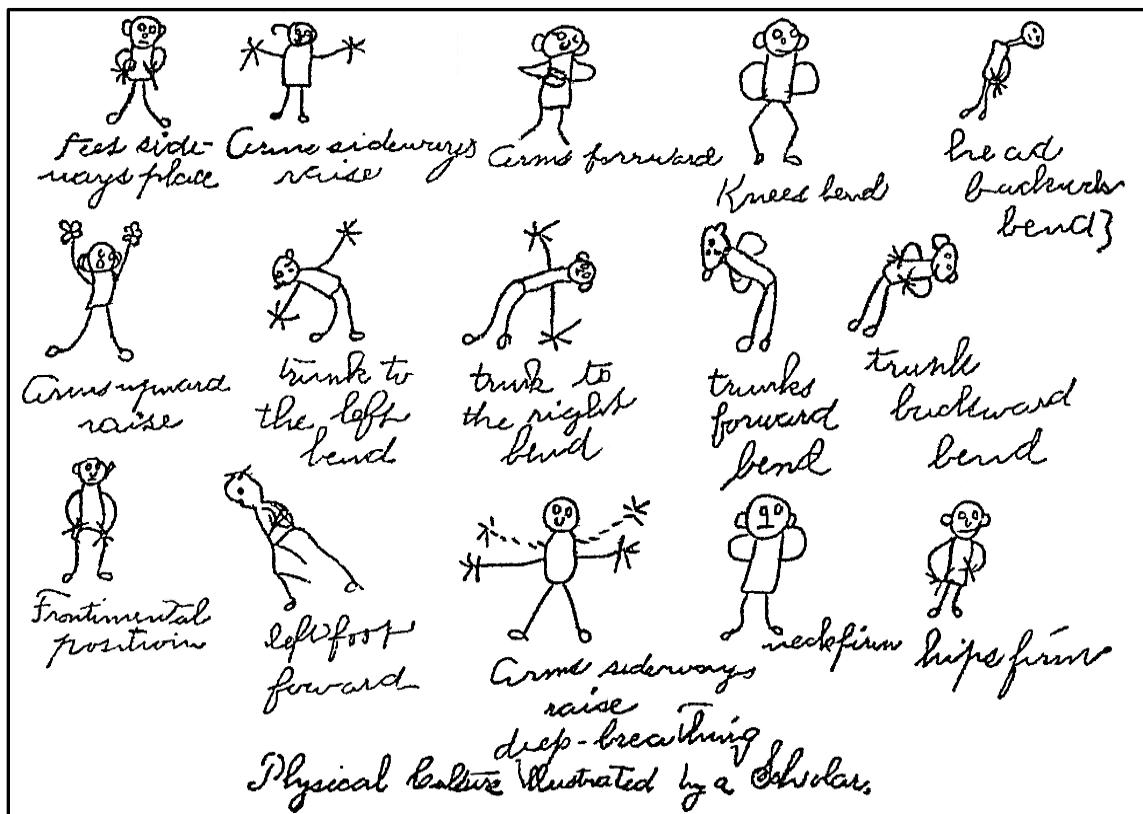
Girls and young women, however, faced a lot of resistance in virtually any athletic pursuit. Their treatment as the “fairer sex” encouraged the perception and the expectation for them to be the weaker and more delicate of the species. There was staunch opposition to the morality of them riding bicycles, both because of the immodest clothing that was required to avoid the bicycle chain and also the freedom it gave them to cycle off long distances, even with males, if they chose. Virtually any exercise by females had its crusty, curmudgeonly detractors. Physical culture was taught in Lynn schools early in the decade, but complaints were heard that “the movements are not dignified for girls and for the female teachers.” In 1892 one outspoken member of the clergy growled that the exercises girls and their teachers did in school were “ridiculous”: “Many of the movements are not at all suggestive of modesty. The teachers, too, are all required to jump around with movements suggestive of the kangaroo dance.”<sup>92</sup>

The gymnastics being practiced by the girls and teachers in Lynn schools was called the Swedish System of Physical Culture. Despite Whiteley’s demonstrator trying to shake things up with the exercise machine at Howe’s store, Swedish exercise was actually associated with the absence of equipment. Lynn’s physicians were “vague and non-committal” about the merits of the school’s exercise program for girls other than to say, “it is a good thing in moderation.”<sup>93</sup> Even without the seal of approval from physicians and clergy, Lynn’s schoolgirls kept doing kangaroo dances and women kept riding bicycles. In 1895 the girls of the combined Lynn high schools’ Swedish gymnastic classes performed an exhibition of synchronized gymnastic and marching drills “that elicited the hearty applause of the spectators.”<sup>94</sup> Not sorry, crusty clergy.

Fresh air and exercise had become a rage, much like bicycling and souvenir spoons, and there were those who tried to capitalize on the interest. Miss Lottie Adams took out a classified ad, offering her services as a teacher of “Elocution and Physical Culture.”<sup>95</sup> Leading spiritualists advocated for physical culture and hygiene to go hand-in-hand with soul culture; “proper care of the physical body, a kind and cheerful disposition, [and] a clean moral life, are all adjuncts of Spiritualism” and more time should be devoted to these principles than “to rhapsodies on the sweet Summerland.”<sup>96</sup> Even patent medicines were weaving it into their advertising; an ad for *Scott’s Emulsion* read, “Fresh Air and Exercise. Get all that’s possible of both, if in need of flesh strength and nerve force.”<sup>97</sup> The *Item* of 25 February 1893 presented what it alleged to be a small boy’s artwork about all the exercising he was witnessing. Seen through the little child’s eyes, it innocently conveys the humorous torture of doing exercises. As silly and willy-nilly as exercise seemed to him, some who persisted proved the results could be worth it. Cora Beckwith was a champion swimmer who, on 2 July 1892, swam the two-mile distance from Egg Rock to Nahant Beach. When her “well-rounded form encased in blue tights clambered upon the swimming float, opposite Hotel Nahant, in the presence of 5,000 people … the vast crowd went wild and cheered and cheered again.” The tidal current had been difficult to swim against and the water was quite cold as she emerged with her teeth chattering, but she had proved the misogynists and bettors wrong.<sup>98</sup> The newspaper credited her with being the first female in history to accomplish the feat, but in truth, Lynn’s histories had never mentioned a male swimming the distance, either.



**THE CONCOMITANT TO FRESH AIR** and exercise was healthy food, and eating right had drawn local and national attention in the 1890s. Rich, heavily seasoned, and salty foods had become widespread, while urban, indoor occupations in factories and shops meant less exercise to help offset the damages done by the unhealthy diet. Consequently, diseases often associated with affluence and overindulgence, such as diabetes, obesity, gout, cancer, heart disease, and the dreaded dyspepsia were on the rise: heart disease had become the third leading cause of death in Lynn.



**Physical Culture Through the Eyes of a Child, 1893.** The *Daily Evening Item* (February 1893) said it was drawn by a “Small Boy” whom they called an “embryo artist”. The sight of others doing the wide array of exercises seems to have been overwhelming to the young artist, but perhaps more so for those doing the exercises. It may not have been drawn by a child at all but rather the newspaper poking fun at the new exercise fad (the handwriting looks like that of an adult).

Selling healthy food was attaining a new level of importance and science was being treated as the password to product sales; so anything that smacked of scientific knowledge or discovery was attached to food and medicine products throughout the decade, regardless of whether the science was genuine or a disguise. A Miss Diana Stevens of Boston delivered a course of lectures in Lynn on the “Science of Food” with each lecture being followed by a practical chafing dish demonstration; “Please bring fork, spoon and napkin as there will be many dainty dishes served to all who come.”<sup>99</sup> Her lessons may or may not have had scientific information in them, but the food certainly sounded delicious.

Healthy food was the fashionable food of the decade, the newly invented fun foods – jelly beans, *Tootsie Rolls*, candy corn, and *Cracker Jacks* – notwithstanding. Packaged food manufactures more frequently focused on promoting their products’ healthfulness and wholesomeness moreso than on its flavor. What allegedly made food healthy, though, was as varied as the advertising promoting it, but there were two leading health food groups during the decade: cereal crops and vegetables. The N. W. Edson & Co. grocers held their own healthy food exhibit at its two Lynn locations in 1894 and heavily promoted the *Old Grist Mill* brand of wheat flour, wheat coffee, and “health bread.” F. F. French’s grocery stores let Lynn know they carried a full line of the “celebrated” breakfast cereals, “The Foods of Eden” as they called them, which included *Shredded Wheat*, *Wheat Germ*, *Wheatlet*, *Wheatena*, and *Grape Nuts* among them; you can’t get more back to nature than the foods of Eden.<sup>100</sup> Cereal grains also found their way into beverages, especially as an alternative to coffee. An ad for *Postum Cereal Coffee* told the story of a doctor who advised a sick man that his symptoms indicated “he was being slowly poisoned by the use of

coffee. If a bombshell had been exploded" in the man's front room, it wouldn't have been any more of a surprise than the doctor's revelation. But the wise doctor had the solution: "The true remedy for a generally run-down condition is to abandon coffee drinking and take on *Postum Cereal Food Coffee*, which goes directly to work to rebuild broken down nerve tissue throughout the human body."<sup>101</sup>

Vegetables were being praised for all sorts of health-promoting and curative benefits. In the same way that Victorians assigned a meaning to every flower, they seemed to define a health benefit for every vegetable. Lettuce was useful for those suffering from insomnia; asparagus could be used to induce perspiration; carrots were great for those suffering from asthma; water cress was a remedy for scurvy; and onions were of great benefit for coughs, colds, influenza, consumption, and liver complaints, to name a few. Celery had somehow become the king of vegetables during the decade, imbued with various powerful benefits: "it is invaluable as a food for those suffering from any form of the rheumatism, for diseases of the nerves and nervous dyspepsia"; "celery, in root and bunch, soothes – [it is] a rival to opium. Eat it for which of its many excellences you will, only see that you eat it."<sup>102</sup> On one page of the 9 October 1896 *Item*, six Lynn grocers competed for celery customers, selling Boston celery, golden heart celery, and fancy well-bleached celery.<sup>103</sup> It made its way into many meals and medicines, from cream of celery soup to *Paine's Celery Compound* – both very popular in their own spheres. Fruits were also promoted for specific health uses, like blackberries and bananas, both good for diarrhea, and figs, said to be valuable for those suffering from cancer.<sup>104</sup> *Fig Newtons* were invented at a Newton, Massachusetts bakery in 1891 and became one of the decade's many new successful food products, loved for its taste as well as its perceived health benefits.

Of course they also conceded that some non-plant-based foods also had redeeming values. Eggs, especially the yolks, were considered useful in cases of jaundice (clearly a vestige of the centuries-old doctrine of signatures). Raw beef chopped fine and seasoned with salt and heated in a dish of hot water was considered of great benefit to the consumptive; reminiscent of the ancient beliefs in sympathetic cures, beef in tonics (like *Puritan Beef, Iron and Wine*) and teas was believed to impart the strength of those strong beasts.<sup>105</sup> The chopping, seasoning, and softening in water were all to make it more digestible and easy to assimilate by weak constitutions.

Health food took on a connotation distinct from foods generically designated healthy. It was a term used to describe special preparations of foods, pulverized and concentrated, usually into a semi-liquid, pudding-like consistency, for ease of swallowing and digestion by those with weakened constitutions: invalids, convalescents, babies and children, and for fat and lean people whose conditions were believed to be brought on by dyspepsia. The *Daily Evening Item*, reprinted a doctor's lament about the condition of American stomachs that required such food:

One must be amazed at the sign in the drug stores of the great array of health foods which are now being put on the market.... We are either getting to be such a race of dyspeptics that we must live on specially prepared and concentrated foods, or ... there is a vast amount of humbug going on in this line. The fact is, our present mode of life, and more especially the high living which we tolerate, ruins the stomachs of thousands, and by the time they come to middle age, they have to accommodate their stomachs [with] prepared health food. ... *The food of the future will be all health food. A great deal of labor which the stomach now has to perform will be done by machinery.*<sup>106</sup>

Perhaps some desperate dyspeptics were considering Emma Bean's drastic road to self-cure for her stomach cancer. Emma, the mother of the ill-fated Bean triplets in 1871, had suffered acutely from digestive problems since 1878. She had sought relief from many Lynn physicians, but whatever was wrong seemed to defy medical skill; "none could exactly locate the trouble or give a correct diagnosis." No matter what she ate or drank, its passage to her stomach was invariably followed by hours of agonizing pains and nausea and then her stomach couldn't hold it down. The Beans moved to San Francisco where, among other doctors, she consulted a homeopath who

diagnosed the case as an advanced “round cancer” in the stomach and that the only possibility for relief was to fast completely “to starve out the foreign presence.”<sup>107</sup>

Despite the protests of her worried husband and friends, Emma was desperate enough to try the fast. For thirty days, not a morsel of food or sip of drink passed her lips; the only nourishment she received was introduced into her body by some type of injections, probably in homeopathically minimal doses. From the outset of the fast, she began to improve. For the first week after the fast had been completed, the reintroduction of food was gradual, progressing from a teacup of warm milk every two hours to soft-boiled eggs, then soft toast and the juice of beefsteak, and finally on the seventh day, she was given lamb broth. Emma wrote back to her sister in Lynn that she was delighted with the results, felt better than she had for years, and believed it would be a permanent cure.<sup>108</sup> Extreme measures sometimes seemed to be the last resort for extreme sickness.

In the latter part of the decade, the *Item* included a feature column, “GOOD COOKERY,” filled with food advice and recipes that folded vegetables and cereal grains into the repertoire, but not by sacrificing other tastebuds. The 9 July 1898 edition listed recipes for Shredded Wheat Biscuit Tomato Sandwiches and Shredded Wheat Brown Bread, but there were also recipes for Rose Leaf Sugar, Veal Cheese, Fried Squash, and Jellied Calf’s Head.<sup>109</sup> When a new street peddler showed up in Lynn selling waffles from his cart, mouths watered, “At front doors and back doors in the city lately, household ladies … investing in the delicate browned and tempting things, have found them delicious”:

… the cook, in white cap and apron, stands in a cab and deftly flips the waffle irons swinging on pivots over charcoal fires. He has huge milk cans filled with a syrupy mixture of flour and things, ever and anon pouring it skillfully into the irons. When it comes out, hot and crispy, to be whitened and sweetened with powdered sugar and handed to the customer, it is culinary ecstasy.<sup>110</sup>

In 1892 the *Item* reprinted an article from an Albany paper titled, “Ice Cream as a Medicine.” The news story was being circulated because of a recent case of stomach ulcer that was cured by the “sole and persistent use of ice cream” and of a woman whose doctor put her on a diet solely of ice cream because of her serious eye problem that he said was the result of digestive problems. After eleven months, the ice cream seemed to have caused a permanent cure. It was reasoned that the cream provided nourishment while the diseased intestines, chilled by its low temperature, were prevented from “getting up inflammation during the process of digestion carried on by the healthy parts” … which, of course, makes perfect sense to anyone who loves ice cream.<sup>111</sup>



**IT WOULD ALSO HAVE BEEN EASY TO JUSTIFY SOME WAFFLES** and ice cream as a painkiller to get through reading the daily newspaper in the 1890s. Every issue was filled with the harsh reality of bad news stirred up by nature, disease, or man’s inhumanity to man. Startling news to fill column inches was plucked from the newswire services and other newspapers around the country, that is, when there wasn’t enough bad news right in Lynn. In terms of crime during the century’s last decade, Lynn certainly had the taint of a city; there was a toughness, a wantonness that pervaded illegal activity through the end of the century. Despite laws and social mores, women and adolescents were smoking those “obnoxious and injurious cigarettes” and men and boys were spitting out tobacco juice at or across the path of members of the fairer sex for amusement or out of sheer meanness.<sup>112</sup> On January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1891, a newspaper squib read, “A good many New Year anti-tobacco resolutions will end up in smoke.”<sup>113</sup> Complaints also came in episodically to do something about “immoral” theater show posters pasted and tacked up throughout the city:

The Mt. Vernon street [poster] boards are … placed to catch the eye, and many a passing traveler on the train [that] slowly draws into the station, has ample time to scan our gaudy bills, and his one remembrance of Lynn, perchance, will be the grotesque faces of negro minstrels, the contortions of ballet girls or the vulgar

presentment of melodramatic horrors. In vain will [an] architect or Park Commissioner strive to make our city beautiful if such blemishes are suffered to exist in the heart of the town.

But unhappily many of these posters are not merely hideous, but unrefined and even coarse. We keep our children from reading dime novels and the Police News, but here are blood-curdling scenes, sensational groupings and immodest dressing depicted on a large scale and in the boldest colors ...

We are fast getting to the point where familiarity blunts our sensitiveness, and a fatal indifference replaces the quick resentment that some of these posters should arouse. ...

It is too much now to ask that such advertisements shall be works of art, but let them at least be clean and decent. Citizens have a right to demand that nothing offensive shall be publicly obtruded on their sight.<sup>114</sup>

Two bill posters were charged in a similar complaint regarding the public display of immoral content, but they had been tacking up a medical advertisement, "rather obscene at that ... on houses, churches, fences, and even front doors."<sup>115</sup> The moralists also knew that sometimes, the greater problem with those posters was that what they were provocatively suggesting was starting to become a reality on stage. Lynn's own actress, Miss Margaret Leland, gave up her own role in a Salem stage performance rather than cover up more of her cleavage. It was said that she had a charming figure, a fine voice, and was a vivacious actress, but objections were made to her décolleté gown. Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* excoriated neighboring Salem for its prudishness:

Now another [actress] succeeds her, an inferior in every way, but one who wears a high bodice. ... *In Lynn, no one ever thought of criticizing Miss Leland on these grounds.* Her costume was well within the limits of modesty and good taste. In fact there was more bodice than is usually worn at society events among the elite. But the cold draughts of Salem criticism blew over her pretty shoulders and she was told that she would either have to build up the bodice or retire from the performance [-] retire from the prudish gaze of the horror-stricken Puritans. ... Evidently some of the spirit still exist that pinned the scarlet letter to Hester Prynne's bodice, that prompted the decision of Gallow's Hill ... Miss Leland is a very charming young woman, fin-de-siecle ... *she has the true art of the actress of appealing by revealing.*<sup>116</sup>

Many of the shows in Lynn's theaters over the decade featured titillating entertainment: "a troupe of pretty girls in bewitching costumes," "a bevy of beauties [and] KOUTA-KOUTA DANCERS," "British Blondes and Brunettes," "Irish Coquettes – 40 Dainty Damsels," "20 ladies in ... a gorgeous harem scene... There will be some unique Egyptian dancing ...," "THE PARISIAN GAIETY GIRLS. 28 HOT MEMBERS 28," and the performance of "2 Rich, Rare and Racy Burlettas."<sup>117</sup> The scandalously famous dancer, Little Egypt, "one of the interpreters of the danse du ventre" [the belly dance], performed in 1897 at the Music Hall with her company of burlesque dancers, presenting the "Seeley Dinner" and "Seeley Trial," a parody of the notorious New York City bachelor party that made her such a scandalous sensation.<sup>118</sup> When the curtain went up a couple of months prior to her appearance, a pair of young women referred to as two "Little Egypts" danced "to the seductive strains" of the belly dance,

[they] floated upon the stage in airy costumes, the sylphlike forms of two dusky belles, who contorted, posed, and balanced to the wild delight of those present. As they glided from the stage the suggestion went among the boys that a silver collection should be taken up for the purpose of meeting the demand of the talent, who agreed in that contingency to pose in the "altogether."<sup>119</sup>

But the police arrived before it got to that point.

The goings-on got even stranger when dancers Pearl Snyder and Babe Gordon performed at a dime show venue on Munroe Street several years after Little Egypt's appearance. The *Daily*

*Evening Item* revealed, “Members of Lynn’s city government and police force were among the audience of men who salaciously enjoyed the provocative movements of the beautiful dancing girls.” Babe and Pearl had performed living pictures and danced the skirt dance in many places, but Lynn was the first place, they claimed, that the venue’s manager told them to do the skirt dance *without* skirts and also to dress “in the tightest kind of tights and pose in the front window of the building” and say things to men coming up to the window that were of a nature that wasn’t even appropriate for the two dancers to hear, let alone to say. The manager denied he had given them those instructions, pointing out that police officers had been present and neither saw or heard anything objectionable, but Pearl and Babe responded that “he had cut out the objectionable sayings when brass buttons were present.”<sup>120</sup> In Lynn’s dingiest corners, the taint of the city was the darkest.

Another such corner was Echo Grove. It had once been West Lynn’s pleasant hillside resort, site of picnic parties, tent worship meetings, and relaxation, but John Raddin, its longtime owner and developer, had died and the property fell into disuse, with fewer and fewer picnic parties being held there. Eventually, over a short period in 1899, it had been severely vandalized to the point of no longer being useable. The *Item* reported, “Trees and plants have been destroyed, lumber stolen and several hundred dollars’ worth of damage done. There has been stolen within a short time “the range from the cook-house, *the doors themselves* of the building having been carried away, and in fact *most everything that could be moved* has been stolen.”<sup>121</sup> But it was more than the brazeness of illegal and immoral acts that were getting worse in Lynn: crimes by women were escalating in intensity and a new feature appeared on the police blotter: armed holdups by masked men.

In 1890 the life-tested 52-year-old Mrs. Sarah C. Jillson was hired as the police matron to manage the “ladies ward” of the police station, which was no easy job, and served in the position for the entire decade. Before the appointment of a matron, “the marshal and his assistants were often perplexed [about] what to do in cases of arrest of women who, of course, had to be searched”; in order to avoid the awkwardness, many arrests were just never made. The matron was able to perform thorough searches, knowing full well that “sometimes the articles, if money or jewelry, are found upon the person, hidden in places that only a woman knows about.” Another important duty of the matron was to deal with “the incorrigible girls and yelling women” who were arrested: “She takes them in hand and gives them good motherly advice.” She also often had women in her charge who were insane; “these she seems to have a great influence over, and not infrequently calms down a turbulent mind when even the physician’s opiates fail.”<sup>122</sup> The female criminals she had to deal with included an organized ring of large-scale shoplifters and a team of “knock-out drop operators.” The gang of shoplifters consisted of four Lynn women who had shoplifted goods from stores in Lynn, Boston, Salem, and Malden, aggregating thousands of dollars in value. All four were said to have come from good families with nothing in their background that suggested they would fall into a life of crime. Police confiscated the stashes of stolen items and called the storeowners to come down to the police station to identify their merchandise; when the businessmen arrived, they walked into what looked like “a small but well stocked dry goods store.” Items were identified from at least twenty stores ranging from silk dresses, blouses, skirts, underwear, gloves, fur boas, coats, wraps, and shoes, to umbrellas, pictures, perfumes, and a gold watch.<sup>123</sup> Ida Brown and Mrs. Maggie Tarbox of Lynn worked as a team, drugging a man’s drinks, got him into a hotel room, and robbed him of \$480. Ida Brown skipped bail but was rearrested out of state and brought back. She was described as “tall, willowy and graceful,” with “golden hair and lovely blue eyes, but in the opinion of police, who know her ways, she is a great deal naughtier than she is nice.”<sup>124</sup>

Men were also making names for themselves in crime. A gang of boys appeared in Juvenile Court, charged with breaking and entering the establishment of John C. Garrood and stealing a double-barrel shot gun, a rifle, four revolvers, two bowie knives, and six large hunting knives. Police found out that they had modeled themselves on the Jesse James gang of outlaws and intended going West to become train robbers.<sup>125</sup> Even Jack the Ripper was celebrated in Lynn; it was a name

given to a bloodhound entered in one of the city's dog shows.<sup>126</sup> There was also the notorious "Dog Face" Welch of West Lynn who, while on a rampage, drew a revolver and threatened the life of a police officer. It was noted that he was "filled to overflowing with firewater."<sup>127</sup> Drunkenness and other crimes fueled by it were far and away the largest number of arrests made in Lynn in the decade, just like all the decades that preceded it; arrests for drunkenness alone accounted for about two thirds of the thousands of arrests made each year.<sup>128</sup> One of those arrests was John F. O'Connell, a middle-aged man who was the coachman for liquor dealer Edward Heffernan. He was arrested for shooting his gun on Washington Street near the corner of Munroe. "O'Connell was considerably under the influence of liquor, and thought that he saw a sea-green goat, with purple wings and a forked tail, coming for him at full tilt."<sup>129</sup>

Nothing had changed between the liquor sellers and the temperance forces other than the determination of each to defeat the other. The results of voting to issue or not issue liquor licenses to hotels, saloons, drugstores, and other businesses flip-flopped almost annually through the decade, but legally or illegally, plenty of liquor was getting sold and plenty of people were getting drunk. In 1894 three young ladies strongly committed to the cause of temperance conspired together to covertly go to some Lynn hotels without liquor licenses to see if they could buy some drinks. Their ruse was successful and they reported it to the police and presented them with the small bottles into which they had poured some of the illegally served intoxicants. Their exploits created a sensation in the city and the court levied fines against the hotel owners, and some jail time to the extent allowed by law, but ultimately, nothing really changed.<sup>130</sup> The secret of illegal liquor was no secret, but it kept happening and neither side gave up. In an 1892 mass rally of the local temperance societies, one speaker had preached to the hall full of believers as forcefully as had ever been done from such a platform, saying "... liquor selling, licensed or unlicensed ... endangers peace, corrupts morals, fosters crime, poisons elections, and destroys religion. It is an unmitigated evil, monstrous in magnitude, corrupting in influence and damning in its effects. ... It is a cage of vultures, a nest of vipers, a haunt of fiends, the terrestrial throne of Satan."<sup>131</sup>

A rash of robberies occurred from the spring of 1897 to the winter of 1898 that made the city look more like Tombstone, Arizona, than Lynn, Massachusetts. Armed men in masks were robbing at gunpoint. Two masked men brandishing revolvers tried to hold up a drug store on Ocean Street, yelling at the druggist, "Money, money, want yer money, money, de money!"<sup>132</sup> A few months later, another masked robber, hidden by midnight's darkness, shot Owen J. Barker as he was returning home, walking to the back door of his house. The gunman dropped his mask at the scene and disappeared, leaving his victim shot through the lung. A drawing of the mask appeared in the news article: it looked like the combination of a potato sack and KKK mask with a black beard of material sewn over the area of the mouth – it was an embarrassingly poor job of needlecraft with tragic consequences.<sup>133</sup> Yet again, a few months later, the *Item* declared that "THREE DESPERADOES" performed the "Boldest Hold-Up Yet Perpetrated in Lynn." They entered Allan F. Bartlett's Store, masked and waving their revolvers, demanding that everyone in the store – the proprietor, clerks, and several customers – put up their hands. After getting \$85 from the cashier and another \$10 from the cash drawer, they backed out through the front door, pistols still drawn, and into the night. The *Item* worried in newsprint about Lynn's reputation and the safety of its citizens:

The unenviable and unwelcome notoriety which this city has attained during the last 12 months, as the scene of many desperate crimes and attempts at crime[,] received a decided and pronounced boom Saturday evening. Lynn has been long on the sensation market for some time and its reputation as a sort of a harvest home for criminals was bad enough before, but is many degrees worse now.<sup>134</sup>

What was possible for the daring thieves to do in the quiet neighborhood where the robbery occurred, might also be accomplished in other localities about the city, and the question is[,] who is safe?<sup>135</sup>

Once more, in January 1898, three men wearing masks and armed with *two revolvers each*, entered Frederick W. Usher's grocery store at the corner of Summer and Commercial streets and, in the process of the robbery, shot Usher in the neck.<sup>136</sup> He was rushed to the hospital in the police ambulance and, though badly wounded, quick, capable and efficient attention helped him survive.



**LYNN DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH ITSELF.** In many ways, the city needed the same kind of help as Mr. Usher had received: quick, capable, fully resourced, and efficient. But unlike Mr. Usher, Lynn was not a body on the ground upon whom the police, doctors, and nurses could focus attention. Lynn *was* the ground, spreading from Lynnfield to Nahant, and Saugus to Swampscott, and it was covered with dozens of miles of streets, many neighborhoods, thousands of houses, businesses and factories, and tens of thousands of people with more constantly arriving. It was a dynamic, growing city, and while some sections were well established with finished streets, sidewalks, indoor plumbing, sewers, and electricity, there were many others that were decades behind. Major thoroughfares, like Summer, Washington, and Franklin streets, North and South Common streets, and Western Avenue, were all still dirt roads in 1894.<sup>137</sup> In the spring and fall even Market Street, the critical downtown business thoroughfare, battled suffocating clouds of dust, and the shopkeepers were annoyed that their merchandise was being damaged by the ubiquitous dust.<sup>138</sup> In the winter, the problem was the opposite; as a February 1890 *Item* headlined, "Mud, Mud, Mud. ...Western avenue is a long, yellow, oozy, bed of sticky mud, that bespatters all who drive along it. ... teams... sink half way to the hub in many places."<sup>139</sup> An editorial cartoon in December 1893 showed Santa had been tossed from his wrecked sleigh with the toys tossed strewn in the street; the caption had Santa saying, "I was cuckoo to think I could drive this load along a Lynn street."<sup>140</sup> The many calls from the "New Lynn" essayists for sidewalks and better streets were on point: many streets required regular sprinkling by water carts to keep from forming dust storms, and work teams were desperately needed to grade and repair streets and build and repair the city's sidewalks. All the manpower, machinery, and funding had to be approved, scheduled, and parsed out by the city government, but bureaucracy moved slowly and a discordant chorus of impatient residents from all over the city constantly vocalized their frustration and demands for improvements.

The location of the Thomson-Houston Electric Company in West Lynn, next to the Saugus River, brought a building boom of residences and shops around it; the changes were dramatic to anyone who remembered what had been a lonesome stretch of road just a few years earlier.<sup>141</sup> Patent medicine mogul Lemuel Brock had considerable real estate holdings a little ways up on Summer Street, at the base of Echo Grove, and was busily building dozens of houses in the area he called Brockville. Much of Brockville sloped down towards the Saugus River, so flooding didn't seem to pose a problem for those homes, but all around them, water was making life miserable. Winter snow and ice were known to make it difficult to stay healthy in the Boston Street homes that bordered along Strawberry Brook. The cellars were damp and moldy, and often a foot or two of water collected in them, because snow and ice would plug up the flow of the brook, causing it to overflow its banks.<sup>142</sup> A vacant lot on Wyman Street (off Boston Street) was covered by stagnant water that was in part fed by drainage from nearby outhouses and sink spouts. Nearby residents were convinced that the offensive-smelling water had caused the deaths of family members who had suffered with scarlet fever and diphtheria; some residents also insisted large lizards, some a foot long, had made the smelly pond their home.<sup>143</sup>

Just north of the electric plant and Western Ave there was major flooding on Camden Street. The street was built on marshy ground that could absorb no more, so surface water built up instead of sinking in. The street suffered so badly from flooding that the neighborhood could only move on their street by boat and they built plank bridges to walk over the water. The houses were like islands in a lake and nearly all of the inhabitants of Camden Street claimed to have rheumatic

pains from the damp condition of their houses. An *Item* reported pointed out in the spring of 1893, “In one part of the street appears a sign, ‘This lot for sale.’ But there is no land to be seen, It was all water and ducks swimming around the sign this morning.”<sup>144</sup> The dozen or so Camden Street homeowners figuratively jumped up and down to get the city’s attention and action. They held an “indignation meeting,” and met with the committee on laying out and altering streets, followed by the committee on drainage and the board of health but not only did this *not* finally produce some action, the city argued it was not a street accepted by the city, so filling it in so that it didn’t flood had to be done by or at the expense of the homeowners.<sup>145</sup> Five years later, the board of health decided to condemn the street as a nuisance; the land owners would be proceeded against to fill in the low spots. The city suggested there was “a prospect of some drainage, piping, with catch basin, to drain the place,” but made no promises because that depended on the actions of the Metropolitan Water Board.<sup>146</sup> And the drama continued, with lives floating in the middle.

A half-mile from Camden Street, the neighborhood of Hood, Morris, and Court streets was also being inundated by flooding in 1893. They also sat on marshy ground which prevented drainage, so they found themselves in trouble, too. The residents petitioned the city to fill in a nearby drainage ditch because it had filled up with water and was covered in a thick coat of green slime and filthy, stagnant water. The petition was granted and the ditch was filled, but filling in the drain necessitated the city to dig a sewer line to replace it. Work on the sewer line stopped with the onset of winter and for months, the gathering waters rose and spread, flooding the entire area. Houses stood for months with cellars full of water, and once again a Lynn neighborhood’s portion of sickness quickly grew “and the remorseless monster, death, [was] attracted and claimed victims.” Customers were unable to reach the coal and wood office on Hood Street and the small bake shop of “portly German baker” Charles Sahm lost seven-eighths of its trade, but his biggest worry was that his daughter and clerk, Madeline, was sick with rheumatic fever, which the physician asserted was caused by the damp surroundings.<sup>147</sup> An *Item* reporter who had gone to Hood Street to get the story seemed deeply affected by the unfolding tragic scene he witnessed:

The most distressing circumstance of the flood was met with in crossing to the southerly side of Hood street, where on the door of No. 70 appeared the mournful signal of death in a fluttering streamer of black crape. Mrs. Ellen Skerry, wife of John Skerry, died Tuesday morning, of pneumonia. She was attended in her sickness of a week by Dr. Ahearne, who gave his opinion that her illness was caused by the dampness in the house. Adding to this melancholy revelation was the fact that Mr. Skerry himself was very low with the same disease, from the same cause, and with the shock of his wife’s death coming upon him, was not expected to live. In the upper part of the house a woman was sick abed also. As the reporter noted these dreadful evidences of the dangerous condition of the neighborhood, an undertaker’s wagon, coming by a detour around through Cottage street, approached through the mud, and a casket was carried to receive the body of the victim of municipal neglect.<sup>148</sup>

Soon thereafter, Mrs. Edward Lahey, a mother of several children, residing on nearby Nelson Street (on the south side of Hood) passed away from a brief bout of consumption. She was only 28 years old and prior to moving to that neighborhood had been known to be hale and hardy. Her doctor stated unequivocally that her death was caused by the water in the cellar.<sup>149</sup>

The board of health blamed the drainage committee for not acting quickly enough to complete the sewer line, but the drainage committee said, “the trouble would never have occurred had the board of health waited for the construction of the sewer before taking any action relative to the water course.” Amid these cross-departmental squabbles at city hall, several residents of Hood and Nelson streets retained lawyers and submitted petitions for damages … which, of course, went before the committee on claims … and so, like the lifeless waters that laid siege to Hood, Morris, Nelson, and Court streets, all efforts to rescue the residents and their homes continued to stagnate.<sup>150</sup>

But at least the board of health finally managed, in 1898, to pass Rule 36, which assigned a \$100 fine for spitting in street cars.<sup>151</sup> Baby steps.

Water, by itself, was not the problem; it is essential to all life. The problem with water is that, well, it is essential to all life. Every living thing uses and shares it with each other, knowingly and willingly or not. That unhindered sharing of water among a large population that coexists in a small, condensed area (the definition of a city) tampers with the purity of the water, usually with unfortunate results. Water is the perfect host for parasitic birth, bacterial growth, and aquatic death; in sufficient quantity, it provides transportation for everything in its soft embrace, from baby Moses in a basket and Venus on the half shell, to dog corpses and human excrement. It wasn't the arrival of Moses and Venus that Lynn had to worry about.

In June 1890, someone in a factory on Market Street poured a drink of water from the faucet and decided instantly they weren't going to drink it: "accompanying the animalculae, vegetable growth and other things that ... make up city water, were two blood suckers [leeches] one inch in length."<sup>152</sup> Despite having a municipal water system in place for more than twenty years, many families stuck with getting their drinking water from the peddler carts promising "pure spring water" or they resorted to old wells.<sup>153</sup> Nonetheless, the city's physicians and the board of health were generally satisfied that Lynn's lakes and reservoirs, piped and filtered through its pumping station, were safe water sources and chemical analysis showed Lynn's waters compared favorably to that of other cities in the state.

Much more time and emphasis in the 1890s was placed on Lynn's brooks, streams, and small ponds. The city had grown up thickly around them over the centuries, changing their fresh, pure waters into polluted dangers. Where once they had coursed briskly through quiet countryside, they now sloshed sluggishly between a thickly settled, manmade forest of homes, schools, and businesses. A perfect example of the transformation was Strawberry Brook. It was so named for the wild strawberries found growing along its banks by Lynn's earliest European settlers. The water was pure for drinking and filled with food: for centuries, large schools of alewife fish came back annually to the brook, using it as a fishway to Flax Pond for spawning. The brook was regularly fished with nets for the alewives and its waters were used for drinking, cooking, washing, and grazing farm animals. Mills of various types were built over narrow parts and alongside the several ponds it formed in its course. By the 1890s, Strawberry Brook passed through the front yard of the Lynn Hospital and then by the front entrance of Pine Grove Cemetery; dozens of house properties backed up against its banks and backyard outhouse waste found its way into the brook, along with tannery discharge and animal carcasses. The wild strawberries were long-forgotten history.

The people who lived nearest to Strawberry Brook complained the loudest; they saw and smelled it the most. In hot weather, patches of the brook and the ponds it went through were dried up, exposing muddy, mucky flats that were covered with dead fish; the hot sun caused its fast decomposition, and the stench of death steamed its way up to the high heavens. In May 1893 fish were "dying by the *thousands*" in the brook and its ponds. "These fish, killed by the poisonous matter from the factories, are gathered by children ... and sold ... for a few cents a dozen. Those who eat [it] are in danger of disease from the poisoned fish, and will do well to avoid alewives as a table delicacy this season."<sup>154</sup> The brook was called "an open sewer" receiving drainage from houses and factories; they pointed to the ample evidence of dead leaves, dogs, cats, rats, cans, debris, and more. Yards bordering the brook were saturated over a foot from the brook's edge with filth that had accumulated for years.<sup>155</sup> Saloon keeper Thomas King lived next to Strawberry Brook and being repulsed by its sights and odors, had asked his family physician, Herbert W. Newhall, if he should be concerned. Newhall was quite pointed and deliberate in his reply:

Dear Sir. – You showed me this afternoon how the branch of Strawberry Brook ... flows by the rear of your estate on Boston street ... You asked me to give my opinion on the condition of the brook. There can be but one opinion. The mass of filth and sewage floating upon the surface of the dammed up and nearly stagnant stream

endangers the health of all who live in its vicinity. Not only is it a hot bed for the development of the germs of diphtheria, typhoid fever and so forth, but all who are exposed to the noxious gases arising from it are liable to the more insidious form of poisoning characterized by poor appetite, frequent headaches and gradual loss of health and strength. The excessive heat of this season of the year greatly increases the evil. ... Until the current is swift enough to prevent the accumulation and putrefaction of such a foul, stinking, rotten mass, the good health and even the life of yourself and of each member of your family is exposed to great peril. I advise you most urgently, as your family physician, to spare no effort and to lose no time in procuring the abatement of this nuisance. ....<sup>156</sup>

In 1894 an official delegation from the state legislature's committee on public health came to Lynn to tour the "West Lynn Nuisance" and determine whether to recommend state funding for its cleanup. They were met at the train station by a Lynn delegation of city officials, led by Mayor Charles E. Harwood, and were then promptly taken out for a fine lunch (which probably didn't include alewives). After lunch they made stops at various points along Little River, Strawberry Brook, and the mill ponds, as well as some of the flooded house cellars in the vicinity; the schoolhouse that had to be closed on account of sickness was also pointed out. At the conclusion of the West Lynn Nuisance tour, and before going out to dinner, the Lynn delegation took them for a tour of the pride of Lynn, the Diamond District "with which they expressed great delight." The contrast between Strawberry Brook and Ocean Street must have made a striking contrast and a welcome relief at the end of the day.<sup>157</sup>

When all was said and done, the solution for how to get rid of the polluted streams and ponds was clear to the abutters and the officials alike. A letter to the editor by "A Boston Streeter" explained, "... what shall be done with the different brooks running through the thickly-settled portions of Lynn? To this question there is one answer, and that is ... put them into the sewers. ... let us have them used to wash [out] the sewers."<sup>158</sup>

Sewer lines were a necessary evil; nobody liked them but most agreed they were needed. They were a huge expense to the city and to the homeowners and business owners that bore the expense to connect their properties to them. The city had to pay work crews to dig deep and long trenches, as well as the large pipes and labor to assemble them all over the city, and then to fix them when they broke or leaked. In 1893 only five and a half miles of sewer pipes were laid; more could have been done, but the total cost of the sewer system was already over a million dollars and there was still a lot of the city that needed sewer lines.<sup>159</sup> Another problem the city faced was that the existing sewer lines were sometimes failing to keep up with the rapidly increasing volumes of sewage. In 1896 the ten-inch sewer pipes on River and Ida streets already needed to be torn up and replaced with eighteen-inch pipes; Lynn had lots of sewage to flush through its system.<sup>160</sup> In 1887 Lynn flushed a million gallons of sewage per day into its harbor; by 1898 the volume had increased sharply to over five million gallons every day, or almost two trillion gallons per year. And every last drop was pouring into Lynn Harbor.<sup>161</sup>

When coastal communities pumped sewage into coastal waters, it was done with the expectation that currents of rising and falling tides would wash the effluent into deeper water – the ocean. The problem with Lynn's harbor was that it was always mostly filled in with muddy flats and one shallow, narrow channel through which only small ships could pass from the ocean to the waiting docks at the innermost part of the harbor. Even worse, because of the massive mud flats, the harbor had very little current – most of the sewage didn't push out to sea as hoped – it added to the already mucky harbor bottom. In 1892 a meeting about the improvement of Lynn Harbor attracted about 200 prominent citizens and business men to the Board of Trade Hall. The inadequacy of the narrow channel was first discussed, but anger increased when the city's miscalculations about the natural removal of sewage were reviewed:

To add to its unattractiveness as navigable water, *our city, with a lack of foresight which now seems almost incredible, indeed criminal*, poured its entire sewage into our harbor, ... discharging the filthy contents of its drains and catch basins ... [allowing] them to flow over our flats, which were entirely bare at low water, and exposed to the heat of the summer sun, thus creating a mass of corruption, which was a menace to the health of the city, and caused a constant decrease in the depth of water in our already [shallow] channels. ... How serious an obstacle this sewage was, is shown by soundings taken [from] one of our docks, where a depth of *from 11 inches to 86 inches of solid sewage was found*, much of it the refuse of morocco factories, *containing so great a percentage of acids as to strip all the paint from a vessel lying in the dock in a single tide.*<sup>162</sup>

The harbor was as inhospitable as could be, only allowing ships to come and go at their own risk through the hazardous channel, and offering no signs of life in its polluted waters; the fact that a woman's body was found underwater, face down in the mud, emphasized that in the most tragic way. The news story of the discovered corpse explained that "the inflated appearance of [her] black skirt made it look more like an open umbrella caught between the [pilings] ... it is often the case to see such material floating in the waters of the docks."<sup>163</sup> Early in the decade, when the outfall sewer was located under Buffum's Wharf, near the foot of Market Street, sewage was often seen floating under the docks, so an open umbrella would have come as no surprise.<sup>164</sup> Residents along the downtown dock area complained loudly about the sewage smells; the members of one family believed they were made ill during recently warm weather by the offensive harbor.<sup>165</sup> Later in the decade the outflow pipe was moved to West Lynn, near the gas works, closer to open water and away from the heavily populated downtown, in hope that it would improve the outflow into the ocean and stop the sickness and complaints, but the decision was flawed on both counts. The current was no stronger there; in fact, civil engineers agreed that "there was not a single place in the harbor where a sufficient current can be found to carry off crude sewage continuously." At low tide the harbor was practically empty and the sewage outflow continued to settle on its flats, where the process of putrefaction and decay carried on in the open air and sunlight.<sup>166</sup> West Lynn was building up quickly and closer to the harbor, largely because of the electric company's growing operations, and the few thousand residents living in the vicinity of the plant and the harbor became the ones complaining about their health being put at risk and who were forced to close their windows to keep out the stink.<sup>167</sup>

Up the Saugus River, past the electric plant, the problems faced by Strawberry Brook and the Lynn harbor were mirrored in its muck and mire at low tide. Effluent from morocco leather factories and other plants emptied into the Saugus River which made the air in its vicinity pungently offensive, and when the tide was out, it ceased to be a river:

... the sun and air get in their work and try to convert it to dry land, and in doing so obnoxious gases are developed and the result is malaria, diphtheria, mosquitos, etc. These birds of prey (mosquitos) which prevail in such large numbers in Ward 7 fatten on nothing quicker, barring human blood, than these gases. Fishes, poor creatures, have to live in the water, or die rather, in it, as the number lying on the banks in the spring testify. The only advantage derived from this condition of affairs is that it enables a few individuals to dig clams at low tide ...<sup>168</sup>

Sewage problems also existed in central Lynn at Bog Meadow and in East Lynn's Stacey's and Jackson's brooks, but it was especially hard to be a West Lynner in the early 1890s. The electric company was a great employment opportunity but some of its closest neighborhoods were dealing with significant flooding, the Saugus River and Lynn Harbor that bordered the area were emitting seriously offensive air quality, and oh yes, there was the matter of the city dump.

It was an offal problem. The health department had teams with horse-drawn wagons, picking up the garbage, refuse, vegetable matter, house offal, and night soil from homes, outhouses,

businesses, and factories throughout the city, taking them over to a remote end of Lynn on the marshes along the Saugus marshes, then throwing them in heaps upon the ground.<sup>169</sup> It was a decision without much of a plan. Lynn was already big and still growing, and the loads they were getting piled up quickly into a hill, then a mountain on the marsh: in 1891 their teams removed 3,224 loads of night soil from vaults and cesspools, over a thousand cords of house offal, and over 2,000 loads of street filth from 430 catch basins.<sup>170</sup> In 1892 they were collecting 180 tons of night soil per week – over 18,000,000 pounds of human waste in a year, and that didn't include all the garbage forming an artificial topography in West Lynn.<sup>171</sup> In the heat of August 1890, it was already more than the nose could handle:

The stench arising from the city dump on the marshes is rapidly growing more intolerable. On these warm, sultry nights, with hardly a breath of air, a sickening, noisome, penetrating, lingering odor, breathing decay, death and contagion, insinuates itself through all parts of West Lynn, creeping in at open doors and windows, and refuses to depart. No perfume is powerful enough to overcome the fetid odor and it can only be endured in silence, disgusting as it is.<sup>172</sup>

The *Item* pointed out that the nuisance was created by the board of health, “the very institution designed to *prevent* nuisances.” Complaints continued to be heard from residents downwind in the already beleaguered area around the Thomson-Houston company, “but the mills of reform grind slowly when … neighborhood grumbling is all that lifts the water gates of power.” Fortunately for them, the city’s single largest employer was expanding to within a few hundred feet of the nightsoil and garbage dump, so it was clear to the city authorities who needed and wanted to keep the T.-H. E. Company happy, that the dump had to go; but the knotty question became, where could they take a dump?<sup>173</sup> The north part of Lynn was out because the city’s large watershed sprawled across it, and everywhere else in the city was already filled with its residents and businesses.

There were only three ways to get rid of offal and waste; two of these were by cremation and by evaporation. In 1892 a delegation of Lynn officials took a trip to Atlantic City by boat, visiting operating crematories and evaporation systems along the way, drawing some media ridicule for the \$800 junket. What they learned was both methods involved establishing, running, and maintaining a plant of machinery and apparatus that would be more expensive than the city leaders felt was realistic. Lynn’s Mayor Hayes recognized that “dollars and cents do not count very much … when you are confronted with the lives and health of your community.” When he made these comments at the first-ever meeting of the state boards of health (which was being held in Lynn in 1892), he had already made his decision: it was to take the third option – dumping the stuff in the ocean. “I am not a scientific man,” Hayes said, “but any man must know, *with the amount of water that there is in the ocean … the dumping of what garbage can be collected in a city like this from now until eternity will never cause any damage or danger.* It is simply a question of towing it to sea far enough, and of care in dumping.”<sup>174</sup>

At best, Mayor Hayes was being disingenuous. He knew full well that Boston had been dumping its sewage and garbage from scows into Massachusetts Bay for at least the previous two years, in an area marked on nautical charts as The Graves shoals because the stuff floated onto Lynn area beaches.<sup>175</sup> From sharp-edged cans and broken glass to putrefying, disease-carrying carcasses, there was, indeed, damage and danger floating in on the tide – not to mention the disgusting sight and smells on the beaches where people wanted to stroll, relax, and play. But the mayor’s mind was made up; he just wanted the massive problem out of Lynn.

There was a sequence of events that would play out between The Graves and Lynn when Boston’s scows dumped their loads and the tides and waters were just right. First, on a clear day, the scows were visible on the horizon from Lynn Beach. Later in the day fisherman out beyond Egg Rock would see pumpkins, squashes, turnips, oranges, and other old produce floating on the waters around them; by the next morning everything from papers and tin cans to dead dogs and

cats landed on Lynn area beaches. There was no question the stuff was from Boston: “in the midst of floating vegetables and other refuse” a Swampscott selectman had found on his own beachfront fragments of letters, postcards, and business cards, all indicating they were from Boston; one of the post cards was a meeting notice for Boston’s district of the Massachusetts Medical Society.<sup>176</sup>

When confronted, Boston officials confirmed their dumping area was close to The Graves and they said their scows made three trips a week on average, carrying about 150 wagonloads of kitchen, shop, and outhouse wastes per trip. They also nonchalantly admitted that sometimes the ebb tide was not sufficient to carry the garbage out to sea, and it floated back to the shore, landing along the shores of Lynn, Nahant and Swampscott. Under the present system, they “do not see how it can be avoided.”<sup>177</sup>

The irritation of Lynn’s leadership about waste and garbage covering the beaches was not just out of concern for the health of its citizens but also for the contentment of its wealthy summer visitors who rented and owned homes along its oceanfront and “demand[ed] freedom from bad smells and rotten garbage.” Yet those same residences along the city’s waterfront had also been throwing “a great deal of garbage and offal from their estates over the [walls] and embankments” to the beaches below, apparently expecting their indiscretions to wash out to sea with the next tide. Unlike the refuse from the sea that washed up broadly up and down the beaches, the *Item* reporter saw heaps of refuse in specific locations at the base of the embankments from summer homes; mounds of refuse, garbage, brushwood, grass-cuttings, tin cans, and ashes. Apparently the nuisance was too much or too frequent for the city to constantly police, so “the thousands of people who have flocked to the beach during the hot weather are subjected to the smell and disgusting proximity of decaying vegetables, *in addition to the usual and unavoidable presence of dead fish* and other matter cast up by the sea.<sup>178</sup> Old Neptune was pushing back much of the offal, trash, and waste out of his ocean home and even fish that belonged there; whether this was due to some natural ocean processes or the pollution that man was introducing, their presence had apparently become a “usual” feature of a day at the beach.

Despite Boston’s mistakes or willful disregard while dumping, it was, if nothing else, getting rid of its problem and under Mayor Hayes’ leadership, Lynn decided to do the same. The plan was the third of a three-part, decade-long campaign to clean up Lynn and make it a healthier place to live: first, its rivers and some of its ponds were getting cleaned up by being covered up and diverted to the sewer system; secondly its sewer took the sewage out of Lynn by dumping it into its harbor; and finally, its trash, night soil, offal, and all of the other types of loathsome waste were being put on scows and dumped at sea. To the city leaders in late-Victorian Lynn, it made all the sense in the world: take it far into the ocean and dump it. The ocean is huge; it can handle it.

A seventy- foot-long, twenty-foot-wide scow was ordered and put in service in mid-October 1892.<sup>179</sup> But it had ineptly ordered it without figuring out where it would be docked and how it would be loaded. There was no dock at the dump site, so the city took on a costly lease at the gas works dock, near the outfall sewer. Still, there was no way to get the garbage into the scow; the existing ramp at the dock was not high enough. Autumn turned to winter, snow and ice covered the offal mountain, and teams continued to dump more and more tons on top without any resolution. In March a member of the board of health suggested the offal should be dumped on the lot at city hall, “it would be no more offensive to the city government than [it is to] the citizens of West Lynn at present, and might be productive of some action on their part.”<sup>180</sup> The dump site lease expired on 20 April 1893, but still nothing happened and the scow did not have its inaugural load. By July, the situation was getting out of control and Mayor Hayes pleaded with the residents for their help. He said more money was needed to enlarge the work of offal and night soil collection and dumping, “Until this is done, house holders will confer a great favor upon the board by burning their refuse. *When we get it we do not know hardly what to do with it.*”<sup>181</sup>

Finally, on July 7<sup>th</sup>, nine months after the scow had arrived, the Lynn harbor tugboat towed it out for its very first ocean dumping, its hull brimming with the worst Lynn had to offer. The



**"How Boston's Garbage Has Affected Our Beaches."** Egg Rock is represented in background. Among the debris washed ashore can be seen a can, a bottle, a shoe, produce garbage, and the headless, front legless carcass of a mammal, probably meant to be a dog. (from the *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1891.)

superintendent of the health department and an *Item* man were on board to observe the first opening of the scow's doors, and the repulsive experience lived up to every disgusting expectation: "When the hatches were thrown open a most vile and overpowering odor emitted .... A glance at the interior of the hold revealed a revolting spectacle – rotten vegetables, covered with a crawling, noisome mess of vermin." The load was dumped about twelve miles from Lynn and twenty miles from Boston, five miles northeast of The Graves, just a little further out to sea from where Boston dumped its loads. The words of Mayor Hayes echoed on the ocean breeze, "... *I found safety to be simply a question of detail, simply a question of carrying far enough out to sea ....*"<sup>182</sup> The *Item* man noted, "The current is such here that if any of the floating garbage is carried inshore, which is not probable, it will go towards Boston and not to Lynn or Swampscott."<sup>183</sup> Payback is a dead fish.

On their way back, it was necessary for Lynn's scow to moor overnight off the coast of Little Nahant because it was low tide in Lynn Harbor and impossible to get back to its dock near the outfall sewer; the befouled mud flats were keeping Lynn's pollution solution from returning home.<sup>184</sup>

Lynn's beaches had always held a fascination for its citizens. It was one of relatively few Massachusetts communities that had the privilege of its own oceanfront; whether it was offering perfect sailing weather, cooling waters to swim in on the hottest days, good fishing and lobstering, or terrible storms with angry waves, it was always theirs to enjoy. The ocean had presented them its gifts with frequency: seashells, starfish, and curious horseshoe crabs pushed ashore by its tides; seaweed for fertilizer; bottles with mysterious messages supposedly written by people sinking on a ship or stranded on an island; occasional surprises like a swordfish and a dolphin, the mystery of sea serpent sightings along its shore, and even the rare awesomeness of a great leviathan from the deep, like the blue whale that washed up on Swampscott's beach next door in April 1890.<sup>185</sup> Men

and boys carved their initials and monograms on the flukes and tail, and cut and hauled away sections of blubber, presumably for meals. When the huge cadaver washed up on the beach, the cavernous mouth was gaped open, which was taken as an invitation by souvenir hunters; its teeth eventually looked "as though a ten-cent dentist had been at work with a pick and shovel."<sup>186</sup> Sometimes the terrible storms pushed a helpless ship to its doom, like the wreck off Little Nahant, where seven dead bodies were cast ashore, two in pieces, one of which the ocean at last returned the heart for the body that was missing it.<sup>187</sup> From simple and common to rare and terrible, it was all part of the rhythm of the ocean, but waves of garbage, trash, animal carcasses, rotten fruit and vegetables, and scores of dead fish, if killed by man's pollution, was wrong and didn't belong in the ocean waves. Well before Lynn's scow dumped its first load in the ocean, H. F. Hurlburt, a member of the board of health, expressed concern about the path down which Lynn and other Massachusetts coastal communities were headed:

If Boston and all the cities upon the sea-coast are going to adopt that system of taking their garbage out to sea, and continue it for a series of years, the question comes whether we are not going to create a greater nuisance by having some of it float back upon our sea-shore, and disturb the people who live there. If all of us do it, it seems to me sooner or later it must create a nuisance of such a character along our sea-coast that it will not only destroy beautiful property, but also destroy the health of the inhabitants.<sup>188</sup>

Four years later, right after the July 4<sup>th</sup> weekend, at the height of summer and tourist season, Lynn and Nahant had another huge fish kill on their beaches:

... strewn by the thousands, they form a long, gray line, that vanishes into the distance. ... They are beginning to give evidence of their perishable nature, and their removal by the Board of Health ... is a welcome move to the hotel people. For two days they have been coming ashore, washed back and forth by the tides, and left high and dry to decay in the sun. They are mostly silver bass though it is thought that some herring and a few rock cod are among them.<sup>189</sup>

The crowds speculated on what caused this mass devastation; theories included that bathers had beaten them ashore, they came off some vessel, or were chased to shore by some large sea creature prowling nearby in deeper water. Maybe one of these theories was exactly what happened, or perhaps the summer water had warmed too much, or an algae bloom had reduced the oxygen in the water, or the various species were all killed by an infestation of parasites or disease. Perhaps. But Lynn and Boston and other Massachusetts coastal communities were dumping by the tons, one more potential cause for the death of sea life, and the sea was giving Lynn one more powerful reason for the air to reek and stomachs to turn in the summer sun. Ten months later, in May 1897, beaches in Swampscott and Lynn had become Boston's de facto dumping ground once again:

King's Beach from Red Rock to the Swampscott monument, presented a sickening sight after the tide had receded. The beach was completely covered from one end to the other with decaying vegetables, old bottles, ... dead animals, papers, boxes, and in fact everything that could be imagined. ... Not only is the sight a gruesome and sickening one but the stench grows worse and worse the longer it lies there and if it had been a pleasant and warm day today there is no doubt it would have been unbearable.<sup>190</sup>

The city of Lynn had wrestled with science, budgets, and itself throughout the decade for better streets and sidewalks; cleaner water, from the drinking glass to the harbor; flood-free land; and safe, pleasant-smelling air. Keeping up with needed improvements was getting harder as every day passed; Lynn had indeed become the old woman who lived in a shoe and had so many children, she didn't know what to do. The city had grown so much over the centuries and it struggled to take care of what it had become. The wary old lady got where she wanted to go, but very slowly, weak in every step.

While the atmosphere of Lynn was one of optimistic determination, in reality it still stunk. In 1891, an *Item* reporter preserved the experience of Lynn's air, if not the smells themselves, on a blistering hot August day:

### **THE LATEST ... LYNN'S ATMOSPHERE.**

**Foul Odors That Almost Cry Aloud.  
Super-Heated Air Charged With Rotten Cases.  
Sights and Smells That Should Be Smothered.**

"Smells?"

"Yes; have you noticed any?"

"Haven't paid much attention to the matter. It always smells bad around here."

The reporter sniffed the superheated atmosphere, and detected a strong odor of morocco factory, with a dash of eating saloon, street mud and sewer gas. It was on Munroe street, a locality favored with a full sufficiency of eloquent odors.

"I noticed a bad smell from the alley here," continued the perspiring citizen, indicating one of those yard-wide passageways that lead to untold mysteries off the westerly side of the street. "There are several open vaults in there that ought to be cleaned out."

"Anything else?"

"Just the old whiff from the morocco shops. That's always here."

In these days when the thermometer climbs up out of the tube and sits on top with its feet hanging down, the atmosphere is a burden serious enough without loading it with unfragrant zephyrs. The prevalence of

#### **Bad Smells About the City,**

coupled with the vegetable stew served out as a water supply, creates visions of epidemic disease, more real than fancied.

Complaints are few at the Health office, however. It generally takes a week for the average person to find a smell unbearable and report it. If we were to have a number of days of the present torrid weather, there would be a general nuisance scare.

Nine-tenths of the mal-odorous scent is a common and familiar thing, and comes from the manufacturing of leather and other industries. Fish markets are never sweet in a baking a.m. and stables get up and hustle with energy when awakened by heat. Cesspools are apt to grow fresh and sewers speak for themselves on hot days, the other stench is a result of the inflow of

#### **Sewage upon the Beach**

and harbor flats, a nuisance which has begun to be evident this summer, and which will call for a remedy in the future. There is also a contributing negligence in the care of the streets. The rotten mess at the curbstone on the corner of Market and Munroe streets is pointed out as evidence. It is a cesspool nuisance and has existed as a foul quagmire for many days. A glance along the southerly side of Washington street, between Oxford and Munroe streets, shows a filthy gutter that has acquired a disgusting condition. On the northerly side above Munroe street, is a similar bad state of things. Central square shows a puddle at Union street, near Exchange, which has had a long tenure, Silsbee street, between Union and the bridge is as filthy as a New Jersey barnyard.

These places are in the heart of the city, and are indicated only as a means of accounting for some part of the general volume of smell. If they don't smell, then let us give thanks, for they look bad enough to give

#### **Spasms to the Toughest Nostrils.**

The reporter discovered a large assortment of smells existing in various parts of the city. South street will probably recover before the paint on the houses turns black,

owing to repairs on the sewer. Strawberry Brook may be likened unto very mature strawberries - such as are beyond all hope. The city dump and the marshes south of West Neptune street are self-assertive to a large area of population. A bubbling drain in Federal square quarrels for ascendancy with a neighboring beer saloon. ...

*But, altogether, the city is in a fairly good state of healthfulness.* Starting with very bad conditions, the years have seen a rapid advance of improvement in the streets and sewers and general health work. It is a pleasure to point out old Beach street and compare it with the mudhole it used to be.<sup>191</sup>

Even after listing, describing, and griping about all the terrible smells the citizens had to endure, the reporter was still inclined to end with positivity that Lynn was a fairly healthy place to live. Six years later, in 1897, the *Item* was even prouder of Lynn's efforts to be healthy, "Statistics and inspections, experimental investigations and scientific study, have all demonstrated that in point of health to its people, Lynn, in proportion to population, stands second to no other city in the Commonwealth." The reason, it explained, was its unique situation. "Its natural location upon the beautiful slope running down from the Public Park [the Lynn Woods] to the bay, with the sea upon the one side and densely wooded highlands dotted with fresh water lakes upon the other, all have a favorable tendency to purify the atmosphere." It also praised the city government and the work of its representatives in the state house for their accomplishments over the previous five years, "Within a very short period Stacey, Jackson and Strawberry brooks had all been entered into their proper channel, the public sewers"; said another way, they had been diverted and transformed into virtual intake pipes of the city sewer system. Butman's mill pond had been condemned and was being filled; the outfall sewer was being extended still further into the harbor in search of the almost fabled harbor current; and the city scow was removing garbage and night soil and dumping them at sea. Sewer lines continued to be added and homeowners were compelled by statute to connect to them, and the sewer's catch basins were systematically cleaned of the house garbage, night soil, ashes, waste, and filth that collected in them. "Surely," the *Item* concluded, "no Lynn citizen has need to seek for a better breathing spot in Massachusetts than his own ..."<sup>192</sup> Lynn was slowly cleaning its house – by sweeping its awful stuff under Neptune's rug.

## **ELECTRIFYING ... & SHOCKING!**

In the 1890s, electricity was Lynn's spark. It was the force that was kicking the city's dynamism into high gear. When the long-overdue need for street sprinkler carts was finally answered, electricity made the answer better than had been expected: Lynn became the first city in the eastern part of the state to get such fancy equipment: not just a horse-drawn cart but an electric street car, bringing not only relief but pride everywhere it sprayed.<sup>193</sup> Installing a fountain on the Lynn Common had to be more than just a stream of water for the proud city, so it was electric, with several streams shooting twenty feet in the air, and with colored lenses, rotating constantly, projecting an oscillating array of colors through the water, which produced an effect at night that was "almost inconceivable for brilliancy and beauty." Imagined, designed, and made in Lynn.<sup>194</sup> The city's network of horsecars had been almost completely replaced by electric cars. A Lynn physician found the city's electric street cars so efficient, reliable, and accessible that he no longer felt the need for his horse and carriage; "the street cars could now convey him within a few minutes' walk of patients in any part of the city."<sup>195</sup> From the start of the decade, electricity had become integral to Lynn's success; the city's business directory of 1890 had categories for Electric Apparatus, Electric Bells, Electric Lighting, Electric Motors, Electric Railways, Electric Supplies, Electrical Wood Worker, and Electricians.<sup>196</sup> Electric lights lit up buildings and streets, electric fans cooled homes and stores, and electric bells alerted homeowners that visitors were at the door or burglars were trying to get in, and servants that they were needed at once.<sup>197</sup> Near decade's end, more than 335 miles of wire stretched over Lynn's streets, including wires for the city's 800

telephone subscribers, the telegraph, street cars, and electric lights and equipment, all supported on about 6,000 poles.<sup>198</sup> It was never considered pretty; in fact, more of a necessary eyesore, but the clutter of poles and wires overhead was symbolic of busyness and importance.

The overhead wires were flung in all directions, but technically, they all pointed to T.-H. E. Company and its resident wizard, Elihu Thomson. The blessings of electricity – power, light, and income – all came from the bustling campus of T.-H. E. buildings constantly growing in an area previously forsaken along the far end of a “lonesome road,” at the intersection of foul smells, swamps, flooded lowland, and a massive hill of garbage. Time wasn’t healing those wounds; brilliance was. The Thomson-Houston Electric Company’s work on incandescent lights, dynamos for industry, and motors for electric street cars, had brought exponential growth to the company and the city in 1890, 1891, and 1892. One contract alone for the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, for the production of one hundred electric street cars and sixty electric locomotives was a two-million-dollar sale, and that was just one in a long string of contract announcements for the company in Lynn’s papers.<sup>199</sup> The 140 employees in 1885 had mushroomed to 4,000 in 1892, “hopeful Lynn men dream[ed] of seeing the city [become] the great electrical centre of the country.”<sup>200</sup> Even its employee baseball team, the Thomson-Houston Electrics, were a great success in 1890, on the field and with revenues; “some of the finest ball playing ever seen in Lynn has been witnessed during the past summer at West Lynn.”<sup>201</sup> The facility’s patron saint, Elihu Thomson, was also enjoying the blessings of the company’s success; he had a massive brick home built in Swampscott, complete with astronomical observatory and, of course, all electrical appliances “with which the house abounds.”<sup>202</sup>

When the Sprague & Breed Coal Co., of Lynn bought a \$100,000 coal steamer for its trade, they renamed it the *Elihu Thomson* (it had been the *Italia*). At the launch ceremonies, Thomson’s 4-year-old son and Charles A. Coffin’s daughter christened the ship, breaking the traditional bottle of wine over the bow.<sup>203</sup> While the T.-H. E. 24-piece band played, people lined up for “the privilege of meeting and shaking the hand of [Thomson] the distinguished electrician.”<sup>204</sup> In a few months, the governor of Massachusetts came to Lynn to “view the wonders of the T.-H. E. factories at West Lynn,” and in a few more months, the first lady and the daughter of U.S. President Benjamin Harrison, visited as well.<sup>205</sup> They were given a brief tour of T.-H. E. Co., and met Professor Elihu Thomson, then went to the Coffin’s house on Nahant Street for an “elegant luncheon,” followed by a carriage tour of Nahant and Lynn’s shore drive. They were then taken back to the train station, where, under the “glare of electric lights,” people gazed at the “Queen” of the United States after she had gazed at the Thomson-Houston Electric Company and the wizard behind it all.<sup>206</sup>

When it came to the possibilities with electricity, everyone wanted to hear what Elihu Thomson had to say, and he obliged them frequently. “True science,” he wrote with unbridled intellectualism, “... its progress limited only by the life of the race on earth, and its field unbounded – is not only vastly enlarging the mental horizon, but is, at the same time, conferring incalculable practical benefits”; or more simply put, *the only limit of true science is what man does with it.*<sup>207</sup> Never indulging in wild-eyed speculation but only in a rational way on the basis of scientific research that was showing promising results. In this vein he discussed the possibility of electrical farming because tests of passing electrical currents through the soil had shown that where it was done, plants grew more rapidly. He wrote, “we may yet partake of early electrical vegetables, even if we do not find *pommes de terre à la dynamo* [dynamo potatoes] or *asperges électriques* [electric asparagus] on our bill of fare.”<sup>208</sup> Having in mind the recent use of electricity for the electrocution of convicts in New York, he similarly speculated on the possibility of a wire mesh apparatus for the electrocution of mosquitoes and flies. “To go farther than this it may be suggested that electricity applied in some proper way may eventually be found capable of destroying bacteria or microbes, now known to be the cause of disease so destructive to animal and even to vegetable life.”<sup>209</sup> But he paused in his speculations at this point, as he so often did, to separate electrical science from electrical chicanery:

It is not intended by this to give countenance to any of the numerous so-called "electric" curative appliances, such as electric insoles, brushes, corsets, belts, etc., so well-advertised, and which are only electric in name and only effective in curing by the abundance of faith of the patient. Electricity is to a certain extent scientifically applied by skilled physicians in the treatment of certain forms of diseases, and with success in numerous instances. There is much work yet to be done in examining the effects of vigorous currents of varying character upon the life structure.<sup>210</sup>

It was easy to understand why the learned scientist was so cautious on this point; through his eyes, he wasn't trying to keep the horse in the barn – the farm animals were already loose and running amuck in the cornfield. Electricity was being widely exploited – not the actual form of energy, but the word and mystique. Most people didn't understand how it worked, just that it was powerful and amazing. It had been harnessed to drive huge motors and cranes, and made possible such wonderful inventions as lightbulbs, the radio, and the movie projector, so some manufacturers tried to hitch onto electricity's popularity. They called their products "electric" because of the cachet, never admitting that they weren't actually infused with electricity. The *Electric Switch Board Game* "for young and old," created by Lynn machinist, Albert L. Hallbauer, was just make-believe – harmless fun.<sup>211</sup> The Electric Cigar Company on Wyman Street tried to impress customers that their product was uniquely different, but it was nothing more than another smoke.<sup>212</sup> J. Curtis Clarke, a physician at 72 Union Street, offered for sale *Clarke's Electroclarient Bitters*; his advertising claimed it was "The Great Remedy for the Blood, Stomach, Liver & Kidneys," but there was no mention of electrical properties floating around in the bottle.<sup>213</sup> Similarly, national brands like *Dobbins' Electric Soap*, Scott's *Electric Health Shoes*, and *Electric Lustre Starch* kept advertising the electricity message in Lynn's newspapers, even though the only electricity they contained was the word on the packaging.<sup>214</sup> There was never a question that the Lynn Musée was going to cash in on electricity's popularity. They promoted "Mademoiselle Dynamonia, the Thomson-Houston Electric Girl," an automaton "who gives a strong shock to every person touching her hand." Even though the Thomson-Houston company was name-dropped in the advertisement, it's hard to believe that Elihu Thomson would have had anything to do with its creation or endorsement.<sup>215</sup>

There was a significant nucleus of Lynners who were fascinated by electricity and dedicated disciples of Elihu Thomson. Their devotions were manifest in forming and attending meetings of the Thomson Scientific Club, some of which Thomson himself attended. The group was broadly welcoming and included a large number of T.-H. E.. employees, high school students, and others from the community at large. Meetings of the club often include lectures with apparatus for experimenting and illustrating electrical principles being discussed. But what truly electrified the attendees was when Thomson spoke. At one of the meetings in 1890, "the distinguished lecturer was received with manifestations of pleasure, and as the head of Lynn's magnificent electrical industry stood before his audience, *it seemed as though one of the waves of magnetism, which were alluded to in the talk, passed over the entire assemblage.*"<sup>216</sup> At another meeting of the club that discussed and demonstrated Edison's "Talking Machine" (the phonograph), many members took advantage of the opportunity to speak into the machine to hear its reproduction of their voices repeated back to them, "the famous 'Thomson yell' [apparently a club cheer in honor of their club namesake and hero] was given by the assembled members with a hearty good-will, and was as heartily thrown back to them by that wonderful mechanical marvel, the phonograph."<sup>217</sup> On 17 January 1892, the Lynn Press Association held its annual printer's holiday dinner honoring their "patron saint," Benjamin Franklin. During the association president's introduction of the night's guest of honor, Elihu Thomson, he asked what Franklin's emotions might be if he was able to return and come to Lynn to see the lights that illuminated their streets,

And were we to take him to West Lynn and show our special pride, the great Thomson-Houston works, and introduce him to the wizard who has wrought this magic, what

would the old philosopher say? We are indeed fortunate to have with us a *second* Benjamin Franklin and it is an honor to us that we can listen to so talented a man as Prof. Elihu Thomson.<sup>218</sup>

Thomson was decorously demure and polite, stating that “the President did him too great an honor in his introduction.” It probably made the room explode with applause all the more.

Edward Trevert of Lynn saw a significant opportunity to capitalize on the popular fascination with the quickly developing science of electricity and decided to write and publish instructional books for building various electrical equipment. He emphasized that the information they provided would show “any amateur” how to make electrical machinery with “materials that can be obtained at home or at a neighboring drug store.”<sup>219</sup> His titles showed how to make such things as a dynamo, a telephone, an electric motor, a medical induction coil, and a magneto battery. Others were reprints of Elihu Thomson talks, like the one he gave in 1890 at the Thomson Scientific Club, called, “What is Electricity?” He also published, *Fun with Electricity*, for children; it contained ninety experiments in electricity, with amusing instructions, but involving “... no chemicals, no danger. There is no end to the fun which a boy or girl can have with this fascinating amusement.”<sup>220</sup> Trevert’s books were extremely popular and eventually had national distribution through the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog; his 1890 book, *Experimental Electricity*, was in its tenth edition by 1896, making 13,000 copies of the one title. In one 18-month period, four of his books had sold a total of 40,000 copies.<sup>221</sup> He also had a store at 20 City Hall Square, where he carried his books and all sorts of electrical equipment and supplies. In April 1890 he had set up an exhibit in his store window, consisting of a small Thomson-Houston electric motor, which in turn was belted to another motor, which was then connected to an incandescent lamp that made a bright light when the machines were running; “he also connected ... a small circular electric railroad on which runs a little car fully equipped with an electric motor.” It was not only a fine demonstration of electric power on a miniature scale, but it very well might have been the world’s first-ever electric toy train display.<sup>222</sup> Benjamin Franklin would have been pleased, and maybe even Elihu Thomson would have cracked a little smile if he had the opportunity to walk by Trevert’s window.



**ELECTRICITY WAS A POWER** like fire and gas: an excellent servant when it behaved, but when it didn’t, it was a monster of nightmarish proportions. It seemed harmless enough pushing a child’s toy train around its tiny track, but unleashed, it could instantly sear a hole through a man’s body and hurl him into the next life. Any broken wire could turn into an electrical snake, hissing, crackling, and undulating in serpentine motions, warning of its dangerousness, or even worse, make no noise or movement at all, but still be powerfully deadly. During a howling blizzard in late January 1898, there was a “very brilliant electrical display about the city,” with broken and crossed electric wires giving out “bright flashes like lightning [and] here and there about the streets could be seen some tree where a broken wire had landed, burning about the end of the wire with a weird blue flame.”<sup>223</sup> In February 1890, an electric light wire over Andrew Street broke into three sections, “creating no end of excitement for a few minutes. The current was on, and as the broken ends dropped[,] balls of fire as large as water pails fell to the ground. Happily no one was in the immediate neighborhood of the wires, so there is no casualty to report.”<sup>224</sup>

Elihu Thomson tried to teach correct scientific principles to audiences at the Thomson Scientific Club and to reduce their fears and anxieties about the power of electricity. He explained that lightning was recognized as electricity and then told them that when he was sixteen years old, he had written that “... lightning will be the future slave to man.’ The correctness of that youthful prophecy even now astonishes me.”<sup>225</sup> Then he demonstrated in a most unconventional way that he was the master and it was his slave,

... the most astonishing thing that the lecturer did was to receive a charge of ... lightning, a flash made by a 1,000,000-volt current, through his body and then calmly

declaring that he felt no effects beyond a slight tingling. That the current was too quick for the human sensibilities was the explanation given for this wonderful effect.<sup>226</sup>

Don't try this at home.

Others would not be so lucky. Alvarado LeRoy Ellis, a 22-year-old electrician, who already had a remarkably long nine-year career in the electrical business, had been shocked twice while working with electricity. In the second and more severe instance, he was rendered unconscious for three-quarters of an hour. Residual effects of the electric shock included trembling all over almost hourly and he believed "it also disarranged his internal organs very considerably, and they have given him considerable trouble ever since." Deep burns were also visible in the palm of his left hand and on some of the fingers of both hands, although he explained "the wire was not heated in the least." The article about his misadventure started, "That a man can receive a shock of 3432 volts of electricity and live to tell the tale, seems almost beyond belief . . ."<sup>227</sup> H. Buckman, an electric car conductor, also escaped serious injury in an accident while doing his job. While the car was running up Lewis Street, near the corner of Breed Street, the wires overhead became crossed somehow, and a flash of flame leaped from the controller and covered Buckman's face. Luckily, only his eyebrows got burned; he was otherwise uninjured.<sup>228</sup>

Using electricity was safe and predictable except when it wasn't. Just a few months after the Great Fire of 1889, the *Daily Evening Item* staff got the unusual and unrequested opportunity to write a news story about themselves in March of 1890; what stands out in this account is how quickly the electrical fire appeared and spread in this news office full of people.

"Fire!!" "We're on fire!!!"

The cry of fire brings consternation to even the bravest hearts. Since the great conflagration of Nov. 20, it needs but this cry to strike terror to all. At 9.45 A.M. to-day the occupants of the Item editorial rooms were thrown into a whirl of excitement, that blanched with fear the cheeks of all. The reporters were busy at work grinding out copy. The editors were meditating on their editorials, the proofreaders were taxing their eyes, and the "chapel" was busy setting up for to-day's editions. . . . peace and quiet reigned supreme. Suddenly through the room echoed the cry, Fire! Fire!! Fire!!! Every one sprang from his seat, and in one and one half seconds all was confusion. Along the brick wall, on the telephone wire, the lurid flames were seen leaping and dancing, jumping to the height of 15 inches. . . .

Suddenly a loud report reached the ears of all, followed by the sound of a fall, and behold, the portrait of Henry Cabot Lodge came to the floor with a crash close by the desk of Editor Rufus Kimball. Another report and a ball of flame burst just above the chair of Editor John L. Parker.

By this time the terror had been overcome and every one made a rush to fight the destroying element. With hat in hand Reporter Chute struck right and left at the burning wire. Willard C. Chase, foreman of the composing room, tried with his naked hands to tear the burning wire from the walls. Charles H. Hastings was everywhere, directing his forces and doing gallant service in the role of fireman. . . . The curtains were now in flames, and fragments of blazing cloth fell to the decks, setting fire to the papers and copy near at hand. Pressmen Hiller and Howarth seized buckets of water, and wherever a blaze was seen dashed on the water . . .

Someone called out, "Send for the department," and from the Lynn Box Company's office the telephone was used and soon the chemical [wagon] dashed up Willow street and stopped in front of No. 56. But the flames had been conquered and the Item staff gazed proudly upon the result of their heroic struggle. On the floor lay a sodden mass of paper, clothing and curtains, blackened with soot, and drenched with water.<sup>229</sup>

In September 1897, some trolley wires in East Lynn got crossed, so a police officer attempted to call in the incident using the telephone in an alarm box, but when he handled the apparatus, he

got a slight shock. When the call finally went through to police headquarters, Captain Bartlett, who had the receiver in his hand, also got a shock “severe enough to be unpleasant” and he had lost the connection with the officer at the alarm box. A moment later smoke was seen coming out from the back of the police switchboard which was mounted in a closet at the station; the police quickly found that the switchboard was on fire. The water cooler and a broom were quickly grabbed to put the fire out. Wires and insulation were burned for several feet from the switchboard. Other policemen in different parts of the city had the same experience as the first officer, receiving shocks from the call boxes. The ability of police walking their beats on the street to communicate with the station had been lost, to the city’s potential peril, but the quick work of the City Electrician repaired the damage and the police were back in business by the next morning.<sup>230</sup>

The most obvious wires to watch for were the ones overhead everywhere outside, and Mother Nature often seemed to have a mean streak, poking the beast with wind, ice, and lightening. During a very severe thunderstorm in August 1892, rain began pouring on Lynn at 1:00 AM, then “*the lightning took possession of the electric wires,*” making it unsafe to use telephones. The police telephone system was rendered useless for over an hour, and the fire alarm telegraph was also hit by lightning, making it impossible to receive fire alarm distress signals from the Wyoma and Glenmere sections of the city, should it become necessary.<sup>231</sup>

The description of a winter ice storm’s impact in 1891 tried to describe a benign beauty to the scene of its aftermath, but it seems more disconcerting than delightful. Sleet and ice had seriously interfered with all of the electrical services: telegraph, telephone, lights, street cars, and fire alarms, and the great bell in the city hall tower gonged uncontrollably. The weight of the frozen rain had weighed heavily on tree limbs, “either ‘killing’ them outright” or making it very hard for them to function correctly. Wires heavily coated in ice began melting the next day, causing dangerous icicles to fall and making pedestrians wary to not be struck by one of those projectiles. “The air was so heavily charged with electricity, that at the contact of the trolley and wire, a blue ball of flame was produced, and the burning copper fell in small molten iridescent showers, making a pleasing spectacle.”<sup>232</sup>

Nature’s storms happen with frequency in New England and whether it was the snow and ice of winter storms and blizzards or the lightning and wind of summer thunderstorms, they threatened the safety of life and continuity of services in Lynn. “There are tons upon tons of wire in those close and complicated webs suspended over the business sections of the city,” one article focusing on overhead wires pointed out, “and they make a dangerous condition of things in more than one direction. *There is never a severe storm that is not followed by falling wires . . .*”<sup>233</sup> The ferocious blizzard at the end of January 1898 brought Lynn to its knees, shredding its overhead telegraph and telephone wires, which cut off its lines of communication with the outside world. Electrical power had to be shut off to prevent fires and electrical shocks throughout the city, but this of course meant that the factories and businesses weren’t able to function when the morning came.<sup>234</sup>

The idea of burying overhead wires underground had been discussed frequently since mid-decade, but money, politics, and the resistance of some of the utilities caused the project to have sputtering progress. The Blizzard of 1898 accelerated the effort, making it a reality by the decade’s end. Storms of greater and lesser force had clobbered Lynn throughout the decade, but the Blizzard of 1898 was “the big one” that made the city realize how much their lives had become intertwined by those wires and the electricity they carried:

Electricity, the great power of modern times, has come to be a necessity of everyday life. The car horse has been turned out to grass, and the trolley wire is our only reliance, but along comes a snow flake with its ghostly companions and covers the wire until its weight breaks the connection, the cars are stalled, and whole communities are forced to walk. We rely upon the telephone for communication, but the air begins to move, the velocity increases, a storm puts forth its power and down go the wires before the blast, and man is helpless. The brilliant illumination, the long-distance

conversation, the rapid transit, all depending on electric power, are all helpless in the face of a gale. We have not yet reached the end of electrical discovery. We have learned how to use the electric current, and to a certain extent to control it, but we have much to learn to overcome the forces that work against the full enjoyment of this mysterious power.<sup>235</sup>

Six months after the blizzard, the news story was that the overhead wires were "fast disappearing and being put underground." Lynn would be free from all interruption by storms and have the additional benefit of a more attractive appearance when the project was done.<sup>236</sup> By the end of the decade it had withstood the most devastating fire in its history and figured out ways to

defend against future attacks. It was fighting its sewage menace and the illnesses it brought by trying to wash it away from its borders, and it was hiding its wiry nerve network under its surface so that it could continue its full measure of life while storms were doing their worst. Like Elihu Thomson, Lynn was beginning to feel there was no reason to fear a million volts of anything.

The city was indeed getting stronger, healthier, and more impervious to nature; nonetheless, its people were still mortal. For the adults, working to do what needed to be done seemed to be the time when they were the most mortal. Work and the workplace were usually ill-prepared for safety; accidents were literally waiting to happen.

At George H. Allen's box factory on Broad Street, telephone poles stood right next to the factory; their many wires running just above and next to the roofline. Heroic performance of duty is part of the job description for firefighters, but when the factory was ablaze in late November 1899, two different groups of men were up at roof level, doing their respective jobs, immersed in smoke and perilously close to the fire, looking like some bizarre circus high wire act. While the firefighters were at the top of their ladders fighting the inferno, workers from the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company were a few feet away at the top of telephone poles, adjusting overhead wires that were in the way of the firefighters.<sup>237</sup>

Another high wire act in Lynn was J. H. Dobbins, the fellow who painted advertising high up on the side of tall buildings throughout the city. An *Item* reporter in search of a good story met up with Dobbins on his makeshift scaffolding. Dobbins told him, no, he didn't get dizzy up there, but dancing in a ballroom made him collapse from dizziness. Yes, the pay was



**"Over 100 Feet Above the Earth."** The plank J. H. Dobbins stood on was laid on top of a wooden ladder (barely visible); the combination was his only protection and it swayed "with every gust of wind." The pulley and rope in the background were holding up the far end of the post that held up the ladder; it was not connected to Dobbins in any way. Safety measures were entirely absent (from *Daily Evening Item*, 9 January 1897.)

good; the job he was working on could take from three days to a week, depending on the weather, and would net him about \$30. He had been painting “aerial advertisements” for twelve years. And no, he never used a handrail but he had obviously thought a good deal about his safety. He had his own set of safety protocols that kept him alive, “There is everything in having things safe to start with. In my opinion all accidents, falls and the like, are caused by carelessness. If you are sure that your ropes are good, not too old, and that your ladder and plank and fenders are sound, and fixed so they cannot part, or slip, or get out of position, then you are sure to be safe.”<sup>238</sup>

Not everyone was careful like Dobbins, but death stared him in the face every day, which made him careful; others may not have been so careful because they didn’t see anything staring back at them. Over in the laboratory of the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, Edward Mason was standing on one of the large tanks and for some unrecorded reason, fell, striking his head on an earthenware jar, which cut his head and face quite severely in three places. He was also knocked unconscious, and as it happened, no one was in the room with him when it happened. Fortunately he regained consciousness then, weak and bleeding, he managed to walk down stairs. He was taken to his home and attended and a doctor was sent to his aid. Fortunately for him, death had apparently been busy elsewhere.<sup>239</sup>

Louis M. Packer was not nearly as lucky. The Thomson-Houston employee had both of his hands cut off (one at the wrist and the other half way up his forearm) in a machine accident at the factory in May of 1896; it should never have happened, so Louis blamed the company and the company blamed Louis. Louis sued for \$100,000. He claimed the machine that caused the accident wasn’t working correctly and needed an adjustment of some parts because it had the ability to start up from the off position without the aid of the operator. He also pointed out another critical flaw in the machine’s design: in order to place the stock in position, it was necessary to reach between the knife blades. The two machine flaws combined at the wrong moment and Packer’s life was changed forever. Attorneys for T.-H. E. Company said Packer knew the machine was out of order and knew and accepted the risk, therefore, was guilty of contributory negligence.<sup>240</sup> At the trial, Louis’s father testified that since his son had come home from the hospital, he had to completely reinvent his life, “... he had to be dressed in the morning and all matters of the toilet done for him. His food had to be cut and when he comes home from going out, he has to be let in the house, as he could not open the doors and on cars the conductor was obliged to take the money from his pocket from him.” The jury awarded Louis \$20,000 (\$623,643 in 2020 USD) for his anatomical loss.<sup>241</sup> After the accident, Louis tried making a living selling cologne, extracts and novelties at fairs and to stores. He was always accompanied by his father or someone who would help him to make change, package up the goods, and the myriad of tasks that he could no longer do for himself, ever again. To his credit, it was said that his good nature was unchanged by the horror, tragedy, trial, and future of his life.<sup>242</sup>

Edwin T. Butman had been a medical electrician and vapor bath specialist for years, but at sixty-three years old, his robust years were behind him; nonetheless, it was the Butman’s time to get their home connected to the sewerage system that was in the process of being installed in their street. So he worked in the backyard for several days, digging a trench for the drainpipes. The trench was narrow and about eight-feet deep. In late afternoon, his wife called out to him from an open window, pleading with him to stop digging, “and uttering the prophetic words, ‘You are digging your own grave.’” As the late afternoon wore on, his wife went out back to cajole him again, but she was horrified to find that there had been a cave-in of the trench and her husband had been buried alive. Men dug out his corpse and laid it in his medical laboratory where it was prepared for a second, real burial.<sup>243</sup> Like Mason and Packer, Butman’s terrible accident happened when no one else was around.

Although solitude wasn’t necessarily the cause of accidents, it decreased the chances of rescue or first aid. This was probably true for Edwin Butman and it was certainly true for Mrs. Nettie Ricker, a 33-year-old wife and mother. She did get help after the accident happened, but unfortunately, the help arrived too late. She experienced the same tragic accident while working at

the stove where Lynn wives and mothers had suffered repeatedly through the decades, but Nettie's story was also one of saving a life by sacrificing her own.

In February 1899, Nettie was busily polishing her kitchen stove when some of the liquid stove blacking spilled onto the hot burner covers; the stove was on fire and in the same instant the flames leaped onto the light calico dress she was wearing, a loose-fitting coverall style that was consider perfect for housework. It also made a perfect torch: "in a moment it was aflame from her throat to her knees." Alfred, her 4½-year-old son, had been playing nearby and when he heard his mother's screams and saw the confusion of flames, he ran to her and attempted to grab her dress, but instantly fearful for his safety over her own, she ran away from him into an adjoining room, screaming at him to keep away. Her rapid movements in so doing added draft to the flames, making the flames spread over her dress that much more quickly. Mrs. Cleary, the neighbor lady in the tenement downstairs, heard Nettie's screams and rushed upstairs to find out what was happening. With one look at Nettie, Mrs. Cleary quickly grabbed a pan of water that was in the sink and threw it onto the flames of what had been Nettie's dress, then proceeded to try beating the remaining flames out with her hands until the fire was completely extinguished. The two women were taken to the hospital; Mrs. Cleary was treated for bad burns on both hands and lesser ones on her face. Nettie had been burned severely on the left side of her body from her neck almost to her knee and also on her hands; her face was also slightly burned. For the next two weeks, the hospital staff tended to her, hoping for, but not expecting her recovery. She died fourteen days after the accident but had been conscious until the very end, so she must have learned that little Alfred was safe and suffered no burns; at least her final prayer had been answered.<sup>244</sup>

## **MONEY MADNESS**

American capitalism had powered into the 1890s with a force and energy that exceeded the electrical, coal, and steam powers driving its machines, and nowhere seemed more charged up than Lynn. Its businessmen seemed "distinctively confident" that 1891 was "the beginning of better times and greater prosperity than Lynn had ever before enjoyed."<sup>245</sup> In the summer of 1892, the city's boot and shoe manufacturers were turning out more product than ever before; still more could have been sold, but production was already at maximum capacity.<sup>246</sup> When the shoe business was strong and vibrant, so were its supporting businesses. Henry A. Pevear & Sons continued its manufacturing expansion of morocco leather by having a massive new building constructed on Boston Street. The five-story brick and wood factory stood where the Lynn hermit, George Gray, had lived and died; his quiet little sylvan retreat hadn't just been encroached upon by an expanding Lynn, it was buried by it. To commemorate the location, the company named one of their leather products, "Hermit Kit."<sup>247</sup>

The Thomson-Houston Electric Company was also enjoying the dizzying good fortune of the early decade; like the shoe industry, it was doing better than ever, producing electric lights, motors, and street cars. The number of cities converting their public transportation systems from horse-drawn street cars to the Thomson-Houston electric car had increased from fourteen in 1889 to ninety-two in 1890 and the expectation was for even greater orders in 1891.<sup>248</sup> Like "Hermit" leather without the hermit, horsepower had changed from the strength of the four-legged animal to a measurement of locomotion *without* horses. T.-H. E. Company sales had steadily and steeply increased since its first year in Lynn, growing from \$426,987 in 1883 to \$10,617,661 in 1890.<sup>249</sup> The *Item*, always bantering with its Lowell counterpart about which was the more vibrant city, wrote, "How is that for a Lynn enterprise? Lowell papers please copy."<sup>250</sup>

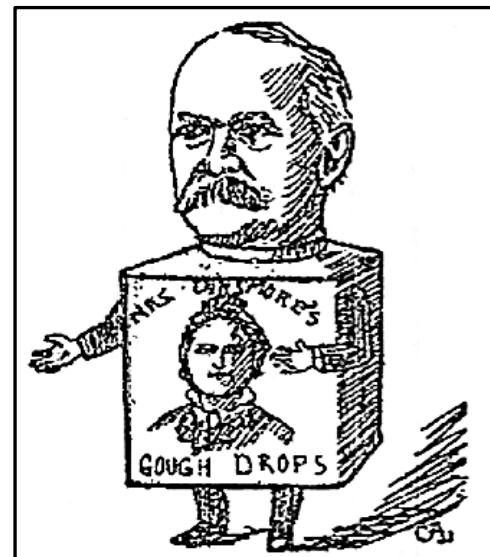
T.-H. E. dominated the West Lynn landscape, continually adding buildings to its industrial campuses. The company had come to have so many buildings that when the police ambulance was called upon to transport an injured employee to the hospital, valuable time was lost while the police tried to find the right building. The company consequently lettered its factory buildings A through

L so that the emergency call to the police could specify the building where the injured person was to be found. T.-H. E. workforce of 4,000 employees was so big, it had developed its own culture, creating a company baseball team, the "Electrics," and football team, the "Experts," as well as the "Thomson-Houston Electric Brass Band," and the "Swedish Electric Singers."<sup>251</sup> The Thomson-Houston Company was not just a business – it was an empire inside a city.

Lynn was in an enviable position, with two major industries – shoes & electricity – one born in the distant past, the other stolen from the future. In those early days of the decade, even the board of trade was doing a good job, attracting additional industry to the city of shoes and electricity: in 1891 a pearl button manufactory was established on Munroe Street, bringing employment to twenty workers, and in 1892 a rattan furniture manufacturer was welcomed as Lynn's "latest candidate for business success."<sup>252</sup>

The decade was proving to be an era of unabashed capitalism, when businessmen and industrialists, predominantly Republicans, were enjoying the fruits of their investments. Lemuel Brock, the successful proprietary medicine company owner and real estate mogul, was a Democrat elected to positions as a state representative in 1891 and a state senator in 1892. He thought his popularity would carry him into the mayor's office in 1893, but capitalism, which was the mother's milk of Republicans, was conquering the competition locally and Brock got stomped, receiving only thirty-one percent of the vote.<sup>253</sup> He would run and lose again in 1894. While the mayoralty frequently switched hands between the two major parties throughout the previous decade, it was dominated by Republicans over the next nineteen years; only one of Lynn's nine mayors was a Democrat between 1891-1909.

Lynn had laid the golden egg of success in a nest feathered by invention, wealth, capitalism, and determination. From its lofty perch, the sky seemed to be no limit. The increase of the city's affluent seemed to justify publication of its own *Blue Book of Lynn*. The 110 pages in the 1897 edition were engorged with its affluent blue blood, 1,175 heads of family listed in all. When measuring swollen pride, size did matter.<sup>254</sup>



**The Cough Drop Candidate, 1892.** Editorial cartoon portraying mayoral candidate Brock clothed in a representation of the cough drop tin made by his company. (from *Daily Evening Item*, 10 December 1892.)



**WHEN THE RUMORS** started circulating in early 1892, the optimists took the news in stride. T.-H. E. Company was too strong to falter, too grand to become small, too much of a headline to ever become a footnote. Too many lives relied on it, thrived on it; it could only become bigger – the ill wind that blew couldn't possibly endanger the nest and certainly not the golden egg. In April 1892, when the rumor was announced as a reality, the *Daily Evening Item* tried to reassure its readers that the rumored merger of Edison's and Thomson's electric companies into one behemoth dynamo called General Electric was nothing but great news:

The gigantic combination of the Thomson-Houston and Edison Companies is announced as a certainty ... Mr. Coffin will be the general manager ... The corporation will be the largest electric company in the world, and the bringing together of two such organizations, with their immense plants and the army of inventors who supplement the discoveries of the two eminent electricians who gave their names to the old companies, is a great event, in a scientific as well as a business way. That Lynn will

continue to share in the benefits that accrue from the presence here of a mammoth industry, is cause for congratulation.<sup>255</sup>

The only problem was that the celebration was held in Schenectady, New York. The electrical brainchild that had been nurtured, raised, and given horsepower in Lynn had become the conquering hero for a distant city far away. Over the next few years the presence and promise of an electrical industry in Lynn flickered as key groups like the engineering department, comprising over twenty engineers, were relocated to Schenectady.<sup>256</sup> Other departments followed and within two years, 4,200 jobs at the Lynn plant had been whittled down to under a thousand.<sup>257</sup> Machinery was removed out of many buildings and shipped away; the lights in the cavernous emptiness that remained were figuratively and literally shut off.

The size of the *Blue Book of Lynn* had increased, but the number of employees and laborers who helped to put them in there was shriveling. A blazing fire had crippled the shoe industry, but the electrical industry in Lynn was burned by its own blazing success. And things were going to get worse for the city again; after the fire and the merger came the depression.

Less than a year after the devastating loss of T.-H. E. workers, families, and machines to Schenectady, Lynn's economy was shaken again by another major nationwide depression. Those who had invested their confidence and money in the dramatic growth and apparent strength of the American economy quickly learned all that glittered was not gold. Early in 1893 a series of railroad, bank, and business collapses and failed investments at the national had seriously weakened the economy. Over 500 banks and 15,000 businesses failed, and unemployment spiked. People rushed to their banks to cash out their savings, preferably in gold. Investment journals were calling it a "commercial disaster," the worst depression in fifty years, and "a collapse of industry and business which is almost without precedent."<sup>258</sup>

Even before the depression hit, crowds of unemployed lined up each day at the shoe factories and electric company for jobs. Every morning, anywhere from twenty-five to one hundred men, women, and teenagers congregated outside the T.-H. E. employment office: "young girls ... old maids and widows" were among the hopeful,

Men who know nothing more about an electrical machine, other than that it is some part of the apparatus which makes the lamps on the street corners give light[,] jostle against former clerks who probably have read something on electricity, but forgotten it. In fact, persons of all characters, nationalities, dress, appearance and age are in the crowd, and they all wear a look of expectancy if not certainty that they will be employed.<sup>259</sup>

But when the depression hit, hope and expectation soured to fear and desperation. Orders for shoes shrank, the T.-H. E. workforce was migrating to Schenectady, and retail businesses were making fewer sales. Money became scarce to nonexistent for many, sometimes including those who had inched their way into the comfort of middle-class living. Such appeared to be the case in early January 1895, when the Mellors answered the doorbell and found a basket containing a bundled blanket lying on the porch. At first glance the scene seemed to be another Lynn installment of the oft-repeated saga of a hapless, abandoned baby; this time, however, it didn't appear to be the desperate act of penniless parents:

Upon taking off the blanket a very pretty female child, well dressed, and apparently about 4 months old, was brought to view. Attached to its clothes was a scrap of paper, on which was written in ink ..., "This baby has no home." Wrapped up with the little one in the blanket was a nursing bottle full of milk and about 20 small articles, indispensable to a baby's toilet.

Mr. and Mrs. Mellar have no idea where the baby came from, nor have any of their neighbors. They may conclude to adopt the child, although they have not yet

fully determined about it. All of the women in the neighborhood declare it to be an exceptionally handsome baby and a perfect duck of a child.<sup>260</sup>

From her handsome clothing and filled milk bottle to the well-stocked inventory of supplies, the baby girl seemed to be reluctantly and strategically given to the childless and economically stable Mellors by biological parents who had experienced a sudden reversal of fortune, perhaps due to the merger or the depression. Many of the lighter blue bloods who had found their way into Lynn's mid-century blue book knew well that their appearance on its pages was laced with luck and fortunate circumstances beyond their control, and they knew how tenuous their grip was on their improved lot in life. In late November 1893, when Lynn was reeling from the combined effects of the fire, the merger, and the depression, an *Item* reporter went to the train station at Lynn's Central Square to observe the people that congregated and milled about there. It proved to be the perfect place to study all kinds of life forms without the need of a microscope. Each character he wrote about was emblematic of their time, but two stood out as the victim and the victor of the moment, and by concluding with them, the reporter flipped the article from sociological study into a morality play:

[The unskilled laborer] Another character is a cadaverous-looking man, evidently a worker on iron, of some kind, whose hands are hardened and calloused in many places, but who now looks as if a square meal would be something of a blessing to him, and who shivers as he draws his thin, ragged-edged summer coat about him more closely and enters the waiting room to warm up and try and forget his empty stomach. He is one of that unfortunate class of workmen, who are the last to be employed and the first to be discharged and who receive the smallest pay for their unskilled labor. Possibly he has a family at home that he dreads to face with the disappointing, but all too common response, to their eager inquiries if he has succeeded in obtaining work for the next week. . . .

[Fortune's favorite] A train just pulled into the station, and from it alights a youth warmly dressed and with apparel of rich although modest material. He passes through the crowd and waiting room to the depot yard and enters a private carriage that has been waiting for him. The coachman touches his hat and, carefully shutting the door, mounts his seat and the carriage disappears in the darkness down the street towards the Oxford Club. The youth is evidently the son of one of fortune's favorites.

What a contrast to the condition of the man who is warming himself at the radiator, of whom I have just spoken. Still it takes all kinds to make a world, *and fortune is fickle in her actions. Who can tell but that one year from this time, aye, and even less, these positions may be reversed ...*<sup>261</sup>

Mrs. Josephine Usher, the wife of a shoe worker and mother of six children, had valued the use of her leased sewing machine for years, but she became unable to make the monthly payments for "a long time," so the manufacturer sent their agent to her house to repossess the machine. She absolutely refused to give it up – literally. In the tussle with the agent, each grabbing opposite ends of the machine, she lost her grip and the machine landed on her. She ended up at the Lynn Hospital with a broken rib, and the sewing machine was hauled away.<sup>262</sup>

Even during good times, it was a challenge for Charles A. Brown, an electrician, to provide for his wife and five children, ranging from nine years to seven months, but then he became unemployed during the early months of the depression. No job meant no income, and no money meant unpaid rent. When he came home from another job hunt in December 1894, he found his family and all of the family's possessions on the sidewalk.<sup>263</sup> Similarly, on 17 and 19 Amity Street, "within [a] stone's throw of the aristocratic residential portion of this city," two families lost their homes in May 1895. Thomas Collins and his family were evicted from their two-room cellar apartment, after which boards were nailed over the windows and the doors were fastened. Mary Harty and her daughter lost their place as well and the two newly homeless families did what they could to survive: Collins and one of his sons managed to sneak back into the house to sleep on an

old couch, while his wife was taken in by some neighbors, and their other two boys slept in a shed. Mary Harty and her daughter tossed their possessions together to form a crude shelter; the *Item's* drawing of their tent shanty was a jarring visual contrast to illustrated advertisements on the same page for a fine baby carriage with a sun parasol attachment, the recently introduced luxury of a refrigerator, a fashionable blouse with "perfect percale waists, with laundered collars and cuffs [and] the new large sleeves," and a well-dressed man having his eyes examined for presbyopia, hyperopia, myopia, and astigmatism by F. L. Barnard, Practical Optician.<sup>264</sup> The distance between the haves and have-nots during the depression was best measured in dollars, not column inches.

As the isolated sad stories rolled up to full-fledged depression, it was clear that the number of Lynn families that were struggling was rapidly increasing. In January 1894 it was reported that about twenty Lynn men applied for relief every day (most of them having families), and the number was rapidly increasing.<sup>265</sup> The wealthy were encouraged to send donations to a relief fund set up by the Lynn Institution for Savings and several charitable organizations put together choir concerts as fundraisers for the poor and unemployed.<sup>266</sup> To keep his grocery store open, M. P. Longley insisted he had to stop accepting credit and do cash-only business, but even with this stance, he was magnanimous in his charitable effort to help the poor of Lynn by offering free soup. Reasoning that people needed "at least one good, square meal one day in each week," he offered to give away thirty gallons of "good thick beef soup" each week for several weeks, "Bring your pails; no questions asked. ... any family who really needs such help [will] receive two or more quarts. If we have not soup enough to go round, we will give all applicants at least one loaf of bread."<sup>267</sup> The price of beef jumped after the Pullman Strike of 1894, which may have contributed to the reason Longley eventually stopped offering the free beef soup. "Beef is a luxury," the newspapers reported in April 1895, "it is impossible for the moderate-circumstanced person to reach it. ... *you have got to pay the price if you want the meat.*" The prices for pork and lamb had increased as well. "There is no remedy for the condition of affairs. The consumers will either have to eat fruit or purchase beef at the [higher] prices."<sup>268</sup>

Food satisfies the immediate need, but employment provided the long-term solution. The *Item* printed the humble request of a desperate man, "I am out of work and have been for nearly two months. I have a wife and five children, and will do anything, no matter what. Will not someone give me something to do?" Much of the charitable donations raised were provided to the unemployed as payment in a public works program. The work was only part-time, three half-days a week, for \$3.00. The *Item* acknowledged it wasn't much, "even this, good as it is, furnished but a feeble check upon the wolf that is ... at the door of many a Lynn home," but men lined up in droves to earn the money.<sup>269</sup> When the snows came in January 1894, a large detail of the unemployed were set to work shoveling the sidewalks that lead to the Lynn Theater, clearing the way for donors to attend the fundraising concert that was to be held there later in the day.<sup>270</sup> The work gangs primarily labored in the Lynn Woods. A newspaper reporter found a company of about 100 men in the Tomlin's Swamp area of the woods, busily engaged in road building, cutting scrub brush, and digging out rocks. There seemed to be something poetically providential in the fact that Lynn lives were being saved by Lynn land, "... these free hills and acres of wild forest, given to the city for a breathing place, ... indeed yield in a new sense the breath of life to the hunger-pressed citizens of the City of Shoes."<sup>271</sup>

As the "breath of life" passed into their newborn triplets, Henry A. Thing, a shoe cutter, and his wife, Nettie, hoped for a windfall when they charged admission to see their triplets, as had been done in by the Russells years earlier. The Thing triplets weighed in at seven pounds apiece and by several measures appeared to be part of a very health family, so hopes were high for their longevity.

These little well-thatched heads, together with the fine ruddiness of the youngsters, and their uniform weight and activity, suggest unusual strength and vitality, and give promise of three solid and substantial citizens for the future. The parents are both

healthy people, and their firstborn, now a sturdy miss of 5 years, is no exception, never having had a confining illness in her short life, so says her mother.<sup>272</sup>

All combined, the “21 pounds of ruddy babyhood” seemed to be a success in the making; even the ebullient doctor who delivered them joked with the press, “Dr. Judkins will hereafter attend all cases of triplets free.”<sup>273</sup>

People lined up to see the little Things; about 300 visited in the first few days and donations were just suggested.<sup>274</sup> Within a month, a twenty-five-cent admission was being charged and some 1,200 visitors paid to see a curiosity that wasn’t appearing at the Lynn Musée.<sup>275</sup> Three months after the birth, the admission fee was dropped to fifteen cents, perhaps because the number of curious was thinning out.<sup>276</sup> After another month the matter became moot: Rachael Thing died at five months and ten days of whooping cough; four months later, Walter Thing and James Thing both died of cholera infantum.<sup>277</sup> The Thing triplets had all died within the first year of life, like thousands of Lynn infants in the century before them. The loss of three babies surely stung far more than the loss of income.

Hard times were in evidence everywhere in Lynn during the mid-decade years. The Lynn Druggists’ Association agreed to another round of reducing prices on patent medicines and Pike’s Corner cigar store advertised *Hard Times Tobacco* for just five cents a three-ounce plug.<sup>278</sup>

The popular Lynn Musée didn’t run out of customers or curiosities, but by April 1895 it had amassed \$8,500 in debts and its owners filed for bankruptcy protection.<sup>279</sup> In the late summer a year later, Montana Jack’s Wild West Show was disbanded at its last venue, Lynn’s Glenmere Bicycle Park; the treasurer was said to have disappeared with whatever money was left, leaving the actors and other participants “without money or friends,” and “the antiquated Deadwood coach is alone left as a benefit for the creditors.”<sup>280</sup>

As if punctuating the city’s hard times, the steamer *Elihu Thomson* ran aground in August 1897 on Pollock Rip, south of Cape Cod, and had to be towed to East Boston for major repairs. After being overhauled for a half year, it was sold to a Pacific coast firm for use in the Yukon trade.<sup>281</sup> At least its namesake was still working in Lynn.



**THE BIG SECRET** behind drinking oneself into oblivion was the reason for doing it. Everyone had their own motives for drinking until they were found staggering through Lynn’s streets, disturbing the peace, and waking up before an unamused judge. During the mid-decade years, the reasons for drinking had little to do with celebration but much more about drowning one’s sorrows.

An *Item* editorial in September 1893 almost read like a eulogy, “The partial closing of factories and the dull times in all departments of business have thrown a great many people in Lynn out of employment, temporarily at least ...” at least they *hoped* it would be temporary.<sup>282</sup> Lynn and the nation were stuck in a deep depression, like standing in Lynn Harbor muck at low tide. But many of the laborers in the city’s shoe industry had been dissatisfied with their wages for years before the depression and the number of unions had swelled in Lynn. Smaller unions followed in the footsteps of the those organized within the shoe industry; for example, the city’s barbers, bakers, and milk dealers all formed unions in 1894.<sup>283</sup> Members of these protective brotherhoods hoped that in union there would be strength to gain better pay and benefits at the negotiating table and, if necessary, which was often, to fight for it. The lackluster economy that existed through most of the 1890s provided ample reasons for it to be a decade of strikes in the city. Among the strikes occurring outside of the shoe industry were strikes by coat makers, granite cutters, and plumbers.<sup>284</sup>

The Thomson-Houston Electric Company didn’t struggle with employees trying to unionize like the leather and shoe industries did. The T.-H. E. Company’s success was grounded in top-of-the-line, modern machinery, invention, and electricity, and some of the brightest minds came from

European countries, so the multi-national composition of employees did not seem threatening as it did in the shoe industry. T.-H. E. employees weren't motivated to unionize; since 1882 when the company located in Lynn, "there has never been a serious rupture between the company and its hired help."<sup>285</sup> Even when a ten percent wage reduction was imposed a few months after the merger, "a great many of them figure that this is much better than not working at all"; plus they were confident that it would only be temporary.<sup>286</sup> T.-H. E. management was less concerned about the workers unionizing than about those who had the habit "of running out every now and then, and returning after a short time, loaded with 'booze.'" Their response to these liquored renegades was swift and decisive (something the city government and other Lynn businesses hadn't been able to accomplish in many decades): guards were posted, "and now a man has only to run out of the shop for a drink, to lose his job. Last week seven men were discharged from the [electric street] car works for this very reason."<sup>287</sup>

In sharp contrast to T.-H. E. employees, mechanization and immigration were the principal scapegoats for the shoe and morocco leather unions. Machines produced more goods faster, resulting in less need for workers and it was an easy target for complaints, but most of the unions' energy and anger were directed at the factory owners and management when replacement workers were brought in to fill positions when unions went on strike. Over the course of the decade, several unions integral to the shoe industry went on strike, including those for the morocco leather workers, the lasters, stitchers, and cutters, and there was also the Thomas G. Plant Company strike of 1896, which caused more than 5,000 people to jam together on Washington Street in front of the plant, heckling the scab workers inside who didn't dare leave the building.<sup>288</sup> The term "scab" was long in use as an epithet for a substitute worker because the analogy seemed so appropriate to unions everywhere. A scab is a rough, crusty patch that quickly covers a wound and it had long been used as an insult jeered at non-union workers that factory leadership hired to keep machines running when a union was on strike.

In July 1890 the leather workers' union at the Moulton factory tried to negotiate for a nine-hour work day but factory management refused; then the union presented another set of substitute demands, led by a pay increase from \$12 to \$13 per week, but it was again rejected, triggering fifty-two workers to immediately go on strike. The city's morocco manufacturers "had an agreement to stand by each other in case of trouble," so within hours after the men went on strike at Moulton's, as many as 1,300 morocco workers were locked out of factories throughout the city.<sup>289</sup> The major strike that followed lasted for eight angry, scary, dangerous months. Scab workers were discreetly transported from distant places to fill the striker's positions; in September, eight Swedes from Newark, New Jersey, arrived by train in the dead of night and disappeared into Moulton's factory; along with ten Armenians and thirteen Germans, this made thirty-one strikebreakers in the factory. Donallan's factory had Jewish, Armenian, Germans, English, Swedes, and Americans filling the roles of striking workers, and other morocco factories in the city followed suit.<sup>290</sup> Pevear's factories were said to have brought in unexperienced scabs from Maine.<sup>291</sup>

Massive mobs gathered outside of the morocco factories, waiting for opportunities to stop scabs from entering or peacefully leaving for their lodgings. Incensed by the factory owners' callous use of scab workers to keep their businesses going, every type of strikebreaker was hated, but especially the immigrants. Some of the Armenians consequently opted to live together in the Martin factory rather than risk passing through the roving packs and throngs of strikers and their supporters; one served as the cook, another as barber, a third entertained on the banjo, and the best English speaker among them taught the language they were all so anxious to learn.<sup>292</sup> Later in the decade, during another strike, two Armenians were accosted by two union men, but this time the Armenians were ready to defend themselves, one using a pair of lasters' pincers out of his pocket and flourishing them over his head; the other pulled out his khanjar, a Turkish knife, and made a ten-inch-long cut in his assaulter's overcoat; it also penetrated his undercoat, vest, and

underclothing, ultimately inflicting a wound three-quarters of an inch long and a half-inch deep, "from which blood flowed copiously, saturating his undergarments."<sup>293</sup>

In January 1891, six long months after the strike had begun, many of the strikers had moved on to other jobs and employers and only about four hundred remained on strike.<sup>294</sup> Two Lynn union men who stopped participating in the strike and went back to their jobs at Donallan's were treated as meanly by the crowd as were the immigrants and out-of-towners. When the time came for the two Lynn men to leave through the factory's opened gates "the crowd, hooting and pushing, made a rush for the men, who, seeing the threatening mob, turned and sought the shelter of the factory. This did not suit the hoodlum element who at once sent a shower of stones and pieces of ice at the windows, breaking 18 panes of glass."<sup>295</sup> In February terror also followed another union man who returned to work in the Moulton factory. A strike crowd of three hundred stood outside the factory in the rain, "men and boys with a sprinkling of females, who threw aside their womanly reserve and mingled with the rioters." By the time the union man and other strikebreakers emerged from the factory, cries of "Scab!" Scab!" "D[a]m[n] him! He ought to be killed!" "Stone him!" rang out from the crowd that had become a mob estimated at a thousand strong.<sup>296</sup> Similar scenes were played out at other morocco factories as well. Five months earlier, Edward Holman, a Lynn resident living at 128 Flint Street, had also been victimized by a vicious throng of about two hundred men and boys. He wasn't part of the union or a strikebreaker; he was just one of the workforce at the factory that was not involved in the strike; he was just leaving work, like he did at that time every day. But mobs being what they are, calm and rational minds were as hard to find as drinking water in Lynn Harbor. They shouted "scab" and the usual glossary of hackneyed epithets at him, then a rock struck him in the back, and then another. Holman began running, "but the crowd was upon him in an instant, and Holman was subjected to a regular beating. Some ruffian struck him on the head with a club, inflicting a deep, bloody gash. The mob howled and yelled, all interested in the persecution of a man *who was entirely unconnected with the strike.*"<sup>297</sup> Bacteria wasn't the only unseen monster to attack innocent victims, and being chased and beaten wasn't just the stuff of nightmares; inhumanity was sometimes the most terrifying danger of all.

While mob anger spewed out in four-letter insults, animosity found its more elegant voice at the podiums of rented halls, from the bandstand on the common, and on the pages of the city's newspapers. The hard economic times had expanded the rift between the haves and have-nots into a verbal war of bitter ideological adversaries. Workers paid hourly or by the piece found places to vent among the several anti-capitalist, anti-bureaucracy parties and organizations in the city, which included the Social Labor Party (Socialists), the People's Party (Populists), the Massachusetts Equal Rights Association, and the Citizen's Reform Party. They differed by degrees in the tone and substance of their ideologies, but ultimately they were all taking exception to what they perceived as the control of the economy, the city, and the nation by the wealthy elite.

The black membership in Lynn's chapter of the Equal Rights Association rented use of the Mailey Street Synagogue to listen to a popular black orator from Boston on their pursuit of social equality, but the speaker did not arrive; however, their fellow townsmen, James E. Thornton, stepped up, willing to offer his thoughts and, although a painter by trade and not a polished lecturer, the Chestnut Street resident and Civil War veteran gave "a remarkable address, in which he repudiated the Republican, Democratic, and all other parties as false in every pretension of sympathy and help to the colored race." Thornton said defiantly and triumphantly, "I was born a slave, and lived a slave, ... and I was made free, not by the Republican party, but by 1800 hard dollars I earned myself."<sup>298</sup>

Although other laborers couldn't even begin to imagine the severe oppression experienced by Thornton and others among Lynn's black residents, their rhetoric often described their unfair treatment by capitalists as domination, subjugation, and slavery. Lynn's Socialist Labor Party invited the public to attend their meetings so they could learn "the way to emancipate the 'wage slaves' of this country."<sup>299</sup> "This country is troubled with ... an aristocracy of wealth," a visiting

speaker told a meeting of Lynn socialists, “[and] the possession of wealth suggests social superiority,” which socialism emphatically rejected.<sup>300</sup> In other rallies of Lynn’s Socialist Labor Party, the introduction of machinery onto the work floor was described as nothing less than a capitalist scheme to enrich themselves, “All the inventions of the past 50 years, have been for the benefit of the few to the injury of the many,” and “any invention of machinery or machines that reduced the hours of labor was a curse to the workingman.”<sup>301</sup>

In September 1893 a modest audience of 150 men, women, and children gathered in front of the band stand on the common to hear from representatives of The People’s Party. Speakers claimed that the recent run on banks by depositors and the subsequent failures of hundreds were proofs of the weakness of the banking system. They also said the large number of railroad accidents was evidence of the callous disregard for worker safety by the penurious railroad tycoons.<sup>302</sup> On a different stage, by a different party, the message was the same: the capitalist lived off the labor of others without doing any work himself. “The working people, who were the sole producers of the wealth of the country, should be the sole recipients of that wealth,” socialist speakers declared in Odd Fellows’ Hall to an audience of about 300 in October 1894, “Human life is cheap. … The Democratic and Republican politicians are the mere tools and servants and flunkies of the wealthy class. … The capitalists of to-day are murders, and nothing else.” They closed their meeting by challenging the audience to use their vote to “overthrow the system of capitalistic monopoly that, vulture-like, was sucking the life blood of the people.”<sup>303</sup> It may have been a compositor mistake by the newspaper; the speaker probably said vampire-like, but either way the image was scary and won no sympathy for capitalists and the two major parties.

In March 1896, Lynn socialists petitioned the city government to grant them use of public grounds to hold “open-air agitation meetings” during the summer months.<sup>304</sup> They probably had the Lynn Common in mind because it was ideally located in the densely populated center of Lynn, surrounded by busy streets, and a stone’s throw from the city hall, neighborhoods, and downtown businesses, plus it was a popular destination for strolling, impromptu games of ball, and entertainment events. But the same people they slandered as “murderers” and “vultures” (or vampires, take your pick) were not about to provide their “agitation meetings” such prime real estate in the center of a city, so they were allowed to hold their meetings at Marine Park next to Lynn Beach, near little but sand and water.<sup>305</sup> If beachgoers were willing to pull themselves away from the pleasures of sun, sand, and surf to listen to the agitating socialists, so be it.



**BEFORE THE OPEN-AIR AGITATORS** were relegated to Marine Park, their meetings bounced around between whatever locations they could secure and afford. On 9 October 1893, it was held in a grove at Floating Bridge Pond, a place known more for riding by than as a destination. Nonetheless there was a large attendance at the open-air meeting where Lynn socialists listened to another last-minute substitute speaker named Louis Wolfson, a Lynn man who was a well-known and respected advocate of Lynn unions. Even though he spoke to the crowd on such well-established socialist themes as how the bad condition of the country should be squarely laid at the door of big money and power (his words were the “Wall street administration at Washington”), he emphasized that his cause was unions; he was not a Socialist and couldn’t bring himself to follow the People’s Party, either, or any party for that matter. What he said resonated with the crowd and so his speech was “highly complimented with loud applause.” Before closing, he gave his strong endorsement to a man who wasn’t even in attendance; Wolfson “advised all present to *be sure and vote for Walter L. Ramsdell*, the candidate for Senator in the First Essex District, whom he said was *an ideal friend of the workingmen and deserved their votes.*”<sup>306</sup>

Walter Lawrence Ramsdell did seem to have some momentum going into the election. At a large People’s Party rally in Laster’s Hall on the October 31<sup>st</sup>, Ramsdell “received a great ovation when he arose to speak and his popularity among the working classes was never better

demonstrated than at this time. It was several moments before he could speak on account of the cheers that rang through the hall.”<sup>307</sup> But six days later the election was held and Ramsdell came in third place in a three-horse race. He wasn’t even close, getting just 943 of 7,472 votes cast, for a 12.6% portion.<sup>308</sup> The People’s Party urged him to represent them again in the next month’s election for mayor of Lynn, so he put his hat in that ring as well and got only 505 votes out of 9,835 votes cast, or just 5.1% of all votes cast.<sup>309</sup> It was a fourth-place finish, but if he was looking for any consolation, he had at least polled better than the candidates from the Prohibition and Social Labor parties.

The next year he ran again, this time as the People’s Party candidate for Congress. Once again he lost, but his speeches were powerful and effective. During his failed run in 1894, his message spoke to everyone gathered in Lynn’s old armory and to a widening audience in the city outside. He told them that the elected representatives of the people had failed, resulting in mismanagement and misdirection of the affairs of the nation. The depression that had so far lasted for eighteen months had caused industrial stagnation, massive unemployment of willing laborers, and great poverty; in fact,

... all interests, except those of a privileged and powerful class, have suffered from the depression. Shattered ruins of prosperity lie all about us. Men are beginning to tremble for the safety of American institutions as they see the nation overwhelmed in these periodic tides of calamity, demoralization and distress.<sup>310</sup>

His speech before several hundred populists was frequently interrupted by applause and ended with a thunderous ovation. Ramsdell was saying eloquently what laborers and union men had been saying for years: things had to change and those in power were the obstacles to change.

Two years later, on 30 July 1896, Ramsdell was the key speaker at an “indignation meeting” protesting against shoe manufacturer Thomas G. Plant, who had suddenly discharged all the union men from his factory and brought in scab workers as replacement lasters and sole fasteners. When Ramsdell was introduced to the indignant crowd at Lasters’ Hall, they were told that the “popular” Ramsdell *“thoroughly understands the condition of the workingmen.”*<sup>311</sup> At face value, the statement appeared absurd. Ramsdell had never had anything to do with making a shoe other than to tie a pair on his feet each morning, but his thirty-six years of life experience connected well to their lives and he came across as one of their own.

He was born in Bridgewater, the son of a shoemaker. When he reached his majority he chose the solitary life of a tramp printer, carrying his worldly possessions in a bag and riding the rail on freight trains throughout the country and trekking miles by foot where the trains didn’t reach. Having experienced the challenges of an itinerant, uncertain of his next meal and pillow, connecting with people all over the country turned out to be an asset for someone seeking opportunities to represent a city of laborers who were often struggling to keep food on their plate and a roof over their head. He then happened to move to Lynn just in time to share the tragic experience of the Great Fire of 1889 with so many other workers in the downtown area and demonstrated, some would say heroically, the pluck and determination to keep doing his job for the *Lynn Daily Press*, despite the inferno that approached and eventually destroyed the building. He managed to rescue sufficient newspaper type during the fire to be able to print a special edition that evening about the nightmare everyone experienced earlier that day.<sup>312</sup> A few years later, in 1892, he lost his 25-year-old wife to consumption, connecting through disease and death to the profound sadness experienced by so many of his townsmen.<sup>313</sup> Thus, in late July of 1896, when Lynn went through the great conflict between labor unions and the Thomas G. Plant shoe company, Ramsdell won the admiration of the strikers by speaking in support of their cause:

Only wolves and hyenas could look with satisfaction or complacence on this ruthless attack on human happiness, this murdering of human life – for it will amount to that in the end, when labor sinks beneath the heel of oppression, gives up the unending

struggle in despair and dies, mortally, spiritually, and physically. ... victims of injustice [who] go down beneath the wheels of the capitalistic juggernaut.

A hundred workingmen in Lynn, in the pursuit of an honest livelihood for themselves and families, yielding a full and unstinted return of industry for what they received as its fruits, are summarily discharged, their privilege to labor snatched away without warning, by one intrenched behind breastworks of capital beyond the reach of public justice, defiant of public opinion, and so lost to all sense of fairness as to care nothing for the contempt of his fellows. ... Their only sin ... was that they allowed themselves to remain members of the Lasters' Union ...<sup>314</sup>

Walter L. Ramsdell wasn't born a Lynn workingman, but he felt their pain and desperation and learned their anger; when he spoke, he was one of them, and spoke for all of them – or at least enough of them.

On August 24th, a month after his speech at Lasters' Hall, he was honored to be named the presiding officer at a giant labor parade and demonstration held on Lynn Common and the streets nearby; it was a massive event that brought out an estimated 20,000 people, described by the *Item* as “the grandest and largest ... ever known in the history of the city” – and Walter Ramsdell was leading the charge.<sup>315</sup>

He ran for office again in December 1896, this time as a Democrat, hoping to become Lynn's first non-Republican mayor of the decade ... and he won. He had pulled off a stunning victory after six years of four Republican mayors by fusing together a coalition of workingmen, union men, and the unemployed, and from multiple reform parties: he ran under the combined banners of the Democrat, Citizen's Reform, and Populist parties and in so doing won 5,853 (59%) of the total votes; the Republican received 3,913 (40%), and the Socialist Labor candidate got only 124 (1%) votes. The decidedly Republican-leaning *Daily Evening Item* suggested that anger about the Thomas G. Plant Company's lockout and hiring of scabs, combined with the subsequent wage reductions of other Lynn manufacturers, caused votes to be cast for Ramsdell out of bitter dissatisfaction towards those who had been in power; nonetheless, the editor gave Ramsdell his due as well, stating that his successful campaign had been “shrewdly planned [and] vigorously conducted.”<sup>316</sup>

Victory was sweet but the honeymoon was over before it began. Ramsdell's victory had failed to bring along a reform majority to the board of alderman or the common council; in fact, thirty of the thirty-four seats in the two powerful chambers went to Republicans; it was going to be a rocky road for Mayor Ramsdell, and the *Item* was eager to report his every misstep as a fumbling failure and each of his comments as embarrassing gaffs. In July of 1897 Mayor Ramsdell gave his opinion about the string of armed hold-ups in Lynn being the side effect of the prolonged hard times. His comment was candid and sincere, but his conclusion was awkward and not well thought out – it was not the mayor's finest moment:

Men have become desperate. During good times these tramps and hobos had no need to stop people on the street to ask for money... They could get a drink by cleaning out cuspidors and the like, but now our saloon keepers are too poor to have their former retainers. Our citizens cannot afford to hire these men to mow their lawns and clean around the houses. What do you think of it when a strong, honest man - one of whom I know to be honest and willing to work - calls at my office for work, his wife and children at home, starving, and I have none to give him? I ought not to say it, perhaps, but *I believe I would rather steal than see my children going hungry.*<sup>317</sup>

He was right: he shouldn't have said it, but he did, and as soon as it became a matter of public record, the *Item* pounced,

This is a dark picture. ... The Mayor ought to be ashamed to make such a statement, ashamed if it is true, because no man can starve in Lynn if his need is known, and he should be the first to direct [his starving friend] where he might obtain assistance, and

[the mayor should be] doubly ashamed to slander his own city. ... the effect of such a statement is to place Lynn where she does not belong and to give outsiders a wrong impression. This ... is inexcusable [for the mayor]. He says he would rather steal than see his children going hungry, but ... there is no need of his stealing in Lynn, nor for his children to go hungry.<sup>318</sup>

It was a lesson that would be pounded into him over and over for two years – being the mayor of Lynn meant being held under the microscope in front of the public eye, constantly scrutinized for every weakness and flaw. It was a very tough, exhausting job and jangled the nerves every day.

From the beginning of Mayor Ramsdell's tenure in 1897 to the end of the century, the city's economy stayed unsettled, sometimes improving but never drying up the undercurrent of unemployment, strikes, and wage cuts. The General Electric River Works location in West Lynn was one of the late-decade's bright spots, with new product lines to build, workers being hired and relocated to the site, and more buildings being added to the site. By August 1898 the number of G.E. employees at the River Works had risen back up to about 2,800, but the good news was tempered with cautious wisdom, a stark contrast to the decade's early years, when such increases were greeted with the chest-thumping bravado of an overconfident gambler, "Recent indications point to an increase in business that is very gratifying but it must not be assumed from the additions that are being made and projected, that there is any particular boom in the business."<sup>319</sup> Other Lynn businesses had more erratic results, as had been the case throughout the decade. In 1897 there had been forty-six business failures and it was still worse in 1898 with another fifty-seven closings. Leading the list in 1898 were fourteen grocery stores, followed by shoe factories with eleven failures.<sup>320</sup>

Surviving retail shops often tried to stimulate trade by advertising "Hard Times Prices," conducting sales, and giving out coupons with each purchase that could be saved and redeemed for premiums from bibles to bicycles. Even three Lynn dentists gave coupons to their patients.<sup>321</sup> Purchasing on credit was another obvious enticement for cash-strapped customers. The Washburn Credit-House built its whole business on that basis, persuading ladies into feeling "well-dressed and independent" by buying their tailor-made suits on credit: "it is easier to pay a small amount down and the balance in weekly payments than it is to pay cash," said the spider to the fly.<sup>322</sup> The Bulfinch's drugstore kept alive the attraction of the front window by encouraging people to watch *Cushing's Laxative Fig Syrup* being made in his show window and by stepping inside they could get a free dose of the stuff.<sup>323</sup> Free samples, usually in very small sample-size bottles, were an especially popular promotion among drug stores.

In 1896, merchants in the vicinity of Union Street in downtown Lynn put together a plan to stimulate sales, something that would draw in customers from all over northeastern Massachusetts: a three-day trade carnival. Electric lights were strung out in arches over Union and Market streets, colorful flags fluttered proudly from City Hall Square to Central Square, each of the stores were dressed in buntings and had "an artistic and original window display," and the prices of the merchants' goods were "a carnival in themselves." Various bands gave afternoon concerts in different locations and crowds thrilled at the spectacle of aerialists suspended high up over Union Street, performing a blindfolded trapeze act, high wire walking, and other amazing feats. Even the weather cooperated – "bright skies [and] bracing air" – perfect for such an extravaganza.<sup>324</sup> The crowds came to enjoy the spectacle and the merchants were said to have enjoyed strong sales during those three days, but when it was all over and things settled back to normal, the tourist customers disappeared and cash registers downtown resumed their normal rhythms; the carnival had been entertaining but not enough to lift Lynn shopkeepers into long-term prosperity.

As was true throughout Lynn's history, there were those who sought the get-rich-quick solution to their problems. A few men made an earnest search for a treasure cache on Little Nahant, which they insisted was being watched over by the ghost of Captain Kidd himself, but the parsimonious pirate gave up nothing.<sup>325</sup> Henry Clough and Frank Blye had heard other stories that

Captain Kidd had buried a portion of his gold, diamonds and other precious stones on what in 1895 was 11 Pleasant Street, a vacant lot belonging to Widow Abbie M. Allen. Her husband had searched for the treasure ten years earlier because of a vision he had for three successive nights that it was located under a large stone between a peach and cherry tree on their property. He found the huge stone but found no treasure and died within a year. Over the intervening years, various mediums and mystics had told Widow Allen that it was somewhere under that lot. She was described as "somewhat of a Spiritualist," and while she didn't have big expectations that Clough and Blye would find anything, she told the two men that they could dig as long as she got half of whatever treasure they found. The whole affair was that much more creepy because the men only dug at night, having employment to report to in the morning. Good thing they kept their day jobs.<sup>326</sup>

Just like other Lynners who sought their fortunes in the gold fields of California a half-century earlier, some Lynn men were again feeling the pull of gold when reading about its discovery in the Klondike region of Canada's Yukon Territory. The Lynn Gold Mining Company was organized in late August 1897 with plans to start for the Klondike about November 1<sup>st</sup>. The company was organized by Henry M. Teed, a mining engineer who already had experience in the gold mines of South Africa and Mexico. The company was to be composed of twenty men "not afraid of hard work," and Teed purchased a schooner and hired a retired sea captain to take the company around South America and up north to Alaska – a trip of 18,000 miles that Teed estimated would take about seven months.<sup>327</sup>

The schooner he purchased was the *Abbie M. Deering*, a two-masted vessel that was brought into Lynn's harbor in late September and docked at Breed & Stevens' wharf off Broad Street. Work began immediately to prepare the ship for the voyage: scraping and painting surfaces and repairing rigging. A quantity of benzine was also brought below deck in the hold, to be used for killing bedbugs "with which the forecastle was infested." Just before 3:00 PM there was an explosion in the area of the forecastle, ripping the deck all the way back to the mainmast in several places, turning the planks into splinters. Two men working on the deck at the time of the explosion escaped serious injury, but one was blown clear overboard into the harbor and the other was blown towards the stern. It was suspected that the benzine was left uncovered and that a gas formed by rapid evaporation was ignited from the fire of the cooking stove. In the rush to get to the Klondike, the *Abbie M. Deering* had been blasted behind schedule.<sup>328</sup>

On November 10<sup>th</sup> the schooner was finally ready to launch. A crowd lined all the wharves to watch and bid farewell to the men who were going so far for so long. The *Item* wrote, "Some thought them foolish and expressed the belief that it was an ill-fated party, while others looked on them as courageous and daring to undertake such a perilous trip. ... Enthusiasm was almost absent .. there was but a faint attempt at cheering." Probably with good cause. When the schooner was about 250 yards from the wharf it got stuck in the muck of the harbor's mudflats. An effort to pull the vessel out of its captivity was unsuccessful and it listed helplessly waiting for the next tide. "A look of gloom and disappointment spread over the faces" of the well-wishers on the dock and surely Captain Teed and his gold hunters as well, as they realized they were already stuck not even a quarter of a mile into their 18,000-mile journey.<sup>329</sup>

Despite the obstacles faced by Lynn's first Klondike expedition, another was already forming in its wake, the Commonwealth Mining Company, set to sail on the schooner *Reuben L. Richardson*, and yet another party of goldminers from Lynn was preparing to go overland in March 1898.<sup>330</sup> The *Item* stated that the Klondike gold fever was epidemic in Lynn, infecting even barbers, shoemakers, and mechanics. In January 1898, Patrick C. Saunders sold his barbershop at 82 Summer Street and in company with John Gard, Jr., of Shepard Street, and Alvah C. Bixby, of 63 New Chatham Street, was preparing to go overland by train and other methods, and expected to be gone for two years. John T. Moran, a heel shaver in Phelan's shoe factory, was going to leave a few days later and catch up to the rest of them in Seattle.<sup>331</sup> George L. Green had been arrested for receiving stolen property and was due to appear in court, but he skipped bail and was believed to

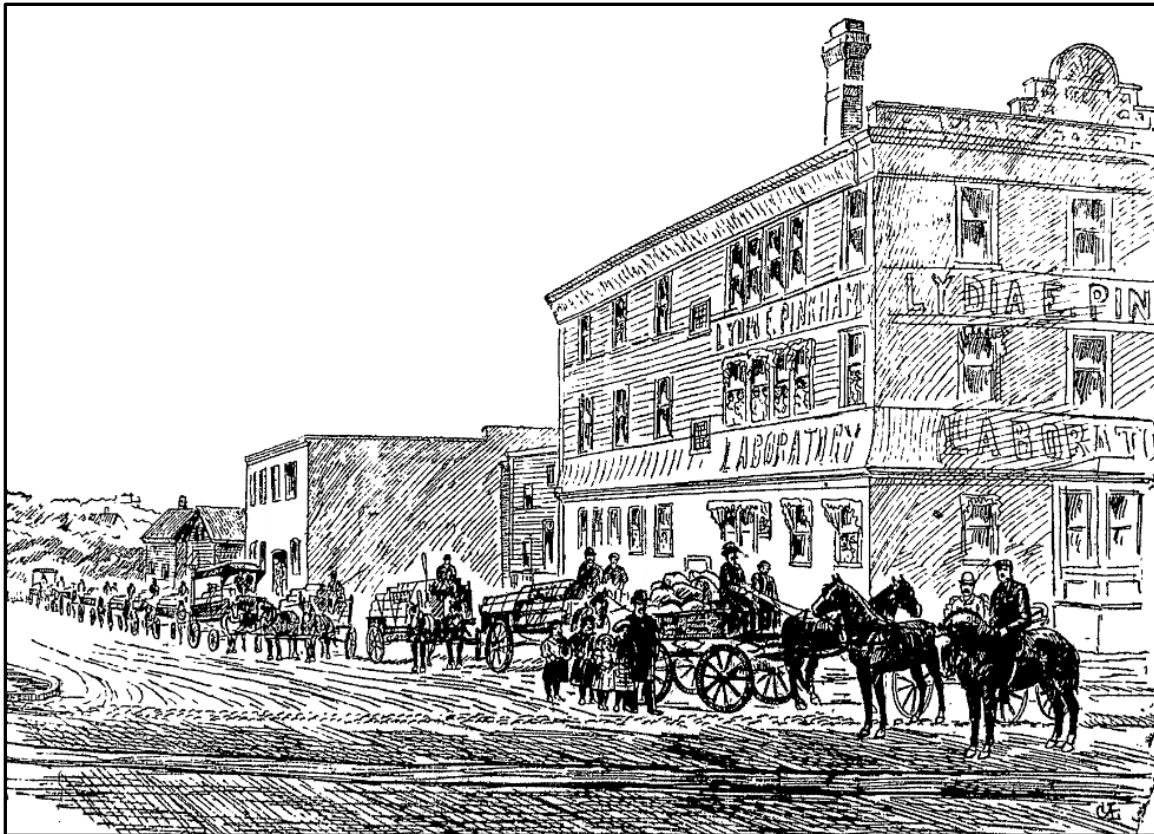
be on his way to the Klondike as well.<sup>332</sup> Still more Lynn men kept leaving for the gold fields into March. Those Lynn gold hunters who made it to the gold fields found hardship aplenty, but not fortune. A Lynn shoemaker was lost in the Klondike and was believed to have frozen to death.<sup>333</sup> Edmund Ash, another Lynn barber, found the return from the goldfields just as hazardous; he passed by seven frozen bodies on his way through the Alaskan wilderness; the entire expedition was an absolute failure. Back in Lynn by May 1899, his hair had whitened by the experiences he endured on the glacier and he had lost about half his weight. He left for the goldfields, determined to become wealthy, but he had returned rich only in wisdom, "I am back safe and sound. I have got my hands and feet, my friends and my family, and I have every reason to be thankful when I think of the poor prospectors frozen to death and crippled for life."<sup>334</sup>

While some sought financial improvement through trade unions, or by gussying up Lynn's downtown in fancy trimmings, or chasing gold in a frozen, alien landscape, or even by digging for pirate treasure, one particular Lynn manufacturer succeeded in becoming financially healthy and strong through the decade. It had succeeded by sticking to the basics: vigorous advertising, careful spending, excellent customer and employee relations, and consistently updated methods and machinery. The model business was the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company. It was tucked quietly outside of the city's business grid but had grown itself from absolutely nothing into a national brand, steadily increasing its sales throughout the decade, proving impervious to merger, unions, strikes, and the depression.

When other businesses had cooled off during the depression, the Pinkham company was Lynn's unwatched pot, red-hot and boiling over. Midway through 1894, the *Item* reported, "Notwithstanding the widespread distress in business circles throughout the country, there is at least one Lynn concern that makes a much better showing this year, than last. The Pinkham Medicine Co., manufacturers of the famous Lydia Pinkham Vegetable Compound, did just double the business in June of this year ...."<sup>335</sup> It needed to expand its facilities for the seventh time the following year, building a fireproof three-story storehouse of brick "of the most approved modern construction, and another three-story addition to its laboratory, with floors sixteen inches thick and supported in part by fifteen massive piers in the foundation, as well as having doors and shutters of iron to make it all fire-tight. Product quality was just as important as building safety. In the manufacturing process, each bottle was thoroughly washed with full-force water pressure and was not allowed to go to the bottling rooms "until every particle of dust, protuberance of glass, etc., is positively removed by the hands of skilled and patient operatives."<sup>336</sup>

It was a business exception in Lynn throughout the decade and even an aberration within its own "patent medicine" industry, where, for every grandly successful company there were hundreds of unsuccessful attempts at making and selling medicine. That strange company on Western Avenue that made the secret product for the indelicate, unmentionable, and little understood health problems of females all over the country, probably made every man on the board of trade, in city hall, and in the merchants' association uncomfortable to even mention it in their business discussions, but what they understood clearly was that it was successful in Lynn and therefore they were proud of it, whatever the heck it was doing.

By pure coincidence, Charles Pinkham needed to ship out a huge order of Lydia E. Pinkham medicines on 29 October 1896, the same day that the merchants' trade carnival was opening downtown. The shipment was huge: it weighed 32 tons, consisting of 2,298 crates emblazoned with Lydia Pinkham's name and face, each containing a dozen bottles, or 27,576 bottles in all.<sup>337</sup> Charles proceeded to contract with an express company for twelve of their largest horse teams and wagons to bring the finished goods from the Pinkham laboratories to the train depot downtown. Besides needing eleven wagons for the medicine product, there was also a wagon for the daily shipment of company mail. Learning of Pinkham's arrangements for so many wagons on the opening day of the trade carnival, the carnival managers asked Mr. Pinkham if he would allow them to turn his business need into another carnival feature, to proudly show off in grand fashion such a fine



**The Pinkham Wagon Train, 1896.** Ready to begin their triumphal procession in the 1896 Trade Carnival. Charles Pinkham stands in the foreground with his children; his carriage and its driver are nearby, behind the first horse on the right. (from the *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1896)

example of Lynn's success. Charles, always accommodating and a shrewd businessman, agreed to their request.<sup>338</sup>

The carnival committee had placards made and attached to each wagon and arranged for the wagon train to be escorted by a marching band, as if the procession was a parade rather than a freight shipment. In fact, the route was far from being the shortest distance to the freight yard; heavy horses hauling mountains of Lydia E. Pinkham crates were made to parade in a circuitous route through the downtown, like many circus spectacles in the past. Charles also arranged a personal carriage for himself and his children to join the procession, and had it stocked with advertising matter for them to distribute to spectators. The Pinkham parade went from the laboratory buildings on Western Avenue, down Chestnut Street to Union Street, passing under all of its waving flags, illuminated arches and bunting, through Central Square and Central Avenue, down Andrew Street to Market Street, then up to and around the soldiers' monument in City Hall square, and back down Market Street to the freight yard on State Street.<sup>339</sup> The trade carnival's grand parade had showcased a powerful success story, symbolically trampling the depression, and Lynn's champion didn't even make shoes or lightbulbs, but vegetable compound.

It was also during the depression that Charles reached into his deep pockets and purchased an upright piano custom-made for the Sanborn School. A few weeks earlier, the female employees at his company were also "happily surprised in having placed in one of the large rooms of the laboratory a fine Guild piano, with which to while away at the daily noon hour."<sup>340</sup> He had also gifted himself with a stable built for his prize horses, located on his residential grounds, nearby his mansion. The stable was designed in Colonial motif and stood one and one-half stories tall, surmounted by a cupola, and containing a wash room, a harness room and a carriage room, four

horse stalls, two finely appointed box stalls, a cow stable, and a platform out back for airing the animal bedding.<sup>341</sup>

Lynn had been impatiently waiting for its new post office promised by the federal government; the city's volume of mail was going up steeply throughout the decade, showing a gain of fifty-five percent during one three-month period in 1897 compared to the same period the previous year. "The question arises," the newspaper asked rhetorically, "where does all this increased business come from? The answer is easy. It comes from the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co."<sup>342</sup> During September, October, and November of 1897, the company purchased 750,000, 500,000, and 800,000 one-cent stamps, respectively, for a total of well over two million stamps, for the purpose of mailing out the many editions of booklets that the company was providing women across America.<sup>343</sup> This accounted for half of the Lynn post office's entire stamp sales during the same period. The Lydia E. Pinkham Company was, by far, the biggest customer of Lynn's post office.

By 1898 twenty-five women staffed the office of private correspondence and they were constantly busy responding to the many letters written to Lydia E. Pinkham for advice.<sup>344</sup> The private correspondence women had each become Lydia E. Pinkham, at least insofar as the recipients of their letters were concerned; they had been instructed to sign all letters in Lydia's name, mimicking her beautiful copperplate penmanship the best they could.<sup>345</sup> Back in 1895, the company had made some effort through its advertising agency, to justify the continued signature of the product's namesake, who had been dead for well over a decade, by coming up with a storyline that before she had passed, Lydia had transferred her role to her daughter-in-law, the wife of Charles. In the advertisement's illustration, a copy of Lydia's face was superimposed onto a seated representation of her body, complete with her hallmark ruff collar and, staring off into space, she passed the mantle of her legacy to the young woman standing before her:

... As she recalled the past, and tried to penetrate the future, a smile of supreme satisfaction passed over her honest face as she remembered that her life's work would be perpetuated. ... turning to her daughter, she said, —

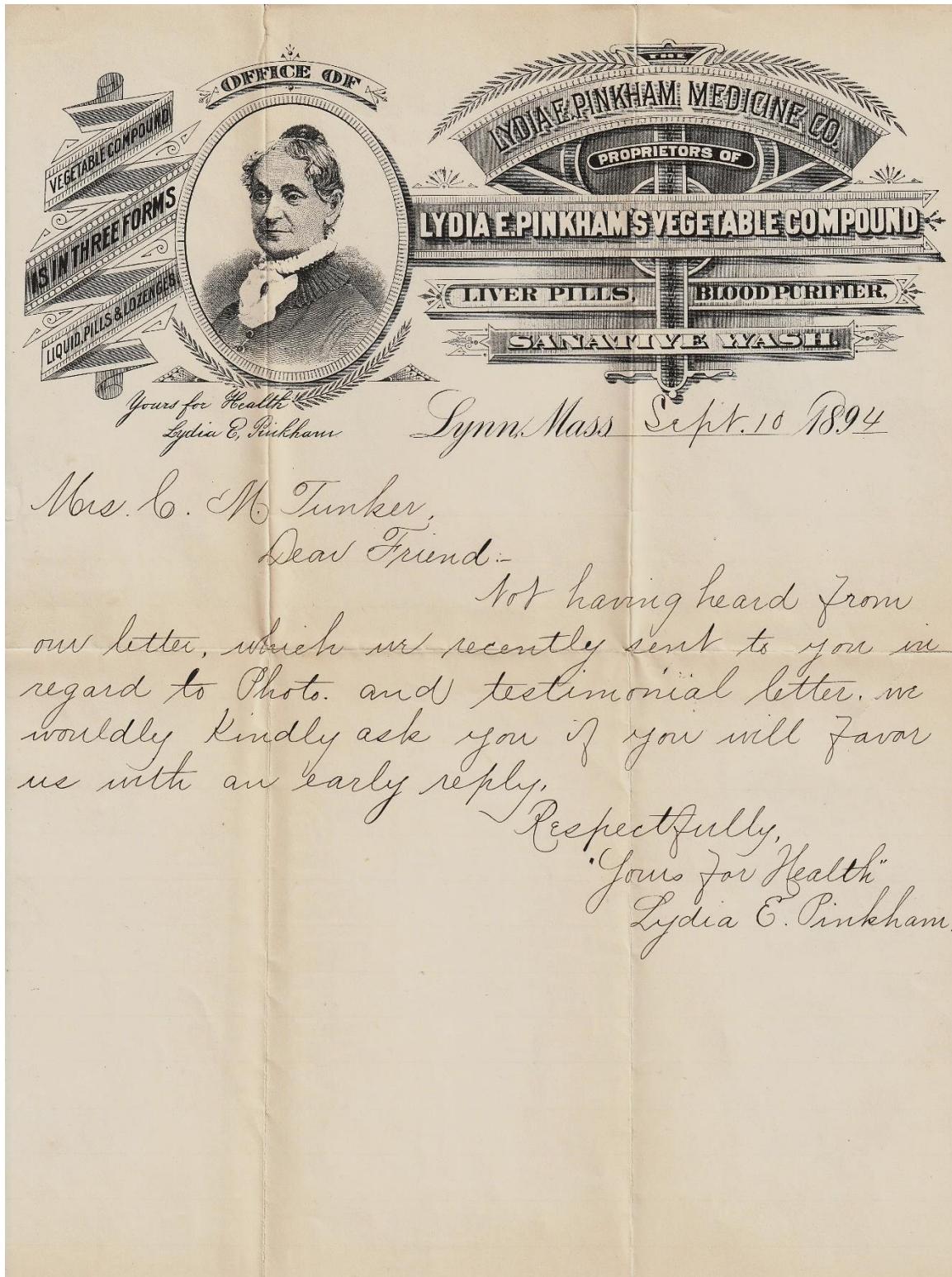
"My daughter, this room, as you well know, contains the records of my life's work, in which for many years you have so diligently assisted me.

"By earnest application you have compassed my methods; and it is a happiness to think that when I leave, *the glorious work will, through you, go on.*

... Thus did Lydia E. Pinkham hand over to her daughter, Mrs. Charles H. Pinkham, what may be termed the salvation of her sex ....<sup>346</sup>

Charles's wife was Jennie and, of course, she was Lydia's daughter-in-law, not her daughter, but the verbal reminiscence was painted with very broad strokes, designed to fill the gap since Lydia's death with some kind of explanation, and to at least reassure the women of America that a woman was still reading and answering their very private letters. The replies from the correspondence department were most often signed "Lydia E. Pinkham," and only sometimes as "Mrs. Pinkham," thus perpetuating the myth that Lydia somehow, in some nebulous form, was corresponding with her beloved followers many years after her death. But the nation's suffering women either did not realize the deception or didn't care that another woman from the company specializing in woman's diseases was responding because the letters just kept pouring in. Lydia Pinkham was no longer a person but she had become the company.<sup>347</sup>

The daily mail received was anywhere from 500 to 1,000 letters per day and by January 1899 it had risen to 1,200 pieces per day. Up through the end of 1898, the letters were all responded to by hand, but as of 1899, nineteen typewriters had been purchased to speed up mail responses. Each of the young women addressing envelopes had produced an average of 92 envelopes per hour, or 736 per day; with typewriters the average rose to between 1,200 to 2,000 per day but letters kept pouring in to Lydia E. Pinkham.<sup>348</sup> The company's success was overwhelming; it's biggest



**The Living Legend, 1894.** Correspondence signed in the name of Lydia E. Pinkham, who was deceased in 1883. The letter is soliciting a photograph and testimonial from the correspondent for use as an endorsement in a future company publication or advertisement. (Collection of the author)

challenge was keeping up with its constantly increasing business. The *Item* saliently observed early in 1898, "The growth of this business seems past belief."<sup>349</sup>

This gem of Lynn business had become a tour stop for various official delegations who wanted to see the impressive, successful company in action. A party of seventy-five retail druggists from all over the country had been attending a convention in Boston, but each had likely made good money selling the Pinkham products in their stores, so they made a ten-mile pilgrimage to the Pinkham facility in October 1899 and were given a guided tour of the facility by Charles Pinkham himself. "The members of the party expressed themselves as highly pleased with what they saw and especially complimented Mr. Pinkham upon the extreme cleanliness of every department. They said that they felt that a visit east would have been incomplete without a visit to this far-famed dispensary of medicine."<sup>350</sup> Even the state legislature's committee on cities and drainage, which had come out to Lynn in March 1898 on the official business of looking at the outfall sewer situation in the harbor, couldn't resist the opportunity offered by Mayor Ramsdell to visit the Pinkham laboratory. After the dismal tour of the harbor, he wanted to show the delegation something praiseworthy about Lynn before they left.<sup>351</sup> Charles had hosted another delegation in 1895 from the Park Club, a locally prestigious men's organization; the tour group included a state representative, a city alderman, and a physician, plus eight others. At the conclusion of the tour, the guests "were treated to Lydia E. Pinkham's Compound, also to cigars, all of which were keenly relished," essentially drinking and smoking like they did within the confines of their gentlemen's club on North Common Street, the vegetable compound standing in as an alcoholic aperitif with an herbal bouquet and the men obviously having no concern about its medicinal effect on their uteri. There was no secret that the vegetable compound was infused with alcohol, so the men's tour group drank it for their reasons and female customers could drink it for theirs. Charles then took the men across the street to his palatial residence and to his stable, "where the visitors inspected his fine stud of horses, some of which have [speed] records."<sup>352</sup>



**LIKE FLIES BUZZING AROUND AN OUTHOUSE** in August, business competitors were always on the hunt for signs of success. Even though *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* was the leading national brand for women's ailments, competitors came right to Lynn, the seat of the Pinkham empire, trying to carve away some patronage. Mrs. Francis H. Drew of Lowell had a product lineup almost identical to the Pinkham product family, and the portrait in her advertising literature imitated that of Lydia E. Pinkham in every respect.<sup>353</sup> An ad for *Pierce's Favorite Prescription* in Lynn's newspaper loudly and specifically promised that it was "Strictly a temperance medicine. It is unlike many Lynn medicines offered for the use of women in that it contains no alcohol, whisky or other intoxicant and is absolutely free from opium, cocaine and other narcotics."<sup>354</sup> Not only was the competitor exposing Pinkham's alcohol content to its prim lady customers, but added the fear of narcotic content to their list of reasons to switch to *Pierce's*. Pay no heed to the fact that R. V. Pierce and Charles Pinkham served together on the executive committee of the Association of Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Proprietary Articles; it was just business – cutthroat business.

Similarly, Lynn apothecary J. W. Colcord advertised his new medicine, *Colcord's Rheumatic Cure and Liniment*, by sniping at another nationally known healer, Mary Baker Eddy, "Rheumatism is one of the most painful afflictions to which humanity is heir. It is painful in the extreme. ... Possibly Christian scientists can persuade their followers that it is all imagination, but let a good case of rheumatism attack them, it is hardly possible they will long continue thinking it imagination."<sup>355</sup> Just as much hostility was vented by an unnamed Lynn physician in an exchange he had with a traveling medicine salesman in 1892:

A drummer for a patent medicine firm called, and after presenting the young M. D. several advertising paper weights, tongue depressors and other articles, began

to praise his goods. "Your medicine is good for nothing," said the physician, and he proceeded to give the drummer and his firm a scorching." The traveling man was not easily beaten, however, and after a while convinced his intended patron that his impression about the medicine[s] were erroneous. Then an amicable understanding was reached, and the young healer asked,

"What trinkets will your firm send out next year to the trade?"

"I don't know," was the retort, "but I'll have them send you a shoe horn so you can get your hat on easier."

Those who overheard the dialogue declare that the language heard for the 30 seconds before the drummer made a hurried escape fairly blistered the kalsomining on the walls.<sup>356</sup>

The medicine industry had become extremely competitive in the last century of the decade. Posters, handbills, and broadsides covered fences, buildings, and trees. In the early springtime mornings of 1892, boys were creating a nuisance distributing so many handbills to the throngs of workers arriving for the dayshift at T.-H. E. Company that it became the regular daily chore of the company's yardmen to pick up the discarded papers that cluttered and clustered where the breezes pushed them around on the property.<sup>357</sup> The city's streets, storefronts, offices, and newspaper pages were filled with medicine peddlers, manufacturers, vagabond salesmen, and traveling medicine shows, all competing with each other as well as with their Lynn-based counterparts. The resident doctors and dentists had enough conflict among themselves without outsiders making it worse. At mid-decade there were ninety-one physicians listed in the city directory, only thirty-eight of which were members of the Massachusetts Medical Society; the others were listed as homeopaths, metaphysicians, an herbal physician, an oculist, and a specialist, and forty that had no specialty or method stated, but were listed under the "Physicians" category, nonetheless.<sup>358</sup> The medicated air was filled with animus, floating in all directions.

Traveling medicine shows were perhaps the one type of medicine upon which resident physicians, dentists, and druggists could agree were a danger to the citizens of Lynn and, of course, to their own incomes. A team of Lynn healers named Pearson and Carroll (irregular physicians themselves) complained that "the lax medical laws of Massachusetts have made Lynn a field for travelling quacks ... moving from place to place and leaving town as soon as their incompetency and dishonesty become known."<sup>359</sup> They also gave a very vivid description of how those flashy swindlers operated and what they looked like:

... Time was, not many years ago, either, when those mouthy, flashily dressed charlatans could come into a community, promising everything that was impossible through the columns of the newspapers, rob gullible greenhorns of a lot of money, give them in return some bottles of worthless nostrums and before the victims found how badly they had been defrauded, [move on] to another field with well-lined pockets.

This business being all profit they wore flashy glass diamonds, high silk hats, loud vulgar clothing, and caught by these means to impress the credulous with an idea of their importance.

These times, happily for the people, have passed. The glory of the vagrant doctor has departed. The people have learned that a high hat and loud manner no more make a physician than the appearance of one swallow brings summer time. Sensible people realize that a man capable of practicing medicine successfully does not travel over the country like a Punch and Judy showman or organ grinder. ...<sup>360</sup>

It sounded like they were offering a barbed eulogy for the traveling quack, but if so, it was just wishful thinking. On came the Kings of Dentists, The Divine Healer, Professor Coffey, the King of Healers, the Hindoo Medicine Company, the Kickapoo Indians, and Dr. Vito in his Gilded Carriage. The eulogy had turned out to be more of an incantation – the decade actually brought what seemed like a mass migration of showy traveling medicine sellers to Lynn, and although there

might not have been much real healing in their medicines, there was plenty of entertainment in their performances.

In 1890 an Indian show entertained in a few different areas of Lynn, providing free but low-budget entertainment, like a cracker-eating contest, a one-man jaw harp concert, and a "natural tooth extractor." They had pitched their tents on Hill's field for the first part of August, then moved to Alley Street near the harbor late in the month, and then they were gone, just as Pearson and Carroll said they would be.<sup>361</sup> In January 1892 a team of tooth-pullers by the name of the "Kings of Dentists," put on a similarly mixed performance of music and tooth pulling at Lynn's Music Hall and doing so, they promised, without pain. At their performance and in the newspaper, resident dentist Edward Williams challenged their claimed ability to perform painless dentistry and told a horror story about one of their patients whom they left with badly ulcerated gums and an exposed live nerve that was "so sensitive that he could not touch it with his lip, tongue or anything he tried to eat." Nonetheless, Williams was stunned to witness what he called "the entire satisfaction of the audience," when they saw the two men pull teeth on stage. It was as if they were insensible to the team's deceptions as well as to their tooth-pulling. After they extracted some teeth, the Kings of Dentists began to proclaim the wonderful curative power of their medicine, [and] also of their great skill and success in the treatment of diseases."<sup>362</sup>

In June 1893, "Dr. Daniels's Specialty Co.." which was somehow conjoined with the "Hindoo Medicine Co.," also provided "Grand Free Entertainment," in various vacant lots in Lynn and reportedly large audiences were "interested in the excellent singing and the doctor's lecture on medicine." So skilled and experienced was he that he brought with him "remedies, instruments, and appliances, electrical, chemical and microscopical, from all parts of the world." Daniels offered to perform all examinations, surgical operations, and chemical analysis of the urine for free, and "to those who are incurable, advice will be given to alleviate and smooth the rugged downward path," perhaps with the aid of some opiate-based products from the Hindoo Medicine Company.<sup>363</sup> After he left town, Hart's drugstore on Munroe Street continued the sale of "*Dr. Daniels' Hindoo Medicines.*"<sup>364</sup>

As the decade wore on and the depression got worse, the travelling medicine shows kept coming and the promises and pageantry just got grander. In April 1895 a man identifying himself as Dr. C. S. Dennis of Salem gave a free exhibition of "his almost miraculous power ... to prove that he is the greatest natural healer living. By his great power the lame are made to walk, the deaf to hear and many other wonderful cures," all with no medicine used; and of course, he had a "celebrated cornetist" providing musical entertainment, perhaps to symbolically trumpet his greatness.<sup>365</sup> A few years later, one Charles McLean, who went by "Schlatter, the Divine Healer" promised similar messianic skills as Dennis: he "Claims to Be Able to Bring the Dead to Life."<sup>366</sup> The descriptions of his lecture and performance, however, were underwhelming. Small groups of 50 to 100 attended his lectures at the Lynn Theater, and the *Item* reported:

There was nothing remarkable about his performance, except the great amount of vituperation that [he] hurled forth against ... men whose names have been famous for centuries, against colleges and other institutions of learning, especially Yale and Harvard Universities, *which he wished could be destroyed*, as they were nothing but the homes of thieves and sots, and finally against our fair New England, which, to hear him tell it, is rotten to the core.<sup>367</sup>

He may have been a miracle worker, but he certainly wasn't very entertaining; and truth be told, he wasn't very effective, either: "there was no visible evidence of any healing":

Schlatter announced that only those that had faith, that believed in Christ and the Bible would be healed. He did not claim that he did the healing himself, but that it was done by Christ through him. ... Having selected his patients, Schlatter returned to the stage and produced a bowl of water in which he washed his hands after attending to each patient. [five "patients" had come sit on the stage, backs to the audience] Schlatter then

asked the name and address and the malady to be cured and these were announced by him. [He] then stepped around back of the patient and with his back to the audience placed his hands over the patient's eyes and muttered a prayer, which was only half audible to the audience, then he would stand to one side and pray some more, after which the patient would rise and come to the front of the stage and announce that he felt greatly blessed. ... After five patients had been attended to, Schlatter took a vote as to whether he would stay in Lynn for a while, and three persons raising their hands[,] he declared it a vote and decided to stay. ... The ailments treated were mostly such as not to be outwardly visible, and in the cases in which the ailment was visible there was no perceptible change in the patient. .... There were no sensational cures as many expected there would be. A great many came to the theatre to hear the lecturer, but finding that an admission fee would be charged turned back and went away.<sup>368</sup>

The Kickapoo Indians camped in Lynn in July 1895, "giving free concerts and selling Kickapoo remedies." The prize of a set of silverware to the person who most closely guessed the number of beans in a jar was awarded just before they left.<sup>369</sup> They were actually one of the best-known traveling medicine shows in the nation, putting on a lavish entertainment that was a cross between Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows and Barnum's circuses, but in Lynn at least, their presence received underwhelming coverage in the newspaper. In contrast, "Vito, The Great Healing Power," came across like a huge celebrity, which stroked his vanity perfectly. Heraldng his upcoming arrival in Lynn, he announced to the citizens that his treatments had become the talk of two continents because he performed "the most remarkable cures ever performed in the annals of medical history" and his methods were as different from the work of other physicians as the electric light was from the candle. He also assured that he had over 10,000 sworn testimonials to back up how amazing he was, and oh yes, he was going to be easy to notice on the streets of Lynn because he would be performing his miracles from his gold carriage.<sup>370</sup>

In early June 1898 he appeared in Lynn's Union Square in his gilded carriage before a huge crowd, which probably upset Warren Toppan quite a bit because this grandiose medicine show was taking place right in front of his drugstore. In front of the wide-eyed crowd, the great Vito called up some of Lynn's cripples who had visited him in his rooms at the Sagamore Hotel earlier in the afternoon. One of those was Thomas Grady, a janitor and for years a sufferer of rheumatism; dramatically, he was *carried* to the carriage and treated in front of everyone using Vito's remedies (which product family included *Vito Electric Fluid* and *Vito Curative Syrup*), and within twenty minutes Grady was able to walk without the aid of crutches "for the first time in six years." The jubilant janitor pronounced himself free of pain and ran through the crowds shouting for joy. "Many of our best citizens flocked around Mr. Grady in amazement to see the miracle that Vito had performed."<sup>371</sup> In subsequent performances in different parts of Lynn, other crippled and lame Lynners claimed cure with the same exuberance as the first convert: Mark Aylward, a shoemaker, Peter Hanley, a morocco leather worker, James Burrows, an actor, and others jumped, ran, and shouted for joy after they threw away their crutches and canes. A month later, Vito had moved on to somewhere else in his gilded carriage, never again to perform his miracles in Lynn.<sup>372</sup>

Like two platform dancers in the same well-synchronized cuckoo clock, when "Vito, The Great Healing Power," left Lynn in his gilded carriage, "Professor J. P. Coffey, The King of the Healers," showed up in town, completely filling the void of hubris created by Vito's departure. The healing hyperbole of both medicine men matched each other in pretentiousness, but they arrived at their "greatness" by two very different paths. Coffey, who said he was descended from "a powerful magnetic ancestry," performed "his wonderful power of healing by the laying on of hands which has heretofore been conceded only possible to workers of ancient miracles. ... nearly everybody in the audience can feel his strange magnetic influence"; while Vito used his own proprietary medicines to cure and specifically distanced himself from Coffey's style of healing, writing "do not confound this with magnetic healing. Vito has no faith in such nonsense."<sup>373</sup> But the results

were the same: both healers had patients throwing their canes and crutches away and dancing in the aisles, cured forever of rheumatism and other terrible things.

Traveling medicine shows did and said what they wanted, wherever they wanted; there were no rules, no code of conduct. In fact, theatrics, surprises, and entertainment, with a generous splash of swagger, were what was expected; they helped the medicine go down, or at least to get sold.

Some of the traveling medicine showmen's techniques and stylings could be found mirrored in the efforts of Lynn-based proprietary medicine makers. Since the ingredients of those products were not revealed, the message had to be compelling and the medicine had to come across as uniquely special as possible in a very crowded, competitive marketplace. Although not resorting to flashy glass diamonds and high silk hats, Lynn's medicine makers often excelled at making their products distinctive and able to attract the attention of the sick. Lemuel Brock, the state senator, real estate investor, milk distributor, and medicine manufacturer, had made medicines a very successful segment of his business empire. He developed his product line, led by *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam* and *Mrs. Soule's Eradicator*, into strong-selling brands, especially by the use of a wide variety of advertising trade cards and humorous ad copy, like the poems it had printed in the *Item* in 1896 and 1898:

**MRS. DINSMORE'S  
Cough and Croup  
BALSAM**

The fat undertaker,  
Who plants by the acre,  
Poor victims of cough and cold,  
Is sighing and crying  
For we've all stopped dying  
Since Dinsmore's Balsam was sold.  
For those who desire  
Not just yet to go higher  
It is worth its weight in gold.<sup>374</sup>

**MRS SOULE'S  
Moth, Freckle, Pimple & Tan  
ERADICATOR**

The bicycle season,  
We love with good reason,  
Though, alas! It brings freckles and tan;  
But with Mrs. Soule's aid  
We're no longer afraid –  
We keep fair as when it began.<sup>375</sup>

The women's medicine market in the 1890s had become crowded with competitors, but it was hard to compete with the effective and ubiquitous advertisements for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*. Its advertising always stayed several steps ahead of the competition by the efforts of professional advertising agencies under the masterful direction and approval of its very astute company president, Charles Pinkham. In one particularly impressive advertising campaign, while most women's medicine manufacturers were scrambling for visibility and viability by describing a litany of curative claims, Pinkham advertising was busy empowering women, helping them take control of their bodies and lives:

**MEN DON'T UNDERSTAND.**

No man ever suffered a single pang like unto woman.

Women, therefore, gladly turn to a woman for sympathy, counsel, and help in their peculiar troubles.

Lydia E. Pinkham deserves the confidences showered upon her by thousands...<sup>376</sup>

\* \* \*

**A WOMAN'S POWER.**

IT IS THE GREATEST ON EARTH.

IT ESTABLISHES THRONES AND DESTROYS NATIONS. ...<sup>377</sup>

\* \* \*

### **Beautiful Women Rule the World**

Beauty means so much to women!

It means power, social triumphs, admiration, love.

Beauty implies good health.

Who ever saw a woman racked with pain and struggling with disease who could be called beautiful? ...<sup>378</sup>

\* \* \*

### **BEAUTY IS POWER**

Perfection of Form, Feature, and Mind render Women All-powerful.

Yet blended with these perfections must be perfect health.<sup>379</sup>

\* \* \*

### **AMBITIOUS WOMEN**

#### **MAKE HEROES OF MEN**

She Will Brave Anything for the Man She Loves ...<sup>380</sup>

Few of Lynn's medicine makers could afford an advertising agency, but a few demonstrated great creativity to make their products stand out in the local market. Although there were proprietary medicines for every human ailment under the sun, Charles Francois Julien Petit de Langle created one for an issue infrequently discussed: sexual desire. "ARE YOU IMPOTENT?" his newspaper advertisement asked boldly.<sup>381</sup> The French physician and specialist in genitourinary diseases had immigrated to the U.S. with his wife, Marie, and settled in Lynn. In 1893 he set up a complete medical facility in Central Square, comprising a waiting room, a laboratory, a dispensary, and an operating room, and Marie advertised her services as a Parisian dressmaker.<sup>382</sup> In 1894, he had relocated his business to 114 Market Street where he set up "Dr. DeLangle's Drug Store," out of which he sold "perfumeries, patent medicine[s], and toile articles, best cigars ... and confectionery."<sup>383</sup> He also introduced his own medicine in that year – the *Parisian Aphro Tonic* – an aphrodisiac medicine for the marketplace; in so doing, he had a trademark created that was clearly designed to attract attention. The trademark depicted a man, presumably de Langle himself, on bended knee before a well-endowed and over-corseted woman, almost certainly Marie in one of her Paris creations, holding a bottle of the *Parisian Aphro Tonic*.<sup>384</sup> The scene implies that the man is trying to be amorous, but perhaps he was just pleading for the bottle of tonic so that he could be! Something seemed to be working for Charles and Marie; the couple celebrated a "joyous triple ceremony" of their tenth anniversary, a house warming, and the anniversary of the French republic on 14 July 1896, and invited hundreds of guests for the grand event at their new home on the corner of Ocean and Bassett streets.<sup>385</sup>

Mrs. Caroline A. Batchelder had long been a physician but only sought a trademark for her *Indian Hair Renewer* in 1892. It depicts an Indian chief placing his hand on the head of a pioneer girl, presumably to anoint her head with an ancient secret Indian medicine to renew hair growth; the young woman's hair is down to her elbows, suggesting the product worked.<sup>386</sup>

The entrepreneurial spirit(s) inspired Lynn's Solar Compound Company to create a line of medicines that capitalized on the continuing popular fascination with spiritualism, astrology, and other forms of the mystical realms. The interest in things ethereal had remained strong throughout the 1890s, although the emphasis was clearly shifting from séances and public performances (and exposures) of spiritualists to private consultations with mediums, fortune tellers, and the like. In

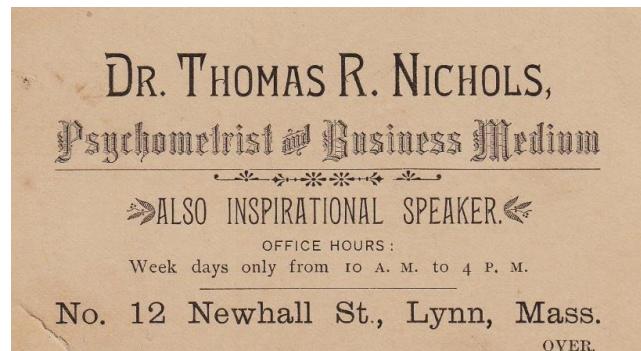
1899, five palm readers assembled in a group shop on Market Street that they called “Queen Alva’s Gypsy Camp.”<sup>387</sup>

It was also a time when mediums did healing work and magnetic physicians were also mediums, like L. Berry a magnetic healer, botanic physician, and medium, plus he gave massage treatments, and Thomas R. Nichols, whose business card and advertisements described him as a magnetic physician, a business medium, and a psychometrist (able to discern facts about a person at a distance, simply by holding an object belonging to that person, like strands of hair or fingernail clippings).<sup>388</sup> The back of Nichols’ business card states, “Dr. Nichols, by taking the hand of his patient, is able to diagnose his or her disease, and to accurately describe the feelings of his patient and the cause of the disease. He is having remarkable success and accomplishing wonderful cures.”

Mrs. Garland, the “Queen Trance Clairvoyant of the Atlantic Coast,” came about the dual roles from the opposite direction: she was a medium who could advise on health issues as well. She promised to prove her wonderful power, “not [as] a fortune teller, but [as] a genuine spirit medium,” not only giving advice on business, marriage, divorce, love affairs, and family troubles, but also on drunkenness, rheumatism, “all long-standing and mysterious diseases,” and the opium habit. She could locate disease and hidden treasure with equal ability, interpret dreams, and perhaps most surprising of all, this “seer of the past, present and future,” claimed she “cures witchery” – in 1893, two hundred and one years after the Salem witch trials.<sup>389</sup>

The Solar Compound Company did the same, providing a path for the future and health for the present. They set up shop at No. 383 Union Street where they gave free consultations, plus offered medicines for sale and could produce the customer’s horoscope for \$1.25.<sup>390</sup> By giving planetary readings, they could diagnose the customer’s disease and its characteristics; then they could also offer their special preparations of *Solar Compound*, “The Only Planetary Remedy in Existence,” that is to say, the only medicines ever produced on the basis of the zodiac.<sup>391</sup> Whether performed in person or by mail (once they were given the person’s date of birth) they could do a planetary chart for that person, determining what ailed them and what medicines would best help to cure them.<sup>392</sup> One of their advertisements ended with the postscript, “P.S. – Remember, we tell you what your trouble is; we do not ask you even for your symptoms; come and see for yourself.”<sup>393</sup> The Solar Compound Company’s logo, appropriately enough, was a zodiac wheel.<sup>394</sup>

Probably no amount of advertising could have helped Franklin P. Hill sell his medicine. Hill raised poultry on his remote land between Breed’s and Holder’s ponds, but he also trapped skunks on purpose. He kept and killed the fat ones and let the lean ones go. He used their “essence” in small, diluted quantities to create an anti-spasmodic medicine for hysteria and asthma. The brief article went on, “The [skunk] body oil is too well known as a remedy for bald heads and croup to need further mention.”<sup>395</sup>



**Business Cards of Magnetic Healers in Lynn from the 1890s.**  
(Both collection of the author.)

For several years, Horace W. Jackson claimed to have been performing his equally revolting work of extracting enormous tapeworms from stunned, relieved patients, and somehow, the tapeworms just kept getting longer. After an eight-hour battle in January 1890, his medicines vanquished a forty-foot-long specimen, "which had been a great annoyance for a long time." No doubt.<sup>396</sup> In August 1891, he came to the rescue again, recognizing that a woman who had been "doctored for 18 months for consumption by some of the best doctors of Lynn," was actually suffering from another monster tapeworm.<sup>397</sup> He was easily recognized as the worm doctor – not just by reputation, but because he also had a rogues gallery of tapeworms on his garden gate: "People passing his office have been time and again disgusted at the sight of a glass case, containing several bottles with hideous specimens of the tarula solium [tapeworms] which stood at his gate."<sup>398</sup> It was a different but effective and unique way for him to advertise. Late in 1894 Jackson passed away at 76 years old; then in 1895 another botanic physician, Tatiros K. Serijan, copied Jackson's unusual advertising method for himself; his office on 45 Market Street, three blocks away from where Jackson had been set up, had sample bottles of tapeworms on the street door of his office.<sup>399</sup>



**CHARLES CROMPTON HAD NO REASON** to think he would succeed in the medicine business. There were already over 150 businesses in Lynn making medicines or that had the ability to do so, if they chose – apothecaries, druggists, physicians, medicine and patent medicine manufacturers – not to mention all those cash-strapped families, the unemployed and the bankrupt, chicken farmers, skunk trappers, fortune tellers and, well, anyone in the city who wanted to make something to sell as medicine; generations had proven it wasn't that hard to do. Plus, there were hundreds of medicines made from neighboring Salem and Marblehead to distant San Francisco and Seattle that were also inundating Lynn's newspapers, fences, buildings, and store counters with their promises of health and conquered illness. Medicine shows, peddlers, and traveling salesmen added their miracle cures to the onslaught of remedies.

Any of Lynn's palm readers could probably have told Crompton that the lifeline of a medicine entrepreneur was very short; for every successful medicine business there were always hundreds that failed.

Beyond the staggering amount of competition and failure, Charles Crompton showed no evidence of knowing anything about making, marketing, and selling medicines. From the moment he came to Lynn in 1885 at 24 years old, he worked in shoe factories, as a shoecutter to be exact, for ten years. During that time, he and his wife had five children: three boys and two girls. Their family, and his responsibility to earn a regular paycheck at the shoe factory, gave him no room to think about changing his life's course completely. Truth be told, he had nothing going for him other than the big, steaming bucket of terrible, frightening, knee-buckling bad luck coming his way. It was just what he needed.

In October 1894, the Cromptons were living at 100 Ontario Street and were running a small variety and grocery store at the same place. Since Charles was still working at the shoe factory, his wife, Mary, must have been juggling store duties with mothering the four children they had by that point (ages eight, six, four, and two), which wouldn't have been easy on a good day, but all four children were "just recovering from a severe attack of scarlet fever." All of their children were sick with a deadly, contagious disease, just like had happened to so many other Lynn families. Terrible; yet things managed to keep getting worse.

Mrs. Crompton was descending the cellar stairs with a lamp in one hand and a jar in the other, when, in some way, her heel caught on the stair and she was thrown backward. Fortunately for herself, however, she had presence of mind enough to hurl the lamp from her and as it struck the floor it broke in pieces and the oil immediately caught fire, igniting the woodwork around the

stairway. Mrs. Crompton rushed back upstairs, calling to her husband, who was rocking one of the children to sleep.<sup>400</sup>

Their house *and* their little store within it were on fire, just like had happened to many other Lynn homes. Frightening.

The first thoughts of the couple were for the safety of the children, who were carefully wrapped in blankets and taken .... next door.

Mr. Crompton's cries of "fire" were heard by the neighbors, and [one] ran at once to box 37, and pulled in an alarm. Before the department arrived the flames had eaten their way up the cellar stairway and communicating to the stairway leading to the second floor, gained their way into the woodwork beneath the floor of the chambers. But the fire was soon extinguished after the department arrived.

In addition to the stairways being burned away, the joists and rafters in the cellar were eaten away so that they will have to come out. All the rooms were badly damaged by smoke and water, and the house will practically have to be rebuilt inside ... The stock in the store is of such a nature that it will be a total loss [and] it was uninsured. The insurance on the house, ... will, in Mr. Crompton's estimation, barely make him whole ....<sup>401</sup>

They lost almost everything that mattered except their children and the blankets wrapped around them. Knee-buckling.<sup>402</sup>

Pulling through several life-threatening disasters with his wife and children but nothing else, Charles turned to the bottle like so many in Lynn had done when life had gotten so difficult, but he passed on the liquor and reached for a medicine bottle instead. In less than a year, Charles Crompton announced that he was manufacturing and selling *Crompton's Liniment* for neuralgia and rheumatic pains, plus a "full line of the best Flavoring Extracts" at 102 Ontario Street.<sup>403</sup> He had even gotten a trademark created that combined symbols of the U.S. and the coat of arms for the United Kingdom, the place of his nativity.

If there had been any doubt, it became quickly obvious that life and business wasn't going to become problem-free. Before the year was out, Charles and Robert V. Boyle had an argument early in the morning and then, as bad luck would have it, Charles was driving his wagon by Boyle's workplace. When Boyle saw him, he ran out and confronted Crompton, grabbing the whip from his wagon and "struck him several severe blows in the face and over the head. The judge found Boyle guilty but satisfaction wasn't going to heal Charles' wounds or his memory."<sup>404</sup> Nonetheless, he continued to build his new business and by 1898, the business called Charles Crompton, Manufacturer and Proprietor had been renamed Charles Crompton & Sons, Manufacturers of Anglo-American Remedies. At this point, his oldest son was only 11½ years old, but Charles was clearly thinking about the future. His lineup of remedies had expanded just like the company name; now including the liniment, a cough and croup syrup, and a pain cure, plus the flavoring extracts, and they were working out of 106 Ontario Street.<sup>405</sup> With no apparent resources, medicine-making skills, or knowledge of chemistry, biology, or epidemiology, Charles Crompton had enlisted himself into a career in extracts and remedies; another soldier off to fight in the medicine wars.



**APPEALING TO GOD** and refusing a physician, Walter S. Bowman and his wife prayed feverishly in July 1897, when their not-quite-6-year-old son fell and severely injured his leg. Neighbors urged them to call upon a physician, but the family refused; Mrs. Bowman said, "it was not a case of faith-cure, but one of divine healing, in which she was a firm believer." They had used

this course of action on the illnesses and injuries of their other children in the past and always had good results.<sup>406</sup>

Earlier in the year a similar impasse had ended in death. Rachel May, the one-year-old daughter of Rufus E. and Emma Seavey died at the family's 49 Marianna Street home. She suffered with bronchial pneumonia for only forty-eight hours before she was gone. At first the family had called upon a doctor to administer remedies to the child, but after he left, the infant didn't improve, so they decided to trust in "the efficacy of prayer," rather than another visit from the doctor, who was informed that they were "not dissatisfied with him, but had decided to call in the aid of another physician. Jesus." In response, the doctor told Mr. Seavey that "if the child died he would be his murderer." The child did die, but the parents "apparently justified themselves in the belief ... that it was the will of the Lord that it should happen as it did. The *Item* summarized, "It is not certain that the child would have recovered, even had the proper remedies been administered all the time as directed by a competent physician, but medicine removed from the child took away its only chance of recovery." The newspaper's conclusion revealed the age-old prejudice that doing "something" was better than doing "nothing" and intrinsically, that faith was nothing – at least not enough.<sup>407</sup>

For those who were only comfortable when doing "something," the emerging impact of science on medicine had become very appealing. From the use of various gasses for painless surgery to the discovery of the bacterial origin of diseases, to the rapidly increasing number of improvements to life brought on by electricity, science was indeed taking center stage in people's expectations for medicine. Edward Trevert told the world in his books that electricity was science and mankind no longer needed to rely on mysteries and miracles, "Electricity does nearly all that drugs can do and leaves no poison behind in the system. ... Science knows only cold facts: It knows nothing of superstition and performs no miracles."<sup>408</sup>

Many medicine makers and advertisers of the decade claimed to be operating on a scientific basis when they were not. The word "science" (and related ones like "purity" and "bacteria") was being name-dropped in medicine advertising to add legitimacy and currency to medicines, even though most bottled remedies made in the 1890s had a much higher percentage of liquor, opiates, and flimflam than they did of science.

*Dr. Dam's Vegetable Remedy* proclaimed, "Science has Triumphed and the Conquest is Complete!" inferring that the medicine cured because of scientific discovery.<sup>409</sup> The short classified ad introducing Harry R. Peach to Lynn as their newest dentist, simply stated his qualifications as "HARRY R. PEACH, D.M.D., Harvard University, DENTIST," implying his university education was all the proof needed that he was well grounded in science.<sup>410</sup> And the friendly Lynn physicians, Pearson and Carroll, stated they were able to cure "incurable diseases" because they could make them readily yield to proper and *scientific treatment*.<sup>411</sup> But who was telling the truth? Who was using real science and who said it just because customers were becoming more likely to patronize when something or someone sounded modern and smart? How was the public to tell the difference between trailblazing medicine and more of the same old quackery?

When Charles Crompton the shoe cutter and grocer launched his medicine business, he added a Latin motto to his corporate emblem of the lion, unicorn, and eagle surrounding the mortar; it was "Probitas et Puritas" – Honesty and Purity. It was his promise, to all who could read Latin, at least, that they could trust his products to be the best. Maybe it would help to attract customers. Maybe both. He and his eleven, ten, and two-year-old sons would make sure of it.

## SECRET INGREDIENTS

Product honesty and purity was the chant that echoed through the ages, ever since Europeans first walked the land of Lynn, because it was always being chased and seldom achieved. From those

very earliest days when one colonist relied on another for food or medicine, the quality of the product was a great concern. As early as 1630, Nicholas Knop had abused the people's trust by selling them his expensive cure for scurvy that was "of no worth nor value." In 1646 bakers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were required by law to make "a distinct mark" on their bread loaves so that those who tried to cheat the customer could be identified, since "there is much deceit used by some Bakers ... [who] putt their bread to sale, which upon tryal hath been found too light...."<sup>412</sup> Opportunities existed even then to increase profits through short weights by including less costly substances, such as chalk and ground up died beans. A century and a half later, the law was still trying to stop "some evilly disposed persons [who] from motives of avarice and filthy lucre, have been induced to sell diseased, corrupted, or unwholesome provisions, to the great nuisance of public health and peace." A new Massachusetts law was thus enacted in 1785 because the problem was getting worse as the population increased,

*Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That if any person shall sell any such diseased, corrupted, contagious or unwholesome provisions, whether for meat or drink, knowing the same without making it known to the buyer, and being thereof convicted before the Justices of the General Sessions of the Peace, in the county where such offence shall be committed, or the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, he shall be punished by fine, imprisonment standing in the pillory, and binding to the good behaviour, or one or more of these punishments, to be inflicted according to the degree and aggravation of the offence.*<sup>413</sup>

Another century later, the problem was worse and the solution no easier. In late-century Lynn, few of the city's dwellers still raised farm animals, grew their own produce, or picked their herbs by the wayside (or would even be able to recognize them by this point); they had come to rely almost exclusively on foods and medicines that were prepared and packaged by others. Peddlers hid the rotten produce at the bottom of the basket, goods of questionable quality were sealed in tin cans, and products like candy, baked goods, and medicines had undisclosed ingredients in their recipes. In 1886 an author on food health and safety had written, "We buy everything, and have no idea of the processes by which articles are produced, and have no means of knowing beforehand what the quality may be. Relatively, we are in a state of barbarous innocence, as compared with our grandmothers, about the common articles of daily use."<sup>414</sup> It was certainly true in Lynn. In 1894, 16-year-old Mary Winn of 62 North Bend Street had been made alarmingly ill by eating canned lobster, "Her stomach began to swell and she vomited blood freely after her mother had administered an emetic. In the evening, purple spots appeared on her neck, and her condition grew worse."<sup>415</sup> Not only had the lobster made her sick, the unnamed emetic her mother had given may have been the cause for the blood in the vomit; luckily she survived.

In August 1890 The John B. Stone family at 73 Holyoke Street also had an unforgettable experience with food poisoning, all from eating cream cakes made in one of Lynn's bakeries. While downtown on a Sunday evening, Mrs. Stone had "noticed a tray of fine-looking cream cakes in the window of a ... bakery," and she brought home a half dozen. Monday morning she ate one and put two in her husband's lunch basket. "The delicacies were apparently made as cream cakes usually are, but the cream, instead of being smooth and rich golden yellow in color, seemed lumpy and of a dirty hue, looking, as Mrs. Stone says, 'like tapioca pudding.'" Their daughter, Nellie, recollected, "The taste was peculiar ... There seemed to be a lack of sweetness, and the cream had a barely perceptible bitter flavor." Within a few hours, Nellie began having bad abdominal cramping, followed by vomiting, then delirium, and finally a semi-stupor. While Mrs. Stone ate her cream cake, she had noticed "a greenish lump in the cream and removed it with her fork." She then experienced the same torments as her daughter, plus rolling around on the floor in agony. A neighbor administered black coffee as an emetic to mother and daughter until the doctor arrived and took over. In the meantime, during his lunch break at work, Mr. Stone had eaten a portion of

one of the cream cakes, but because of a “very peculiar and disagreeable taste, causing him to gag, he threw it away.” He went home and experienced whirling, light-headed sensations. The doctor suspected the food poisoning was due to something in the flavoring extract. The baker (who remained nameless in the news coverage, indicating the newspaper’s belief that he was innocent of wrongdoing) couldn’t imagine why this had happened to the Stones, since he sold 150-200 cream cakes each day and had never received any other such complaints.<sup>416</sup> Fresh-made bakery goods and restaurant foods, along with packaged groceries, were being consumed constantly by the city of almost 60,000 without anyone having any idea where the next case of food poisoning lurked.

Many manufacturers and vendors tried to assuage the customer’s anxiety about their products, telling them in their Lynn newspaper advertisements that they were the purest and the best; *Ivory Soap* was promoted as “99 44/100 Pure” and *Cleveland’s Superior Baking Powder* kept reminding people that they didn’t have the ammonia or alum that had been found in other competing brands.<sup>417</sup> W. Baker & Co., advertised that no chemicals were used in the manufacture of its popular cocoa.<sup>418</sup> Even *Duffy’s Malt Whiskey*, which called itself “America’s Greatest Medicine,” had a trademark (of an alchemist examining the liquid) bordered with the motto, “ABSOLUTELY PURE & UNADULTERATED.”<sup>419</sup> Charles Crompton was starting off on the right foot by promising honesty and purity.

Whether the products were foods, medicines, or beverages, it had become critical for manufacturers to assure their customers and potential patrons that they were safe and made from wholesome ingredients. They were being challenged by their competitors, but others were looking into products as well. A meeting of the Massachusetts Dental Society in Boston was told that tea from China had minute quantities of clay, some cheeses were being treated with cottonseed oil, children’s licorice drops were made from floor sweepings, butter was adulterated with lard, and of 126 samples of cream of tartar inspected, three-fourths of them were found to be adulterated.<sup>420</sup> In 1891 state inspectors had found that cans of imported French vegetables contained blue vitriol (sulphate of copper); 86.3% of 124 cans inspected were found to be so tainted, “The copper serves no useful purpose, and may produce harm.”<sup>421</sup> More disturbing was the discovery of arsenic in colored paper used in “nearly all the Kindergarten schools, where they are placed in the hands of small children who fashion them into ornamental articles of various kinds,” plus the paper could be bought in toy shops. By this point the danger of arsenic was well understood, so “it is a matter of surprise that this very dangerous arsenical pigment is still used at all in the manufacture of materials which are especially liable to fall into the hands of small children, who are thus subjected to the risk of serious if not fatal poisoning.”<sup>422</sup>

The problems of impurity by dishonest businesses was hitting home in Lynn as well. In July 1892 the health department publicly reminded the city’s grocers, fruit dealers, and fishmongers about the penalties under law for selling any unwholesome food,

Whoever knowingly sells, or offers or exposes for sale, or has in his possession with intent to sell for food, any diseased animal, or any tainted, diseased, corrupted, decayed, or unwholesome meat, fish vegetables, produce, fruit or provisions of any kind whatever, shall be punished by imprisonment in jail for not more than sixty days or by a fine of not more than one hundred dollars.<sup>423</sup>

A few months earlier, Harrison G. Gloyd was found guilty in Lynn’s police court of selling adulterated honey and was fined five dollars.<sup>424</sup> City Marshal Hill received numerous complaints from parents that their sons and daughters were purchasing brandy drop candies from confectioners in the city, and teachers in several schools had detected the odor of liquor on the breath of students that was also attributed to the candies. It was a sugar candy with a brandy center. Samples were quickly sent to chemists in Boston for analysis and various reports found them to contain 1.81 – 2.40 percent alcohol a piece, far in excess of the one percent allowed to be sold without a liquor license. Marshal Hill issued a notice to all confectioners in Lynn that they would be subject to arrest and prosecution for the sale of liquor if they continued making the candies.<sup>425</sup>

The quality of milk was a huge concern in almost every Lynn home because almost everyone drank it and ate it in their foods. In 1891 nineteen hundred cans of milk arrived daily in Lynn (then to be divided into forty quarts per ten-gallon can), more than a quart for every man, woman, and child in the city, but it just wasn't enough to fill the demand of the city, especially in hot weather, according to the *Item*. Hot weather meant less grass for cows to range on and therefore greater need to feed them grain, which dairymen did not find profitable to do, so milk production fell off. Milkmen tried to first take care of the needs of families with babies and small children, so the boarding houses and other places had to go without. "There is kicking, of course, and in some cases the milkmen make every effort to keep out of hearing of the sharp tongues that irate women are liable to wag when laboring under a disappointment."<sup>426</sup> Not only was the supply insufficient, but often of low quality, the product of sickly or undernourished cows, or the milk had been purposely thinned out and adulterated with foreign contents to multiply the yield, improve the look and taste, and to make it last longer. The *Daily Evening Item* frequently reported on Lynn milk dealers charged with skimming off the cream and adding caramel (burnt sugar) and annatto to the remaining skimmed milk, to give it a richer color, and formaldehyde to preserve it.<sup>427</sup> An alarmed mother wrote in to the *Item*, "I see ... in your newsy sheet that I am probably feeding my children on colored water. Can this be so? Is everything adulterated? Adulterate my food as much as you please, but spare my child."<sup>428</sup>

William F. Craig, Lynn's city chemist, and the chemists in Boston, were testing many samples of Lynn milk to get the adulterators exposed and punished so that only pure, wholesome milk found its way into the city's homes, stores, and restaurants. That goal was still a long way off, as cows were found to be infected with tuberculosis. In December 1893, two cows and a calf in the eastern part of the city were found to be suffering from tuberculosis and were ordered by the board of health to be killed.<sup>429</sup> In January 1895, about seventy cows had been killed in Lynn, all found to be diseased with tuberculosis and Boston chemists continued daily to make microscopic examinations of the bacteria in the milk samples Lynn provided.<sup>430</sup> Later in the month, six more cows, "chiefly high grade Holsteins and fine milk givers, were shot (at a slaughterhouse on Lynnfield Street), and the usual post mortem brought to light unmistakable traces of the disease." Five of the cows were from the barn of Samuel Mudge, a milk dealer, and the sixth was from the almshouse farm. There were also eighteen more cows in quarantine around the city and it was expected that most of them would have to be killed as well.<sup>431</sup> It was a terrible financial loss to Mr. Mudge and any others who had to lose cows, but it was essential for the safety of the population. In late April 1895 the highly regarded City Chemist Craig said there was no doubt that the deaths of two Lynn children "and perhaps more" who had recently died from tubercular spinal meningitis could be attributed to the only food those two infants consumed – milk from cows that he was convinced had been infected with tuberculosis. Actually there were four deaths from tubercular meningitis in Lynn during the first quarter of the year – all four were children under 2½ years of age.<sup>432</sup> Testing, quarantining, and destruction of infected cattle was pursued with serious determination by the city and state health departments. Babies and families had to be kept safe when performing the simple, innocent act of drinking milk.

Besides his other business interests, Lemuel Brock was also the owner and president of the Lynn Milk Company, the city's largest milk distributor; 1,100 of the 1,900 milk cans that came into Lynn daily were brought in through Brock's company.<sup>433</sup> He had contracted with dairy farms all over southern New Hampshire, his home state, to ship their milk to him by train. Probably realizing how close he had come to losing a great deal in an adulteration case back in 1890 over a single bottle of *Mrs. Soules's Eradicator*, he came out dutifully aligned with Lynn's board of health, strongly favoring milk testing in 1896, hopeful to convince the public that his milk product coming in on rail cars from New Hampshire was pure:

In order to remove any prejudice that may exist against [railroad] car milk, and to prove to our customers that the milk I bring to the city is the purest and best, I have

engaged the services of our city chemist, William F. Craig, to analyze every dairy of [the] milk that I bring to Lynn, from day to day, and none but pure milk, up to standard, will be offered to the public, and any dealer purchasing milk from me may take a sample of the same to this chemist, and have it analyzed for himself at my expense. I think this is business and fair dealing.

Respectfully, L. M. Brock, Lynn Milk Co.<sup>434</sup>

It sounded great to Lynn milk customers, but the New Hampshire dairymen took exception. They were willing to have their cows visually examined for tuberculosis, but not to be required to have them tuberculin tested for analysis by a chemistry lab. They said Lynn's board of health was not within its power to demand more than the state demanded of them, so Mr. Brock found himself between two opposing forces, the board of health and the New Hampshire farmers on the other; six months later he sold the Lynn Milk Company to H. P. Hood & Sons.<sup>435</sup>

In January 1897, Lynn's Eli Jepson & Son began advertising that they were selling "Certified Jersey Pasteurized Milk ... Pure, Rich and Healthy."<sup>436</sup> The process was first used to prevent the milk from souring during transport, but later in the decade, it had become understood that it killed bacteria. By June of the same year, Jepson had changed his ad to emphasize that point, "AVOID DISEASE GERMS BY USING PASTEURIZED MILK. FOR SALE IN GLASS JARS."<sup>437</sup> It became the standard for milk sold in Lynn, codified as Rule No.37 by the board of health in 1899. Another part of the new regulation required that all utensils used in the retail sale, delivery or distribution of milk to the consumer be sterilized in boiling water or by steam after each use. The result of pasteurization and sterilization had a dramatic effect on the quality of milk: while 49.7% of tested samples were found below standard in 1895, the percentage of sub-standard milk samples dropped each subsequent year until in 1899 it had reached 13.6%.<sup>438</sup>

Acting under the authority of Massachusetts Food and Drug Acts, the state board of health was annually inspecting samples of foods and medicines since its inception in 1883. In 1896 alone it had examined 3,368 samples of food, 4,484 samples of milk, and 505 samples of drugs; all the results were upsetting, but especially the medicines: 11.6% of the foods were adulterated and 35.2% of the milk samples were adulterated or deficient, but a staggering 50.3% of the drugs proved to be adulterated.<sup>439</sup> More than a tenth of all foods, a third of all milk, and a half of all medicines the public was swallowing weren't what they thought, and in many cases, could be harmful to them.

One of the state board's well-publicized findings was the analysis it performed of medicinal bitters for alcohol content. Within the medicine category, bitters usually had the highest percentage of alcohol content, but George B. Thurston's *Old Continental Tonic Bitters* of Lynn tested out at 11.4% alcohol, which was much lower than a majority of the thirty-six bitters tested; *Dr. Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters* of nearby Wakefield was found to contain 47.5% alcohol, slightly less than straight American whiskey but more than a bottle of Scotch whisky (40%).<sup>440</sup> In comparison, *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, which was not classified as a bitters, was determined to have 20.6% alcohol by volume.<sup>441</sup>

Medicine investigation wasn't just about the alcohol content. Cheaper ingredients were often intentionally added to the batch and sometimes, as with J. J. Blackford's sarsaparilla, a dangerous element was accidentally added. A study conducted on bottle stoppers found that Blackford's sarsaparilla bottle was sealed with a stopper containing 8.5% lead, and it was apparently leaching into the bottle's medicinal contents because the sarsaparilla had trace amounts of lead as well.<sup>442</sup>

When the *Item* inserted the sentence, "With so many patent medicines that cure everything, it is a wonder that there is so much sickness" among its many squibs in 1892, it was doing so tongue-in-cheek; nonetheless Lynn's medicine makers were beginning to feel the scrutiny of official investigation.<sup>443</sup> Some medicine manufacturers tried to proactively protect their reputation, like Crompton was doing, promoting their product purity as proof of their reputability. In July 1898, Lynn apothecaries Davis & Young advertised, "There is nothing so handy to have in the house this hot weather as a bottle of Davis & Young's Extract [of] Jamaica Ginger ... entirely free from red

pepper, cheap whiskey and other vile adulterations so commonly found in Jamaica ginger extracts.<sup>444</sup> They could say what they wanted, but the state chemists were still going to investigate, performing analyses of medicines to determine the presence of harmful substances.

An 1891 ad for the Ohio-based *Hall's Catarrh Cure*, warned readers to "Beware of Ointments for Catarrh that contain Mercury. As mercury will surely destroy the sense of smell and completely derange the whole system when entering it through the mucous surfaces." It was a classic example of a medicine company giving the subliminal message that they could be trusted because they were trying to protect the customer from making the mistake of buying tainted product from unnamed competition; in effect, "We don't, but *they* do, so trust and buy from *us*." The public had been warned for many years by many different sources that mercury was a dangerous drug for humans and should be completely avoided. It appeared on a long list of over two dozen poisonous ingredients in the state's 1888 Act Regulating the Sale and Purchase of Poison, which required that the sale of items with poisons must be by a doctor's prescription or the retailer was required to affix "a label of red paper upon which shall be printed in large black letters the word – Poison," along with the name and place of business of the vendor, and the antidote, if there was one. The retailer was also required to keep a record of all sales of products containing any of the poisons listed in the act. After all, *these were poisons*. So when a major Lynn medicine maker was brought to court for selling a product containing the poison, it was a big news story, right to its surprise ending.

On 25 November 1890, Lynn's police court was once again a busy place, but this time with more than just the previous night's roster of drunks. Seated were visiting witnesses, state inspector John F. McCaffrey from Boston, and his female assistant, Mrs. Christina Streckwald from Somerville; and next to them sat the defendants: James A. Parker, manufacturer of cutting boards, Cyrus H. Flanders, grocer, and Lemuel M. Brock, medicine manufacturer, real estate investor, and newly elected state legislator representing Lynn – all three were accused of selling adulterated products to Miss Streckwald. Parker was charged with selling a product that looked like butter without labeling it as an imitation butter (oleomargarine) that it was. Flanders was charged with selling four ounces of acid phosphate of lime and gypsum under the name, cream of tartar, a key ingredient for baking. Representative-Elect Brock stood charged with selling Miss Streckwald medicine adulterated with mercury – mercuric chloride to be exact – also called corrosive sublimate – and poison according to the law and nature.<sup>445</sup> It was in Brock's product for whitening and clearing up blemishes, principally on women's faces, necks, arms, and hands – *Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator*.

Corrosive sublimate, as the newspapers were referring to it, is a chemical compound of mercury and chlorine that is very toxic to humans. Its toxicity is due not just to the mercury but also its corrosive properties, "which can cause serious internal damage, including ulcers to the stomach, mouth, and throat, and corrosive damage to the intestines." It accumulates in the kidneys and causes acute kidney failure. It can also cause burning in the mouth and throat, stomach pain, abdominal discomfort, lethargy, vomiting of blood, corrosive bronchitis, insomnia, excessive salivation, bleeding gums, tremors, and dental problems – even death may occur in as little as twenty-four hours, or as long as two long and lingering weeks.<sup>446</sup>

The back side of a trade card for Brock's eradicator product read, "A great many people have the idea that all skin preparations contain either Bismuth, Arsenic, or Sugar of Lead . . . We Pledge ourselves that MRS. SOULE'S ERADICATOR DOES NOT contain any of the above-named ingredients ..." – and it didn't, but it did have the mercury-based corrosive sublimate.<sup>447</sup> Lemuel Brock was specifically charged with selling a face cream containing ten grains of corrosive sublimate without a previous physician's prescription and also with neglecting to affix the red "POISON" label to the bottle, as required by law.<sup>448</sup>

Flanders and his clerk, James A. Taylor, both pleaded not guilty to selling the tainted tartar, but were adjudged guilty and fined \$100 and \$25, respectively.<sup>449</sup> There was no follow-up given in

the *Item* about the Parker case; the paper seemed preoccupied with the drama playing out in the Brock case.<sup>450</sup>

Mrs. Streckwald testified that on November 25<sup>th</sup> she came to Lynn with Mr. McCaffrey. Upon their arrival he gave her fifty cents with instructions to go to Brock's medicine laboratory in Breed's Square, West Lynn, to purchase a bottle of *Mrs. Soule's Eradicator*, "I did so, and paid to Mr. Brock 50 cents. I gave the bottle to Mr. McCaffrey. It had no physician's prescription."<sup>451</sup>

Mr. McCaffrey then testified that he then brought the bottle to Dr. Bennett F. Davenport, a Massachusetts state chemist.<sup>452</sup> Dr. Davenport testified that his analysis of the bottle's contents revealed that it contained sixty grains of corrosive sublimate, a poison that should have been marked, but was not. The prosecution seemed to have put together a solid case against Lemuel Brock, but the skillful politician and medicine maker was ready for his turn.<sup>453</sup>

First Mr. Brock said there must have been a mistake in the chemical analysis. (There was no way he could admit to the eradicator having corrosive sublimate; the damage to the product's viability, to his political reputation, and to the medicine business he had grown so successfully, would have been irreparable.) Then he claimed that Mrs. Streckwald *didn't* give him fifty cents, the full retail price for the bottle; he sold it to her for the wholesale price of thirty-five cents because she said it was her intention to sell it again.<sup>454</sup> Therefore, he continued, he was not required to label the bottle with the red "POISON" paper because the law didn't require wholesalers and manufacturers to do so, only the retailers.<sup>455</sup>

Both cases hinged on who was telling the truth: Mrs. Streckwald, who said she bought the bottle for fifty cents or Mr. Brock, who said she paid thirty-five cents. No one else witnessed the transaction, so it boiled down to his word against hers. Judge Berry took the side of Lemuel Brock, "whom he knew[,] rather than that of the woman," whom he didn't know. Brock's case was discharged and he was exonerated.<sup>456</sup>

In the aftermath, the board of health redirected their efforts to charging several retailers of the eradicator for failing to label it before sale and not maintaining record books of its sale (an unfair expectation of the retailers, since the manufacturer never revealed the mercurous content).<sup>457</sup> *Mrs. Soule's Eradicator* continued to be made and sold, Brock's medicine company continued to grow (second in Lynn only to the Lydia E. Pinkham company), and Lemuel Brock not only served his first term in the state legislature, but was re-elected for a second term. On the scales of honesty and purity, Brock's eradicator had failed the purity test (despite its advertising and his protest), but had he been honest in his testimony? In the courts of judicial and public opinion, he had been.

Another medicine maker in Lynn was unquestionably guilty – he was caught red-handed. Hailing as "Dr. C. H. Peirce," he went into Blake's factory on Union Street to sell the workers there some bottles of *Dr. C. H. Peirce's Sarsaparilla Compound* which he had in his valise. Finding the work floor busy but the men's coatroom upstairs quiet, he rifled through the pockets of a man's coat, hoping to find something of value to steal. John Emmons, the engineer at the factory, found the thief in action and slammed him to the sawdust-covered floor on his back, after which he saw that his watch had been pulled out of his coat pocket and was dangling from its chain.<sup>458</sup> Seven years later, Peirce was arrested in Columbus, Ohio, for selling his sarsaparilla compound which chemical analysis determined containing no sarsaparilla; plus it was ninety-seven percent rainwater. Peirce was fined \$25 plus costs and had to promise to go out of business. The *Practical Druggist and Pharmaceutical Review* that published the chemical analysis and court judgement in Columbus tempered their enthusiasm for the justice that had been meted out against Peirce by recognizing that it was hard to truly stop a medicine cheat, "It is pleasant to note ... that 'Dr.' Pierce is going out of the business, at least so far as sarsaparilla is concerned, though he may turn up later as the proprietor of a new kola preparation."<sup>459</sup> A bad penny always turns up somewhere. Whether

Peirce had successfully stolen Emmon's watch in Lynn or sold some of his worthless sarsaparilla to the factory workers, he had no scruples about how to make money.

Lucius Sargent, the proprietor of *Mrs. Leonard's Dock & Dandelion Bitters*, put a message on the bitters' protective box that he hoped would mitigate the damage being done by unscrupulous patent medicine people like C. H. Peirce: "A prejudice exists undoubtedly in many minds against what are termed Patent Medicines, and in view of the numerous nostrums placed before the public by means of incessant and unscrupulous advertising. ... But it is unjust to stigmatize all Patent Medicine as hurtful because many have been found so."<sup>460</sup>

Chemical analyses of consumables were performed in Boston, but the Lynn Board of Health inspectors stayed plenty busy performing inspections of the goods and sending the samples to the analysts. In 1894, for example, they condemned 574 pounds of beef, pork, fish, and poultry, 190 pounds of vegetables, 396 boxes of berries, 264 baskets of plums, grapes, & melons, 14.5 bushels of apples and pears, 193 oranges and 955 bananas, plus they drew 3,295 samples of milk for analysis.<sup>461</sup> In that same year, police also found a nearby ranch with beef cows so badly diseased that they were unable to stand; yet the sick creatures were made into "very poor grades of meat, which found ready sale in cheap markets," which included Lynn.<sup>462</sup> Similarly, in 1892 a subscriber to the *Item* sent the editor a letter of concern about his observation of, "on warm, sultry days, teams and carts standing at the corners with a lot of old, soft, watery and sickly lobsters ... sold at a big profit to the easily duped Lynn people. At present there is a considerable talk about "new Lynn," now let us make it 'new' in more than one sense of the word, by eradicating this evil which is a menace to our fair city's health and name."<sup>463</sup>

It's hard not to wonder where all the lobsters bought by the caterer for Lynn's big gala banquets had come from because again and again, the curse of the tainted lobster was going to make many Lynners sick. One Friday night in June 1893, about 150 out of 200 attendees at a banquet of the Lynn Educational Association became sick from the lobster; "...all day Saturday the drug stores and physicians were patronized freely, and cholera mixtures were at a premium." Everyone experienced similar symptoms, which were severe gastric pains and nausea, vomiting, and diarrhea. The lobster in the lobster salad was suspected to be the cause of the food poisoning, "due to the peculiar conditions existing in all shell fish at this season of the year and not to any neglect on the part of the compounders of the salads. ..."<sup>464</sup> In August of 1896, another epidemic of food poisoning attacked fifty out of eighty people who ate lobster salad at a Lynn lodge banquet. Like the previous banquet in 1893, many foods had been prepared and served, including chicken croquettes, banana fritters, ice creams of various flavorings, frozen pudding, as well as the lobster salad. Several doctors had attended the banquet and partook of the lobster and they, too, got sick and subsequently offered their thoughts on the problem. William R. King thought it might have been due to using either canned lobster or lobsters that were dead before boiling in preparation to make the salad. Physician Charles H. Bangs ate very little of it because he thought it had "a peculiarly unpleasant taste, for which he could not account at the time"; consequently his symptoms were mild enough that he was out seeing patients the next afternoon. Norman R. Miller said the symptoms were those of cholera morbus. The caterer insisted that no canned lobster was used and that all of the lobster in the shell was freshly boiled when he obtained them; he suggested that either the hot weather or the thunder storm had affected the salad, "as he had learned was often the case."<sup>465</sup> As a taxidermist, William A. Herrick spent his life around dead animals with no ill effects, but the meal of tainted lobster at the August banquet was his undoing; he died of food poisoning, although his official cause of death was listed as "ptomaine poisoning."<sup>466</sup> The August 1896 mass poisoning had occurred just one month after the massive fish kill had washed up on Lynn area beaches. Were the lobsters harvested from sea beds polluted from frequent scow dumping, or was it due to inadequate and extended storage, or errors in preparation? One thing these mass food poisonings made quite clear was that poison was not a welcome guest in the human body.



**IT WAS SO EASY TO BE POISONED** because you never saw it coming. A tangy lobster salad; an accidental ingredient; a bite of venom. When Rodolphs Gavony, a clerk in the Lynn fruit store of Magoni & Funsi, was busily moving fruit around in the store; the last thing he was thinking about was getting poisoned. But when he was standing directly under a bunch of bananas in one of the show windows and reaching over to get some fruit, a tarantula spider “fell on the back of his neck and bit him so severely that he writhed with pain.” He quickly went to a doctor who seared the wound and gave him antidotes for the poison. “The flesh near the wound turned black for a period. Gavony was lucky in attending to the wound so promptly, for if he had neglected to do so the consequences might be serious.”<sup>467</sup>

Although just 57 years old, William P. Cook was being described as an “elderly man” and “not in the best of health” in 1892. He died four years later of a diseased brain, so he may have been suffering from some early onset cognitive impairment.<sup>468</sup> “Feeling the need of some bracing tonic for some time,” he reached for the sample bottle of sarsaparilla that a traveling salesman had left behind the previous day; he took a few swallows from the bottle, then realized he had accidentally taken the drink from a bottle of iodine that Mrs. Cook used for the external treatment of her rheumatic pains. The drug nauseated Mr. Cook and he was in great agony until his wife gave him her hastily made antidote of mustard in lukewarm water; it quickly caused him to throw up the poison from his system. The family doctor was still called by the worried wife, who gave Cook another emetic. He made a full recovery, “although he is a little weak.”<sup>469</sup>

As easy as it was to be accidentally poisoned, it was dangerously easy to *purposely cause* poisoning because everyone had all-too-easy access to poisons. A cat-hater in West Lynn purposely used chloroform to kill a cat and her new kitten litter. “Then, instead of finding the one who had killed her pets,” the cats’ owner procured some strychnine and killed the little poodle belonging to yet another neighbor, “and now the two don’t speak and the war has been declared.”<sup>470</sup>

Most commercial poisons were for killing insects and rodents. J. W. Colcord sold his own formulation, *Sure Death to Insects*, at his Central Square drugstore and promised, it “Not only kills, but … they stay dead,” followed by this helpful hint, “The cans, after being emptied, make the best bicycle oil cans ever used. You can get at every portion of the wheel.”<sup>471</sup>

Throughout the second half of the century, city vermin were as determined to stay in Lynn as people were to get rid of them. Despite all the rat traps, trained dogs, and gunshots, the dangerous rodents were an entrenched part of Lynn’s population. The rat trap set up in the cellar of Howard Dennis’s boarding house on fashionable Nahant Street captured twenty-three rats in one night.<sup>472</sup> The “French Trap” that had been used there was the same type that also caught thirty-five in a Lynn store; not surprisingly, the popular brand was sold by several Lynn businesses.<sup>473</sup> Widow Harriet Phillips may have set the record for the decade, though, when the patented trap she set up in her barn caught sixty-five rats in four nights; “thirty-five were caught Sunday night, and the rodents were let loose in the Queen Anne club room with Winthrop S. Russell’s dog, which dispatched the lot in quick time.”<sup>474</sup> But the contest between people and rats over at Osborne’s store didn’t go so well; two employees caught eleven large rodents and went to get a dog that was a good rat killer, but when they got back with the dog, the rats had all found their way out of the trap and disappeared.<sup>475</sup> Rats-11; Humans-0.

Rats were as despised in the 1890s as they had been in the 1690s; in the old days they were feared as the witches’ familiars, doing their bidding; now they were just hated as hairy monsters wreaking havoc on their own. A “young lady” certainly felt that way when she reached into her lunch bag and “a rat as big as a rabbit” jumped out.<sup>476</sup> One night in June 1896 at Mrs. Hannah Francis’s home on Harbor Street, she and Mrs. Winnie Davock were sharing a bed and thought just two of them were in there, but Mrs. Francis soon felt her little finger that was resting on her cheek was suddenly being bitten quite severely, causing her to scream aloud. She then caught a glimpse

of a large rat jumping out of the bed and then heard him scurrying along the floor to the hole where the floor met the wall, in which he disappeared. Upon examination, it could be seen that “the teeth of the rodent had penetrated to the bone and that blood was flowing copiously from the wound....”<sup>477</sup>

Some murine threats to human health and safety even exceeded rat bites; there were several occasions in Lynn during the decade when fires were started by rats: they chewed wooden matches. At 1:30 AM on 19 August 1892, a dangerous fire engulfed a building on Washington Street that contained John Valanti’s French Restaurant on the first floor and a boarding house in the three upper floors and it was determined, “the cause of the fire was without doubt due to rats and matches.” Fifty people that had been sleeping in their boarding house apartments were in imminent peril but were able to escape the burning structure. The proprietor explained that he kept his matches in that part of the cellar “room where the fire had started, and the place is infested with rodents.”<sup>478</sup> Matches were found scattered on the floor. Rats and matches were believed to be at fault again in the blaze at a duplex house on Glenwood Street in October of the same year.<sup>479</sup> In May 1899, police were looking into what at first seemed to be an arsonist’s work at the McGlue home on Grover Street, but the evidence ended up telling a different story, “the theory of rats and matches is very likely to be adopted in this case, as in so many others.”<sup>480</sup>

There was a favorite poison used to kill rats – arsenic. Rats were clearly a pox on the city, but fighting them with poison presented its own problems, as the *Item* editor tried to warn his readers:

Rats are terrible pests, whether found in a union printing office or in the cellar of a hard working house-wife. Wherever they are they must be removed if possible, but care should be taken in the operation lest the remedy be worse than the disease. The poison in common use against the rodents unfortunately, by accident or otherwise, causes a great many deaths of human beings, and the necessity of more caution should be recognized. ... Poison is a bad thing to have about the house, and there cannot be too much care in its handling.<sup>481</sup>

As unlikely and horrific as it may sound, people were eating the rat poison – accidentally and on purpose, as a weapon of suicide and murder.

Arsenic is highly toxic and very lethal: an eighth of a teaspoon is sufficient to kill an adult human; less for children, the elderly, or sick, and obviously less for a rat. Depending on the amount consumed, it is quite lethal, with death occurring within twenty-four hours to a few days. What’s especially dangerous about arsenic is that it is odorless and flavorless, so it can be ingested without even knowing ... initially. Symptoms of acute arsenic poisoning often included intense abdominal pain, nausea, and vomiting, as well as causing an abnormal heart rhythm, muscle cramps, profuse bloody, watery diarrhea, excessive salivation, acute psychosis, and seizures. Lynn’s families and business owners counted on its deadliness for rats, but it was a terrible way for a person or pet to meet their end. It should never have happened that way, but it did.

By far, the most popular brand of arsenical rat poison was a product called *Rough on Rats*, the creation of Ephraim Wells of New Jersey. It was the best-selling of his product line, which included *Rough on Corns*, *Rough on Toothache* (nicknamed Rough on Dentist), *Rough on Itch*, *Rough on Piles*, *Rough on Pain*, *Rough on Coughs*, and *Rough on Worms*. Unlike all of Wells’ other medicinal products, *Rough on Rats* was his one product that was designed to kill.<sup>482</sup> The deadly powder was promised to kill all vermin with four or six legs: rats, mice, roaches, ants, bed bugs, flies, sparrows, jack rabbits, moles, squirrels, chipmunks, gophers, etc. It came in a small, round, flat wooden box with a red paper label on top that had in bold black letters:

**CAUTION – “ROUGH ON RATS” IS A POISON  
AND MUST BE KEPT FROM CHILDREN, FAVORITE DOGS AND CATS**

Around the side label was the antidote, sitting above two sets of ominous skulls and crossbones for extra emphasis:

In case of poisoning by this article, give promptly emetic of a tablespoonful of salt and mustard to a tin cup of warm water continue flushing with Warm Water, then give plentifully of milk and water or gruel, sweet or lard oil, butter or lard, Hydrated Oxide or Dialysed Iron.<sup>483</sup>

From the red label to the black printed word, “POISON,” and the antidote on the label, it met every Massachusetts state requirement for letting all purchasers know that it was definitely, absolutely poison. And yet it found its way into human stomachs in Lynn.

Matthew Ahearne was a 14½-year-old boy who was trying to make some money by pulling a wagon around the neighborhood with his buddy, knocking on house doors, and asking the homemaker if he could have the animal fat from their cooking so that he could turn it in for some money from one of Lynn’s soap-making factories. Mrs. Dow at 179 Summer Street let him go down into her basement to get what she had in a firkin. While in the cellar, Matthew did what teenage boys do; he “spied a piece of mince pie and ate it.” His buddy saw him do it, “but took little notice of it at the time.” At about midnight, Matthew seemed to be in great pain and then he died suddenly. Medical Examiner Pinkham found no signs of poisoning but then learned about his eating the mince pie in the cellar and that Mrs. Dow had explained “the pie contained rough on rats, and was placed in the cellar to kill the rodents, with which the place is overrun.” The amount of poison was small, which might account for the delayed onset of symptoms.<sup>484</sup> Pinkham performed an autopsy and the result can be found in Lynn’s death records, the boy had died of “Accidental poisoning with arsenic.”<sup>485</sup> Thomas Gates’s experience of accidentally eating Rough on Rats, was very much like that of Matthew Ahearne, but Gates survived. Mr. and Mrs. Gates and their family of five small children were quite poor. They lived in a little house on Railroad court that was overrun with rats: “Great rats, small rats, lean rats, brawny rats, Brown rats, black rats, gray rats, tawny rats.” The rats “devoured everything left around the house and frightened the children and even the household cat is afraid of them, for there are ‘families [of rats] by tens and dozens,’ and they do not hesitate to face any cat, and fight as only as rats can fight.” At night the rodents swarmed all over the house and the children often woke up from their sleep, crying in fear because of the rats swarming all over the room, even upon their beds. Extremely upset about the rats running wild in their home and endangering her children, Mrs. Gates made a sandwich with meat that she poisoned with *Rough on Rats*, then she put the sandwich on a tin plate next to the stove, expecting to bring it down to the cellar shortly. But her husband found the sandwich and ate it. He had “noticed that the meat was dark and discolored, but attributed it to the tin plate,” and ate it anyway; then his wife came into the kitchen and exclaimed, “My God, Tom, you’re poisoned.” Under the skilled response of the doctor, he recovered.<sup>486</sup>

A similar mistake almost took the life of Joseph, the two-year-old son of Mrs. Minnie Picard at 37 Buffum Street. “The little fellow was creeping about the floor, as he is too young to walk, and found a piece of ginger bread that was covered with rough on rats, that had been placed on the floor near a rat hole. He had taken two or three bites, when he was discovered by the servant, who took it away from him, but she at the time did not know that there was poison on it.” She put him down to bed upstairs for a nap, then went back downstairs. About a half hour later, she heard him vomiting and called the doctor. He quickly determined why Joseph was suffering and by using a stomach pump was able to eject the poison; he believed that the toddler “had eaten enough poison to kill several men,” which may be true, but was more likely the effort of a relieved physician to pat himself on the back.<sup>487</sup>

Daniel Gorman, “the well-known long-distance runner of this city,” had his unwelcome confrontation with *Rough on Rats* in August 1898. He was “troubled with a slight attack of colic” (lower intestinal pain), so he had a family member mix up a remedy for him, “but through some

mistake a quantity of Rough on Rats had found its way into the mixture. This was decidedly *rough on Gorman, and made him so sick that he wished he had the colic back again.*" The doctor arrived with his trusty stomach pump and Daniel pulled through.<sup>488</sup>

Since rats were marauding, mating, and multiplying all over the city, it's likely that most homes had some arsenic, Paris green (arsenic and copper acetate), or *Rough on Rats*, and unhappy, disturbed lives used the poison with alarming frequency as a method to end their life. At least thirteen Lynn residents attempted suicide using these arsenic-based poisons, mainly *Rough on Rats*, during the decade; eight of them were successful at ending their lives. Joseph Tarr regretted having taken *Rough on Rats* and suffered "untold agonies for several hours" before he died.<sup>489</sup> William H. Barry also regretted his decision and was also heard to be suffering "terrible agony" before people gained entrance into his room at the boarding house; a half-emptied box of *Rough on Rats* was found in the room. His last words were, "Oh, why did I do this, Oh, why did I do it?"<sup>490</sup> Edward Barrett swallowed a box of *Rough on Rats* and then jumped into Mineral Spring Pond twice, trying to die, but he was rescued both times with difficulty. In the morning he was found dead, laying on the ground in the cemetery where his wife was buried, with the distinctive dark gray powder of *Rough on Rats* on his face.<sup>491</sup> Family, friends, and the newspaper all tried to come up with rational explanations for such irrational decisions, pointing to the sadness and despondency before the suicides, whether or not it was the cause for the final acts. John W. Blair, a shoemaker, had been despondent about prolonged suffering with rheumatism.<sup>492</sup> Mrs. Maud Phillips was a sufferer from melancholia and at one time was an inmate of the Danvers Asylum because of "mental trouble."<sup>493</sup> Thomas P. Nugent had become discouraged and despondent because his eyesight had been failing him and he had become unable to do very much in his work as a shoemaker.<sup>494</sup> Charles H. Gutholm, a former machinist at T.-H. E. Company, had also become despondent about his inability to find work after several weeks of trying; consequently he took a large dose of *Rough on Rats*, having "lost hope and courage"; he left behind a wife and family of six children.<sup>495</sup>

Richard Chandler had also been unemployed, for seven weeks, and was drinking hard. Then he took Paris green to end his life; he emerged from the sink room, sat down in his chair and said to his brother, "Well, good bye, Jim, I'm going now. I've poisoned myself." He then stuck out his tongue to show that "it was coated with the green cockroach exterminator." He was rushed to the hospital, "hovering between life and death ... where the stomach pump was put into active use." He survived.<sup>496</sup>

The poison that worked in accidents and suicides could be equally successful to attempt a murder. In 1891 a West Lynn woman was extremely angry with her husband for some reason, so much so that, "in a frenzy of rage," she put *Rough on Rats* in his food. Her husband was taken with terrible pains and agony shortly after eating. When the physician arrived, he made copious use of the stomach pump, which prevented the man's death.<sup>497</sup> It appears that doctors in Lynn had become very experienced in the use of emetics and the stomach pump.



**SELLING WHIPS AND BALLOONS** in Lynn required licenses, but practicing medicine did not.<sup>498</sup> As of 1889, peddlers were required to pay an annual license fee, register with the board of health to be assigned a number, have their name and number painted on their wagons and carts in letters and figures at least two inches in height, and do nothing that would "injure or annoy the public health or comfort, and only in vehicles or receptacles which do not leak."<sup>499</sup> It had been observed that every Monday in 1891 around 150 hawkers and peddlers came to Lynn with all sorts of wares to sell and only some were licensed.<sup>500</sup> The hawker and peddler ordinance empowered the police to crack down on the unlicensed ones and to monitor the adherence of those with licenses to conditions set forth in their license for operating in Lynn.<sup>501</sup> Similarly, the city was requiring licenses for just about everything under its control: in September 1892 licenses were issued to a building mover, a pawnbroker, liquor sellers, a junk dealer, and to have a pool table in a place of

business.<sup>502</sup> Lynn's barbers wanted a license law, to protect their profession from pretenders with less than three years of experience and it was even suggested in a letter to the editor that it was time to have a law that would regulate mediums and spiritualists.<sup>503</sup>

Registration of physicians was a state matter and although Lynn had been putting controls in place for local matters, Massachusetts and New Hampshire were the only states in the country that didn't yet require the registration of physicians. In 1891, the same year that Lynn was being inundated by 150 peddlers per week, there were also 84 residents identifying themselves as physicians of all different types, plus all the itinerant healers and medicine showmen who visited in that year, none of whom were being controlled by licensing or registration. It was very clear that somehow this gap had to be filled. Lynn had seen its share of medical charlatans claiming medical skills, diplomas, and reputations, like Everett F. Adams, specialist in skin and venereal diseases, with a degree from the University of Vermont Medical School, and ten years' experience when he started practice in Lynn. Everyone who nailed a sign to their door was definitely *not* qualified to practice. Adams career was a web of lies: his name was *not* Everett F. Adams but Johnston H. Saunders; he did *not* graduate from medical school, but bought the diploma from a medical school graduate named Everett F. Adams who died shortly after earning his degree. He did *not* attend the medical school he claimed; "Massachusetts authorities investigated and found that the university had not turned out a medical class for fifty years prior to that date."<sup>504</sup> So he was *not* a specialist in skin and venereal diseases; he was *never* a medical student and had *no* medical training. He was a fraud, *not* a doctor. Living a life of lies was reprehensible, but not illegal; even a fraud could legally practice in the absence of requirements established by law.

Bills to regulate the practice of medicine in Massachusetts had been discussed and rejected in committees or sometimes defeated in the Massachusetts House or Senate, in 1877, 1878, 1880, 1884, 1885, 1889, and 1891. Each time, the very numerous and powerful forces opposing legislative control of the practice of medicines in Massachusetts had lobbied in the newspapers and the statehouse to keep the Bay State a freedom of choice state for medical practice. In 1894, a medical society partisan ruefully described the assemblage of opponents in the statehouse as something like a convention of medical misfits:

What a collection of them there was in the Green-room at first, and afterwards in the large hall of the House of Representatives, to which an adjournment was necessary on account of the crowds! Medical blacklegs of all kinds, deceitful clairvoyants, long-haired spiritualists, necromancers, wizards, witches, seers, magnetic healers, pain charmers, big Indian and negro doctors, abortionists, harpies who excite the fears and prey on the 'indiscretions' of the young of both sexes, who treat venereal diseases with the utmost secrecy and dispatch, who have good facilities for providing comfortable board for females suffering from any irregularity or obstruction, who sell pills which they are very particular to caution women when pregnant against using; *et id genus omne [and that kind of thing]*. Some of them looked sleek, well fed and prosperous; others seemed to have come from the very slums of destruction. Most of them had a coarse, animal, degraded look.<sup>505</sup>

It was more than Frank D. S. Stevens could handle – whips, balloons, peanuts, and matches were better controlled than the practice of medicine. After the proposed bill of 1891 failed, Stevens, the Bowdoin Medical School graduate, Massachusetts Medical Society member, Essex South Medical Society member, former Lynn City Physician, Lynn Hospital outpatient physician, and John Poole's friend, mentor, and family physician, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Daily Evening Item*, angrily pleading for sanity – the regulation of medicine in Massachusetts:

The Monthly Bulletin of the Connecticut Board of Health contains the following reply, sent to a doctor inquiring of a State official if he would be allowed to practice in Connecticut by registering his name and the college from which he graduated - "Sir - Anybody can practice medicine in Connecticut. You do not need to register; you do not need a medical diploma, you do not need to know the difference between opium

and peppermint, you do not, indeed, need to know anything. You can simply come and live here, and begin to practice. The laws of Connecticut will sustain you in collecting your fees for professional services, if you render any which you choose to call such. But if you undertake to carry me or my trunk to the depot for pay, you must get a license. If you peddle matches or peanuts, you must get a license. If you collect the swill from your neighbors, to feed your pigs, you must get a license. If you want to empty your cesspool, you must get a license. But you can practise medicine in Connecticut without a license."

Messrs Editors: - The above clipping from the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal exactly applies to the practice of medicine in this State, and I thought it might interest your readers.

... Every druggist has to appear before an Examining Board before he is allowed to dispense medicine. Any or every Ignorant scoundrel, who chooses to do so, can dispense all the medicine he wants to by simply calling himself "Dr." or "M.D.," and no one can say him nay. The absurdity, aye, the criminality of such a state of affairs must be apparent to any one who stops to reflect upon the subject. All [that] is asked for is a bill similar to that which the druggists have, i.e., that a person shall give evidence, that they are qualified by education to practice medicine and surgery.<sup>506</sup>

Three years passed and the statehouse was again hammering out a piece of legislation that might work by satisfying all sides of the issue, but determined protest still expressed their impassioned opinions in favor of non-regulation. One such dissenting voice, going by the pseudonym, "Liberty," wrote to the *Item* at the end of March 1894:

Messrs. Editors: - The Senate bid to regulate the practice of medicine and surgery by the registration of practitioners, comes up on Monday next. ...

[This legislation] virtually says to the people of this Commonwealth, We (with a big W), shall prescribe for you who shall prescribe for your ailments. Your choice in the matter shall be limited to our approval. It virtually says to the young physician, who fails under the five-year limit, your diploma is of no value unless "We" approve. It says to the "chiropodist," "clairvoyant," etc., you shall not hold yourself out to the public as a physician or surgeon, or advertise yourself as such, or assume the title of doctor under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both, for each offense.

... There are laws enough on the statue books now to protect the people. The trouble is that they are not enforced. The people are not made for the doctors, but the doctors are made for the people, and in a large sense are the servants of the people. *The sick man* is the one to be considered, and he is not to be made the victim of legalized experiment in any case, but should be accorded the largest choice in the matter. *What he wants is a cure, and it makes little difference to him whether the "regular" or the "irregular" methods are employed.*<sup>507</sup>

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1894, Chapter 458 of the Acts of 1894, was passed, "An Act to Provide for the Registration of Physicians and Surgeons." It allowed for all graduates of "a legally chartered medical college or university having power to confer degrees in medicine," and every person who had been a practitioner of medicine in Massachusetts continuously for a period of three years before the bill's passage, upon payment of a fee of one dollar be entitled to registration to practice medicine in the state. Those not meeting those standards for registration could pay ten dollars to be examined by a board of four qualified physicians. The exams would be predominantly written exams, embracing "surgery, physiology, pathology, obstetrics, and the practice of medicine, and shall be sufficiently strict to test the qualifications of the candidate as a practitioner of medicine." Applicants also had to give satisfactory proof of being twenty-one years of age "and of good moral character." Section 10 specified that those who were not registered with the state after the first of January 1895 who append the letters, "M.D.," or use the title of doctor, "shall be punished by a fine

of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars for each offence, or by imprisonment in jail for three months or both.”<sup>508</sup>

Section 11 of the act was the critical concession to forces opposing its passage: some of those in the state house peanut gallery could continue to practice their form of medicine:

This act shall not apply to … a physician or surgeon who is called from another state to treat a particular case, and who does not otherwise practice in this state, or to prohibit gratuitous services; nor to clairvoyants, or to persons practicing hypnotism, magnetic healing, mind cure, massage methods, christian science, cosmopathic or any other method of healing; provided, such persons do not violate any of the provisions of section ten of this act.<sup>509</sup>

So don’t call yourself doctor or M.D., and you can still practice medicine. The voice of “Liberty” was heard, but so was Frank. D. S. Stevens, M.D. – Massachusetts now had a system for registration of physicians and surgeons.

An additional act passed in April 1896 provided that anyone who practiced medicine or surgery under a false or assumed name, or under a name other than the one under which he was registered, or who impersonated another practitioner would be fined between \$100-\$500 for each offence, or by imprisonment in jail for three months, or both; more controls put in place, with the Everett F. Adams and Johnston H. Saunders types in mind.<sup>510</sup>

Two months before the passage of the second licensing act, John Poole ran across Frank Stevens and noted privately in his diary that night, “Saw Dr Stevens on Market St. had a talk with him he looks v[er]y bad. Does not expect to be a[n]y better.” Three days later, Poole recorded, “Dr. Stevens died yesterday afternoon from paraparesis of the brain ....”<sup>511</sup> Dying at just 35 years old, the prominent Lynn physician’s death was tragically early in his life, but at least he departed seeing his hope for professional medicine beginning to come true. Medicine’s future was becoming a little clearer.

## **COMPLETE TRANSPARENCY**

In 1894 Augustus H. Sutherland probably felt like he was coughing up a lung, but what came out of his mouth was a bullet that entered his body when he had been engaged in combat near Culpeper Court House, Virginia, over three decades earlier.<sup>512</sup> He always said it was still in his body, but doctors couldn’t find it, so his body produced the evidence. Battlefield surgeons had straight-shafted bullet probe tools, but the lead Minié ball could take a careening path within the body as it hit a bone or tendon; sometimes they remained souvenirs of the war, hidden under wounds that had long since closed up. What went into Sutherland’s body thirty-one years earlier stayed hidden, invisible to any doctor. In August of 1895, a strange, illustrated ad for *Encyclopedia Britannica* in the *Item* showed a man looking into the mouth of another who was lying on a table, with head back, mouth open, and a wire going from a battery on the floor to an illuminated end in the stomach.<sup>513</sup> Perhaps the publisher was hinting that the encyclopedia was a better way to attain illumination than such a contraption. If so, they were right; there was a better way coming.

In November 1895 German mechanical engineer and physicist Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen was investigating the effects produced by various types of vacuum tubes. He observed that the invisible rays from one combination of equipment produced a fluorescent effect on a small piece of cardboard. During weeks of testing he soon realized the rays, which he called “x-rays” (X in mathematics being the symbol for an unknown quantity), could pass through many materials, including the skin covering his wife’s hand, revealing a somewhat silhouetted outline of the bones inside. When she saw the first-ever x-ray image of the bones in a human hand, her own, she saw it not as a keepsake photograph, but as her personal *memento mori* – the world’s first living memory of death. Historical tradition claims she looked at the x-ray of her skeleton hand and uttered, “I

have seen my death.” Roentgen’s discovery would become one of great and long-lasting importance but his decision to share it with the scientific community freely, without trying to protect his discovery within a patent, turned out to be his second great contribution to science; within weeks of his announcement about discovering x-rays, the whole world was learning about and experimenting with x-rays themselves.

The December 20<sup>th</sup> issue of a rural Illinois newspaper already had a one-line story about an Egyptian mummy being authenticated by successfully x-raying one of the hands; “the perfect outline of the human bones was shown.”<sup>514</sup> By January 1896 surgeons were already using it to locate bullets in human bodies and to diagnose disease of the bones.<sup>515</sup> Elihu Thomson offered some impromptu comments about the new x-rays at a General Electric Company banquet in which he acknowledged the rays might be used to discover the presence of foreign bodies in a living person or animal, such as “when a man had swallowed a bone it might be discovered in his stomach by this means” (so the *Encyclopedia Britannica* was now outdated), “or a bullet might be located in a man’s leg, and the process of its extraction made relatively easy.” If Augustus Sutherland hadn’t gone through the harrowing process of coughing up his bullet in 1894, it could have been found in just two more years by x-ray. Thomson then showed the audience an x-ray photograph he had made of coins. Thomson was always conservative and circumspect, never excitable and hasty. In that same banquet he said, “I do not think that there will arise immediately any great practical application of this discovery”; nonetheless he aggressively researched x-rays and acquired several patents for his work with them over the next two years.<sup>516</sup>

The public was hungry for more news about the most unusual discovery of the century and throughout 1896 the *Daily Evening Item* provided frequent coverage about x-rays in Lynn. Facsimiles of x-ray “shadow pictures” of a fish, a rat, the bones of the hand, the interior of a pipe, and a comb inside a leather case, were printed in the paper, with the encouraging conclusion, “you can photograph the interior of a living animal, of metal, of a book, and of countless other substances. *The value of this discovery to medicine, to surgery, to metallurgy, to chemistry and to many other departments of science is almost incalculable.*<sup>517</sup>

Lynn locals were getting x-rayed, and the *Item* echoed the praise and excitement that was blossoming worldwide, “This new discovery is bound to develop into one of the greatest wonders of the age.”<sup>518</sup> In March a Lynn favorite son, Charles J. H. Woodbury, offered his hand to the x-rays. He was a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, an assistant engineer of the American Bell Telephone Company, a Fellow of the American Society for the Advancement of Science, and “well known in Lynn for the interest he takes in scientific inquiry and experiment”; becoming a human guinea pig was almost inevitable.<sup>519</sup> He had his left hand exposed for forty-five minutes to the x-ray (“it could have been made in far less time, however, at the expense of definition”) and the result was submitted to the *Item* for everyone to marvel at: the line art rendering of the x-ray showed his hand clearly articulated by the rays and a ring on his finger as well, accompanied by a detailed description of how the shadow picture was created, apparently so that others could do it themselves at home. Other images in the picture showed x-rays of two keys, a coin, his fountain pen, and an alligator skin pocketbook. The *Item* noted, “It will be noticed that the ink and the air bubbles are clearly revealed in the fountain pen, also that the rays clearly penetrated the tight joint near the small end where the penholder is unscrewed for the purpose of filling with ink.”<sup>520</sup>

In June, a group of inquisitive Lynn men looked into x-ray by going to the small laboratory that Salem machine inventor George Newcomb had fitted up for making x-ray photographs. This particular Lynn confederation consisted of Edward Trevert (Edward Trevert Bubier’s preferred alias, especially when authoring his books), the writer, editor, and publisher of many books on electricity, John Lovejoy, a bookkeeper for a coal company, Charles Spear, a clerk at the Lynn City Hall, Walter Ramsdell, the newspaper correspondent who had become so visible in advocating for Lynn workers, Frank G. Kelly, a carpenter and wounded veteran, George W. Haywood, a

homeopathic physician, and an unidentified reporter from the *Item*. The widely varied assortment of individuals from all corners of Lynn's business world were joined together by extreme curiosity.<sup>521</sup>

Trevert had been intensely studying x-rays and was making it the subject of his next book, an effort which had aroused the curiosity of the Lynn men who had decided to come with him. Some of his entourage were candidates for the book, based on the results of x-ray experiments that would be performed on them. Frank G. Kelly, a veteran of the Civil War, had been enlisted in the 17<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment. In the battle of Goldsboro, on 17 December 1862, he was wounded in the arm; the bullet penetrated the forearm about five inches from the wrist. He continued to fight in two other battles afterwards, and it was nine days before he was able to get medical treatment. Physicians probed for the ball, but couldn't find it. Two months later the wound healed and Kelly believed the bullet was permanently buried inside in his arm. He had a large arm and it was expected the x-ray exposure would have to be a long time, but Kelly grew impatient so the rays "only" penetrated the arm for twenty-five minutes. When the x-ray was developed at Newcomb's, the bones were clearly visible, but not the slightest traces of a bullet could be found; Mr. Kelly "was greatly surprised at the result of the experiment."<sup>522</sup> Another of the group x-rayed was Walter L. Ramsdell, "who some time ago had four inches of bone removed from the arm, immediately beneath the shoulder blade. For 40 minutes the ray performed its work, and though the photograph was not satisfactory to Mr. Newcomb, it showed the shoulder blade and the wounded end of the bone which was cut." Another x-ray experiment on Ramsdell was planned for a future date.<sup>523</sup>

Edward Trevert was quick to publish his book later that month, *Something About X RAYS for Everybody*, about the hot topic; in its preface he told his readers, "Its application to surgery will be of great value, as by aid of these rays the surgeon may locate the exact position of a tumor, bullet, fracture, etc.,," and equally exciting, making x-ray shadow pictures didn't require exotic, expensive equipment; it could pretty much be assembled from gear that an electrical hobbyist might already find among his equipment, "with proper care and the necessary apparatus even an amateur may meet with wonderful success."<sup>524</sup>

Trevert's book had examples of people from the greater Lynn area who had been x-rayed, along with their actual x-ray photographs. Figure 31 was a "shadow picture" taken at the General Electric Company's factory at Lynn, showing "a neglected dislocation and fracture of the shoulder joint of a Lynn boy," which resulted in a bone tumor. "The diagnosis was confirmed by this shadow picture; the arm was amputated ...." The subject of Figure 36, identified as "Mr. K.," was Frank G. Kelly, complete with the x-ray shadow picture taken at George Newcomb's little laboratory, which had revealed that no bullet remained in his arm.<sup>525</sup>

While groups of curious laymen were putting their townsmen and children under x-ray examination, Professor Thomson was broadening his studies of the rays' properties and potential,, making x-ray studies ranging from bins of coal to starfish and sea urchins.<sup>526</sup> In the privacy of his mansion, he had experienced a lighthearted moment on the path to his own learning about x-rays:

I must tell you a rather amusing incident in this connection which is somewhat of a joke on myself. We had a mouse caught about a week ago. I thought, now, here is a good subject; perhaps I can take the hair off him. So I put him in a very small wooden box with sides about an eighth of an inch thick and exposed him for an hour to a very intense source of rays through the wood of the box. I put the mouse away in another box – I did not want him to run around in the first and get out ... I put him in another box and had a little glazed cover [apparently a little window put in] so he could get air and I could see him inside. I put him on a pretty high shelf in the hall at the house. One night I was writing at my desk at about eleven o'clock when I heard a noise that made me think the clock was getting ready to strike. As soon as I got ready, I went out and there was the cat on the shelf - and the mouse gone. If we ever see a hairless mouse around the house after this we will know what was the cause of it.<sup>527</sup>

The incident may have given Thomson a chuckle, but Lynn laymen were pressing full-bore in the serious quest to experiment with and learn about x-rays for themselves. Another extraordinary assemblage of inquisitive Lynn men gathered to use and observe x-rays in action; they were as eclectic and disparate a group as those who had gone to Newcomb's lab a few months earlier: a shoe manufacturer, an architect, a doctor, a shoemaker, and unidentified others, who were not content with x-raying the change in a purse, but instead shining the invisible rays on some young boys.<sup>528</sup>

In early January 1897, Lynn shoe manufacturer and former state senator, Frank W. Jones, "conducted several experiments with a Roentgen ray machine at the office of Alfred W. Call, architect, 54 Central Square, Wednesday evening, in the presence of a number of persons interested in the work." The x-ray machine used was a small portable one, "and can be carried and used anywhere."<sup>529</sup> They exposed two boys to prolonged exposures of the x-rays. One that was age four had a leg that was three-quarters of an inch shorter than the other, which was believed to have happened as the result of an injury when quite young, and that "a second joint may have formed which would cause the limb to contract." The boy was laid down on a table on his back while his leg was given twenty minutes of exposure to the x-rays. Medical society physician Charles E. Meader carefully examined the boy's legs under a fluoroscope (at the time, a handheld x-ray viewer), but he wasn't able to find any evidence of prior injury.<sup>530</sup>

The group of fascinated laymen next watched as x-rays were concentrated on a boy aged eight years who was suffering from an injury to his knee. Meader "put the injured knee under the fluoroscope and stated that he could plainly detect an enlargement of the joints," then the other spectators passed the fluoroscope around to see the injury for themselves.<sup>531</sup> Mr. Jones had made and developed a number of pictures of the human body using the x-ray machine in Lynn during the previous week and he was thrilled at the clarity and detail in the results, but he was able to report that he had seen something much more exciting than broken bones, something that had never before been seen: "He can even see and count the beats of the human heart."<sup>532</sup>

The fascination with x-rays was growing rapidly and in mid-May an audience of 500 people had gathered in Lynn's High School Hall to hear Professor Elihu Thomson lecture on the new Roentgen phenomenon. His demonstrations using x-rays were described as "no less beautiful than weird and wonderful."<sup>533</sup> The audience hung on his every word, fixated on his every action. Throughout the lecture he kept throwing x-ray shadow pictures up on a screen using a magic lantern:

The first one was very amusing, as it was prefaced by the antics of a mechanical toy ... pig, which was put through its paces on the lecturer's table, after which the X-ray photographs showed the interior apparatus of [the toy pig], bringing out what the lecturer called the mainspring of his existence. Shadowgraphs of the human hand and of other different parts of the human body, showing the bony and arterial configuration, were exhibited. The latter had been made by injecting into the arteries a substance opaque to the Roentgen rays....<sup>534</sup>

Scientists and the general public were learning at the same time about the mysterious x-rays that were completely unknown to the world just a year and a half year earlier, and they were just beginning to discover practical uses for the invisible, mysterious rays. It had been said that x-rays made it possible to see every organ of the body as plainly as dishes on the dinner table, but it was actually even better: there was nothing on the dinner table that was pulsating like a beating heart.<sup>535</sup>



**A NEWPORT BABY POOPED DIAMONDS AND RUBIES,** but everybody expected it to happen. Baby Hunnewell was having a tantrum because her mother was going to lunch somewhere in their Newport, Rhode Island neighborhood, so Mrs. Hunnewell gave her toddler her diamond and ruby bracelet to play with in her absence. When she returned, the bracelet could not

be found and the nanny was first suspected of theft, but an x-ray was performed, which located the bracelet sitting in the child's digestive tract. Physicians counseled the parents to just wait for it to be expelled, which indeed happened the next morning. "Mr. Hunnewell triumphantly exhibited the bracelet at the Newport clubs and told of its strange journey."<sup>536</sup> Nothing so luxuriously profane would be expected coming out of Lynn's x-rays; bullets, sewing needles, and shoe nails were the types of items that showed up in grizzly silhouette as the alien bodies within Lynn's bodies.

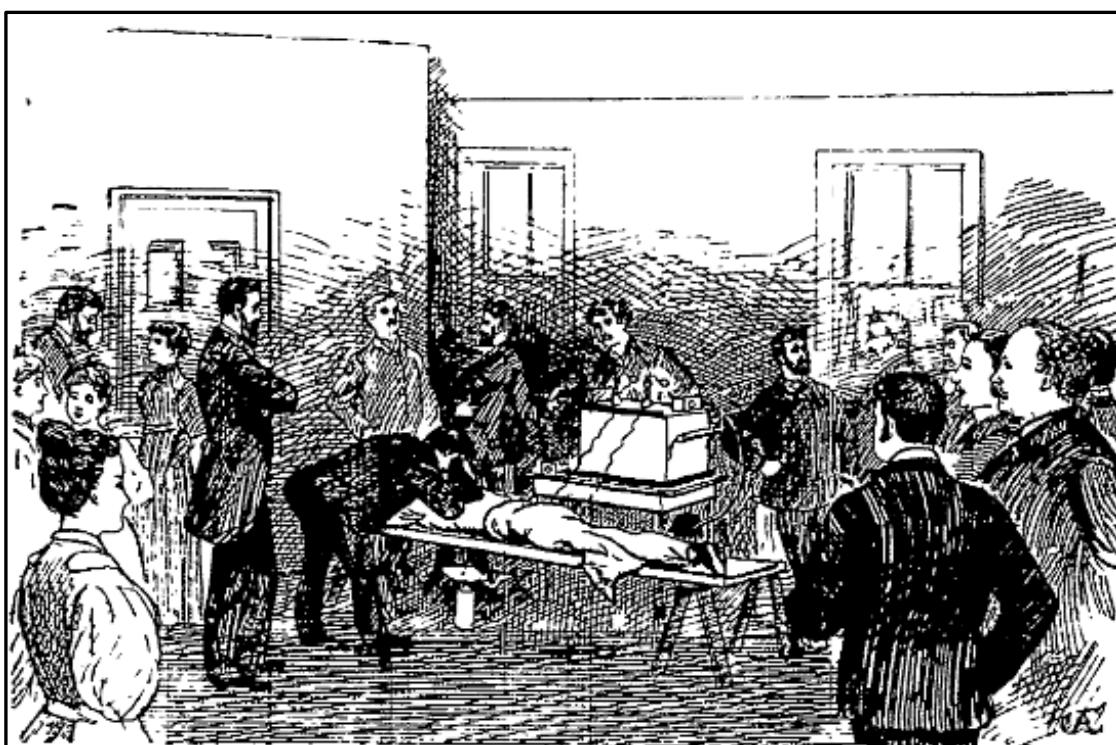
In November 1896 the Lynn Hospital had become a hub of activity in the operating room; x-ray equipment manufactured at the G.E. River Works Plant in Lynn had been set up there for two examinations and the display of its use and benefit. The first subject was Harry Brothers, a 15-year-old boy who had been wounded by a small rifle in the woods three months earlier. Elihu Thomson, assisted by Herman Lemp, who was in charge of the equipment's manufacture at the plant, operated the x-ray equipment; they were unable to find the bullet in Brothers, however.<sup>537</sup> Then John Hanley was brought into the room, At 12:45 AM on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, the 21-year-old Hanley had been in "an ugly frame of mind," firing three shots at Patrolman Flynn, who returned fire from his revolver, firing four shots and hitting Hanley once in the chest, near the heart; it was suspected that the bullet was lodged in the lower part of the lung.<sup>538</sup>

The operating room was full of spectators – not because of Hanley (there was really nothing new about criminals in Lynn) – but to see the x-ray in action at the hospital, and perhaps even moreso while under the operation of local heroes, Elihu Thomson and Herman Lemp. The entire hospital staff of ten physicians and a dentist were there, plus the nearly full corps of nurses, led by the hospital matron. Also present was Marshal Wells, Deputy Nelson and officers from the police station. A photograph was taken of the hospital operating room filled with the professional men and women watching and waiting as Elihu Thomson held the fluoroscope, looking for the bullet. Some may have looked uninterested in the picture, but it should be remembered that the x-ray process often took twenty, thirty, and even in excess of forty five minutes per exposure; plus the results were not produced until the next day.<sup>539</sup> But the doctors, nurses, and police couldn't resist the opportunity to take turns placing their own hands under the fluoroscope and witness their skeleton hand through the screen, moving as they bent their wrist and fingers. Everyone knew they were made of bones, but seeing them for the first time in this way was complete outside the catalog of human experience:

The fluoroscope became the center of attention, and great was the diversion afforded the spectators by the rare privilege of seeing their own internal osteological structure. ... The Crookes tube was set aglow, and upon looking through the fluoroscope, with the hand placed close to the disc at the end, the bones could be distinctly seen, and by rotating the hand the action of the bones of the carpus could be watched in minute detail, the outline of flesh showing as but a faint shadow.<sup>540</sup>

Again the exact location of the bullet in Hanley could not be determined; he ended up appearing in court and being sent to jail in January with the bullet suspended somewhere in his anatomy. But it was clear that performing x-rays to find foreign bodies was going to become the new standard of practice at the hospital; when something was found, it helped physicians and surgeons tremendously to determine how to remove or resolve it.

An x-ray found the needle in Mrs. Hoffman's hand, enabling her doctor to remove it, and the same use of x-rays as a prequel to surgery worked successfully for a shoe nail that was accidentally driven into the forefinger of Everett C. Mowatt of 24 Sumner Street, and for John Bergen's arm that was pierced into the bone by a splinter of steel; an incision was made and the splinter removed.<sup>541</sup> Walter Burrill had broken his arm a while back but the bone failed to knit on account of three subsequent breaks; the arm was becoming useless and there was danger of paralysis. Doctors could see in an x-ray that a nerve was becoming embedded in the elbow, which was causing



**Searching for the Bullet in Hanley, 1896.** Elihu Thomson is bent over, peering through a fluoroscope into the body of John H. Hanley, who was lying prone on a stretcher that was resting on saw horses. The Crookes tube can be seen in white beneath the makeshift table and the transformer sat on a small table on the opposite side from where Thomson stood, with two wires connecting it to the Crookes tube. Herman Lemp was on the other side of the transformer, leaning over to his right, watching and probably listening for further instructions from Elihu Thomson.

The rays were ... turned on, and the room lights lowered. ... In a business-looking box at one end glowed a faint lavender-hued light and at a point of contact further along the top of the case was seen the lever controlling the spark that varied from an inch to an inch and one quarter in length as the lever was turned one way or another – a flexible line of violet-colored fire. The connecting wires also glowed with the same weird, unearthly tint, and apparently vibrated as the current passed through them. A spiteful hissing noise was continuous throughout the experiment. ...

The apparatus used was a Thomson-Roentgen ray transformer, operated from an alternating circuit current producing high frequency discharges of approximately 80,000 volts, using a Thomson universal tube of a double focus. The experiment is the first of the sort to be tried in Lynn on a case presenting so many difficulties, and its results cannot fail to be of great interest to the medical profession and the general public as well. ...

The difficulties in this case are very great, as the course taken by the bullet may be quite erratic, and it may have lodged at a considerable distance away from the spot of entrance. Moreover, the spot where the bullet entered is about the most difficult in the body to get anything like quiescence, even during a moment or two when examination is made with the fluoroscope, and of course, for a 25-minute exposure the breathing movements are a very serious obstacle, for in no part of the body is the amount of motion so great as in just this spot required to be examined.

The first experiment with the equipment on the 15-year-old boy “was watched with breathless interest by a roomful of interested spectators.” The boy was exposed to the rays for about ten minutes, but it was determined that the 22-calibre bullet was too small to be found. The second experiment performed on the prisoner Jonathan H. Hanley lasted for about thirty minutes. Although the equipment and process were novel and fascinating, the x-ray process was time-consuming, which appears to be reflected in this illustration of the room during the second experiment on Hanley; several of those in the room were shown looking in other directions, having conversations with others in attendance. (from the *Daily Evening Item*, illustrated article, “SEARCHING FOR BULLETS,” 25 November 1896.)

possibility of the boy's complete recovery."<sup>542</sup> Similarly, it was only by the merits of an x-ray that some of Lynn's dentists were able to identify and remove an impacted tooth in the back of the jaw that was causing all the patient's pain.<sup>543</sup> Preston Johnson, manager of the Lynn office of the Western Union Telegraph Company, became the Lynn Hospital's x-ray technician (Elihu Thomson was never expected to continue providing the service, given all of his other duties and projects). He took an x-ray of a five-month fetus in utero and because he was able to adjust the exposure to show softer tissue, he claimed "to have in course of perfection a process whereby a pre-natal exposure could be made with such accuracy as to determine the matter of sex." The Lynn doctors interviewed thought it was within the realm of possibility for an x-ray to show the sex of the fetus, but "it would be hard to see much practical benefit from such a discovery," and catering to such curiosity might "be open to criticism" (i.e., become another reason for some to not bring the baby to term).<sup>544</sup>



**X-RAYS WERE A GODSEND AND A SIDESHOW**, depending on the mind that was embracing them. The marvel and wonder of the rays, combined with their dime-show weirdness, had captured the public's imagination, which was great news for anyone looking for a new way to make a buck; thus, business and popular culture wrapped themselves around the new x-rays like the almost proverbial see-through hand in glove. Within the first year of the x-ray's existence, a second-hand business at 15 Brownville Avenue in Lynn was selling its second-hand furniture cheaply, and "also x-rays; come quick and get a good bargain everything that is wanted for housekeeping, also an x-ray machine or nicely furnished house to let, cheap."<sup>545</sup> In July of 1896, the Hotel Nahant on Lynn Beach advertised its best attractions, "Famous Fish Dinners ... Delightful Surf Bathing ... Delicious Ocean Breezes," and "The Genuine X-Ray Apparatus."<sup>546</sup> A few days later, the hotel's x-ray attraction was described a little more in an *Item* squizzle, "The latest addition to the evening attractions at Hotel Nahant is a Roentgen ray fluoroscope, operated by Stearns Buck, a graduate of the students' course of the Thomson-Houston Electric Co."<sup>547</sup> When the hubbub over the provocative movements of the beautiful dancing girls had pulled Pearl and Babe off the stage at the end of 1897, the show managers made a hasty substitution with the performance of an x-ray machine for the afternoon entertainment.<sup>548</sup>

Far from the show stage and the fashionable oceanside hotel, x-rays also proved to be a sure-fire crowd magnet at the local church fair. The Maple Street Methodist Episcopal Church held a fundraising "curio and antique exhibition" in April 1899, where some of the items featured on display included some old newspapers from 1784 containing an ad for Paul Revere; impressive, but downstairs, near where a stereopticon exhibition stood next to the ice cream department, the church's library was being used as a makeshift x-ray picture studio "where people can see their bones should they want to."<sup>549</sup> The fair seems to have been a big success; the next night the refreshment stand had run out of ice cream, but "the x-ray machine was kept at work all the evening."<sup>550</sup> Even the *Item* exploited the public's fascination with x-rays, printing the image of a six-fingered hand. Arthur Blatchford, a young T.-H. E. stockroom worker, had an extra digit on each hand.<sup>551</sup> The x-ray had been produced "some time ago" by another employee at the plant, but the newspaper saw in the fascinating, strange "invisible photograph" a timeless hook to captivate readers.

Preston Johnson presented an x-ray exhibition to a local men's social club in 1899 and was being identified as "Professor."<sup>552</sup> After he had finished connecting the equipment and the room lights were extinguished, the audience was left in the dark until the air crackled with excitement:

... those present were treated to one of the most uncanny and weird exhibitions that mortals could wish. The tremendous force of the subtle electrical power was first shown by a five-inch spark, which twisted and curled from one pole to the other of the battery, while the little wires which connected the apparatus with the bulb sparkled and coruscated as the fluid forced its way along to its work. The members of the club

then formed in line and were handed the fluoroscope by Mr. Johnson, who said the conditions were of the best he had ever seen and the developments proved the truth of his assertion. ... The bones of the hand and arm were ... subjects of examination, and amidst exclamations of wonderment, the developments continued until everybody present had had an opportunity to see this most wonderful invention or discovery.<sup>553</sup>

Patent medicine companies had always been quick to align themselves with the latest scientific advancements and breakthroughs. The Greene brothers of *Dr. Greene's Nervura* fame were one major medicine manufacturer that tried to convince its Lynn audience that the Greene's product line was synonymous with x-rays. The second-generation Indian medicine business, based in Boston, gave a course of free lectures at Lynn's Odd Fellows' Hall in March 1898, and not only did they boldly promise a great x-ray-based entertainment and education, they even implied that "Dr. Greene" was responsible for the discovery of x-rays, since he had taken it upon himself to share x-rays with the world:

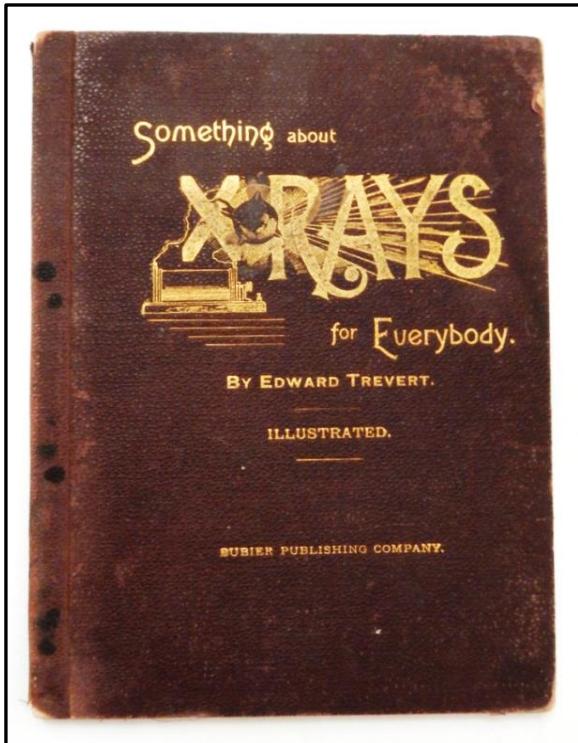
GRAND FREE ILLUSTRATED LECTURES. FIRST FREE PUBLIC X-RAY EXHIBITION. Its Wonderful Achievements! Its Marvelous Revelations! Our Physical Organization Exemplified by Modern Scientific Accessories. X-RAY EFFECTS. ... *It remained for Dr Greene ... to give to the General World public the wonderous results of the X-Ray.* Free examinations will be made and the heart, lungs, liver, stomach, etc. will be plainly shown upon a large screen by means of the limelight, exactly as the X-Ray makes them appear.<sup>554</sup>

Apparently the course of lectures were well-received in Lynn because they were presented again in the same hall ten months later.<sup>555</sup>

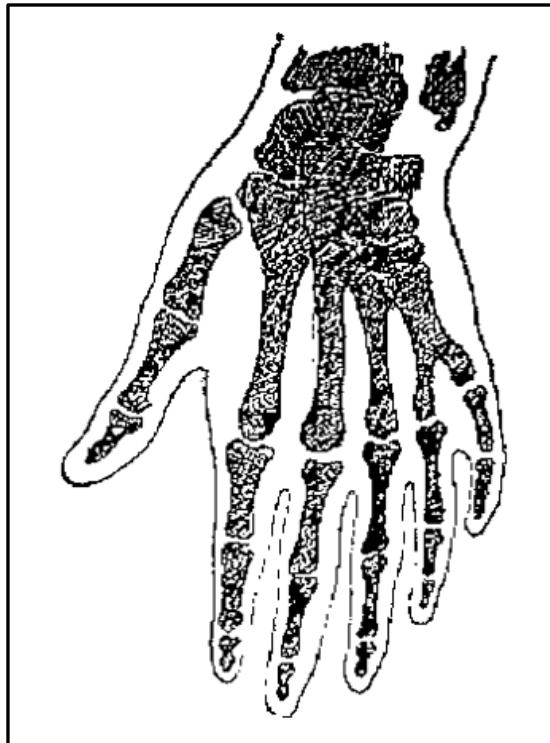
The word "x-ray" became commercial gold – dozens of products came onto the market with "x-ray" embedded in the title, as if the item was somehow imbued with the fascinating invisible rays. Just like those that had been named "Electric" a few years earlier, products like *X-Ray Soap*, *X-Ray Headache Tablets*, *X-Ray Coffee Mill*, *X-Ray Whiskey*, *X-Ray Lemon Squeezer*, and *X-Ray Bitters*, involved x-rays in name only, but still gave them distinction in America's ever-intensifying marketplace. Some advertisers suggested that they were using x-ray-like precision to ensure quality in their products. X-rays were not used by the F. F. Dow clothing company of Lynn to ensure the quality of their workmanship and materials, but the graphic use of an x-ray machine shining on a customer in his new suit certainly drove home their point.<sup>556</sup>

In 1896 P. B. Magrane on Market Street advertised "X-Rays Saturday Special Spring Sale Shoes and Slippers"; x-rays had absolutely nothing to do with their sale of shoes and slippers, the word was dropped in purely to attract attention.<sup>557</sup> Other Lynn businesses played with the word in the same way, to tease the reader into attention: "Cathode X Rays / Are not necessary to show why the American and Lovell Diamond Wheels are the strongest and easiest running in the world," advertised Walter Porter & Company on Union Street.<sup>558</sup> An illustrated ad for Sprague & Breed Coal Company of Lynn showed a man taking a picture of a huge chunk of coal with a white "X" on it; the headline caption read, "X RAYS ARE POWERLESS! / To discover any defect in our coal. ..."<sup>559</sup> Professor Coffey, the bombastic "King of the Healers" who visited Lynn in 1898, word-dropped x-rays for the same attention-getting effect and to point out that even that great power was nothing compared to his, for he was equal to Jesus and greater than x-rays: "LIKE THE MIRACLES OF THE BIBLE. An Amazing New Force of Nature More Marvelous than the X-Ray. ... Professor Coffey, the Greatest Natural Healer of Modern Times."<sup>560</sup>

There may have been no modesty in Professor Coffey, but there was in the minority of voices who expressed some concern about the invasiveness of x-ray exposure: a tool by which others could look underneath the clothes and see the tissue and bones of the unveiled subject. One article



**Edward Trevert, *Something About X RAYS For Everybody.*** (Lynn: Bubier Publishing Co., 1896), 82 pages. Before the dangers from exposure to the rays were well-recognized, this book was published in Lynn to help the curious learn how to build their own x-ray equipment. It was even listed for sale in the Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalogue at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Image courtesy of Kuenzig Books, kuenzibooks.com)



**X-ray of a 6-fingered Hand.** Rendering from an x-ray of the left hand of Arthur Blatchford, of Cottage Street, Lynn, employed in the stock department at the T.-H. E. Company. Mr. Blatchford had the extra digit on each hand and they "are a capable pair of extremities." (from the *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1897.)

philosophized, "Whatever human house it enters it reveals the 'skeleton in the closet.' ... the ray may prove inconvenient to the privacies of life. It is armed with a search warrant to enter the most secluded chambers of the body temple."<sup>561</sup>

The greater danger from exposure to x-rays was more serious than inflaming the libido: reports were appearing of skin that looked sunburnt or scalded with loss of hair and fingernails. But Elihu Thomson had also learned of two cases in Thomas Edison's laboratory, where frequent exposure to x-rays were causing severe side effects all over their hands and arms, and that "one of them was told by his physician that if he continued the work it would be necessary to amputate his hands."<sup>562</sup> Elihu Thomson decided to investigate what had become generically known as "x-ray finger" through the noble lens of a Victorian scientist – he experimented on himself.<sup>563</sup>

At the beginning of November 1896 he exposed the little finger of his left hand about 1½ inches from the source of the x-rays, for a half hour. For about nine days, nothing happened, but then the finger became very sensitive to the touch, "dark red, somewhat swollen, stiff, and soon after the finger began to blister" with purulent matter eventually weeping through a crack in the blister. Healing was very slow; the blister eventually covered the whole back and sides of the finger where it had been exposed to the rays.<sup>564</sup>

Thomson was surprised by the wound; "The wound itself is very peculiar, and I never saw anything like it." It continued to spread for three weeks with no signs of healing. "I do not propose to repeat the experiment ... under any conditions, at least not for the present as the whole epidermis

is off the back of the finger and off the sides of it also, while the tissue, even under the nail is whitened, and probably dead, ready to be cast off.”<sup>565</sup> He reached two conclusions from the experiment: first, that the burn and subsequent effects were the result of the x-rays themselves, not ultra-violet rays or static electricity; second, that x-ray exposure at greater distance was safe. Based on the parameters of another experiment with x-ray finger that he had observed (not on himself), he concluded, “According to the law of inverse squares an exposure of 12 minutes at 5/8 inch distance would require, at 10 inches distance, for equal effects, about 50 hours, or over two days. There is, then, no occasion for any alarm at the effects of Rontgen rays, as exposures of sufficient duration to produce harm are rarely if ever necessary.”<sup>566</sup> But x-ray burns were real and care had to be taken for safety. Based on the many instances of Lynners exposing themselves to the x-ray curiosity, there were probably many cases of “x-ray finger.”

Nine months after Thomson’s experiment on his finger, an article was published in a New York paper that x-rays were a skin beautifier, capable of being used to make “jaundiced parchment skin … suddenly peel off,” leaving women with a beautiful peaches-and-cream complexion – and the “yellow journalist dragged in the names of Elihu Thomson and Thomas Edison” to justify his claims. A reporter from Lynn’s *Daily Evening Item* went to see the professor about the article. “When Prof. Thomson saw the story he laughed heartily and held out his little finger to show me work of the x-ray. Near the top of the finger was a patch an inch long which looked like a real scar. The nail had been destroyed and a new one was just growing out. The sheath of the nail was rough and uneven.” Certainly not the finger for aspiring Gibson Girls. Thomson went on to explain that if the rays were at moderate distance and length of time, hair may not be removed or if did, it may soon return. If the exposure was longer and closer to the source of the x-ray, it would destroy the hair’s roots, but would also kill the skin and the tissue beneath, possibly to a depth of a half inch. As the *Item*’s article concluded, x-rays were a “pretty hoax” – not a promising cure for skin problems.<sup>567</sup>

X-rays had a significant impact on Lynn and the culture at large during the last half of the decade. Scientists like Elihu Thomson were intrigued by its physics and its ability to unmask more of the unseen universe where answers to future inventions and discoveries lay. Medical professionals reveled in the opportunity it presented for critical, non-invasive study of the body and the best way to resolve foreign objects found inside. Archaeologists used it to reveal the mysteries of the mummies. Law enforcement professionals (police and lawyers) respected its forensic ability to reveal bullets and knifepoints hidden in bodies and the possibility for finding weapons hidden in a person’s clothing. Lecturers and showmen treasured its ability to dazzle and entertain the public. Advertisers valued its ability to help sell their products. Clergy and the modest were uncomfortable about its apparent invasion of privacy. And those who were literally overexposed feared the pain and suffering it had caused them. In many ways, it had brought out the best and worst in everyone. As the scripture had prophesied, “There is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, and hid that shall not be known.”<sup>568</sup>

## **PANICS, PLAGUES, & TENDER MERCIES**

The x-ray had exposed Victorian eyes to a world that had never before been seen but was always there. It had extended the exploration of the body that had begun when organisms were discovered in a drop of blood or water. It was all wonderful and unsettling in the same moment. The marvelous collection of bones was, after all, a skeleton, the ultimate symbol of mortality, and certain cells among the teeming hordes were bacteria that caused infection and disease. People could read about these discoveries and maybe go to a lecture or demonstration, but without specialized equipment and knowledge, the average Lynn resident still didn’t have a clue what was going on inside their body. The workings of the body were either a sobering thought or made you want to have a stiff drink.

At least unveiling the human body got people talking like they understood what was going on. In 1892 residents and property owners on Tudor Street complained at a board of health hearing about pools of stagnant water between their street and the ocean. The foul-smelling air wafting into their homes was no longer being described as a miasma but as the product of those confounded germs. They told the board, “On this strip three pools of stagnant water offend eyes and nostrils. Obnoxious as they are, they are *feeding grounds for myriads of germs of disease*, well calculated to menace the health when warmed by the summer sun.”<sup>569</sup> In 1895 the *Item* quoted a New York paper to show that the clouds of street dust were no longer just irritating and suffocating, they now carried germs of death:

One can scarcely suppress a shiver of disgust at the bare idea of inhaling the impalpable dust of the streets containing emanations and filth of all sorts, but the fact of its being disgusting is the smallest part of the objection. *Breathed into the nostrils and lungs are germs of typhoid, tuberculosis, catarrh, scrofula and more horrible diseases.* The only wonder is that there are any well people left ...<sup>570</sup>

The article continued with an interesting observation about how some individuals were developing a defensive sense of self-protection from germs: “... the idea is beginning to prevail that no person has a right to contaminate the atmosphere that other people must breathe.”<sup>571</sup> Avoiding others’ germs was something that was being experienced back in 1890 by a Lynn street car conductor:

While on a street car riding to Wyoma Sunday, the conductor was noticed wiping a piece of money with a bit of cotton waste he had stuffed in a little out-of-the-way corner.

The reporter was somewhat interested in the operation, and after the conductor had returned from gathering up a couple of fares on the front platform he questioned him about it..

“What did I wipe that piece of money for?” he said, repeating the *Item* man’s question. “Well, the nickel was given to me by that woman sitting on the left side there, next [to] the door. She held it in her mouth, [about] two minutes before I reached her. Two whole minutes that money was between her teeth and I don’t want – ” ...

“There’s another; see’ She’s got a quarter in her mouth, holding it there while she tucks the pocket-book away. When I give her the change just watch her.”

... The conductor gave in change for her fare three nickels and five pennies. The woman actually tried to stack the eight pieces in a pile and hold them between her teeth ... but she got a glimpse of two or three pairs of eyes fixed upon her, so she held the change in the other hand ....

“Of all nasty habits,” ejaculated the conductor as he pulled out his little bit of cotton waste and carefully wiped the offending quarter, “that’s the very nastiest; the very worst. It isn’t wholly confined to women either. Once in a while a big hoohy of a man will hold a fare in his mouth while pulling on his gloves or doing something that requires the use of both hands. Children are the greatest offenders, though ... Just imagine what the effect must be supposing one of these people who ‘mouth money,’ as we conductors say, had a diphtheritic sore throat or some other poisonous disease, and the nickel or coin given to the conductor should be released over to another person, who immediately places it into his or her mouth while fishing out a purse? I tell you the habit is horrible.”

“Chinamen ... have a habit, when traveling, of carrying their small pieces of money in the cup of the ear, the cavity that is just below the entrance to the drum. ... I know conductors who have refused to take money from a person who has held it in the mouth until the passenger wiped it.”<sup>572</sup>

Killing germs became the war cry for many medicine company campaigns; from all over the country they advertised in Lynn newspapers that they could keep Lynners safe. A spray of *Ozonos*

about the room “Destroys Microbes, Bacteria and All Other Disease Germs.”<sup>573</sup> *Duffy’s Whiskey* asked, “What is “bad air?” It is air loaded with millions of minute animals too small to be seen by the naked eye and every one of them poisonous.”<sup>574</sup> *Wm. Radam’s Microbe Killer* said everything it needed right in its product name; it was sold in Lynn by C. E. Whitten, 8 Andrew Street, a shop selling bicycles, tricycles, and cyclists’ supplies.<sup>575</sup> Defeating germs was even the battle cry at the annual Lynn physician’s outing. The highlight was the baseball game between teams amusingly called the Antiseptics and the Microbes; the Microbes won, 17-6.<sup>576</sup> Life imitated baseball.

Death still commanded a large army of assassins to end human life during the 1890s but Lynn focused on fighting the most lethal killers – the ones that rode under the banner, Contagion – typhoid, diphtheria, cholera, consumption, hydrophobia, la grippe, and smallpox. A few of these had shown their weakness, a way they could be defeated. Louis Pasteur had discovered a vaccine for hydrophobia in 1885 and a vaccination had existed for smallpox for a century; a typhoid vaccine was successfully introduced in 1896 to British troops during the Second Boer War in Africa, and there were signs that diphtheria was also succumbing to an anti-toxin that was developed in 1895. As devastatingly lethal as contagious diseases had always been, late in the last decade of the nineteenth century, they were looking vulnerable.

As the summer sun radiated its blistering heat on the world outside and into houses and buildings, Lynn’s tiniest citizens struggled with cholera infantum and adults passed out on sidewalks and in factories. Their symptoms of heat prostration, and the cramps, diarrhea, and vomiting of cholera morbus were confused with their infants’ similar discomforts and consequently it was often assumed that highly contagious cholera was to be found among the adult population much as cholera infantum was found among their babies. In early August 1891, as Police were called to deal with Maurice Joyce, a 30-year-old man who had collapsed on Commercial Street, and shortly thereafter to another man who had collapsed in Sawyer & Chase’s carriage factory on Farrar Street, both due to the terrible heat, Frank Dresser, a carpenter working on a roof, was also overcome with heat. Joyce died from sunstroke that evening.<sup>577</sup> Scarcely a physician in the city was tending fewer than a half dozen babies afflicted with cholera infantum, and the cases were all over the city, not just isolated to poor neighborhoods. Drugstore men reported increasing sales of medicines for cholera infantum and for adult stomach and bowel complaints. There was growing concern that there must be something in the water that was affecting everyone, something in Breed’s Pond, the city’s main water supply; “meanwhile the babies are dropping off one by one ... until relieved by the doctor or by the hand of death, and many more will be taken unless a change is made. Who is responsible?”<sup>578</sup>

The hellish summer heat of the next summer picked up where the last had left off, “The sun dropped out of sight Monday evening looking like a great round plate of burnished brass, and everybody predicted the ‘scorcher’ of to-day. Far into the night thousands of poor perspiring people waited for the wind to whistle through the windows and lull them into sleep; ... Lynn’s miserable mortals had to obtain snatches of sleep as best they could.” At the Lynn Hospital the patients were suffering from intestinal troubles caused by the severe heat, just as was happening at the almshouse and insane asylum on Tower Hill.<sup>579</sup> Unmistakable in the stifling hot air was the stench from the dump in West Lynn:

People residing in this portion of the city with their windows open are awakened every night this hot weather by most terribly disgusting odors, suffocating in intensity, and so nauseating in their effect as to provoke vomiting. ... Should some scourge, such as cholera, find lodgment here can anyone doubt that this extended, polluted, putrescent area would become a prolific breeding ground for disease germs and make the extermination of the disease a matter of great difficulty?<sup>580</sup>

City Physician Little scoffed at the idea that cholera would spontaneously bloom in the fetid dump, knowing full well that true cholera was transmitted through food or water contaminated by people with cholera, not through the air, and such people, usually immigrants, were quarantined

when they reached the U.S., "It is absurd," said he, "to assume that there are any cholera germs in the garbage now dumped on the marshes at West Lynn, nor could there be any in our night soil until it is brought here by cholera patients, and there needs to be no anxiety in that direction as our city is away from all ports of entry and as well protected as any in the Commonwealth."<sup>581</sup>

Nonetheless, remedies came forth for whatever kind of cholera it was – Asiatic cholera, cholera morbus, or cholera infantum – to fight off the disease and an epidemic, like cholera underwear with a woolen band around the bowels to keep the abdomen warm, and *Toppin's Calcutta Cholera Cure* among them, plus the advice to not eat green fruit and vegetables, and to boil drinking water.<sup>582</sup> John Poole had saved a clipping in his journal that gave the recipe for the "Sun cholera mixture," which was equal parts of tincture of cayenne, tincture of opium, tincture of rhubarb, essence of peppermint, and spirits of camphor, "persons using it at once can never have the cholera proper"; he never listed a cholera medicine among his detailed purchases, so perhaps this was how he kept himself and his family safe.<sup>583</sup>

Lynn struggled through an epidemic of the other contagious disease that came through contaminated food or water: typhoid. The epidemic hit Lynn from late 1896 through 1897; 449 cases were reported resulting in a death toll of 47, more than double any other two-year span among the previous six years of the decade.<sup>584</sup>

La grippe, also called influenza, plagued the winter like cholera ruined the summer. Thomas F. Porter, a Lynn insurance and real estate agent, wrote a poem about the wintertime illness; with the detailed comprehensiveness of an actuary, the stanzas methodically explained how it impacted each sex and age group; the poem was entertaining, but the infectious catarrhal disease was not.<sup>585</sup> John Poole went to work on the first of January 1890, feeling terrible and finding several of his crew out from work, "Cloudy and looked like snow all day[.] Spent the day at the shop but did not do much quite sick all day[.] Ache all over lungs + head stuffed up[.] 5 of the boys out with 'La grippe.'"<sup>586</sup> The contagiousness of the grippe was revealing itself within families and factories. Thomas F. Pedrick had a serious attack of la grippe, but was recovering; although still sick, it fell upon him to take care of his wife and daughter who were sick with the same disease, "and Tom began to think himself proprietor of a hospital."<sup>587</sup> On a larger scale, the tanners at the Webber morocco factory were all out with la grippe, and the shavers and stretchers were also affected, "the disease is spreading rapidly through the whole factory."<sup>588</sup>

The following winter, the grippe was back, once again making foreheads warm, noses run, throats rough, chests congested, and life feel miserable. In mid-December the newspaper reported, "La grippe has returned to Lynn and is relentlessly attacking men, women and children, as it did in 1890. Hardly a physician but has several patients under treatment for this peculiar influenza. In the schools, empty seats show how many of the children have succumbed to the disease. . . . the number of cases are increasing with startling rapidity."<sup>589</sup> An *Item* reporter eloquently described the dismal weather and mood that had settled over the sick city in the last nights of 1891:

There was a patter of rain dripping down out of the dark masses of clouds above. The streets glistened in the light of the electric lamps, shining through halos of fog and gloom. From the distant beach came the dull roar of the surf rising high on the beach, as the easterly storm grew heavier. It was a night of dreary foreboding, of weather that held no promise of relief from the dreaded Slavonian disease that has traveled far and wide over continents and seas, and now stalks abroad in this city, striking the people down on every hand.<sup>590</sup>

The estimate at the end of 1891 was that four thousand people were suffering from la grippe in Lynn and eight people had died from it. The mortality rate was low, but the misery rate was high. Even Mayor-elect Elihu B. Hayes had been attacked just before he was to be sworn in to office. By doctor's orders, he was confined to stay in bed and because of the grippe, compounded by exhaustion from overwork, he "needed rest and freedom from anxiety of any kind, more than

anything else." If he carefully adhered to his doctor's instructions, it was thought "he may be able to be present at inauguration ceremonies the following Monday."<sup>591</sup> It would certainly be a good thing if the mayor-elect could attend his own inauguration.

The spread of la grippe in Lynn includes every manufacturing and mercantile establishment, street railway employees, Thomson-Houston works, police force, Fire Department and everybody else. Reports from the factories show not one among the hundreds that are not short-handed at present. It would be tiresome reading to wade through the long list that might be given of shops that have a proportion of their crew at home[,] sick. The stores have been visited and found to suffer the absence of salespeople and proprietors, struggling with the influenza. A number of city employees are off duty, firemen, policemen, etc. The electric works force of 3,000 people has been reduced 259 in number and severe cases exist among the sick ones. Even the City Physician, whose services are most in demand among poor patients at present, is a sufferer himself.<sup>592</sup>

Lynners underwent an onslaught of cures almost as overwhelming as the illness: underwear, overcoats, and "black silk mufflers" (scarves) were all advertised to keep out the grippe, and Dane's Family Laundry advertised that families could avoid contracting the contagion by letting them do the washing, "keep the steam and dampness out of your house."<sup>593</sup> Edward Heffernan, Lynn's large liquor manufacturer and wholesaler, had come up with his own cure for la grippe, *Heffernan's Rock, Rye and Honey*, available like his liquors, in pints and quarts. It was "a pure extract of Barley Malt, Rye Whiskey, Rock Candy, and Honey."<sup>594</sup> Charles de Langle might have approved; he said that the greatest mistake made by grippe victims was in waiting too long before commencing treatment and recommended, "whisky and quinine are successful preventives if taken as soon as the first symptoms appear."<sup>595</sup> Then there was Mrs. W. F. Russell, the magnetic physician of West Lynn, who allegedly cured la grippe entirely, by putting her hand on the chest over the affected lungs for twenty minutes ... a powerful cure, or at least a powerful promise.<sup>596</sup>

None of the contagious diseases came close to the human loss caused by consumption/tuberculosis. It continued its decades-long dominance of killing, causing 1,259 deaths in Lynn over the decade (pneumonia was second at 875).<sup>597</sup> Unlike the cholera sicknesses and la grippe, consumption had no seasonality and was spread through airborne respiratory droplets produced by coughs and sneezes. It targeted young adults while other contagious illnesses usually attacked children, the elderly, and those with already weakened constitutions. Just like Dan and Will Pinkham had done over a decade earlier, 31-year-old Patrick J. Riley planned to take a trip to the dryer Southwest, hoping that an extended stay in Santa Fe, in the territory of New Mexico would help him regain his health and strength; however, he probably never left the state. Friends and family had gathered at his home on May 19<sup>th</sup> to send him off with well wishes, but Riley "was rendered almost exhausted by the handshaking and other demonstrations of kindly feeling advanced by a small multitude of associates."<sup>598</sup> In October he died in Westboro, just forty-four miles to the southwest of Lynn.<sup>599</sup> Besides being lethal and tenacious, consumption was also remorseless.

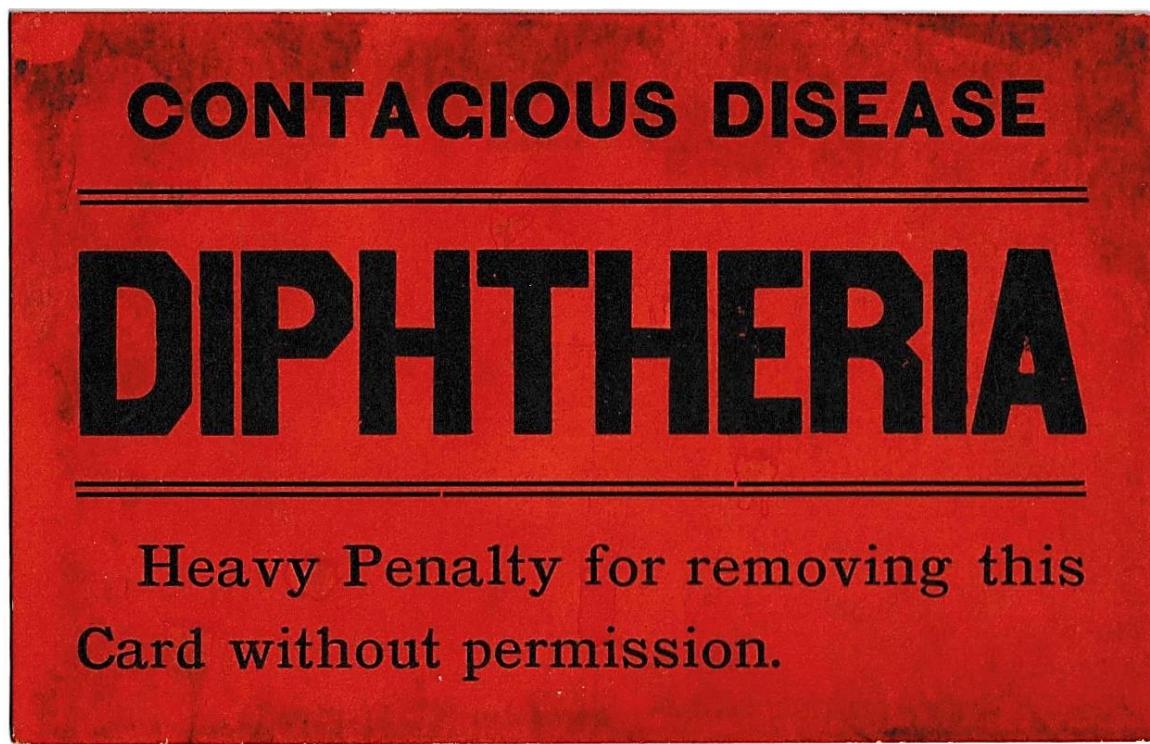
Diphtheria squeezed the lives out of little bodies like consumption did to young adults. Lewis A. Porter's grief must have been unimaginable. In March 1892 the carriage smith lost his 28 year-old wife, Mary, to diphtheria, then the next day, he lost his almost four-year-old son, George to the same disease, and his other little child "was not expected to live the night."<sup>600</sup>

In the next month, Amos and Carrie N. Carson were inconsolable; their family had been torn apart. They lost their seven-year-old son, Charles, to diphtheria; leaving them "pathetic in the extreme"; and because the boy had died of a contagious disease, final arrangements had to happen quickly; there was no time to grieve.<sup>601</sup> Their son had died at 7:00 AM in their home on 10 Abbott Place, off of Essex Street. Mr. and Mrs. Carson visited the office of Undertaker Earl A. Mower an hour later and arranged for the funeral rites, which, under the board of health's new regulations for cases of death from contagious disease, could not be delayed more than eight hours.<sup>602</sup> After going

to the undertaker, Amos was “distracted with grief”; he went to the telegraph office to send a message to family back in Gardiner, Maine, about what had happened, and to get their help with burial arrangements up there.<sup>603</sup> Carrie went back to their home where the body was being prepared by the undertaker’s assistant for the funeral; she felt badly that her child could only have the sheet required by the health regulations around his body.<sup>604</sup> In the afternoon the couple lost track of each other and Mrs. Carson feared that her husband might have committed suicide out of his extreme grief; years ago he had threatened suicide, leaving a note behind to that effect, but did not go through with it. Reunited late in the afternoon, the grieving couple made preparations to leave for Gardiner with the body of their boy; the three left on the 7.05 train for the last time, together.<sup>605</sup>

Parents worried about their sick children and the overseers of the poor worried about theirs: the twenty-five orphans at the Children’s Home; in November 1893, there was plenty of reason to worry because diphtheria had entered the home. Four cases grew to seven cases the next day. The home had been overcrowded and without sufficient means of isolating sick children, so the terrible results were not a surprise. By the sixteenth, one child had died. The city acted quickly to secure another house into which they could put the children who had not yet been affected.<sup>606</sup> Ultimately, three of the seven infected children at the home died of diphtheria.<sup>607</sup>

An epidemic was cutting a swathe through several families in the Elizabeth Street area of West Lynn, in October 1894. Six or eight cases had been reported to the board of health, one of which had proven fatal. Two small children of John Kidney, aged eight years and eleven months, were sick at 8 Elizabeth Street, while the three-year-old son of the Cuddys was ill across the street at 11 Elizabeth Street. Diphtheria notices were also on the doors at 24 Elizabeth, where the fourteen- and six-year-old girls in the McGin family were “down with the scourge.” The one death had occurred to a nine-month-old infant of the Shine family at 23 Court Street; she was taken sick on Wednesday and died on Saturday. “Leaks of sewerage [are] thought may be responsible for the presence of the disease.”<sup>608</sup>



**Quarantine Placard, 1890s-1910s.** Applied to houses, doors, etc., along with the red flags to make clear that the property was quarantined. (Collection of the author.)

In November 1895 George A. Beal, who lived at 22 Warren Street, lost both of his daughters to the terrible disease, five days apart. The first to pass was Ethel, six years nine months old, and she was followed by her older sister, Bertha, who was just over eleven years old. "Both were bright little children and were the pride and joy of their parents" and both died from *black diphtheria*, "the worst form known."<sup>609</sup>

Early in the decade, cures for diphtheria were unreliable and not productive of positive results. An unidentified person in Lynn had lost one child from the disease, but then used a remedy that he had heard about "in time to save the other children of the family"; it was North Carolina tar (sold at drugstores), and one part turpentine, mixed, put in a closed room and set on fire, creating a vapor for the patient to breath twice a day.<sup>610</sup> But late January 1895, an antitoxin for the cure of diphtheria was first used in Lynn by a conventional physician named Frank L. Judkins. The antitoxin was a serum made from the blood of horses that had been made immune by repeated hypodermic injections of the toxin (diphtheria bacteria). The antitoxin was then injected, like morphine, into subcutaneous tissue of the person suffering from diphtheria.<sup>611</sup> He administered it to the 5-year-old son of Charles Saunders, living at 73 Mudge Street. The boy had a rather developed case of the most virulent type, a good description of what was called the black diphtheria.

Apparently a few days after Judkins had started his applications of the antitoxin, two more medical society doctors, Charles A. Lovejoy and William B. Little, both former City Physicians, were the first to use the antitoxin on an adult in Lynn; it was applied to Miss Maggie Wentzel, a domestic employed at the residence of Edwin W. Ingalls, of 98 Leighton Street. She had been taken ill on Saturday the 19<sup>th</sup> with what was first thought to be tonsilitis, but it developed very quickly and by Wednesday the 23<sup>rd</sup> it had taken "a violent form of diphtheria," as it had with the Saunders boy. Wentzel was isolated in her domestic quarters in the house's upper floors and when it was determined she had diphtheria, the family was immediately removed from the house.<sup>612</sup>

The news with both cases was good: the day after the first application to Maggie Wentzel, the diphtheria membrane started dissolving in the throat and Judkins was "more than pleased with the results and his face presented a smile of satisfaction. The child is able to sit up in bed and the indications point to a speedy recovery."<sup>613</sup> The results on multiple patients proved very positive and encouraging, so even the hospital used it. Death by diphtheria had dropped from sixty-two in 1896 to twenty in 1897 and to seven and ten in 1898 and 1899, respectively. The problem, the city physician reported, was that "there are physicians who will not use the anti-toxine and people who will not have it used. Like vaccinations for typhoid and smallpox, the cure only had a chance to work if it was used."<sup>614</sup> The wealthy Wilmot R. Hastings, the publisher of the Lynn *Daily Evening Item*, didn't hesitate to have the very best medical care money could buy for his 4-year-old son, Abner. The little tyke had been "very ill" since New Year's Day, 1899, but his parents reacted quickly. Allstone Hunt, the attending physician, was called in and he, in turn called in Charles Lovejoy in consultation.

Dr. John H. McCollom of the Boston City Hospital, who is the highest authority on diphtheria cases, was also summoned to the Hastings home by telephone. The delicate and dangerous operation of intubation was decided upon and was very skillfully performed by Dr. McCollom; a gold tube being introduced, through the mouth and inserted in the child's windpipe. Instant relief in breathing was thus given. Anti-toxine had also been freely administered by Dr. Hunt. The tube was removed Wednesday noon by Dr. McCollom, and after the faithful care of Dr. Hunt and the attending nurses a full recovery is anticipated.<sup>615</sup>

An attending physician – telephoning Boston – a consulting high-status physician – a renowned expert from Boston – an intubation with gold-plated tubes – antitoxin treatments – attending nurses: many innovative elements had been employed to cure Abner Hastings. Health care was changing; even the title of the news coverage in Hasting's paper read, "Modern Treatment of Diphtheria."<sup>616</sup> It also helped that his parents were wealthy enough to afford all those elements

for his cure. Diphtheria was cheated of its victory; Abner Hastings lived for forty more very successful years. Another contagious disease had, indeed, become vulnerable.

James G. Kelley's dog seemed to have beaten death, too. In 1890 Kelley had put down his dog with chloroform because it was one of a dozen dogs that had been bitten by a mad dog. The other dogs were all shot, but Kelley bought chloroform and administered "a good-sized dose to his dog, the apparent result being death. He was buried eight weeks ago next Monday." The funeral services were most impressive, but on Friday night the dog dug himself out of his grave. He found his way to his master's home where he was fed well. Officer Stone has seen the dog and the place he was buried, along with the hole in the ground where the dog came out. Kelley insisted that the dog had been buried two months and his story was corroborated by Police Officer Fred T. Stone, "and strange to say, many in Wyoma are willing to believe it." The skeptical reporter facetiously recommended that the dog be put on display at the Lynn Musée, the place with a reputation for showing oddities. Of course the big question left unanswered was whether his resurrection meant he was still potentially rabid (...or perhaps was now a rabid revenant?).<sup>617</sup>

Rabies was an atypical contagious disease, the only one spread by the bite of an infected animal. Lynn had plenty of mad dog scares throughout its history and those of the 1890s caused the most headlines. First there was the rabies epidemic that had caused James Kelley to euthanize his dog in 1890; then again in 1891, another mad dog bit thirteen dogs; three were hunted down and killed, but ten others "with the hydrophobia germs in them," continued to roam the streets.<sup>618</sup>

George Pranker's foxhound was a breed noted for being easygoing, sweet, kind and loyal, but when it contracted rabies in May 1892, it had changed into fifty pounds of angry, vicious, frothing hellhound.<sup>619</sup> During its mad dog rampage, it managed to bite eleven people, including Ex-Mayor Bubier and the deputy marshal, plus at least forty other dogs.<sup>620</sup> In front of the First Methodist Church, Deputy Marshal George C. Neal found "a crowd of terrified men, women and children, huddled together, and in front of them, circling around on the grass, was [the] small foxhound, which was frothing at the mouth and snapping and barking with unmistakable signs of viciousness." Deputy Marshal Neal approached the deranged dog, determined to put him out of his misery and to keep the crowd safe. The cur crouched down in preparation to pounce at the officer. In that moment, Neal thought quickly that if he shot at the dog's head the bullet might ricochet off its skull and hit someone in the crowd, so he aimed for a vital organ and fired. He missed and before he could get off another shot, the lunging animal had sunk its teeth into Neal's arm, just above his elbow. The officer hit the dog repeatedly with his free hand and shook his arm violently, doing everything he could to get the hound to unclench its teeth from his arm; finally the dog dropped to the ground, dashed under a nearby carriage, then made its way down North Common Street, biting other people and dogs on its way. Neal finally caught up to him and fired a mortal shot, ending the rabid animals reign of terror. An autopsy was performed by several Lynn physicians and the digestive tract was found to contain very little other than clams, shells, and seaweed. The dog's brain and spine were sent to a bacteriological expert at Harvard, who confirmed that the dog suffered from rabies. It had been a walking, breathing epidemic, spreading its contagion to over fifty people and animals during its brief, miserable, infected rampage.<sup>621</sup>

One of its human victims, John Anderson (aka Johannes Andersson), a Swedish iron worker at Lynn's T.-H. E. Company, had been bitten on the lip by the dog. The wound was so slight that the assistant city physician dismissed it as requiring very little attention; however the closer a rabies wound is to the brain the more dangerous it is and the mortality rate of rabies is almost 100% once symptoms appear – the highest possible mortality rate of any disease on the planet.<sup>622</sup> Some of the other adults and three children who had been bitten hastened for treatment to the American location of Pasteur's institute, which had been established in New York City.<sup>623</sup> John Anderson, however, did not. He died of his "slight" dog bite. Patrick Farrell of Swampscott was another victim of Pranker's mad dog; it had leaped at him and bit his chin, "tearing down the corners of his mouth." He died of rabies in August, while strapped down in a bed at the Lynn Hospital. The last hours or

days of a person infected with rabies are a terrible way to go, often involving confusion, anxiety, and agitation, and in latter stages, delirium and hallucinations; this was the case for Farrell, thus his need for being strapped down in the bed.<sup>624</sup>

In February 1896, Lynn's headlines again exploded with news of another rabies attack. This time the victim was the well-known, big, burly police lieutenant, Nelson H. Doe. By the time the story broke in the headlines, Doe was "suffering fearfully and the spasms ... were frequent and of alarming recurrence." A message had just come through from the Pasteur Institute that there was no hope for a rabies patient when the spasms had begun.<sup>625</sup>

Doe had been infected for over a month and a half, but didn't know it. On the night of December 30<sup>th</sup>, when he was standing at the corner of Washington and Newhall streets, he was suddenly attacked by a large Newfoundland dog, which sprang upon him from the side of the street. It bit him twice on the face, on his cheek and through his upper lip. Then the dog bounded away into the night, never to be seen by him again. Later in the evening, Doe went to City Physician Little who decided too much time had passed for cauterization of the wound to do any good; he advised the officer that if he had any suspicion that the dog was rabid, he better go to the Pasteur Institute at once, but Doe felt okay and figured the dog wasn't rabid, so he didn't go. Another doctor soothed his wounds with a combination of witch hazel and carbolic acid solution, and the wounds started to heal. Doe thought nothing more about the episode with the dog.

Then on Wednesday, February 12<sup>th</sup>, Doe had a terrible headache and assumed he was coming down with the grippe, but when he eventually called for his doctor, the physician quickly recognized that Doe was suffering from symptoms of hydrophobia: he had trouble swallowing and the spasms had begun. Doe was fully aware of the ultimate fatal result of his condition and wished that it would come quickly so that he would be able to avoid the agonies he was enduring in the meantime.<sup>626</sup> At one point he told Joseph M. Russell, a fellow policeman who was sitting beside him at the hospital, "Joe, I will end this now," pulling his pocket knife from his pocket, but Russell got the knife away from the lieutenant. For Doe's own safety, it was then decided to chloroform and strap him down to his bed, but doing so required the combined strength of seven men to hold down the 300-pound man, plus the doctor to administer the chloroform. As it turned out, attempted suicide was just the first of several possible solutions to end his suffering.<sup>627</sup>

During his final weekend of life, all types of cures and treatments were offered by people Lieutenant Doe had never met, through the mail and in person, ranging from homemade folk remedies to electricity. Among the "many remedies" which arrived for him, one came by special delivery with instructions to put an onion in the patient's mouth and kept there until it turned black, which meant it had drawn off all the rabies germs and could be thrown away. Interestingly, "onions seem[ed] to be a special favorite with those who thought they had a sure remedy" for Doe.<sup>628</sup> All of the well-intentioned remedies were discarded by the hospital staff.

Then came a healer named "Dr. John Therrien" of Boston, who represented himself as a specialist in hydrophobia. He wished to hypodermically inject a special preparation of his own making, called *Xantho*, which he admitted was a remedy for diphtheria, but said that it would work for hydrophobia as well. He was asked to name the ingredients of his remedy, but he refused to do so. "He was then asked if he had seen a case of hydrophobia and he admitted that he had not, and did not know what the disease was . . ." It was a clear case of a nostrum being offered by someone who was not a member of the state medical society; his offer was declined and the more he persisted, the more adamantly they refused.<sup>629</sup>

A general meeting of the hospital staff with some of the directors was held on Saturday morning, February 15<sup>th</sup>, to discuss what else could be tried to help Lieutenant Doe, who the day before had advanced into the final stage of hydrophobia symptoms – delirium, spasms, and thrashing about. They discussed the possible benefits of using the new x-rays that had just been revealed to the medical world by Roentgen and it was pointed out that "Lynn had one of the leading

electricians in the world" in their midst, so they summoned Professor Elihu Thomson to the hospital for consultation; he was happy to oblige their request and went straightaway to the hospital.<sup>630</sup>

He didn't think that the x-rays would have any value for Doe's condition but he thought that an electrical current of high frequency with a potential 10,000 volts might interrupt the short life cycle of disease germs long enough to stop the reproduction of new germ cells and thus stop the progress of the disease. The hospital staff weren't convinced that sending electricity through the patient's body would produce beneficial results, but they also felt it would do no harm, so decided it was worth a try. Thomson and his assistants administered the electric shock, the primary current descending in a wire from the electric lighting in the building. At first Doe wasn't willing to be shocked, but finally relented. He took one terminal in each hand, then received the jolt of about one half of the transformer's potential capacity. It was more than enough for Doe; he instantly flung the terminals from his hands and refused to do it again. After a few more hours of trying to convince him, the plan was abandoned and Thomson and his assistants left for home.<sup>631</sup>

Lieutenant Nelson H. Doe was released from his "intense and indescribable suffering" in the early evening of 16 February, forty-eight hours after the worst symptoms had set in and forty-nine nights after a rabid dog had lunged out of the shadows and bit him, viciously beginning the end of his life, then disappeared.

The most dreaded contagious disease in Lynn was whichever one they were dealing with at the time. Lynn had a healthy fear of all contagious diseases, especially in epidemic form, which helped them to organize protocols and regulations for getting infected people quarantined as quickly as they were identified. It controlled the spread and protected the unexposed, even when living nearby the homes of the quarantined. The 1894 isolation of its first smallpox victim in twenty years was handled with the type of controlled response that suggested far more frequent experience with contagions than the city actually had. Ida M. Russell was that singular case in 1894; she was just a ten-year-old girl but her case was treated like she was a wild woman wreaking havoc with two six-shooters at a church supper. She was the daughter of a carpenter living at 87 Blossom Street, one of the most populous neighborhoods in the city. The house was completely surrounded by houses, mostly larger buildings that dwarfed the Russell house at the center. There was no way to come to or leave their house except by going between other houses and all those neighbors. If an epidemic of one of the deadliest diseases could choose a location to mushroom out of control, this would be the place.<sup>632</sup>

On Tuesday, March 6, Ida had a bad headache and pains in her back, along with a slight fever, so a doctor was called in to attend to her. After prescribing for her symptoms he left. He returned on Wednesday and again on Thursday, when he noted a slight rash breaking out around her mouth and chin and he began to suspect smallpox. The rash developed more markedly on Friday and by Saturday morning, he was sure she had the smallpox. He called in fellow medical society doctors Joseph Pinkham and Edward Newhall to consult and they concurred with his diagnosis – Lynn had its first case of genuine smallpox in two decades and with that recognition, measures were immediately taken to contain and control the highly contagious, very dangerous disease.<sup>633</sup>

The board of health was notified and the house was immediately quarantined. A placard was placed on the house stating that smallpox was found on the premises. A police officer who already had the disease and therefore immune to it, was detailed to guard the house with strict orders not to let anybody go into or leave the house, other than the physicians, until the quarantine was raised. He was also instructed to put a red lantern in the doorway at the front of the house, "*but the warning was hardly necessary, as few people care to pass by on the side of the street, and of those who were obliged to pass the house at all, many covered their mouths with handkerchiefs and hurried by as quickly as possible.*"<sup>634</sup>

On Sunday her smallpox rash had developed "‘beautifully,’ in medical parlance," and arrangements were made to remove her and her parents to the pesthouse so that they could be

completely isolated from the rest of the city. The pesthouse was hastily prepared and Ida, wrapped up in warm bedding, was brought there at night, along with her parents, in the board of health's covered wagon. The Russells would live in the city's little pesthouse, isolated from the rest of mankind, for the next three weeks.<sup>635</sup>

When the wagon arrived at the pesthouse, the driver went into a separate room from the family's quarters, removed all of his clothes, then put on a completely new set of clothes passed in to him by a friend outside, then quickly left the building. The clothes he left behind were immediately tossed into the stove and burned. Back at the Russell's house on Blossom Street, the board of health had fumigated with sulphur; the windows were closed tight so that the fumes of the disinfectant could "thoroughly permeate every nook and corner of the room . . ." Very methodically, all possible connections to Ida Russell and her terrible disease were being isolated and eliminated. Ida was carefully treated for her disease at the pesthouse, under the close supervision of the city physician; she was doing well under their care and was expected to make a speedy recovery.<sup>636</sup> The board of health had become very efficient in the exercise of its procedures and authority during the outbreak of contagious disease.

The board of health undertook another step to safeguard the community's health: they sent physicians into the schools to ensure that the required certifications of vaccination were on file for all students attending school and for those that didn't have such evidence, free vaccinations would be performed.<sup>637</sup> Most parents in the city had been dutifully compliant, following the board's regulations requiring physician's certifications of inoculation and health clearance for school attendance; John Poole, for example, noted in his diary in 1895 that his 8½-year-old son Harold was going back to school "for the first time after the measles" with a certificate in hand from his friend and doctor, Frank Stevens.<sup>638</sup> But when the physicians had scoured the students' health certificates on file, the results and subsequent parents' reactions were less than encouraging. Of the roughly 10,000 students in Lynn's schools 1,221 were found to have not been vaccinated, despite the board of health regulation that made vaccination mandatory for attending school; therefore, 18% of the student population could easily contract smallpox if they were exposed, and then spread the disease to their families and friends – it could become a public health nightmare of epic proportion. Those students had given the schools business cards of physicians with the word "vaccinated" and a date written on them as "proof" of vaccination, instead of using the proper, official form required by the school committee.<sup>639</sup>

The core issue behind the fake vaccination certificates, at least for some of those parents, was that they didn't believe in vaccination. A letter to the editor in March complained that the board of health's concern about students not being vaccinated was a dramatic over-reaction to a single case of smallpox. "The doctors of the board have, by the existing compulsory law, assumed control over the bodies of innocent children," compelling the unvaccinated to be inoculated with "their rotten virus." They believed that vaccination with germ cells was unnecessary, dangerous, and a denial of personal liberty,

compulsory vaccination laws ... compel parents to submit the bodies of their children to the beastly, useless and dangerous rite of vaccination ... every individual should be protected in his medical opinions as he is in his religious or political opinions ... [The vaccination laws] jeopardize the lives of innocent children to the benefit of some vaccine virus company, or their greed for the almighty dollar.<sup>640</sup>

Anti-vaccination sentiment was in the minority, but they were obviously passionate about their position. Five years later, a physician at the Lynn Hospital received a most unusual letter from England against vaccination. The anonymous author of the note started by explaining they were writing at the instruction of their spirit guide; "Snowdrop" was a spiritualist of some type, and while the list of the spirits' health reforms was long, vaccination seemed to be at the top of their list:

At the request of my guide I write to ask you to use natural and curative agency in your hospital; such as natural and pure diet, *curative colors*, *curative clothing*, hot baths and bathing; *all operative poisons, drugs, imfood and drugs and drink (flesh, fowl, fish and alcohol), are forbidden in the spirit world*; therefore, against God's laws and healthy soul and body. *Black is the symbol of death and decay.* It came into the world through evil agency, is against God's divine laws and is to be abolished from our earth. Your guides earnestly pray that you will help us in three important matters, and at their earnest request we must tell you that *all vaccinators will be punished in this or the spirit world. Most diseases are due to dirt and poison of vaccine.*

Yours faithfully, "SNOWDROP."<sup>641</sup>

Complete compliance to vaccination mandates hadn't happened in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries and there was no indication that it would ever happen; perhaps the spirits were determined to interfere, just like Snowdrop warned.

Just before the end of the century, there was one more household in the vicinity that came under siege because of smallpox. Technically, it was in Swampscott but it was so close to the border between the two communities, a schoolboy standing in Lynn could have easily hit the house with a pebble from his slingshot. In the middle of May, Mr. William Rust, an employee at the Herrick shoe factory in Lynn and resident at 16 Essex Street in upper Swampscott, next to Lynn's eastern border, thought he had the measles, but it was determined by his family physician, Joseph Pinkham, that he was suffering from the dreaded smallpox. His wife, Lucy, and 15-year-old daughter, Rena, seemed to be unaffected by his illness and, in fact, continued to live their lives for the four days prior to the pronouncement of smallpox, going to school and visiting family and friends. Robert Fowler and his wife had also been living at the Rust house but quickly moved to her brother's house when they learned about Rust's smallpox.<sup>642</sup>

When word spread about smallpox in the Rust home, the townspeople were fearful about the impact on their small community; its 15 schools, attended by almost 700 students, may have to be closed or a thorough inspection for smallpox among the students would have to be made three times a week. The owners of summer residences in Swampscott worried that the bad news would ruin interest in renting out their properties during the fast-approaching, lucrative summer season.<sup>643</sup>

Swampscott's board of health ordered a quarantine at once. Just three men comprised the board, and two of them were out of town. Pinkham's notification of smallpox arrived, so the lone board member who was still in town, Frank B. Stratton, age 27, a veterinary surgeon dentist and the junior member of the board, took matters into his own hands; fortunately for Swampscott, Stratton was a one-man dynamo.<sup>644</sup> He immediately got vaccinated, then went to the house, nailed up red flags and the quarantine card warning people about the case of smallpox inside the house. He then gave the family the "proper fumigating material" for them to disinfect their house. He also put somebody on duty to patrol outside the premises until a special policeman could be assigned. He also ordered the Fowlers back to the Rust home, in case they were already infected, and her brother's home had to be fumigated as well because they had been there. When the grocery man came to the house, the food order was passed outside in a pail, which the officer took and read to the grocer. The goods were also delivered under the strictest surveillance. Stratton had everything under control.<sup>645</sup> In times of emergency, a capable authoritarian was far more productive than a red-tape bureaucracy.

William and Lucy Rust had been restricted to the second floor of the house and William was very specifically confined "to a room on the second floor, on the right-hand side of the house," and the Fowler family were confined to the lower part of the house.<sup>646</sup> Their daughter Rena was visiting her paternal grandparents in Salem when her father was diagnosed with smallpox, so she was required to quarantine there.<sup>647</sup> William had constant medical attendance, but not without some trials; it had been impossible to secure the services of a "proper nurse," so great was the fear over the fact that Rust's symptoms had erupted into a very severe case, so the search extended out to

Lynn as well until the former superintendent of Lynn's pesthouse was finally secured. He had never had the disease himself, but he had a lot of experience as a nurse in smallpox cases.<sup>648</sup>

The Lynn Board of Health advised all the Herrick shoe company employees to be vaccinated and in the meantime no shipments of goods from the factory would be allowed; the building and its contents were to be fumigated by Lynn's board of health as a precaution, and Swampscott's board of health also offered free vaccinations to its townspeople.<sup>649</sup>

The smallpox progressed slowly but steadily and William Rust's condition had become very grave; his nurse described him as an "extremely sick man." He was correct; Rust died on Tuesday, 30 May 1899, at 9:00 PM, a little over two weeks after he had come down with the first symptoms of smallpox. To make the situation even worse, his wife and daughter, Lucy and Rena, had both contracted smallpox as well, even though they had been vaccinated as soon as William was diagnosed with the disease. William was buried in the Swampscott Cemetery under great precautions as had become standard for contagious disease deaths: his body was hermetically sealed in a steel casket and taken to the cemetery under the cloak of night, at two o'clock in the morning, just five hours after his decease. The only people who were allowed to be present were the undertaker, the grave digger, and members of the board of health; his wife and daughter were under quarantine and could not go. Sick themselves and knowing that William had died from the disease had to weigh heavily on their hearts at several different levels.<sup>650</sup> Mother and daughter did recover from their illnesses, however, and the Fowlers never exhibited any symptoms.

One striking difference between the stories of Ida Russell and William Rust, besides the fact that Ida lived and William died, was that back in 1894, Lynn authorities had Ida and her parents immediately removed to Lynn's pesthouse, but in 1899, Swampscott authorities kept William and Lucy Russell at home; they didn't have a contagious disease isolation unit in their town. Some of the residents in the vicinity of the Rust home were indignant that William Rust had not been removed from the house; they said that "a removal ought to be made, no matter the cost or result"; otherwise, they would be kept in a constant state of fear by the proximity of the smallpox so close to their homes and families.<sup>651</sup> Swampscott's board of health needed to retrieve the infected Rena Rust from her grandfather's in Salem (to avoid incurring a large charge from Salem to take care of her), so they asked Lynn City Physician Little for use of Lynn's old pest ambulance, but he refused. "Somewhat aggrieved at the refusal of assistance" they then purchased a wagon and asked Little for permission to park it in Lynn's pesthouse facility, but Little again refused; consequently, they sheltered it somewhere in Swampscott's woods and fumigated it there.<sup>652</sup>

Little's lack of cooperation wasn't borne from aloofness; the truth was that Lynn's pesthouse and ambulance weren't fit for use. Just a few weeks after the Swampscott Board of Health had their requests refused, Lynn's pesthouse complex was in the process of being destroyed.

The Board of Health in this city has recently caused the old hearse and shed in which it was housed to be burned to the ground and at that time it was thought best to have the old pest house burned, but as the order did not include it in its requirements it was allowed to stand. But it is really necessary ... this old building and its contents have been in use for nearly every small pox case for the past 40 years, and the building is in every particular absolutely unfit now for the care of small pox patients.

The bedding, furniture and appliances are all out of date, the bedding being moth eaten, the furniture crumbling with age, and the building is open to the seven winds of heaven. *It would be absolutely fatal to any case of small pox to be treated in this place*, and there is not a physician in Lynn but would tremble to be compelled to attend a case in this pest house. It is the opinion of Superintendent [of the almshouse] Isaiah Pinkham and the City Physicians that the house and its contents should at once be burned, and arrangements [be made] for the erection of a modern pest house with every facility for the proper care of patients afflicted with the disease. The present antiquated building is situated upon the back part of the lot occupied by the City Home, and could be now burned without the slightest danger.<sup>653</sup>

Lynn's starchy uncooperativeness to Swampscott's requests had exposed how much its preparedness against the smallpox had fallen. Lynn had spent the decade rebuilding, updating, and modernizing itself; if it wanted to be regarded as a major American city, its makeover had to be more than skin-deep. It needed to have state-of-the-art medical facilities for all of its health care needs – no more derelict hovels “open to the seven winds of heaven.”



**AN “EMERGENCY HOSPITAL” MEANT SOMETHING** distinctly different in late nineteenth century Lynn. Instead of being a place to take someone in need of critical care, it was the place to take people who were threats to the community because of the contagious diseases they had. Isolating someone infected with a contagious disease was the surest method of trying to stop their contagion from spreading to others. For most of Lynn’s history up into the 1890s, the more common term used for such a building was “pesthouse,” but not surprisingly, the term was loathed because it was the name of the place where many people went in alive and left a corpse.<sup>654</sup> The pesthouse was often purposely located near a cemetery for convenience; Lynn’s pesthouse was on the almshouse property, which had a burial ground for the inmates that died there; it was likely used for those who died at the pesthouse, too.

By any name, Lynn’s pesthouse had been worthless and unusable for years; Ida Russell was its last occupant, in 1894, even though the building was in terrible condition, but she had smallpox and that, more than any of the other contagious diseases (except plague, which never hit Lynn), required the totally isolating, emergency protocol. Lynn had individual cases and neighborhood outbreaks of measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid, hydrophobia, and other contagious diseases throughout the decade. When Ida’s smallpox erupted on her skin, the pesthouse had to be “made ready” because until that incident it had been converted into “a storehouse for clothing and other bric-a-brac.”<sup>655</sup> The only reason that the ratty old pesthouse was made available to her was because smallpox was so especially feared. The board of health wouldn’t allow anybody else to use the ramshackle little building, which had become a major embarrassment and shortcoming for the city of over 60,000.

Charlie Whittle’s misery became Lynn’s humiliation in May 1892. He had lived in Lynn until March, then he moved to Salem, but on May 1<sup>st</sup> he was feeling sick, so he came back to Lynn to see his old doctor, William A. McDonald on Summer Street. Seeing Whittle’s flushing skin, McDonald told him he had scarlet fever and he needed to be isolated immediately. But this was Lynn and it was easier to find a resurrected dead dog than it was to find a functioning emergency hospital. McDonald checked with the Lynn Hospital but was told they had no isolation quarters for contagious diseases, so he drove Whittle over to the police station. The police “were anxious to get rid of him,” so called the almshouse, but were told the pesthouse was now just used for storage. “Here was a dilemma, and Marshal Wells came in to find it staring him in the face”: the man sick with a contagious disease was sprawled out on a bench in the deputy’s office, “turning redder every minute,” and neither the hospital nor the poor farm could take him. Then he remembered that in the old days when the police were located in the city hall, there was a room reserved for the “grewsome purpose” of holding people with contagious diseases; it was even called the “dead room.” He went over to the city hall but found out from the janitor that the room had long since been converted to use as an office for the Sealer of Weights and Measures; the *Item* noted, ”dead weights and not dead men were handled there.” So then the marshal checked with several boarding houses, but each landlady or landlord said, “Not on your life.” They couldn’t send him back to Salem in the train because the other passengers would be exposed, so he started asking the hack drivers. But one after another refused until he found an enterprising driver who agreed to take infected Whittle back for the hugely inflated fare of seven dollars (\$199 in 2020 USD) to drive him the 7½-mile distance back to his home in Salem, plus the city must cover the cost to have his hack fumigated in the morning. Before the reporter left the scene at the police station, he noted that the

police were liberally scattering carbonate of lime about the station, “and several of the officers placed small packages of it in their pockets as a charm to ward off the disease.”<sup>656</sup> For six long hours city officials were chasing their tails, trying to find what to do with just one person sick with contagious disease. Never was any effort made during that time to help Charlie Whittle; the singular goal had been to get rid of him.

Over the next few days there was a flutter of activity at city hall; at a special meeting of the board of aldermen, one of its members presented a letter from the board of health, calling attention to the need for an emergency hospital; it was duly referred to the committee on finance. The city physician said the need was pressing and pointed out there were some thirty cases of contagious diseases of the more common type (scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles) in Lynn at the time, apparently being taken care of in the homes of the infected, marked with quarantine signs, flags, and lanterns. As if to underscore his expression of urgency, three more cases appeared in rapid succession, all of scarlet fever, that put the city’s lack of preparation again in the bright spotlight of public shame and ridicule.<sup>657</sup>

On May 19<sup>th</sup>, a housekeeper named Fanny Brown, came down with scarlet fever and the wealthy family for whom she worked demanded she leave their house immediately. She couldn’t go back to her boarding house and quickly found herself living Charlie Whittle’s nightmare of bureaucratic runaround: the board of health said it could do nothing and told her to contact the overseers of the poor, but there was, of course, no place for her. Somehow she found herself at the door of Sophia A. Clements, a woman who “feared for her own safety and that of her family, but her heart was too large to [turn] a sufferer upon the street, [so] she took the fever-stricken woman in and cared for her.”<sup>658</sup> The next day, a Mr. Creamer who was staying with his wife at the Boyden House on Union Street, was taken ill with scarlet fever as well. Mr. Bickford, the hotel manager asked the board of health to find somewhere else for his sick guest to stay, but “the officials were obliged to hang their heads in shame, and acknowledge that Lynn is unable to care for sufferers,” and they told him that Creamer would have to stay in his hotel and that they would placard the hotel with quarantine signs; “this meant serious financial loss to him, and the ruin of his business,” so the resourceful Mr. Bickford found and secured an unoccupied dwelling at the rear of Boyden block for the sufferer and Creamer was removed to “the improvised pest house.” Mrs. Creamer remained with her husband to nurse him back to health.<sup>659</sup>

Finally, after two more years of discussion in city hall and more isolated cases of scarlet fever, measles and other contagious diseases, agreement was finally reached on building a new hospital for contagious diseases in Lynn. It was being built near the summit of Tower Hill, on Holyoke Street behind the almshouse, well removed from any neighbors nearby “and with plenty of unobstructed air.”<sup>660</sup> A two-story central administration building would have a kitchen, a laundry, and a dispensary, plus rooms for the doctor and nurse, and a bathroom. There would also be two wings projecting off of the main building; each would have two wards at the other end, each of which accommodated about six patients, for a maximum capacity of twenty-four patients, along with nurses’ rooms and bathrooms.<sup>661</sup> It was designed and built to the most sanitary standards then known, including tongue-in-groove flooring and plastered ceilings and walls with rounded corners so “that no disease germs may find lodgment.” The bedding would be “of the very best quality, so as to withstand the severe process of disinfection without injury.”<sup>662</sup> It was a model facility that would come to be inspected by other cities looking into emergency hospitals of their own.<sup>663</sup> Lynn’s spanking new hospital opened on 15 May 1895 and the first patient was admitted on June 13<sup>th</sup>. By the end of the year there had been forty patients admitted: twelve for scarlet fever, twenty-seven for diphtheria, and one case of measles; of which only three diphtheria cases had ended fatally.<sup>664</sup>

In its first five years of existence, Lynn’s Hospital for Contagious Diseases treated scarlet fever and diphtheria cases almost exclusively, a total of 346 patients, “most of whom have been taken from the overcrowded tenement or lodging houses, and from houses where poor people with large families live, and from houses where the people are not cleanly in their habits.” The work of

the hospital was handled by “a capable corps” of a superintendent, a matron, one or more nurses, as required, a cook, a laundress, four physicians, *and a bacteriologist*. Diphtheritic patients were immediately administered the anti-diphtheritic serum upon arrival. The patients’ clothing was placed in “the disinfecting room and rendered free from contagion by the use of live steam or formaldehyde gas.” This place was absolutely state of the medical art:

The diphtheritic patient, before being discharged, has two cultures taken from the throat, which must be negative. That is, the throat must show, by scientific methods, no presence of the specific germ of diphtheria - thus insuring the patient to be no source of contagion when going out to mingle with the world.

The scarlet fever patient is not discharged until desquamation is wholly completed, and is considered to be free from infection.<sup>665</sup>

Once the old pesthouse had been turned into ashes, a new pesthouse for smallpox cases was being built behind the hospital for contagious diseases. The Lynn board of health’s annual report for 1899 explained that “The prevalence of small-pox in the neighboring towns and cities and the consequent possibility of having cases in this city was sufficient reason for having a building ready for instant occupancy in case such an emergency arose.”<sup>666</sup> It was a small building but filled with a kitchen, laundry, attendant’s room, nurse’s chamber, two ward rooms, and two bathrooms, situated on a brick foundation with a roomy cellar underneath. It would be every bit as modern and sanitary as the marvelous hospital in front. Even its name was modernized, from the pesthouse to the “isolation hospital.” The *Item* was impressed by the city’s new “Isolation Hospital”: “Quite different from the old-time, shudder-provoking pest house is this tiny hospital, containing the elements of everything that is in the larger buildings of mercy.”<sup>667</sup>

But the city still wasn’t done. They also had a hospital ambulance built to transport patients to the hospital complex. It was “a very handsome affair and attracts considerable attention whenever it appears upon the street.” The body was painted yellow, with a broad band of red, while the running gear was a deep maroon with gold scroll work. On both long sides was a red cross enclosed by a circle. Inside it was fully equipped with emergency equipment, medicines, hot water bottles, and blankets. Nickel rods were installed along the interior for handholds, and there was a folding seat and a portable stretcher. A nurse went out on each wagon trip to provide medical attention to the patient as they were being transported to the contagious disease buildings. The 1,200-pound wagon was fitted with rubber tires for a more cushioned ride, and a nickel gong, which would help clear the roads as the emergency vehicle went about its important business.<sup>668</sup>

From the ashes of the downtown, Lynn had emerged a new city, more impressive, modern, and fireproof than it had ever been, and although it was long overdue, after the old pesthouse had been reduced to ashes in 1899, the impressive, modern, hygienic Contagious Disease Hospital and Isolation Hospital complex stood proudly, ready to bring Lynn into the twentieth century, complete with a fancy new ambulance, striking its gong of commanding presence.



**THE ALMSHOUSE HAD BEEN A DILAPIDATED DISGRACE** for years. Built in 1819, it was even more worn out and in sorrier condition than the unfortunate souls who lived there. The building was cramped for space; the ancient ceilings were much lower than those in late-century public buildings. Consequently the rooms were poorly ventilated and “the odor that attached itself to all old institutions of this kind [was] plainly noticeable upon entering any one of the buildings.” The buildings (the main housing structure and the smaller one with cells for confining the insane) were old and overcrowded, and the poor arrangement of the living quarters made it impossible for the keeper and his wife to maintain vigilance over the male and female inmates, so immorality was running amuck.<sup>669</sup> But the institution’s scandalous reputation went beyond immorality; it was also very unhealthy and a dangerous fire hazard.<sup>670</sup> In 1894 City

Physician Little complained publicly about the scandalous state of affairs and called out the highest levels of city government for years of habitual inaction: mayor after mayor promised improvements to the almshouse in their inaugural addresses, then dropped the matter; the city council members discussed it often but “no one stirs to remedy the evil,” focusing more energy on sidewalk curbstone projects or securing a plum appointment.<sup>671</sup>

Just as with the pesthouse, public exposure and embarrassment seem to have played a role in getting a new almshouse approved and funded by the city. By mid-November 1895 the new almshouse had been built and it was yet another extremely impressive structure built by the city of Lynn, and the *Item* wrote that it “will rank second to none” for its fitness to its purpose.

The massive new structure was everything the old one was not: moral, safe, and hygienic. First, the sexes were deliberately segregated: the men were in the wing projecting to the east of the structure’s central core and the women were in the wing to the west. Both wings also had their own gender-specific dining rooms, shower bath rooms, store rooms, and “cells for the violent.” Secondly, building safety was completely covered, like the building, in red, hard-fired, quality brick, with granite trimmings. The smoking room in the basement was fire-proof. The ceilings were of brick vaulting, sprung from iron girders, “and as such are absolutely fire proof.” Doorways were wide, providing easier egress in case of fire. And the third shortfall of the old building, hygiene and sanitation, was also implemented on the most modern health principles. Each wing also had segregated hospital rooms, “sunny and light … with a suite of sanitary apartments, the [water] closets in the latter being particularly fine in operation, plain, substantial and neat in the finish. The ventilation was also said to be “of the very best,” probably largely because of the vaulted ceilings. In addition to the three categories of critical improvements, the building had some elegant extras: beautiful fireplaces finished in oak with beveled plate mirrors above the mantel shelves; a chapel with two stained glass windows; an elevator running from the basement to the top (fourth) floor; and a large five-foot-wide laundry chute from the third floor to the basement laundry room. It was a complete, self-contained universe for its inhabitants. Total cost of the new facility was \$45,000 (\$1,386,491 in 2020 USD).<sup>672</sup> The finishing touch to the dramatic new structure was found over the top floor center window on the front of the building: its new name, spelled out in granite; it was no longer the condescending “almshouse” – and certainly not the pejorative “poor farm” – the disadvantaged were now welcomed to “The City Home.” The *Item* said it was evidence of the “evolution of the pauper,” proof that “the world is growing better and the people more tender and sympathetic.”<sup>673</sup> The pesthouse, almshouse, and poor farm were all designed to become forgotten relics of the past, in name and grim memories; The City Home, the Isolation Hospital, and the Hospital for Contagious Diseases were all planned to take Lynn to better days.



**BEING POOR, SINGLE, AND PREGNANT WAS NEVER EASY**, but the Cottage Lying-In Hospital promised to be a friendly, professional place to have their baby for free. It was owned and run by Mrs. Lizzie Bent, “far from an attractive-looking woman, and once seen would not soon be forgotten,” but she appeared to have a heart of gold.<sup>674</sup> She had served as the Essex County Superintendent of Social Purity and also as president and later secretary of the Essex County Helping Hand Society, an organization for aiding the poor and unfortunate, and on one occasion she gave a free lecture in Lynn’s Union Hall titled, “Lack of Charity Among Women” to a mixed audience of men and women.<sup>675</sup> She bought the house on 538 Eastern Avenue and it probably came as no surprise to anyone who knew her that she announced in May 1894 she was turning it into a lying-in hospital for poor and unfortunate young women having babies.<sup>676</sup> She described her pregnant patients as often motherless since childhood, and “all are homeless and friendless but for this home.”<sup>677</sup> After being in operation for its first year, Bent broke down the composition of her hospital’s 68 patients: “15 American, 31 Nova Scotia, 9 English, 4 Swedes, and 7 Irish, and the average age was 18 years” and “none of whom were yet 20 years of age.”<sup>678</sup> Mrs.

Bent was publicly admired for being “indefatigable in her efforts for the good of the unfortunate patients under her care”; poor Lynn loved Lizzie.

Mrs. Bent had not only done well for herself; she had also done a good job of building up the reputation of her hospital, submitting the only photographic ad in the 1895 Lynn city directory; it read, “*Licensed Cottage Lying-in Hospital, with Mrs. L. F. Bent as Superintendent, Mrs. I. A. Martin, Assistant, and Dr. N. R. Miller, Medical Attendant.*”<sup>679</sup> She was apparently a skilled fundraiser, since she had explained the institution was supported *entirely* by donations (which made sense given the destitute circumstances of the largely young, single pregnant patients); in January 1895, she solicited for funds to get new heating apparatus and a supply of fuel to carry the institution through the harsh winter; and who couldn’t send in something to help those poor, pregnant mothers-to-be and their newborns?<sup>680</sup> Her endorsement of the Nervease Company for their product came across as the sincere appreciation of a concerned, compassionate matriarchal leader of Lynn’s Lying-in Hospital, “We cannot find words to half express its value to us in our hospital, where its virtue in curing headaches has been ably demonstrated.”<sup>681</sup> Bent’s Cottage Hospital was described as “an institution that is doing much good,” and was endorsed by the mayor, a judge, the city marshal, and other members of the city government.<sup>682</sup>

In August 1895, things started to quickly fall apart for Mrs. Bent and her maternity hospital. Frederick A. Burt, the zealous agent of the state board of lunacy and charity, investigated complaints about her activities at the hospital, among which was the claim of a young woman living on Pearl Street who was promised by Mrs. Bent that her board bill would be guaranteed by the hospital, but, in fact, was still unpaid and the complainant was a helpless paralytic and needed the money very badly to pay the bill. Burt pushed deeper, extensively investigating Bent’s hospital and background and he discovered a trail of deceit and broken laws left in her wake. He learned she had served two terms in the New Hampshire House of Correction, first for stealing goods from the home where she had been employed as a housekeeper, and on a second occasion for not returning a team of horses she had hired. She was also found to be polygamous, having been married to several men, possibly as many as a half dozen, and being divorced by one because of her adultery with his brother.<sup>683</sup> In light of this exposure, the *Item* referred to her as “Mrs. Lizzie Spiller-Champion-Brayley-Brayley-Sanborn-Dodge-Bent.”<sup>684</sup> The state also found some letters written by Mrs. Bent that they considered evidence of blackmail, as they threatened the patients of the lying-in hospital that she would publish information revealing their names and pregnant condition, and that some of those women paid her money as she required to keep her quiet. He also uncovered several instances of her engaging in baby farming the newborns to persons throughout the region and not reporting these activities to the state.<sup>685</sup>

Before the month was out, Mr. Burt petitioned the Lynn Board of Aldermen to revoke her license for the Cottage Lying-In Hospital on the grounds that she was “an unfit person to have such a license.”<sup>686</sup> The petition was referred to the committee on licenses. After a hearing where she chose not to appear, her license was revoked. Lizzie Bent promptly surrendered her license, probably hoping to avoid any further legal entanglement, but that didn’t work.<sup>687</sup> In October two indictments were leveled against her: one for polygamy and another for eight counts of baby farming, and Bent was arrested in Concord, New Hampshire. The *Item* announced it was proud of exclusively carrying the story of Bent’s exposure and indictments, and of its ability to quickly verify and publish the facts of her arrest: it received the news within a quarter of an hour of her arrest, and verified the report by telephoning the Concord police. Agent Burt had followed her trail through Lynn and up to New Hampshire, and finally located her in a farmhouse two miles out from Concord.<sup>688</sup> She was held on bonds of \$300 for the polygamy charge and \$5,000 for nine counts of baby farming. She was convicted and sentenced to two years in the House of Correction.<sup>689</sup>

There was a symbiotic relationship underway between the government and the press during the decade: the state was hungry to regulate and control the quality of products and services and to find, penalize, and remove violators; and the press was hungry to expose the misdeeds of others

(and the more shocking the misdeeds, the better). It wasn't a contractual collaboration, but it was a cooperative and mutually beneficial one, as the case of Mrs. Bent's downfall and the closure of her lying-in hospital demonstrated. The public was just getting a taste of things to come.

Mrs. Bent's short-lived venture had been a maternity ward without a hospital and across town was the Lynn Hospital without a maternity ward, but it had been taking in the city's poor and single pregnant women all along, and the month after Mrs. Bent was incarcerated, the Lynn Hospital Corporation announced that another building would soon be added to the hospital's campus, exclusively for use as a maternity ward.<sup>690</sup> Mrs. Bent's hospital would have eventually become superfluous, if it hadn't been for the fact that she had ended up behind bars.



**WOMEN WEREN'T ENCOURAGED TO HAVE THEIR BABIES** at the Lynn Hospital, but they came nonetheless, ever since it opened its doors in 1883. One of the hospital's staff remembered, "patients of this kind were admitted with fear and trembling, because the accommodations they properly should demand could not be given them."<sup>691</sup> The hospital's annual report for the year 1890 stated, "Women expecting confinement, except in rare instances ... are necessarily excluded."<sup>692</sup> There was no separate area of the hospital that could be cordoned off for the exclusive use of maternity patients, so when they arrived at the hospital, they were in close proximity to other patients with diseases, wounds, fevers, and more that could put the mother and infant at risk, before, during, and after birth. The general wards were also often a loud and gruesome place to be, not the kind of environment for a new mother to happily and peacefully bond with her newborn, plus there was the significant issue of privacy for females, especially given their presence there was focused on private matters involving obstetrical and gynecological care and even breast feeding. Nonetheless, expectant mothers were coming to the hospital because it had come to be respected as a place with professional healthcare, skilled staff, and a more hygienic environment than most of the homes provided. Plus, those without the ability to pay could get excellent attention from trained and educated doctors and nurses at the hospital at no cost, rather than relying on midwives, conventional or unconventional doctors, all of whom usually charged for their services, and well-intentioned but mostly unskilled watchers from the patient's family or circle of friends for around-the-clock care instead of that provided by the trained nurses at the hospital.

The year from the announcement to the open house for the new maternity ward building flew by. A committee of twenty-five women (which included Mrs. Charles H. Pinkham and Mrs. Elihu Thomson) had worked tirelessly to raise funds for the acquisition of a home of two and a half stories at 206 Boston Street that was already bordering the existing hospital campus, as well as for its necessary renovations and appointments to ready it for use as a maternity ward; in fact, they didn't stop soliciting funds even during or after the open house, reminding the public that the maternity ward and the entire hospital was for "the humblest as well as ... the highest. ... One visit among the helpless patients, one glance into the grim operating room, now robbed of its terrors, an hour's study of the efficient service and organization of this house of healing" could not help but to impress the most indifferent soul of the hospital's importance and the duty every resident of the city had to support its existence with their donations.<sup>693</sup>

Hundreds of citizens took the opportunity to tour the new maternity ward and it was unlike anything before seen in Lynn. It was "a veritable house of refuge for the suffering and unfortunate"; the walls were "tinged a plain pink" and the ceilings were "a delicate buff," yet in keeping with its mission as a hospital facility, "everything is as dainty as is compatible with the nature of the work in hand, but all useless frumpery, such as would catch the dust and invite irritation and disease, is dispensed with." The main ward had four beds and a beautiful crib "for the reception of the newcomers"; it was big enough to hold four infants and there was another crib in the house. The bathrooms were also constructed with a combination of modern and hygienic convenience in mind, they were "models of the kind, with open plumbing and porcelain-lined tubs" and the one on the

first floor also had a “porcelain slop hopper” for the hygienic disposal of waste from vomit bowls, bedpans, and urine bottles.<sup>694</sup>

The marvelous new maternity ward didn’t have to wait to see if it would be patronized; after the open house, a steady stream of women went there to have their babies. The first volume of the hospital’s records for the maternity ward provided poignant insights about their patients, far beyond purely medical notations; it sometimes read more like diary entries that reflected great concern and compassion on the part of the staff for their patients, many of whom were clearly impoverished and facing very difficult personal and family circumstances.

#### **20 December 1896 – Mary Morrisey**

The first patient to the Lying In Ward, was brought here, in the ambulance Sunday December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1896, 4:15 P.M.

Mary Morrisey, aged 22 yrs. A domestic in a Lynn family.

There could be no doubt as to her need of a thorough bath, as it was very apparent she had not had one, for some time.

Pediculi [lice] were plentiful, also, but in due time, she was made comfortable, and put to bed.

A long, tedious labor followed, until 6:20 A.M. Dec. 22<sup>nd</sup>, she was delivered of a macerate [thin] male infant.

She was a very quiet patient, and had a good convalescence.

January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1897, she was considered well, and discharged from the Hospital.

She assured us, she was going to be welcomed back to her “place.”

This was not strictly true, as we learned soon after, that she had made application to the Associated Charities telling them she had just come from the Hospital, where she had been treated for a “sore foot.”

She was sent by them, to the Bethesda Home, until she should be strong enough, to look for another “place.” She was born in Ireland, and had only been in this country, three mo[nth]s.

#### **27 December 1896 – Mrs. Kate Long**

Mrs. Long was born in Ireland, age 26 yrs. Married in this country and lives with her husband, Michael, 7 Heffernan Ave. this city.

To say they are very poor, is putting it mildly, as they were about as destitute, as people could be and exist at all.

Scarcely a morsel of food in the house, for days together, and so scanty w[a]s the supply of fuel, they could only have a fire burning long enough to prepare the frugal meals.

Mrs. Lovejoy called to see her, and learning her circumstances, and that she was looking forward to confinement in a short time, urged her to make application to the Hospital.

She called, with Mrs. Lovejoy, was pleased with the ward, and afterward received the permit.

She was expected, the day before Xmas, but wanted to be at home, if possible, the 25<sup>th</sup>. She again postponed coming until the evening of the 27<sup>th</sup>, when she was obliged to make haste.

She came on foot, and ran most of the way. No hat upon her head, her dress waist unfastened, and shawl dropping from her shoulders, and her underwear consisted of a cotton night robe and very thin petticoat. It was a bitter cold night, the thermom[eter]. Registered below zero.

She reached here, about 8:46 P.M. Almost breathless, in great pain, and very cold.

Was put to bed immediately and at 9 o'clock, gave birth to an 8 lb. Baby boy, well developed, strong and active.

We named him Alpha, and he was a very nice baby.

The mother had a good convalescence after all.

The husband did not call, for several days, spite of the fact, that she left him asleep when she came, so that he was not sure where she was.

Jan. 10<sup>th</sup> 1897 She was ready to go home, and the husband called for his family. He hadn't stopped to make a fire, at home, to warm the house, for their coming, and refused to carry the baby. He said he intended taking them home, in the Street Car, but must have changed his mind.

They were seen, later, walking toward home, the wife carrying the baby.

#### **27 June 1897 – Jessie Gourley**

Born in Nova Scotia. 22 years old. Came to Lying-In ward June 27<sup>th</sup>. Next day, a baby girl w[a]s born, and named Emma, weighing 8½ pounds. The mother was very sick, puerperal fever beginning about the third day, the baby had eruptions all over her body, but worse about the head.

Jessie was moved to the annex, and the maternity fumigated, by use of the formaldehyde lamps.

She did not seem to have many friends, and was unmarried, and being so sick, was altogether a pitiable case. Was discharged well, July 28, 1897, and seemed truly grateful for the care she received.

#### **28 November 1897 - \$30. P. P. - Mrs. Edith Petengrew**

Born in P. E. I. [Prince Edward Island] Married, and lives with her husband at 19 Albany St., city.

Has a very comfortable home, well furnished, and husband is employed by the T. H. Electric Co. with good salary – But she preferred Hospital treatment; Came to us Nov. 28 about midnight. Was very sick, soon after, and baby was born Nov. 29 at 10:30 P.M. A lovely boy weighing 11 ½ lbs. His name Ralph. Mrs. P. was in every sense of the word, a very nice patient, and cheerfully paid her bill.

It was pleasure to care for her, and "Talphie" was very lovely -

He remembered his nurses at Xmas, with beautiful flowers and very pretty calendars – Very thoughtful for one so young.

We were sorry to part with them, and they did not seem anxious to leave us.

Both were discharged Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> 1897.

#### **27 May 1898 – Mrs. Ella Moody**

returned to us May 27<sup>th</sup> and the baby girl was born May 28<sup>th</sup> 1898.

A lovely baby and she was named Mildred Lane Moody -

The mother's history is a very sad one. Was married five years, husband very cruel to her -

At last, was imprisoned for entering houses &c.

While serving a four years sentence, his wife was led into wrong-doing, by another, and the result is known -

Her sisters were kind to her, but could not take her in, so when she went from the Hospital, she was obliged to go to the City Almshouse – She felt this, very keenly, as had once been a respected citizen of Lynn, and was well known.

She was very sick, indeed, while here, and throughout the long stay, was a very good patient, and when able, did all in her power to help everyone, as she felt so sorry she could not give money, for care received.

Dismissed improved July 18, 1898. [this was the exception to the rule – most women were described as poor, several coming from and/or going to the City Almshouse, etc.]

**12 March 1899 – Mrs. Agnes Najar**

Born in Armenia, lives on Alley St.

23 yrs old and married.

Was brought to Hospital, by Dr. Stone, while under ether, and very sick.

A beautiful baby was born, a few hours later, but was dead. A male – Weight 10 lbs.

The father was notified, and quickly responded to the call.

Both felt badly, at loss of the infant.

At her request, the husband, who has a camera, took the dead infant's photograph, at undertakers office.

The proof was shown the mother, while at the Hospital – Photo. Taken in two positions – Sitting in a chair, and lying in casket, which stood up on end.

It was a hideous sight, but to them, was beautiful.

Agnes was discharged well, March 26<sup>th</sup>.<sup>695</sup>

In 1897, the first full year of the maternity ward's use, there were forty births, fourteen involving single mothers. The report also noted, "we could not from the circumstances of most of the patients admitted expect payment for the care and treatment given."<sup>696</sup>



**FREE HEALTH CARE AT THE HOSPITAL** was critical in a city with so many low-paid and unemployed residents, many victims of the depression; donations therefore continued to be the institution's lifeblood. Those who were financially able were expected to pay for their hospital care, like Edith Petengrew in the maternity records listed above, who paid \$30 (\$935.46 in 2020 USD) for two weeks of care and services provided to her and her baby, and then came back at Christmastime with "Talphie" to give the nurses gifts of flowers and calendars. But they were the exceptions; in fact the hospital was well aware that there were some who were capable of paying for their services that pretended to be unable; in the same year that the Petengrews paid their bill, there were cases "where outpatients have applied for medical assistance who have worn diamonds in their ears, and others who have driven to the hospital in carriages."<sup>697</sup> So fundraising remained a constant, important part of the hospital's efforts to be maintained and grow. The wealthy were an obvious focus of solicitation; in 1897 the hospital calculated that if 100 of Lynn's affluent citizens would send checks of \$50 each, it would be well-funded.<sup>698</sup> An annual city-wide Hospital Day appeal was an established part of the fundraising effort and it was done with the same slate of fundraising events that had been used when funds were being raised to build the hospital back in the early 1880s. Hospital Day involved donation boxes at places of employment, in public locations like grocery stores, drug stores, and even at the police station, and culminating in collections being taken at Sunday services in the churches. As a result of the Hospital Day appeal of 1899, \$390.93 was collected from the employees at the General Electric Works in West Lynn and the third largest corporate donation came from the Lydia E. Pinkham Company, where \$58.10 had been collected from a much smaller workforce than there was at G. E.<sup>699</sup> In prior campaigns, Elihu Thomson and Charles Pinkham had personally donated \$250 and \$100 respectively.<sup>700</sup> Interestingly, even as Charles Pinkham and the Lydia E. Pinkham employees were donating to help their hospital thrive,

an ad for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* tried to scare the women of America away from hospitals. The ad told the story of a woman who “escaped” the need to go to the hospital by resorting instead to Pinkham’s vegetable compound. Some of the teasers in the ad copy read:

#### MRS. LYNESS ESCAPES

##### The Hospital and a Fearful Operation.

Hospitals in great cities are sad places to visit. Three-fourths of the patients lying on those snow-white beds are women and girls.

Every one of those patients in the hospital beds had plenty of warnings ...

Don’t drag along at home or in the shop until you are finally obliged to go to the hospital and submit to horrible examinations and operations! ... Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound will save you from the hospital. ...<sup>701</sup>

Charles Pinkham was duplicitous in allowing the advertising company to place such an ad; he, his wife, and his company were all committed to supporting the Lynn Hospital and even its maternity ward, but he had a business to run and product to sell. It would have been a nobler choice to stand by both his medicine and hospitals, recognizing that each had their own missions and benefits to provide. Serving on the Lynn Hospital board, he was well aware that it was doing a good and important work for the people of Lynn.

As strongly as the Pinkham advertisement tried to dissuade women from ending up at a hospital, Robert Ramsdell of Lynn wrote in praise of the institution and urging people to patronize the Lynn Hospital in particular. After Ramsdell, an agent for a surgical instrument maker, had his right lower leg crushed when it was accidentally run over by two train cars in the station at Gloucester, he insisted he wanted to be taken the 22 miles back to Lynn for care; so he was put on a stretcher in the train and when he arrived in Lynn, the police ambulance met him at the station and took him directly to the hospital.<sup>702</sup> A few weeks after being released from Lynn Hospital, the grateful Ramsdell wrote an article for the *Item*, praising the city’s house of healing.

Do not dread the hospital. Do not say, “If I ever meet with an accident, don’t send me to the hospital.” You will find it far pleasanter than you expect. If your case is a very serious one at least four physicians are there every day who can attend to your case and at any hour, day or night, the nurses are ready to come at your call. On the 24<sup>th</sup> of October last I was taken to our hospital, my right leg [was] amputated below the knee, and, after remaining 18 weeks, I left on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, with feelings, of deepest gratitude towards all who had in any way assisted in restoring me to health.

Robert Ramsdell.<sup>703</sup>

The Lynn Hospital had become a remarkable institution that unconditionally served every heart, every time they beat, doing all that it could to keep them beating. Along with the police and the fire department, Lynn’s hospitals were the backbone of Lynn. Supporting the hospital in its annual appeals the *Item* reminded the public how uniquely committed the hospital was to helping everyone be healthy: it was open “every day in the year, day and night, with trained nurses and attendants ready to minister to the relief and care of those who are brought to its doors. There are no closed doors, no cessation of the work ...”<sup>704</sup>

The outpatient department at the Lynn Hospital was a very busy place, treating anywhere from 12 to 30 patients lined up at their doors every morning; 8,594 outpatients received treatment in 1899, an average of over 24 people per day.<sup>705</sup> An annual report of the hospital claimed that “the diseases treated are as numerous as the patients.”<sup>706</sup> That, of course, wasn’t quite true, but each patient required individual attention, so it may have felt like it was the case. Besides, the hospital had to be ever-ready for whatever came through its doors, from attempted suicides to attempted murders, unexplained poisonings and horrible accidents, *plus* all the illnesses, abnormal symptoms, and frantic faces pleading for immediate care and solutions. In February 1892, the ambulance rolled

up to the hospital with the boiled body of the moaning William Russell, a 21-year-old morocco dresser, who had fallen into a vat of boiling water at the factory. As the doctor and nurses removed the injured man's clothing, they found his backside was one big blister, extending from his neck to his heels. After they dressed the scalds he rested a little easier and it was believed that he would survive.<sup>707</sup> That May, 22-year-old Paul Markerian stumbled through the hospital doors with a deep stab wound below his left shoulder blade; he had been stabbed with a closed pair of steel leather-trimming sheers by an agitated workmate at the Pevear factory; with the assistance of another man from the plant, the stabbed and bleeding Markerian had trudged the short distance from the factory to the hospital. "The shears had penetrated through the wall of the chest, between the seventh and eighth ribs, and punctured the left lung. ... Excessive hemorrhages from the lung ensued and Markerian sank steadily, despite all that could be done for him." Nonetheless, the hospital staff was able to save the man and he was expected to recover within two or three weeks.<sup>708</sup>

In July the hospital staff dealt with someone who had an umbrella stuck in his eye and in August another victim arrived with gashes in his head and hand that were made from a falling axe.<sup>709</sup> In December 1895 they dealt with Charles Crompton who had received a broken nose and bad wound on the back of his head from the beating his assailant had caused with a whip.<sup>710</sup> In August 1897 a young man was brought to the hospital with his face covered in terrible chemical burns from a container of vitriol (sulfuric acid) that had been thrown at him by his unstable girlfriend. There was nothing they could do to restore his eyesight, but after several months at the hospital he had recuperated sufficiently to leave and get on with his life.<sup>711</sup>

The hospital was always meant to be, first and foremost, for those who were unable to pay for medical treatment.<sup>712</sup> Conventional and unconventional doctors were still busy providing at-home medical and surgical services; the hospital was not meant to replace those services. Joseph Pinkham performed an emergency appendectomy on John A. Littlefield, manager of the Brunswick Hotel, at his home in the rear of 38 Pearl Street. The appendix had become gangrenous and "it was a case of life or death," which depended on removal of the obstruction without perforating it and allowing the toxic contents to spread infection into the abdominal cavity. The operation was successful.<sup>713</sup> In 1893 James C. Farish, an unconventional, non-medical society doctor, successfully performed a tracheotomy on the daughter of Edward B. Lewis, a clerk, at their 16 Lloyd Street home; it was said to have been a severe case of diphtheria, for which other "physicians held out no hope for recovery."<sup>714</sup> In another at-home surgery in 1892, three medical society doctors operated on 30-year-old Charles N. McIntire, a box maker, at his home on Eastern Avenue, removing an intestinal tumor.<sup>715</sup> The Lynn Hospital even instituted a "district nursing" program, sending out trained nurses to visit the homes of the sick that had been brought to their attention by the Secretary of the Associated Charities. In those homes the nurses not only cared for the sick parent or children, but also taught the family members who weren't sick the basics of nursing and how to prepare simple, wholesome food for the sick.

There is no romance about such work as this. The nurse is of necessity compelled to do the hardest work with the fewest possible resources at her command. She must tax her energies and her inventive powers to make useful the few materials at hand, and they are scant enough in most cases. Such work is not alone a blessing in the homes she visits but is of great value in the way of discipline to the nurse herself, who is perhaps in these homes brought for the first time in her life face to face with sickness under circumstances quite unlike her Hospital experiences, where she is surrounded by all the modern conveniences and appliances to make her vocation effective.<sup>716</sup>

The Lynn Hospital with its emergency and surgical care, the maternity ward, outpatient department, and district nursing program were all providing greater contributions to Lynn's health care every year, and they were winning praise and converts, like Robert Ramsdell, all along the way. The *Daily Evening Item*, which had the advantage of being the best-read voice of the

community, often printed words of support for the hospital's contribution, "What should we do without the Hospital?" it asked in February 1892,

Within the 24 hours ending this morning[,] seven surgical cases were treated there. Two people injured at the Thursday morning fire, four with injuries to the hands, one man scalded, probably fatally, and another injured by a jump from a window. Had we no hospital[,] these unfortunates would have been subjects to more suffering than is now necessary, owing to the excellent arrangement for the treatment of accidents. The little movement of twelve years ago has grown into a mighty power for good and thousands bless the day that saw the conception of the Lynn Hospital.<sup>717</sup>

At mid-decade a huge blaze was being fought on Munroe Street and an entire block of buildings was destroyed. Three firefighters had been killed and nine others were injured, some having been trapped under a falling wall. After removing them from the debris, they were all rushed to the hospital. It was vividly and accurately recounted as "a night of excitement and horror." The small staff of doctors and nurses at the hospital rose to the occasion, healing the wounds, easing the sufferings of the injured, and calming down the frightened friends and relatives who kept calling on the telephone.<sup>718</sup> A few days later, once the human and structural losses and damages had been fully assessed, an *Item* reporter who had observed the scene at the hospital during the night of the fire, heaped more praise upon the hospital:

The Lynn Hospital is the institution which should be as jealously guarded and as carefully tended and generously supported as any connected with the city or our people. The great blessing was never more appreciated than last Wednesday night, when nine wounded men were suddenly carried there for treatment. The medical men, the Superintendent, and the trained nurses worked nobly to relieve the sufferers, and too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the Hospital staff.<sup>719</sup>

At the end of the decade, the *Item* wrote, "Lynn Hospital has a warm place in the hearts of the people and especially those who are liable to need its tender mercies."<sup>720</sup> With all the people and problems in the city at the end of the century, tender mercies were just what Lynn needed.

## **ALIEN INVASION**

At the start of the decade, the Lynn Hospital made an important promise to the public, "sufferers from acute disease, or victims of sudden accidents or injuries, of *whatever nationality, or color, or occupation, or religion, whether old residents or recent comers*, will be gladly received and tenderly cared for."<sup>721</sup> It was a bold and stirring commitment being offered in a time when sympathy and compassion weren't likewise pouring out of every Lynn heart towards the foreign strangers who were arriving in their city.

An aversion to those who did not sound, look, dress, or act like a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant had existed since the first Europeans had settle in the land of Lynn. From those earliest days, fear, animus, and condescension were displayed towards the native Americans and the Africans who were enslaved and hauled to these shores against their will. The land that had been wrested from the former and subdued by the toil of the latter was, in the 1890s, being protected from assault by foreigners who spoke suspiciously, unnervingly strange words and threatened security by working for lower pay. Some continued to insulate the fragile worlds by surrounding themselves with fellow Americans. Classified ads perpetuated the decades-long search for fellow second and third-generation Americans. Lemuel Brock offered to rent out two tenement apartments in Brockville to small American families and young American women were wanted by several to fill positions as housekeepers; one specified a "Protestant Girl" for the work.<sup>722</sup> Genealogical research and the establishment of patriotic hereditary societies became popular new endeavors, proving bloodline connections to veterans of the American Revolution and passengers on the

Mayflower, people and heritage far removed from the recent immigrants.<sup>723</sup> Even the city's *Blue Book* painted an invisible wall between its favored residents and the ostensibly insignificant; the title page stated the book contained "Lists of the Leading Residents, Societies, Clubs, Etc." . The 1,175 families in Lynn's *Blue Book* of 1897 were a very select 7.5% of the 15,616 families in the city's 1900 census. But none of these efforts made a dent in the onslaught of immigrants.

Both the *Daily Evening Item* and the *Lynn Transcript* took defensive positions against the large number of immigrants that had been surging into the United States for years. An *Item* editorial noted, "The influx of foreigners at the rate of a million a year is matter of the gravest import. The majority of them come without knowledge of our language, much less of our laws and institutions, and with no desire to understand them. The result is we have a vast amount of alien population that it is impossible to assimilate, and it becomes an actual menace."<sup>724</sup> A *Transcript* editorial expressed the same concern, albeit more crudely, "We already have too many embryotic citizens of all tongues, and it is time to call a halt in the procession [of] the vast army of tramps and dead-beats...."<sup>725</sup> The *Item*'s court reporter came to life when the predictable, boring repetition of drunkards gave way to coincidences of multi-national cases on the same docket, "The seating capacity of the room was severely taxed, and many nationalities were represented. Chinese, Dutch, Irish, Armenians, Assyrians, French and negroes, were scattered about the enclosure, and made things lively for nearly three hours."<sup>726</sup> While court reports almost always identified defendants from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada by their legal name, other ethnic groups were usually disparaged through subliminal bigotry, being identified by their nationality (or some epithetic version) before or along with their legal names:

The next case tried was that of two Russian Poles, who became engaged in a dispute at the River Works of the General Electric Co. Zachs Brennick was arraigned on a charge of assaulting Frank Carcus, *or at least that is the nearest approach that could be obtained to the orthography of names*. The story of the affair was told partly in broken English and partly through an interpreter, but *the only thing that could be made out* with definiteness was that there had been a quarrel over some molding flasks, and the men had exchanged blows.

The third case was that of Martin McNulty, charged with assaulting Charlie Wah, a Chinaman, or to give the right name of the Chinaman, as explained by the interpreter, [which was] Goon Hing.<sup>727</sup>

Early in the decade, federal immigration restrictions were tightened, which included exclusion of those with various mental conditions like insanity, retardation, and epilepsy, and those afflicted with "loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases."<sup>728</sup> As had been amply demonstrated for decades, Lynn had a fearful apprehension of contagious diseases, so the suspected appearance of cholera in a recently arrived immigrant sent up red flags, immediately and literally.

Absolutely everything about Fanny Friedman's sickness screamed cholera. Her symptoms, her nationality, her travels, and her location in Lynn all combined into the inevitable conclusion of contagious disease; on 26 September 1892, *Item* readers were greeted with the front page lead story, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION. Suspected Case of Asiatic Cholera in Lynn. The Unfortunate, Mrs. Fanny Friedman, 93 Harbor Street. The Authorities Are Using Every Possible Precaution." The article began, "There is just cause for alarm ... In a room on the second floor of the dwelling in the rear the sick person lies. Mrs. Fanny Friedman, a Jewess, of Poland, 23 years of age."<sup>729</sup>

Max Friedman had immigrated to the U.S. two years earlier and came to Lynn in the early summer for employment at a morocco leather shop. He was then able to send for his wife, Fanny, and their 2½-year-old daughter to join him in America; in July they started their journey from their old home near Warsaw, which at that time was part of Polish Russia. Fanny and her toddler reached Hamburg in Germany by train and were required to quarantine there for three days because they had come from one of the Polish districts infected with cholera. Once released they made their way

to Liverpool, England, where they were crowded into a steamship's steerage with many other immigrants for the entire trans-Atlantic voyage. When the ship arrived in New York, they were again subjected to quarantine for three days, after which they were washed, fumigated, and allowed admission into America.<sup>730</sup> Cleared by two quarantines, medical inspections, and at least one fumigation, the Friedmans had every reason to believe they were healthy, disease-free, and ready to restart their lives together in Lynn, Massachusetts.

Weeks of being stuck in steerage and two experiences of being cramped in quarantines were probably good preparation for living in the place Max had found for them. It was a small apartment squashed in a small house: the five-member Burke family was on the first floor and the upper floor was split between the Friedmans and the Janofsky family of four, plus as many as five other friends of the Janofskys and Friedmans shared their meagre living spaces; the *Item* accounted for seventeen occupants in the small house, a full dozen on the second floor and perhaps spilling into the attic, and everyone in the house had to share the one water closet that was located in the cellar – and it was stopped up. The overcrowded house was stuck in a jumble of buildings that seemed forgotten behind other buildings – the houses on Harbor Street looked like they had been shoved together by a child making more room on the floor to play with more favored toys. But living in a forgotten building block was not the only problem facing the Friedmans.<sup>731</sup>

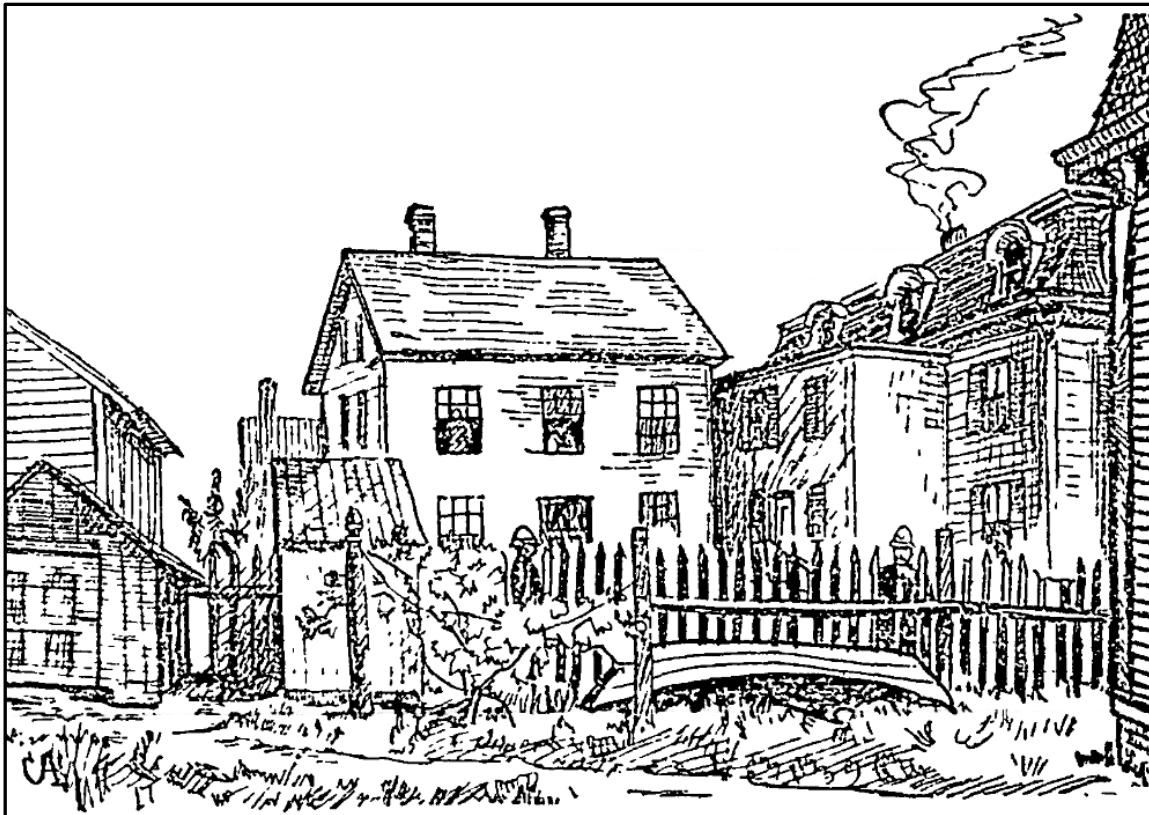
The air that squeezed between the buildings to reach the Friedman's windows stunk. The odors from the mud flats and marshes along the nearby harbor for which the street was named smelled terrible. There was also “the unbearable smell from the city dump, when the wind blew from that direction,” and the outfall sewer pipe was dumping its noxious loads and smells nearby as well.<sup>732</sup> Still, even with the crowded living conditions and the smells along the harbor, the Friedmans were just enduring what many other low-paid immigrant families were experiencing in Lynn's harbor district. The difference was that none of the others exhibited symptoms of cholera.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of September, exactly three weeks after leaving New York for Lynn, Fanny Friedman became quickly and violently sick; less than three hours later, Max went to get a doctor. She had abdominal cramps with frequent purging and vomiting. The doctor gave her a painkiller and returned for another visit a couple of hours later, but despite the medicine, there was no improvement, which made the doctor more curious about his patient's background. “Learning that she was a recent immigrant from the cholera district of Poland the doctor considered it an imperative duty to notify the board of health, as the symptoms of her disease indicated cholera.”<sup>733</sup>

Medical Examiner Pinkham and City Physician Little were called in to consult on the possible cholera case. The city physician decided to take all possible quarantine precautions, treating the case like cholera, and sending a sample of Fanny's fecal matter to Professor Ernst at Harvard for microscopic examination and determination whether the comma-shaped Asiatic cholera bacteria was present.<sup>734</sup>

In the meantime, Little turned the Burke-Janofsky-Friedman tenements into a quarantine prison. Several policemen were stationed as guards, surrounding the house, ensuring that no one left or entered the building and “The 17 occupants of the quarantined house are kicking in the liveliest manner” over being “securely imprisoned as a rat in a trap.” But their confinement got even more miserable when “Dr. Little caused the premises to be thoroughly fumigated by burning sulphur, spraying with carbolic acid and scattering chloride of lime about.”<sup>735</sup> At least his thoroughness to eliminate contagion also resulted in a plumber finding a piece of wood that was stopping up the water closet.

With police guards surrounding the house, news of the cholera quarantine spread quickly and “brought hundreds of people to the spot, who gazed at the building, uttered all sorts of prognostications, but kept a respectful distance.” There was even a company that sought to benefit from the groundswell of anxiety. Sharing the prized front page location just below the masthead with the *Item*'s big cholera news, a large, illustrated ad announced, “Precautionary Measures! For



**Cholera House, 1892.** "Two-storied house with two chimneys contains suspected cholera. It sets in rear of French-roofed house at right of picture, which faces on Harbor Street." Note the two helmeted police sentries between the fence and the house, keeping the sick inside and others from entering. (from the *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1892.)

the Prevention of CHOLERA! ... JAROS' HYGIENIC UNDERWEAR FOR MEN AND WOMEN."<sup>736</sup> What better time to buy anti-cholera underwear than when the contagious killer was making its appearance in Lynn?

Two days after the *Item* had broken the news of possible immigrant-borne cholera, the story evaporated. Professor Ernst telegraphed City Physician Little a succinct message with the results of his microscopic analysis, "No evidence of Asiatic cholera."<sup>737</sup> Fanny Friedman was only suffering from a bad case of gastroenteritis and she was not contagious. The police guard detail was released, the quarantine was lifted, the gawking crowds dispersed, and life resumed on Harbor Street, but concerns about dangers being posed by the onslaught of immigrants continued to fester in the minds of many, from local landlords to the halls of Congress.

In his roles as a U.S. Senator and Chairman of the Committee on Immigration, Henry Cabot Lodge of Nahant was determined to stem the tide of immigration through further legislation, "we are at this moment overcrowded with undesirable immigrants," Lodge told Congress, and "this ... condition is steadily growing worse."<sup>738</sup> It had been said that the senator would likely "vote for almost any bill that would restrict immigration," but his principal focus was on preventing illiterate immigrants from entering the country which, he proposed, would be accomplished by administering a literacy test,

The illiteracy test will bear most heavily upon the Italians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks and Asiatics, - and very lightly or not at all, upon English-speaking emigrants – or Germans, Scandinavians and French. In other words, the races most affected by the illiteracy test are those whose emigration to this country has begun within the last 20 years and swelled rapidly to enormous proportions, races with

which the English-speaking people have never hitherto assimilated; and who are most alien to the great body of the people of the United States.<sup>739</sup>

He then defined the immigrants from southern and eastern Europeans and Asia as the “lower races” – those most prone to criminality, juvenile delinquency, pauperism, immorality, and illiteracy, and concluded that his efforts to keep the lower races from inundating America’s “higher race” represented America’s best efforts to save itself:

If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail. The lower race will absorb the higher ... In other words, there is a limit to the capacity of any race for assimilating and elevating an inferior race ... *The lowering of a great race means not only its own decline, but the lowering of human civilization.*<sup>740</sup>

Necessity dictated that Senator Lodge had to travel through Lynn each time he went to and from his grand oceanfront estate in Nahant; he must have had his carriage driver trot briskly through the city to avoid its increasing numbers of lower races and other riff-raff.

Truth be told, Lynn was one of the Massachusetts cities least impacted by the arrival of immigrants in the 1890s. In 1895 Lynn’s population was 62,534 of which foreign-born residents accounted for 26%, while Boston’s foreign-born population was 46% of its total, Lowell’s was 44%, and Fall River was 50%. Of the seven Massachusetts cities with larger mid-decade populations than Lynn, all had larger percentages of immigrants than Lynn. Most smaller cities also had significantly larger foreign-born populations; New Bedford’s immigrant population was 41% of its total and Lawrence had 47% (only Springfield had a smaller percentage of immigrants: 24%, two percent less than Lynn).<sup>741</sup> And frankly, the decade’s new crop of foreigners didn’t feel so foreign – of the immigrants arriving in Lynn between 1890-1899, 41.82% came from English-speaking Canada, 18.04% were from Ireland, and another 9.45% came from Great Britain. The three new regions from which immigrants began to appear in Lynn during the 1890s – Southern and Eastern Europe and Turkey – made up only 12.52% of the decade’s arrivals, 694 out of the total 5,543 immigrants: 149 Italians, 50 Greeks, 106 Turks and Armenians, 145 from the region of Poland, and 244 from Russia.<sup>742</sup>

The immigrants were clearly drawn to Lynn primarily because of low-paid work availability in the city’s shoe industry and also at the General Electric facility at West Lynn, but a smaller portion of most nationalities became identified with certain trades. Thirty-one of the thirty-five wagon drivers were from English-speaking Canada, including ice, coal, provisions, dry goods, wagons, milk and bakery carts, and even a doctor’s carriage. The majority hauled ice: eighteen out of twenty-two ice wagon drivers came from the northlands of the continent. Seventeen Greeks found work in the morocco leather factories; fifteen of them were unable to read, write, or speak English, but they were in good company: of the decade’s new 110 multi-national immigrants engaged in the morocco industry, 32 were unable to speak English.<sup>743</sup>

Young, single Swedish women were sought for employment in some of the city’s finest homes; one help wanted ad even specified the preference for “A Swedish Girl for general housework.”<sup>744</sup> Successful families living on Ocean Street had a Swedish servant girl or two; capitalist Joseph Smith had three Swedish servants and a Swedish cook.<sup>745</sup> Throughout the city, sixty-three Swedish women (averaging 25.5 years old) were employed as live-in servants, wherever their employer’s home happened to be located. Lena Lundskog, 20, was a servant in the Essex Avenue home of Melvin A. Dame, merchant; Hannah Peterson, 24, worked in the Tudor Street home of William Hosmer, piano dealer; Theresa Swanson, 22, was a servant in the Tapley Street home of Nathaniel Holder, bakery proprietor; and over on Western Avenue, the Bloom sisters, Annie, 29, and Carrie, 27, lived and worked in the grand home of Charles Pinkham, president of the Lydia E. Pinkham Company.<sup>746</sup>

Samuel Clickstein was one of twenty-seven junk dealers from Russia or Russian Poland. Only one junk dealer was from somewhere else (Italy). Street music was cornered by the Italians hurdy gurdy players, organ grinders, and other musicians. Six members of the Angeligo Pulumbo household on Mailey Street were listed as street musicians, so they probably performed together. Over on Ezra Street was another household of five street musicians.<sup>747</sup>

Perhaps no nationality was more stereotyped than the Chinese. All fourteen Chinese immigrants arriving in Lynn during the decade were male (a few were listed as married, but no wife or children were with them), and every one of them worked in a laundry.<sup>748</sup>

Lynn's immigrants were spread all over the city, wherever they found work and low-cost housing. Sometimes they lived nearby others of the same nationality when they were working at the same job. All but one of the thirty-one English Canadian ice wagon drivers lived in Ward 2 where the ice ponds were and almost all of the seventeen Greek morocco workers lived within walking distance of the factories where they were employed. On a single occasion during the decade, the *Item* referred to the area of 75 Pleasant Street as "Little Italy," but the tiny enclave consisted of only seventeen Italian immigrants distributed over three houses at and next to that address, and house number 75 contained not only six adult Italians, but also four Irish-born adults, three from Quebec, two American-born adults, one from English-speaking Canada, and nine American-born children; "Little Italy" turned out to be as ethnically diverse as pretty much anywhere else in Lynn.<sup>749</sup> Although immigrants were only a quarter of the city's population, they were found everywhere in Lynn. Virtually every street in the city had first- or second-generation immigrants among its residents, even in the wealthiest neighborhoods where they lived as servants, maids, and cooks. Low wages, not nationality, was the great equalizer, the shared bloodline that placed Greeks next door to French Canadians, Chinese on the floor above Germans and a floor below Russians. The same blended diversity also existed at the Thomas-Houston Electric Company where in 1890 it was noted that the workforce included Americans, English, French Germans, Irish Scotch, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Armenians; "there was a Japanese and also a Burman, but they have now departed."<sup>750</sup>

In the absence of extensive ethnic enclaves, churches and social clubs provided support and commiseration within an immigrant culture. the Lutheran church in the Highlands and the Hebrew synagogue on the corner of Market and Munroe streets became the gathering points for the Swedish and Jewish immigrants, respectively, where prayers, hymns, and, talks were offered in their native tongues, encouraging cultural cohesiveness that didn't exist beyond possibly a few families in their respective neighborhoods.<sup>751</sup> The arrival in 1892 of some Swedish immigrants in Lynn's Wyoma neighborhood "costumed in their native styles of dress ... attracted considerable attention"; the minor incident attracted the attention of the newspaper precisely because it was so unusual – immigrants were apparently doing all they could, as quickly as they could, to blend in to their new environment – to assimilate.<sup>752</sup> Language barriers were being pulled down as well. When an influx of Armenians came to Lynn in 1890 to work in the morocco factories, an evening school class was provided for them, just as had been provided for the Swedes.<sup>753</sup> At the 1892 dedication of the Hebrew synagogue, one of the speakers, Abram Harris of the Young Hebrew Social Club boldly challenged his listeners to leave the past behind and focus on being American:

We owe it to the United States that our citizenship shall be noble and true, on a par with the best citizenship of other races that make up the great American nation. It is not wise that we shall preserve an individualism, and call ourselves Jewish-Americans. We have been cosmopolitan too long to divide our patriotism, and lay our laurels on the altars of two countries. ... For America we feel the love that men and women feel for the house of refuge ... where once again a land flowing with milk and honey spreads ... let us forget the mournful history of the past and dwell in the bright present ....<sup>754</sup>

At the end of his presidency in 1897, President Grover Cleveland vetoed the legislation requiring a literacy test for would-be immigrants that had been proposed by Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. In his response to Congress, the President showed his support of immigration:

A century's stupendous growth, largely due to the assimilation and thrift of millions of sturdy and patriotic adopted citizens, attests the success of this generous and free-handed policy, which, while guarding the people's interests, exacts from our immigrants only physical and moral soundness and a willingness and ability to work.

... It is said, however, that the quality of recent immigration is undesirable. The time is quite within recent memory when the same thing was said of immigrants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.<sup>755</sup>

From the highest levels of government to the man and woman on the street, the country was divided over the issue of immigration. Despite the small number of immigrants coming to Lynn during the 1890s, their scattered impact on the wards of the city, and their efforts to improve and assimilate, there were residents who hated them nonetheless; xenophobic prejudices and fear of losing jobs triggered epithets and some acts of hatred towards the aliens. In 1891 one of the large labor unions petitioned Senator Lodge and the rest of the Massachusetts congressional delegation to further restrict the immigration of Russian Jews because the union felt they were seen as "a standing menace to the welfare and industrial prospects of the laboring classes, forcing out of employment honest, upright men and women who labor faithfully for their livelihoods."<sup>756</sup> Earlier in the same year, a wagon in the July 4<sup>th</sup> parade sarcastically depicted the strike-breaking Armenians at work in the morocco factory, guarded by a policeman, followed by a second wagon displaying their living arrangements in another part of the factory, a jumble of their possessions and bedding, and their cook busily making them a meal of hard tack and gypsy moth soup; the placards were placed around the first wagon with mean-spirited messages allegedly from the Armenians:

**We will rule Lynn in 1901**

**We will be on the police force next year**

**We strike only for longer hours and less pay**

**We work, eat and sleep in the same room**<sup>757</sup>

When the *Item* was holding its "New Lynn" essay contest in 1890, the essayist, "We Will Endeavor" pointed his poison pen at tramps and the Chinese for taking food and work from poor residents,

Stop feeding fat, lazy tramps. ... They suck the life blood of a city or town as do the Chinese. A person may soon learn who the enemies of Lynn are by watching the entrance of a Chinese laundry. ... Let it be known patrons of Chinese laundries in Lynn are going on record, and soon there will be work in our home washing and ironing establishments for many a poor but deserving woman ... keeping the breath of life in the bodies of her suffering children.<sup>758</sup>

Even the Italians playing their music in the street roiled anti-foreigner sentiment from someone:

I wonder if the authorities of this fair city are unequal to the task of abating the nuisance which gathers on the corner of Market and Liberty streets, night after night, week in and week out, from 6 o'clock till midnight, making what would otherwise be pleasant and beautiful evenings, hideous with the discordant notes of tuneless hand-organs, accordions, etc. No matter how tired or sick one may feel, these disturbers of the peace are sure to be on hand. We will wager dollars to doughnuts that if a good square American citizen, ... were to do the same thing the whole police force of the city would be there as early as he, and they would not forget to bring their longest and heaviest clubs to drive him away. But [an Italian]. Oh, that's all right, no matter who suffers from the excruciating torture of an old, wore-out organ, playing "Little Annie

Rooney" for hours on a stretch. It's enough to drive one wild, and I wish you would give publicity to this in hope that a change may be wrought and peace restored.

Lynn, A Sufferer. June 30, 1890 <sup>759</sup>

Sometimes, thankfully few times, angry word play gave way to rash acts of physical violence. In 1892 Michael McCarty had been charged with assault upon the Hebrew junkman Lhaim Dineeski, leaving the mark of a brick on one side of Dineeski's face.<sup>760</sup> In 1893 three young men, among them Andrew J. Porter, assaulted Lee Young Hang Lee, a Chinese laundryman; he was struck with a piece of ice, then knocked down and kicked.<sup>761</sup> Patrick Joyce was arrested in 1898 for assaulting Abram Anson, "Anson and his mother ... testified that Joyce was one of the two men who had assaulted him on Boston street, taking him from his wagon and striking him on the face, asserting that *they were going to kill all the Jews in Lynn* ..."<sup>762</sup>

One nationality that was completely absent from the decade's list of immigrants to Lynn was the Spanish. It was an ironic gap, given that the city found itself defending against Spanish invasion and fighting them as the country's new enemy in a global war in 1898. Xenophobes were probably delighted and liberal-minded Lynners were anxious, if just for a few months.



**AMERICAN WARSHIPS WERE STEAM-BELCHING SEA MONSTERS.** The navy was the most visible measure of America's military strength and the addition of every battleship, cruiser, and torpedo boat was announced with more pride and admiration than some newborns received in Lynn's hospital. The *Item* gave great attention to each new major warship, providing detailed specifications and fine illustrations, and trade cards featured excellent views of the ships in impressive, realistic colors. They were the best of American technology and construction and the premiere symbols of American strength. It had long been said that the coast stretching from Boston Harbor to Cape Ann was the playground of sea serpents, but in April 1897 the brand new *U.S.S. Iowa*, the biggest battleship in the nation's fleet, was the new master of those waters as it steamed through for its inaugural speed trials; if there was still a sea serpent around, it would have been wise to stay well out of gun range.<sup>763</sup>

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of February 1898, another blizzard hit Lynn, but this time it wasn't the big news story; that dubious honor went to the headline, "LOSS OF 253 LIVES. Big U.S. Battleship Maine Blown Up in the Harbor at Havana." It wasn't just the mysterious explosion and sinking that shocked Lynn and the rest of the country, but the immensity of the loss – hundreds of American crew members and a vessel that was designed to cause sinking, not to be sunk. The tragedy escalated the tensions between the United States and Spain towards a full-fledged war.<sup>764</sup> The *Maine* had been anchored in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, in late January 1898 to help "keep the peace in case of trouble," but on 15 February 1898, it blew up.<sup>765</sup> Later in the same lead story on the 16<sup>th</sup> the *Item* reported that 260 of the crew of 350 had been killed and, if the story could get any worse, Charles Johnson of Lynn was one of the lost crew.<sup>766</sup> Confusion abounded as to what caused the explosion, but as the days and weeks of investigation turned into months, part of the country's citizenry and Congress became increasingly convinced it was a deliberate attack by Spain.

The speculation about an impending war was swirling around in Lynn as much as anywhere. The *Item* reported on the 10<sup>th</sup> of March, "Rumors of war and exciting events are coming thick and fast in these troublous times."<sup>767</sup> The city had plenty of reason to suspect the worst was coming. The American Ordnance Company was locating on Federal Street; for the last few peaceful years, it hadn't been an especially important business or employer for Lynn, but in March the federal government had greatly ramped up its demands, culminating in the largest orders it had ever issued for shells and projectiles for rapid-firing guns and other weapons. One order was for 35,000 six-pound shells and 25,000 one-pounders. In early March, representatives from the Navy came to Lynn to observe a shell-firing test at a proving grounds on the Saugus River marshes; West Lynners could probably hear the

tests and all too easily imagine that war was not far away. The ordnance company expanded its facilities, working overtime to fill the growing, urgent orders.<sup>768</sup> Down the road, the General Electric Company was also whirring into high gear, working overtime to fill a constant stream of substantial orders for railway apparatus. The Lynn plant's workforce was back up to 2,300 and adding about forty more men weekly; it was said that business hadn't been so good for the River Works facility since 1893, five years earlier.<sup>769</sup>

With the obvious strategic importance and bustling activity of Lynn's ordnance company and electrical works, speculation on the street that Lynn would be a prime target of an attacking enemy was inevitable, "It has been suggested, in view of the prominence in a national sense of Lynn's interest, that there was a prospect that the city would be attacked, if hostilities should be declared between the United States and Spain." While "the war scare" was talked about in Lynn homes and shops, Lynn's citizen soldiers were "continually in suspense, while awaiting orders"; they had been getting ready for several weeks for deployment to the battlefield. Every night one squad or another was learning and drilling for war, like "the wig-wag squad of the naval division" or "the Gatling gun squad, hard at work with their death-dealing pepper box."<sup>770</sup> There was also a movement afoot to organize a company of sharpshooters for the defense of Lynn, should an invasion be attempted by the Spanish; nearly 100 joined up.<sup>771</sup> Between the news stories about the *Maine* and Spain, the accelerated pace in Lynn's factories, the explosions on the marshes, and the men readying for deployment, the suspense and rumors of war were getting thicker than shoemaker's glue.

Late at night on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March there was a splendid display of the aurora borealis in the northern sky over Lynn and, besides admiring its luminescent, kaleidoscopic beauty, Lynners two years away from the twentieth century were still looking for signs in the dark heavens above, just like the first inhabitants of Lynn did two and a half centuries earlier. The *Item* wrote, "The belief of many that coming events of importance, especially war or famine, are heralded by the display of signs in nature, and particularly those of the heavens, was strengthened Monday night by the magnificent display of the Aurora Borealis that was [visible] to those who were fortunate to be out of doors between the hours of 8 and 10."<sup>772</sup>

Senator Lodge was convinced that Spanish officials were guilty of orchestrating the ship's destruction and on April 13<sup>th</sup> he tried to stir up his congressional colleagues to take action against Spain, "The men who were hurled from the sleep of life into the sleep of death call upon us from their graves to root out forever the causes that made their slaughter possible."<sup>773</sup> He also offered the government the use of his Nahant residence for a new coastal signal station; even as he spoke to Congress, seventy-five men were engaged in making alterations to his estate for that purpose, equipping it with searchlights and connecting it by telephone with all the fortifications along the coast.<sup>774</sup> Fearful of Spanish coastal shelling and invasion, Elihu Thomson relocated his wife and four children well inland.<sup>775</sup>

What war with Spain would mean wasn't at all clear but it had a navy and would be the enemy, so Lynn worried about attack from the sea. Coastal defenses were being improved throughout New England and Lynners were fascinated to see what preparations the military was making at points along its shoreline, as well as those of Nahant and Swampscott. The government had secured Lucian Newhall's property at Red Rock, at the intersection of Lynn Beach and King's Beach, for use as a signal station, and Michael A. Fenton offered the government free use of his Boston Street residence for a hospital. The *Item* had speculated, and was perhaps lobbying, that the Red Rock site could become a headquarters for the engineers who were engaged in laying out a grid of mines in coastal waters, pointing out that Lynn had a large number of electrical experts who were available for the work of installing the mines off the coast and making the electrical connections.<sup>776</sup> Men were busy stringing wires between the Lodge estate, Red Rock, and Galloupe's Point in Swampscott, "and if the extent of hostilities should warrant[,] the current will flow over these wires to the mines in the harbor, and it will need but a touch of the button to blow the proudest warship into atoms." The *Item* continued, "... there is a possibility of some exciting experiences in and about the

‘Shoe City,’ and as the building proceeds[,] curious crowds gather around to speculate as to the efficiency of the system of defence which Uncle Sam is erecting for the safety of his children in this vicinity.”<sup>777</sup> The nosy, anxious, antsy citizens of Lynn tried to play Sunday sightseers, hoping to catch glimpses of the secret installations the military were making along its coast, but they were rebuffed by guards:

Work on the United States government station at [the Lodge estate at] East Point, Nahant, appears to be nearly completed, as far as outward and visible matters go. As far as knowing anything further is concerned, it is safe to say that the public will have to be patient, for the point is as strictly guarded as a yellow fever pest house. .... The very rocks of the shore are guarded, and any attempt to circumvent the guard is speedily headed off. On Sunday there were *several thousand people* from Lynn and elsewhere, who tripped cheerily over the neck, sure that they were to have the privilege of inspecting ... Uncle Sam’s newest landscape gardening at Nahant. They returned a disappointed lot, for they were everywhere met by the stern myrmidons of the law. ... the little box-like structures of the same pattern as that just finished at Red Rock point, in Lynn, are to serve as firing stations for sub-marine mines. It was further rumored, on pretty direct lines, that the bay is to be mined at once ... by to-night there will be across the harbor’s mouth ... a line of these hidden destroyers that will belch upward destruction and death to any hostile vessel that attempts to pass the line. ... it may be that even now the blue waters of the bay conceal the grim sentinels of destruction.<sup>778</sup>

On 25 April 1898, twelve days after Lodge’s impassioned address to Congress, the tourist assault on military defenses was over; the United States declared war on Spain. The aurora borealis wasn’t wrong; it was just a little early.

Once war had been declared, cannons were distributed along the northern coast of Massachusetts, including one 8-inch and three 10-inch cannons to Lynn, plus 60 projectiles for each piece, and the earthworks at Bailey’s Hill, Nahant, was erected for mounting small artillery “for the purpose of repelling a landing party.”<sup>779</sup> The phrase, “Remember the Maine,” echoed in American hearts in the same way that “Remember the Alamo” had stirred Texans into action sixty-two years earlier. American flags flew everywhere in Lynn, from shops and factories to stores and homes, patriotically waving on every breeze.<sup>780</sup>

Patriotism fluttered in American hearts as well, sometimes to the detriment of the unpatriotic. In early May, a Lynn woman patronizing a Boston dry goods store admired the decorative display of American flags about the interior and let a female clerk know it was wonderful. The clerk replied, “You may think so, but if I had my way, I’d tear every one of the rags down.” Without hesitation, the pugnacious Lynn patriot hauled off and punched the clerk squarely in the face, knocking her to the floor. The commotion caused a crowd to instantly gather and one of the store owners to quickly appear. “The Lynn woman, with flashing eyes and trembling with emotion, stood her ground.” When the owner learned from the crowd what had happened, he immediately discharged the clerk and announced that if any other employees had the same negative opinion about the flags, they were no longer needed, either. The crowd applauded his words and the Lynn woman for her prompt and powerful retribution against a non-patriot.<sup>781</sup> Timing – patriotism and the punch – was everything.

With Spain now officially the enemy, Spanish immigrants and sympathizers in Massachusetts were immediately under the microscope. There were only 228 Spaniards, living in Massachusetts, 156 of which were male, so it was not expected that a serious uprising of the Spanish immigrants was likely.<sup>782</sup> The Portuguese also fell under some degree of suspicion because their home country was next to Spain, the two isolated together on Europe’s Iberian Peninsula, so “it was a question in the minds of some” as to which side the people of that country would align.<sup>783</sup> There were many Portuguese immigrants in northern Boston, Fall River, and New Bedford, but in Lynn there was only one middle-aged man who had immigrated from Portugal in the decade and one young man from Portugal’s Azores Islands – hardly the foundation for an insurrection.<sup>784</sup>

Just days after the declaration of war, panic had gripped the eastern seaboard of the United States because naval intelligence had lost track of where the Spanish fleet was that had been crossing the Atlantic for over two weeks, but then it was discovered in a Cuban harbor.<sup>785</sup> Within the first month after war had been declared, the likelihood of a sea assault on New England was evaporating quickly. As the springtime calmly floated towards summer, bristling vigilance had relaxed into monotonous boredom, "... every day scores of eyes scan the waters of the bay to see if there does not appear some suspicious craft that will arouse [concern] .... Several of the summer residents are now at the North Shore and ... on the piazzas can be seen the artillerists gaily passing the time in chatting with their fair friends ...."<sup>786</sup> When on duty, they did drills and took target practice at a floating white triangle in the water; people came in their carriages and watched. Sentries and citizens alike waited for a good fight that never came, an enemy to vanquish that never showed up.

... at times the weariness was so great "that a lone fisherman taking up his traps or coming to the shore to mend some of his lines is greeted as a Spanish spy and loudly challenged, much to his wonder and amaze[ment]. Then when the sentinel goes back to guard quarters he tells of the suspicious stranger and as the story gets up town it is related that a spy has been shot and that his companion succeeded in getting him into the boat and bearing him away, leaving bloody stains on the shore to tell of the excellent marksmanship of the brave sentinel who so watchfully guarded the property of Uncle Sam."<sup>787</sup>

After another month had passed it was quite clear there wasn't going to be an alien invasion; Lynn wasn't going to be performing on war's center stage; instead, it found itself in the back row of the theater. On a scorching hot July 4<sup>th</sup> weekend, the city festivities were in large part designed to keep hatred of the unseen enemy clearly in view. On the last night of festivities, two replica Spanish ships of war were floated off the beach, with rigging, a mast and effigies of Spanish leaders hanging from it, and a Spanish flag at the top. A band played until the first warship was set ablaze, and "*a thousand revolvers*" were fired (probably by many in the mob as well as by military that might have been present), "all taking aim at the Spanish flag. The flames quickly reached the effigies, "and as soon as they did a mighty cheer went up." The flames continued to rise until they ignited the Spanish flag, which "made thousands of hearts leap with patriotic exultation" and caused another massive discharge of firearms and cheering. Later that night the second disturbing mob performance of incendiary patriotism was perpetrated against the second boat and, of course, once again the non-existent bad guys in the pretend warships didn't have a chance.<sup>788</sup>



**FAR AWAY IN CUBA**, and much further away in the Philippines, there was a real war happening and Lynn's militia units and other volunteers had signed up for the fight. A company of forty-five volunteers under the command of Lieutenant Daniel Chase, left on the day the war was declared, having been assigned to serve on the cruiser *Minnesota*. An estimated 10,000 flag-waving men, women, and children saw them off at the train station. Mayor Walter Ramsdell wished them Godspeed and a safe return, but also told them sternly, "But do not come back unless it be with honor ... [and] see to it that no dishonor attaches to the name of Lynn." Lieutenant Chase replied, "I know what men I have behind me, and we will not only "Remember the Maine," but we will always remember dear old Lynn."<sup>789</sup> About ten days later, 154 "brave and sturdy sons" making up Companies D and I of the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, took their turn parading to the train station, escorted to the train by Post 5 of the G.A.R., and the two high school student battalions. It was a time when Lynn's patriotism was said to be at "fever heat": the factories and schools were closed and some 20,000 flag-waving well-wishers lined the streets to see them off.<sup>790</sup> Anxious to defend their home and country once again, the Post 5 G.A.R. veterans, now in their late fifties and sixties, had also volunteered to defend the coast of Lynn and vicinity.<sup>791</sup>

When the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts reached the mobilization station and training camp in South Framingham, eighteen young men failed the physical examination required to serve, due mostly to a lack of teeth to chew the hardtack or eyes that were too weak. Weak eyes often meant the need to rely on glasses, which were difficult to keep clean during a battle.<sup>792</sup> The *Item* noted that two of the officers in another regiment had been rejected because they wore glasses and it seemed to the editor like an inconsistent application of the military's rejection criteria on young men anxious to fight the enemy for their country. "How ... did Lieutenant Colonel [Theodore] Roosevelt happen to pass the ordeal?" the Item challenged, "He wears glasses, and a rule ought to be obeyed or repealed."<sup>793</sup> Eugene H. Brann, the 44-year-old landlord of the Relay House in Nahant, wanted to volunteer as well, so had submitted himself for medical examination, but he didn't have a chance; the *Item* explained, "the story goes that there are six diseases that disbar a man from military service" and Brann was found to have all of them.<sup>794</sup>

Those Lynn troops that passed medical muster were put on a troop train heading to the south. Ellis L. Hayden, a 22-year-old in Company D of the 8th Massachusetts Infantry, wrote about the heroes' farewell they received, which was much like what the Lynn recruits and volunteers experienced during the Civil War. At each city and village along the line, everybody came out to cheer the trainload of soldiers and shake their hands.

People were eager for brass buttons or hardtack for souvenirs. ... At Springfield we inaugurated the practice of writing our names and address on hardtack and giving them to the pretty girls, consequently we have a large correspondence.

At Pittsfield we met the most enthusiastic crowd of the trip. Music was played; men gave us their collars, neckties and scarf pins, while the women presented us with hat pins, etc., as souvenirs. From steamboats, factories, steam engines, etc., whistles belched forth encouraging salutes.<sup>795</sup>

Those that passed medical muster were shipped off to Chickamauga, Georgia, arriving in the early evening on May 19th.<sup>796</sup> It had been the site of one of the Civil War's biggest battles, with over 34,000 casualties, but now it was a huge camp and staging area for nearly 60,000 troops for the new war, waiting for their units to be called up to fight the Spanish. The two Lynn companies waited and waited ... and waited.

Chickamauga, tucked away in far northwest Georgia, was not the field of honor the young soldiers had in mind. Most had signed up for the "charge up San Juan Hill" type of battlefield heroics that would end in quick and sure victory, and a return home to loving family, hero-worshipping townsmen, and maybe even some of their pretty hardtack correspondents. But Chickamauga was not that romance of heroics; like their family and friends back home, their theater of war was in the back row, far from the center stage, plus the back row was hot as blazes and the refreshments were awful. Chickamauga was clearly ill-prepared to receive such a large number of troops:

After a dirty and wearisome ride of 60 hours, with no opportunities to remove their clothes or to attend to even the ordinary demands of cleanliness, the men arrived and camped on mother earth without any covering but the sky and the early morning were marched in the blaze of the Southern sun over roads dry and dusty with loads of knapsacks and accoutrements four miles to a permanent camp. Upon arriving there hot, wearied, and covered with dirt, the men find that there has been absolutely not the slightest provision for the common necessity – water.<sup>797</sup>

George T. Macey, a clerk back in Lynn, was unaccustomed to the harsh conditions of camp life and wrote almost immediately after arrival at Chickamauga that he and his comrades were "almost starved and choking for a drink of water," and had to walk four miles to get water, and then got only enough to wet his throat, "It is something awful to have so little to eat and drink. The water you get is very muddy and what you get is full of gravel and you have to chew gravel stones for some time afterward. The boys were kicking about their grub at Framingham, but that place was Paradise

to what it is here." Rather melodramatically he added that he wished he could have had "some of the swill that he has seen his mother throw to the hens at home."<sup>798</sup> Another letter from a disgruntled Lynn soldier to his friend, a former officer in one of the Lynn companies, stated that the friend had exercised "phenomenal judgment in remaining at home instead of seeking vain glory in this dismal forest":

abounding in ... cactus, lizards, snakes, spiders,hardtack bacon and semi starvation. ... Our daily menu ... [old] butter ... "rank" bacon ... The coffee is strong enough to defend itself, and the hard tack is solid enough to resist the command attacks of the heaviest guns of the world's batteries. The heat is so intense ... We attempt to satisfy our unquenchable thirst with a slate-colored mystery that [has] the appearance of a well-appointed aquarium.<sup>799</sup>

Even Private Hayden, the level-headed chronicler, passed on the gossip that while they were experiencing 100-degree weather in late May, he had heard that the summertime temperatures got up to 115 and 120 degrees.<sup>800</sup> Some of this first batch of letters were obviously alarming to families and friends back home; one "poor old woman" went straightway to the mayor's office with tears in her eyes, asked if the stories of starvation were true. But Mayor Ramsdell had been reassured by Captain Williams that while the men were living on "rather hard fare," they weren't suffering "the pangs of hunger and are in a generally fair condition as soldiers go."<sup>801</sup> Exaggeration often encourages sympathy, so letters like Macey's and the one by the disgruntled soldier hit some tender chords back home, but apparently two Lynn men of Company D sent complete fabrications to a newspaper that got them into a lot of trouble. When challenged by their leaders, Private Gainley and the unit's bugler, Horace I. Stickney, admitted they told of hardships "which only existed in their brain." "*The real condition of affairs was bad enough,*" the *Item* pointed out, "but they were made worse in the attempt to make the articles wholly sensational ...." So the two were sentenced to four days of hard labor; the *Item* moralized that they were learning the hard way that the pickaxe was mightier than the pen.<sup>802</sup>

Captain Williams' letter to Mayor Ramsdell explained that these were largely new volunteers, "unaccustomed to the regular army fare and the exhausting work of hard, long marches under a southern sun," plus the woolen underwear and flannel shirts they had initially been issued were simply wrong for the climate.<sup>803</sup> Replacement clothing was quickly sent from home and the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Volunteer Militia became the first unit at the Chickamauga to be wearing khaki canvas uniforms; Hayden wrote, "Our regiment is the best equipped in the field, being the only one with canvas uniforms and new rifles, so we have to keep a close watch or the other boys will still [steal] our stuff."<sup>804</sup>

George A. Wood of Lynn, a steward at the camp's hospital reported that there were already seventeen sick in the hospital, "some from collapse, weakness, sore throat, diarrhoea and constipation." But he also tried to assure the people of Lynn that they "needn't be scared of sickness as we are camped in a healthy place." There had also been rumors early on that Spanish sympathizers were trying to poison the water with arsenic (Ellis Hayden's letter had described that great care had to be taken to keep the springs free form arsenic, "A negro was shot a few days ago when attempting to poison a well, and later two other men were captured, shot and buried, all inside of 24 hours. All had arsenic in their possession."<sup>805</sup>) but Wood said there hadn't been any such rumors of attempts on the water in the 8<sup>th</sup> camp, plus their water source was guarded at all times day and night. His final assessment was that what the troops needed most wasn't better food, cleaner water, or medicine, "I think the cause of most of the boys in the regiment being sick is homesickness. Some of them have never been away from home before."<sup>806</sup>

The troops quickly started suffering from things far more dangerous than homesickness. Cases of malaria and dysentery showed up with frequency, but the most common disease was typhoid fever. Surgeons had ordered that all drinking water should be boiled before using, but it was said that the soldiers, with an inborn desire to evade regulations, would slip out of camp to get a drink of water that hadn't been boiled because it was less effort than boiling water and letting it cool, and because

“stolen waters are sweet.”<sup>807</sup> Sweet, but deadly. The loss of Private Herbert O. Burnham of Lynn to typhoid pneumonia on the 28<sup>th</sup> of May was the first death in the regiment. Upon news of his death back in Lynn, the flag at the shoe factory where he had been employed was lowered to half mast, “Taps have sounded for the soldier,” eulogized the *Item*, “and the call to rest has been obeyed. not from the bullet wound of the enemy, but from disease, just as surely in the performance of his duty to his country as if he had faced the Spanish legions in Cuba.”<sup>808</sup> It was Lynn’s first death since Charles Johnson had died on the *Maine*. The next was Frank A. Hinckley, of Company I, who died of malarial fever after an illness of about a week.<sup>809</sup> Corporal Alphonse L. Paris of Company I, the company cook, had become sick with typhoid fever and lingered at the division hospital for three weeks until he was discharged. He had lost twenty pounds and was very weak, but he was expected to resume his old position as cook for the company “as soon as he is strong enough to attend to the work.” Five days after Paris’s release, Private Walter D. Thompson of Company I also died of typhoid fever.<sup>810</sup> Taps was being played far too frequently on the regiment’s grounds; between late May to early September, sixteen had died in the regiment, ten from typhoid; a quarter of which had been from Lynn. Not a bullet had been fired, but a steady stream of dead soldiers were being sent back home.

Rumors kept swirling through the camp that they would be shipped out to one theater or another. In late May, Albert S. McIntire, a wagon driver for Company I, heard it was a sure thing that they were going to the Philippines; finally, he thought, this was what he had signed up for, “We got orders to go to the Pacific coast in eight days .... When I get home I can tell a story as big as any old veteran does now.” But the rumor evaporated and the regiment stayed at Chickamauga.<sup>811</sup> In early August another rumor that the regiment was going to Puerto Rico also circulated but proved to be false “and the men are utterly disappointed”; they still weren’t going anywhere.<sup>812</sup>

A few Lynn soldiers attached to other regiments did end up seeing battle with the enemy. In a span of less than two months, 24-year-old Edgar R. Wass went from being a motorman on Lynn’s Myrtle Street electric car to the lead on a ship’s gun squad in Cuba, to a corpse from injuries received in the naval battle with the Spanish fleet off Santiago, Cuba; he was the first *and last* Lynn soldier in the war to die in battle.<sup>813</sup> James W. Wheeler, the only Lynn man in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts Regiment, also made it to Cuba; just outside of Santiago he died of heart disease. The *Item* reflected, “Another Lynn boy has given his life on the altar of his country before the only foe he could not meet face to face. Not by the bullet of the enemy, but from the insidious hand of a dread disease.”<sup>814</sup> It was an appropriate requiem for almost all of Lynn’s military deaths during the war. Disease, bacteria, infection – these were the aliens that had been invading Lynn’s fighting men during the war – not Spanish bullets bombs, or poison. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of August an armistice was signed and hostilities were suspended; bullets in Cuba stopped, but disease in Chickamauga didn’t.

The sweltering heat and humidity of the Georgian August was made further miserable by several deluges of rain, and all of it seemed to make cases of malaria and typhoid multiply throughout Chickamauga, but the Surgeon General’s office also determined that typhoid was being spread by flies carrying the germs from the excrement of humans to the food on their tables:

No doubt typhoid fever, camp diarrhea, and probably yellow fever are frequently communicated to soldiers in camp through the agency of flies, which swarm about fecal matter and filth of all kinds deposited upon the ground or in shallow pits, and directly convey infectious material, attached to their feet or contained in their excreta, to the food which is exposed while being prepared at the company kitchens or while being served in the mess tent.<sup>815</sup>

The *Item* paraphrased the report, explaining that the common housefly “picked up, on his six hairy little feet, infinitesimal particles, containing the germs of typhoid fever, and afterward deposited them on the hard tack and bacon.”<sup>816</sup> Within the month, by the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 200 of the regiment’s 1,300 soldiers were on the sick list, excused from duty. Without an effective cure of the typhoid bacteria, treatment was limited to relief of their fevered suffering by a cold bath every twenty-four hours, and it clearly wasn’t enough. Lynn lost two more of its sons to Chickamauga’s raging typhoid

epidemic: on the 19<sup>th</sup>, Bugler Spencer S. Hobbs, who prior to contracting the disease was remembered “with the flush of health upon his cheek,” and on the 26<sup>th</sup>, Joseph Paquette, who was “bright-eyed and in the full bloom of youthful health” before the insidious disease struck.<sup>817</sup> Some of the sickest soldiers from the 8<sup>th</sup> who were sent home on convalescent furlough were described as “gaunt-eyed, haggard cheeked and thin-shanked … these boys who but a few months ago went away in all the pride of their strength and manhood to answer the call of their country …”<sup>818</sup> James A. Manson, described as a “ghost of his former self,” was a sad example of one of those arriving home in such pitiful condition:

When he alighted from the carriage that brought him from [Lynn’s train] depot, his mother an old, gray-haired lady, did not recognize in the gaunt, hollow-cheeked, and tottering man the son who left her a few months ago, brimming over with health and vigor. She was about to return to the house, when the young man cried, ‘Mother,’ and with brimming eyes she helped him into the house. Mrs. Manson took her boy tenderly in and summoned a physician.<sup>819</sup>

The human misery just underscored the regiment’s desire to go home. With the armistice in place, it was clear that the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts would never get to fire a hostile shot.<sup>820</sup> One of the regiment’s commanding officers wrote, “The division cannot go away too soon. August is the ugly month in the year even for natives, and for Northern troops lying in camp without animation, without ambition, on account of disappointment over not seeing active field service, this Chickamauga Park has become simply an abomination.” The men were clamoring to go home and get mustered out of military service.<sup>821</sup> What was the point? Many of them were businessmen who had left their homes to fight, but now that the fighting had stopped and comrades all around them were increasingly plagued with typhoid and malaria; being held for garrison duty in the middle of nowhere, Georgia, seemed more pointless and frustrating than ever – they just wanted to go home.<sup>822</sup>

The regiment was finally relocated, but only as far as Lexington, Kentucky. The *Item* tried to make the news positive, noting that at least the regiment was a day’s march closer to home, but the move and the hometown paper’s perspective did little to encourage the troops.<sup>823</sup> As if the military was a democracy, the disgruntled men in the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts voted 955 to 10 to go home. The regiment’s commander caught wind of the vote and “asked the men not to do anything which might bring the name of the regiment into disrepute. He said he wanted to go home as bad as anybody, but that they all had enlisted to do the bidding of the government, and until the order came to muster out they should say nothing.”<sup>824</sup>

Typhoid followed the men to Kentucky; on September 8<sup>th</sup>, Private John F. Dotridge, Company D, died after a week’s illness of typhoid fever; he was just 19 years old. Hopeful of providing some assistance and comfort to the suffering, a hundred Sisters of Charity “in their black and hooded gowns” came to the division hospital to nurse the sick.<sup>825</sup> The regiment was then shipped back down south, far past Chickamauga to Americus, Georgia, where antediluvian rains greeted their arrival in early November and again bid them farewell in early January 1899 – finally, they were on their way to Cuba – a few weeks after the peace treaty was signed.<sup>826</sup>

Under the terms of the treaty, Spain relinquished sovereignty over Cuba and Puerto Rico, withdrew its troops, ceded Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the U.S., and received \$20,000,000 compensation for the latter. As a result of the not quite four-month war, Spain had lost much of its Atlantic and Pacific fleets and its centuries-old global empire, while the United States had emerged as a world power. Into this newly reorganized world the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry landed. They were assigned to the port of Matanzas, Cuba, and pitched their tents on the beach. A correspondent to the *Item* noted in late January that beautiful summer weather prevailed on the tropical island, “The seashore is a favorite place for the boys of the 8<sup>th</sup> … where the men go in bathing every day. … The average temperature varies from 70 to 90 in the middle of the day, but generally the breeze from the sea is invigorating and refreshing, even on the hottest day, and no complaints are heard of the heat”; and the reporter was still enamored two months later, “The weather continues very



**"HE SWALLOWS THE DOSE AT LAST."** Editorial cartoon of the personification of Uncle Sam (identifiable by the American flag shirt sleeve and the starred jacket cuff) administering a dose of obviously bad-tasting American medicine to a man dressed like a toreador (to symbolize Spain). To avoid smelling the medicine, his nose is closed with a clothespin that reads, "\$20,000,000", the amount Spain received as minimal compensation for the Philippines. (image from the *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1898.)

pleasant ... this land is almost a paradise on earth."<sup>827</sup> But there was some trouble in paradise. The troops had to deal with bad meat and tropical beasts.

There was an abundance of centipedes, scorpions, and tarantula spiders on the island and they were a constant and frightening annoyance to the soldiers; the *Item* correspondent wrote, "These little vipers appear to be plentiful in the ground, over the ground, in the men's sleeping cots at night, in fact, everywhere but where they are wanted, which is in fact nowhere, except at the bottom of the sea." A centipede crawled on to musician Harry E. Styles as he slept in his cot; he woke up and had the presence of mind to stay perfectly still until the bug crawled off, but Corporal Charles H. Newhall wasn't as fortunate. He was stung on the hand as he picked up a towel that had fallen to the floor.<sup>828</sup> A substantial number of men in the regiment had been stung and bitten by the venomous creatures, but there were no ill effects beyond the pain of the sting.<sup>829</sup>

Getting palatable and safe food had been a problem throughout their tour of duty; in fact, it was for the troops everywhere. A high-level, much publicized investigation had been pursued into what was being called "embalmed beef," meat that was chemically treated to preserve it over the time and distance it had to travel to reach the military units, often without sufficient refrigeration. Sudden changes of temperature on removing the meat from refrigerated ships into hot southern climates produced what was known as a "beard" of greenish growth that had to be scraped off before cooking.<sup>830</sup> Other complaints often included chemical or acidic tastes in the meat. One of the many side stories during the military's investigation about embalmed beef was a scandal in early April 1899

that thousands of cans of rotten meat were quietly dumped into Havana harbor, by orders from Washington.<sup>831</sup>

On the 4th of April 1899, the time had finally come for the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment to go back home. Although their time away was very different, the Lynn soldiers in Cuba and some of the Lynn gold hunters in the Klondike had all been through long terms of extreme, life threatening experiences and they were returning in the same month, all anxious to get back to Lynn.

The regiment of 1,241 troops and officers were too many passengers for the transport ship that was carrying them home and the amount of edible food that was on board. The men also openly complained about the food quality, saying that some of the rations were not fit to eat and they tossed it overboard, preferring instead to go hungry. “The beef was very poor, at least that is what most of the soldiers stated who were obliged to eat it, and one First Sergeant when asked about it said that it was not fit for pigs.” Their commander ordered an investigation based on the methods recently used by army leadership in Washington for the embalmed beef issue. It was brought out in the investigation that the “fresh beef was supplied by a Chicago firm, which came via New York to Havana, thence to Matanzas, and was transferred to the [ship] by means of [small craft].” It was further determined that “the food was poor in most cases and that there was a general shortage.” Nearly three quarters of the regiment experienced sea sickness over the second and third day of the six-day trip, but if any of them had food poisoning, being seasick would probably have helped to clean out bad stomach contents.<sup>832</sup> Attacks on personal health had followed Lynn’s soldiers of the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts for the entire year, right up to the day they got back to their long-missed hometown.

At a welcome home banquet for the Lynn men of Companies D and I, Mayor William Shepard honored the weary veterans of Chickamauga, Lexington, Americus, and Matanzas with a fitting tribute for the special war that they had to fight:

... We would not recall the weary days in fever-infected camps, but for the purpose of paying a tribute of admiration for the manly fortitude that sustained you while your ranks were being reduced by disease and death.

Amid the wild rush of battle, when shot and shell are scattering death and destruction, enthused by the thrill of the onset, the brave soldier will do deeds of noble daring, but the soldier who will day after day remain constant at his post of duty, contending with an unseen foe that vampire-like is stealing away his life and energy, is deserving of as bright a laurel as he who strives for fame and reputation even at the cannon's mouth.<sup>833</sup>

## **FUTURE TENSE**

At the end of the decade, Lynn was doing what it had always done: changing. It was also more than the end of the century, but the end of an era, a way of life. Victorian ideals and a tightly controlled lifestyle had been colliding for years with personal freedom and self-determination; the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant was being jostled by waves of immigrants of varying skin tones, languages, cultures, and religions; the corseted, confined Victorian woman was being emancipated by the bustleless, bicycling, free woman. Capitalists and unionists clashed for dominance like rutting elk. Business continued its evolutionary struggle, with some homemade products emerging into national brands. The easiest changes to point at were in science and technology – the rise of knowledge over faith and ignorance of which Elihu Thomson spoke. Lynn was entering a new era of telephones and toilet paper; x-rays and indoor plumbing; mechanically powered, horseless carriages and the lightbulb. In 1897 Harney Brothers shoe factory on Alley Street demonstrated to a Pan-American delegation of visitors its ability to make a perfect woman’s buttoned shoe in a record-breaking 13 minutes 56 seconds; owing to an accident to one of the machines, the other shoe took 18 seconds longer to complete.<sup>834</sup> A century earlier, a pair of shoes handmade in a ten-footer

would have taken at least eight hours, if everything went perfectly. Technologically, medically, socially, and artistically, life would never be the same; but then again, it had never stood still.

Shortly before his death, Lynn's former city physician, Frank D. S. Stevens, was asked to address a meeting of the Current Topic Conference on the topic, "Is the World Growing Better?" The physician cited a few of the strides taken by the medical profession to "make the world grow better." He immediately pointed to the critical breakthrough of the germ theory of disease and the subsequent improvements it was making to modern surgery and medicine. He also pointed to hygienic and sanitary measures that had "greatly reduced" mortality from infectious diseases like typhoid fever deaths, which he said had been reduced in Lynn by about forty percent. He further explained how progress in surgery had been accomplished using the antiseptic method, which was critical, since "the existence of a single microbe" with ample room and food would multiply into sixteen million microbes in one day. For this accomplished physician, the answer to the topic question was obvious: "Decidedly, in view of these facts presented [daily] to my attention ... I am of the opinion that the world *is* growing better."<sup>835</sup>

And what was new and amazing in one moment became second nature in the next, quickly folded into the fabric of life like it had always been there. A review of Lynn business observed,

The modern American is so accustomed to taking things as they come and accepting as a simple accommodation things which represent years of study and toil, experiment and enterprise that he calmly talks through a telephone to one hundreds of miles distant; hears from a phonograph the voices of one who has long been dead, travels in an "electric" at the rate of twenty miles an hour by means of power transmitted through a wire smaller than his little finger, and profits by these and other marvels in a matter of fact way as if there was nothing remarkable about them.<sup>836</sup>

Lynn was, indeed, traveling on the fast track; it was up to each person to decide whether they wanted to walk or get on board.



**SCIENCE WAS THE NEW MAGIC.** Like witchcraft, alchemy, and tarot cards, it was incomprehensible to all but its knowledgeable practitioners, disparaged by skeptics, and held in awe by its disciples. Unlike the dark arts, the new magic often brought provable, measurable results – electricity eliminated horse power and turned darkness into light; anesthesia allowed surgery without pain and even consciousness of surgery; and x-rays took pictures through clothes, bodies, purses and virtually anything covering the object within.

Lynn wasn't just walking up the steps to the future, it had already gone through the front door. The previously impossible was happening with consistency and ease throughout the decade in Shoe City: the electric light bulb was illuminating with "NO MATCHES, NO CLEANING, NO DIRT, NO SMELL / Turn it on when you want it – turn it off when you don't."<sup>837</sup> The new horseless electric street cars were just as convenient: "All the street cars in Lynn are now run by electricity. ... The time made by the new cars is much quicker on some lines than with the horses. ... The streets will be cleaner and will cost less for repairs ...."<sup>838</sup> In August 1891, Israel B. Oliver advertised, "STOP THAT talk about warm weather and buy one of our Electric Fan outfits. It will make you think that you are at the North Pole."<sup>839</sup> One of the Nahant hotels was using an electric broiler and the "1900" brand of washing machines were so easy "A CHILD CAN WORK IT! ... Move the tub from right to left by the handle for 8 or 10 minutes, and your clothes are thoroughly washed. The operation is so easy that one may sit while washing. Price, \$12.00. \$2.00 down. \$1.00 per week."<sup>840</sup>

Science and technology, it seemed, were on display at every street corner and in homes. In 1892 a crowd had gathered on Exchange Place to gawk at a horse harnessed to a wagon with a tube sticking out of its neck. The horse wasn't breathing through its nostrils, but through the tube – the result of an equine tracheotomy. To save the life the horse, which had suffered from asthma, "the

contrivance [which] looked very much like an old-fashioned candlestick with the base and an inch or two of the shank showing," had been surgically inserted. "In the tube was sort of a filter, to catch impurities in the air." The wagon driver explained the tube had been put in several months earlier and was taken out every two or three days to be cleaned.<sup>841</sup> In July 1891, a traveling "telescope man" appeared on the corner of Liberty and Market streets one evening, charging a fee for people to view the moon through his telescope. The moon looked big through it; "the mountains and craters are distinctly visible," and the telescope man was apparently well informed about things seen through the lens; the *Item* reporter said, "[he] is as much a public educator as a High School teacher," but his knowledge didn't stop with astronomy:

As a sideshow he has a microscope, and after one has looked into it and observed the mess of stuff and live stock that is compounded in a drop of water, he feels like [giving up] that beverage forever. But if a drop of stronger liquid [probably meaning liquor] could be examined the number of snakes and lizards that inhabit it would appear positively frightful. Let us be thankful there are some things we cannot see with the [naked] eye.<sup>842</sup>

The *Daily Evening Item* updated its readership on an almost daily basis through much of the decade with feature columns it called, "SCIENTIFIC MISCELLANY," about discoveries and highlights of the current research gleaned from scientific periodicals, and "SOMETHING NEW," about newly patented devices in the government's records, with brief descriptions of what they would do to improve a person's life.<sup>843</sup> One such patent was assigned to Lynn inventor Edward N. Cummings, who invented a better type of toilet paper, a package of continuous, perforated sheets of accordion-fold paper, easily torn apart in the quantity desired.<sup>844</sup>

After Cummings' new approaches to toilet paper, most of his other inventions pertained to accessories for the increasingly popular horseless carriages. The unusual new sensation, which appeared on Lynn's streets early in the decade, was a vehicle propelled by a steam engine instead of a horse – it was Lynn's first horseless carriage. The public was told at the beginning of August 1893 that "a steam carriage whizzing through the streets of Lynn will be a common sight after next week. It has been invented by a Lynn genius, who has been at work on it at odd moments for the past year." Clarence L. Simonds, an engineer at the Lynn Gas & Electric Company, was the designer of the vehicle that rode on bicycle wheels. Behind the seat sat a boiler, engine, pump, and tanks for naphtha and water; it had a top speed of ten miles per hour.<sup>845</sup> Over the remainder of the decade it was obvious that the horseless carriage was being as well and quickly accepted by Lynn's citizens as they had the horseless street cars. In April 1899 an *Item* editorial stated,

The automobile is coming right along. . . . we may expect a considerable increase in the number of vehicles of this style from now on. Its popularity in France is far ahead of what it is in this country, but time alone is needed to make the automobile the coming vehicle for popular use. The cost of the machine is at present against its general adoption, but like the bicycle the cost will come down within the reach of common folks after a few seasons.<sup>846</sup>

In July the *Item* reported that the General Electric Company might be purchasing land on Centre Street to begin building automobiles in Lynn. Recent experiments made by Professor Herman Lemp and others at G.E. with an automobile called a runabout had been very successful "and have doubtless led the company to entertain the thought that the manufacture of these wagons can be carried out in this city," employing several hundred men.<sup>847</sup> G.E. did not start such an enterprise, but Elihu Thomson fully endorsed the concept of the new horseless carriage. He said there was "an enormous market" for some sort of vehicle like an electric street car that was not confined to tracks,

. . . the automobile does not exist in a thoroughly practical way as of yet. But it will come eventually . . . . The telephone had to force itself upon the people. . . . But [the automobile] is a case where everybody wants it and the question is how soon can you supply the demand. The automobile is the outgrowth of the bicycle. We have proven that with a

slight expense of power we can propel ourselves and ride with great ease. The next thought is if we can put a little outside power to the wheel to help out and make it run even more easily. ... There is no need to dwell upon the aesthetic effect of the automobile. The roads would be cleaner by the absence of horses and the rubber tires would keep the thoroughfares smoother and less muddy.<sup>848</sup>

In September 1899 the *Item* reported that Lynn had at least thirty different kinds and styles of self-propelled vehicle, either being used on its streets or in the process of construction. "Five years ago the automobile or horseless carriage was the mechanical toy of the inventor," the article explained, "but now ... at least 80 establishments are ... engaged in this country in the manufacture of motor vehicles of every kind: coaches, delivery wagons, tricycles and trucks" propelled by electricity, gasoline, or steam. "Lynn people are familiar with the sight of Herman Lemp steering a big barge-like automobile through the streets of the city. Since its first appearance on the street, nearly three years ago ... many is the fright which this mysterious affair has created as it whizzed silently by"; and Herbert L. Kimball, of 130 Allen Avenue, Lynn, a needle maker, was also frequently seen on the city's streets riding a motor cycle that he made by adding a gasoline motor to an ordinary bicycle.<sup>849</sup>

Lynn businesses got on the self-propelled bandwagon. Sprague & Breed Coal Company at Central Square illustrated their 1899 newspaper advertisement showing a man driving an automobile with his horse following behind followed by the slogan, "The ... AUTOMOBILE is Increasing in Popular Favor. Same With Our Coal."<sup>850</sup> In December, the Felt Brothers' ad showed Santa driving an automobile instead of a sleigh with reindeers, surrounded by the caption, "St. Nicholas Up to Date."<sup>851</sup>

No efforts were underway in Lynn to create a flying machine, but once again, the city was well aware of this development and in 1893, a man in nearby Salem had designed and built one in his free time, just as Clarence Simonds had done with his horseless carriage.<sup>852</sup> Lynn's papers had illustrations, advertisements, and articles about all sorts of flying things – dirigibles, propellered craft, and gliders.<sup>853</sup> It all seemed like the fantasy creations of writers like Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, Frank Reade, Jr., and other late-century visionaries, but stranger than fiction, with inventions like x-rays, automobiles, and flying machines, some of it was coming true. The *Item* copied stories with fanciful illustrations of a half-submerged submarine being pedaled underwater and another of a pedal-powered pontoon-hulled floating bicycle.<sup>854</sup> A whole series of trade cards predicted the world as it would be "a hundred years hence," with individuals flying in the air to crooks being caught in the act by super-power x-ray machines, and others touring the bottom of the ocean in passenger submarines. From the moon to 20,000 leagues under the sea, nothing seemed beyond the realm of possibility anymore.

Someone the *Item* identified simply as "a medical enthusiast," echoed Professor Thomson's comment on the beneficial absence of horse droppings in the cities; they believed that cleaner streets due to eliminating the need for horses as draft animals in the city would greatly reduce the number of incidents of typhoid fever, influenza, cholera, lockjaw, and blood poisoning from wounds.<sup>855</sup> An 1896 cartoon in the *Item* showed a carnival barker pointing to a sign that read, "WALK UP WALK UP AND SEE A MAGNIFICENT SPECIMENT OF THAT WONDERFUL HANIMAL. A REAL LIVE HORSE. NEARLY HEXTINCKT. 1 PENNY"; below it was the caption, "Effect of the general use of motor cars and bicycles."<sup>856</sup> In a similar way, an article in 1893 foresaw electric trains entirely replacing coal-powered ones, "... the time may not be so distant when all locomotives will have gone to the dump, save here and there one in a museum, standing like an extinct mastodon."<sup>857</sup>

At the end of the century, the future seemed poised to replace the past, or at least to replace its weakest links with stronger ones. Much like draft horses and coal-powered trains were feeling like outdated notions, old beliefs and fears were being replaced, or at least challenged, under the bright light of science. Sailors and coastal observers continued to believe they saw sea serpents (witnesses claimed another showed up in Swampscott waters near Egg Rock in August 1897, apparently undeterred by the tides of garbage that had washed up on the beach a few months earlier); their

presence was no longer regarded as seafarers' omens or the vestiges of dark, mysterious realms. The unproven existence of sea serpents was being defended and investigated by those who used a magnifying glass instead of a spyglass to find the truth. Admittedly, the late 1890s seemed to be producing as many "scientific" theories as there were sightings, and with each, facts were trying to displace mystery. One explanation was that archaeological evidence had been found of extinct reptilian forms of sea serpents, "It is a well-known scientific truth that races of terrestrial and aquatic animals now extinct, but not far removed from present living forms, were of the most surprising magnitude." The article then explaining the similarities of a long-necked sea creature caught in Florida's waters to a fossil found in Kansas.<sup>858</sup> Other explanations for sea serpents were a school of sturgeons swimming in a row, or big water snakes, but shortly after the August serpent sighting off Egg Rock, a ship crew captured a twelve-foot-long giant loggerhead turtle; the shell and body were seven feet long, but its neck stretched five feet. The captured creature groaned and snorted on deck all night long and sometimes barked like a dog.<sup>859</sup> Dockside, an admission of ten cents was charged to see the dying, then dead, sea creature. Eyewitnesses to the sighting in Swampscott's waters still insisted the beast was not the serpent they had seen.<sup>860</sup>

Daniel Horgan's insistence that the spirit of the pirate, Captain Kidd, was guiding him to the exact spot in a cave on Little Nahant to dig for his treasure wasn't different one iota from the beliefs of Hiram and Edwin Marble, but Horgan's family had him committed to an institution for the insane. Both Marble men had spent most of their adult lives deep in Dungeon Rock, following directions of spirits and digging futilely for buried treasure, all the while largely encouraged by an equally curious community; but at the end of the century, Horgan's treasure hunting fell under suspicion by unenthralled, non-supportive family, prompting two Lynn physicians to examine him and authorize his commitment to Danvers.<sup>861</sup>

In January 1898 Lynn's earth trembled in the Lover's Leap neighborhood; the houses in the vicinity of Linwood Park and Grove Street where shaken at about 8:30 PM. Arthur W. Leach was "sitting by the window with his wife and ... as they looked out into the air, wondering if there was to be a snow storm, they saw descending from the heavens a blazing, flaming ball of fire," a bluish tinted flame with green fire. It appeared twice the size of a man's head and sparks flew in all directions. The thing hit the ground hard with a loud sound, shaking the house and rattling the windows, and "there was fire in all directions for a moment, sparks and splashes of flame scattering about the ground." Mr. Leach went outside to investigate, but he found no traces of the object; yet the Leaches were sure of what they saw and felt and neighbors confirmed they had "felt the effects of a shock in their houses, and people all about West Lynn heard the sound and wondered. The theory was advanced that "the falling mass was in a compact semi-fluid and gaseous state, and its substance being molten, in the explosion disappeared." Had this celestial phenomenon happened three centuries earlier, ministers would have launched into hellfire and damnation sermons about an angry and vengeful god, but in 1898, the Lynn residents tried to rationalize the extraordinary event with scientific explanation instead of carving apotropaic marks around their fireplaces.<sup>862</sup>

Devils and angels had fallen from their real world perches or, more accurately, they had disappeared over time from the collective consciousness, reappearing only as benign advertising symbols behind toothache pain, deviled ham, and the miracle of soothing medicine for indigestion. Knowledge, combined with personal resolve, strength, and vitality were the sought-after tools to move into the twentieth century; there would be little room to pack in fear, superstition, and weakness. It was as Edward Trevert, Lynn's author on electricity for the amateur, had written, "*Science knows only cold facts: It knows nothing of superstition and performs no miracles.*"



**SHE WAS FASTER THAN THE SPEED OF FICTION**, breaking a make-believe world record with real-world determination. In 1873 Jules Verne wrote *Around the World in Eighty Days*, the popular fictional account of Phileas Fogg, who traveled around the world in eighty days,

accompanied by his French valet, Passepartout. Readers everywhere were fascinated with the adventure story, and in 1889, a very real, adventurous young woman named Nellie Bly succeeded in beating the eighty-day global circumnavigation of Verne's intrepid duo and she did so as alone, without the aid of a servant. She was not only the first woman but the first person to successfully circumnavigate the globe, doing so in seventy-two days, arriving in New York on 25 January 1890. A month later (on 24 February), the new female celebrity gave a lecture about her travels at Lynn's Proctor's Lynn Theatre.<sup>863</sup>

Women continued to make determined efforts to empower themselves, like Nellie Bly had done, taking more control of the direction of their lives, and putting themselves in a better position for what lay ahead. To do so, they would have to break free from the confines of tradition, social norms, and male-controlled rules. It was easy for them to imagine the day of their success, but even by their own telling, it seemed far off in the future. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of February 1890 the women of Lynn were given the opportunity to produce the day's edition of the *Daily Evening Item* and hundreds of women organized for the unique experience. One of their fictional features told the story of x-rays that were somehow manipulated to see into the "hitherto impenetrable future" of the twentieth century – specifically the year 1960. A woman was running for mayor of Lynn ("and there have been others previously"), and another woman for superintendent of schools, plus a male candidate for city marshal was campaigning on a platform that included having women as police to arrest women committing crimes. In this idyllic, woman-friendly world, there were only ten drunks in the previous year – the long efforts of women in the cause of temperance had obviously finally succeeded – and flying machines "had become a real thing."<sup>864</sup> It was a fabulous fantasy, but most of what they were experiencing in the 1890s was still far from that hoped-for day.

Making inroads into the tightly-held world of male governance had been long and slow. Lynn women had become members of the school committee, when men voted for them, but election or appointment to public office was held off at arm's length. The right to vote had continued to allude them, despite the valiant efforts of suffragist conventions and demonstrations, and well-crafted lectures and letters by erudite suffragists. The frustration of Lynn's suffragists was palpable with the city government's refusal to appoint Miss Myra D. Allen to the Lynn Board of Overseers of the Poor.

An opening on the board was created by the resignation of one of its long-time members and the Lynn Women's Suffrage Club publicly advocated for Miss Allen to fill the position. She was a graduate of the Women's Medical College, of Philadelphia, then was connected with the New England Hospital in Boston and later for two years with the state almshouse at Tewksbury.<sup>865</sup> When her name was presented at an open, public meeting of the overseers of the poor, she had been engaged in a general medical practice in Lynn with a specialty of treating women patients and she was welcomed as one of the staff of physicians at the Lynn Hospital, working in the outpatient clinic where she was in charge of the section devoted to the diseases of women.<sup>866</sup> She was well-educated, respected, and experienced in dealing with sickness at hospitals and almshouses, as well as with the impoverished and mentally challenged types of patients often found in both of those institutions; it is hard to imagine that Lynn could have any other candidate in their midst better qualified for the opening.

The endorsement of Myra Allen to fill the vacancy on the all-male overseers of the poor came from Mrs. Lummus, of the Executive Committee of the Lynn Women's Suffrage Club. Mrs. Lummus's recommendation gave city hall a good chuckle, "It was at first assumed by the more sober-thinking members of the government to have been born in the spirit of sport and sarcasm, rather than that of serious consideration." They conceded that Myra Allen had a sound medical education, valuable experience and skills, and deep compassion and understanding of people, *but she was a woman*. The city council responded stiffly, "In the proper order of things, it would not only be out of place, but a direct contradiction against the very laws of decency for any lady to enter into the thorough deliberations of such a board, especially when the four remaining members are gentlemen." It would be not only embarrassing but simply impossible for a mixed-gender board to transact some

of its business that was of "a most hideous and revolting nature ... *even men*, trained by long and practical experience in the board, are sometimes justified in shrinking from the performance of certain duties," so it was unthinkable that a woman could endure such things, apparently even a hospital staff physician who dealt with the diseases of women.<sup>867</sup>

An anonymous letter to the editor endeavored to prove the unfitness of a woman for the position; it was written with the same stiffness that had been earlier heard in city council chambers:

To be sure, the greater part of the work of this department is among the pauper women and children, but, you see, the overseers have to know a great many things about these wretched creatures and the causes which have brought them to such deplorable straits; usually there is a man at the bottom of the misery, and it surely isn't proper for a retired, tender-hearted woman to listen to some of the revelations which these wretched wives and mothers might make. Not one but men should hear these sad stories. *It would contaminate any one not of the male persuasion* ....<sup>868</sup>

The condescension of the writer seemed sufficient to stop there, but the letter fell to still lower levels of belittlement and offense. After explaining that a woman would be "contaminated" by the sordid matters of broken families, the writer claimed that the discussion of mundane issues of women and children were beneath Myra Allen's attainments and would cause her to lose all of her remaining respectability:

... just try to imagine the serious results of having "a woman of broad sympathies and scholarly attainments," like Dr. Allen, interfering in the management of the "Children's Home," settling the momentous questions of the size and general appearance of the nursing bottle, the quality and quantity of the lacteal fluid supplied each day, besides the number of cookies and the proper amount of mush and molasses to be scientifically applied. Then there is the critical selection of material and the quantity necessary to be used for petticoats and other articles of underwear which feelings of delicacy will not permit me to mention – How could a woman of even ordinary refinement and sensitiveness be dragged into such scenes and expect to come out with a shred of respectability left? ...<sup>869</sup>

By this rationale, Myra Allen was underqualified by her sex but overqualified by everything she had accomplished. It was a bushel of quivering excuses and suffragist or not, the inequitable treatment of Myra Allen's candidacy wasn't going to be taken quietly. One of the offended wrote a letter to the editor and the public, letting everyone know women were ready, willing and able to roll up their sleeves and deal with the gritty side of life,

What the world needs most - what Lynn needs most is not nice agreeable work, to be done in elegant drawing rooms or cozy church parlors, or clean well-furnished kitchens even.

To uplift the fallen, to inspire the downtrodden with self-respect, to lend a helping hand to those who do not know how to live decently. ....

Can a cultured, refined woman, let herself down to such work without contamination? Yes, decidedly, yes ....

All honor to the woman who is strong and brave and self-denying enough to put her hands up to the elbows in duty work, if by so doing she may make life cleaner and more wholesome to her fellow women. ....

... Then why not let Dr. Allen bring her woman's tact and wisdom, and inspiration to the work if she is willing?<sup>870</sup>

A petition urging the council to make Myra Allen a candidate on the board of overseers was signed by sixty-seven people, but no member of the city council "had a sufficient quantity of nerve to present the petition," so it went nowhere. All of the astute appeals, sincere letters, and well-intentioned petitions just couldn't fight city hall. In early March the board of alderman nominated

three men to fill the opening on the overseers' board and they elected Peter Johnson, a dealer in shoe leather and soles; Myra Allen's name wasn't even put in nomination.<sup>871</sup> In June there was another opening and the names of three men and Myra Allen were nominated. The three men received eighteen out of nineteen votes; Myra Allen got just one. The winner this time was Robert S. Sisson, a former sewing machine agent and then with the L. A. May crockery and kitchen furnishings store; he was considered by the city council to be the best-qualified candidate – he was a man.<sup>872</sup>

Despite such setbacks, many Lynn women actively pursued and engaged in activities to improve and increase enjoyment of their lives. The city's female physicians were active participants in the Lynn Women's Suffrage Club; in 1892 they filled positions as president, two of the vice presidents, and a member of the executive committee, and the organization kept its prominence and its cause in the public eye, holding public meetings with important community leaders as guest speakers, like former City Marshal King, who spoke on Lynn's police system.<sup>873</sup> In 1895, "a number of young ladies" met to organize a "ladies' wheel club" in Lynn.<sup>874</sup> Once organized, the initial membership of nine bicyclists took their first group ride to Nahant and they decided to trek to Salem Willows (7.3 miles away, about 40 minutes by bicycle) on the following Saturday. It was a modest start, but there were many female cycling enthusiasts in Lynn and the membership of the Ladies' Bicycle Club was sure to grow.<sup>875</sup>

Clothing was changing along with women's lifestyles. They were raising eyebrows all over the city – on its beaches, wearing swimsuits with cap sleeves just covering the shoulder and skirts ending just below the knee; on bicycles wearing bloomers or skirts well above the ankle (to avoid getting entangled in the chain, gears, or pedals).<sup>876</sup> Even the ordinary skirt hemline had risen about four inches so that it would no longer trail on the ground gathering mud and dirt, and to avoid the germs of spittle and tobacco juice in the street cars.<sup>877</sup> Corsets and petticoats were giving way to looser waistlines because "the body [that] is fettered ... cannot be either healthy or graceful. Corsets and petticoats are foes to beauty."<sup>878</sup>

Beauty wasn't just skin-deep, according to advertising for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*: health enhanced a woman's features, but as progressive as the company advertising was trying to be, one of its messages in 1899 perpetuated the role – and stress – of being the perfect Victorian wife: "To be a successful wife, *to retain the love and admiration of her husband*, should be a woman's constant study."<sup>879</sup> It really wasn't a reminder women needed; they were well aware that the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood were hard on their health, beauty, and happiness. A Pinkham pamphlet enumerated a long list of expectations imposed by society, family, and themselves; the tract was aptly titled, "*Nerve Strain*":

Every American woman ... is to keep the house, and sometimes to do the work of it, do the marketing, bear the children and rear them, and teach them to some extent; do all their sewing, do all their nursing and walk the floor all night with them if they are ill; she is expected to do, very frequently, the finer cooking, and often portions of the finer ironing; *be sometimes a servant, and always a lady*; read the last novel and the last book of science; talk intelligently and keep up with public affairs. Know the last fashion, and often make her dress by it; and with all this, if she is not exactly expected to do it, yet she frequently does add her mite to the pecuniary support of the family by outside labor of one sort or another.<sup>880</sup>

In addition to concerns that Lynn's citizens were being overwhelmed by constant struggles with work and finances, social functions were also considered "so arduous and interminable as to sap all vitality, robbing the casket of life of its jewel of health."<sup>881</sup> Preparing Christmas dinner may not have sounded as daunting as a ball, but for the woman organizing it, it could be devastating.

A feature column appearing in the *Item* in 1899 continued to put pressure on the American woman, even as its male author was trying to convey that she shouldn't stress over preparing the Christmas dinner:

The approaching Christmas dinner will be the first served by many an American housewife who may read this column. To her the meal is looked forward to with apprehension if not with dread. .... She desires to do all that she can and all that her mother and friends have done to make the festival dinner a great success. ....

The American woman as a rule tries to do too much, not because she desires to do so in all cases, but because too much is expected of her. She must be wife, mother, teacher, cook, chambermaid and hostess in many cases, and in these later days is expected to be a club woman and whist expert as well. ... A plain dinner served with taste and graced by a smiling woman who is not fagged out and nearly tired to death is far preferable to an overloaded table ....

Now, my young friend, let us build your Christmas dinner on simple lines, have a bill of fare that you know you are equal to preparing without too much fatigue, and *let your easy grace and pleasing smile serve as a sauce.* You should wish to please your guests, not to stuff them, to satisfy their appetites, not to overload their stomachs. *A good soup, followed by fish, a roast and dessert is enough.*

With such a dinner you may give plenty of time to a simple *decoration of the table and the preparation of a few dainty salads and side dishes* that will make the meal the equal of a banquet. ... A handsome vase with appropriate flowers and a few sprays of vine on the cloth is enough in the flower line, for your glass and silver ware will complete the setting. ...<sup>882</sup>

So the well-intentioned author wanted the woman to relax and not stress, but nonetheless to decorate the table and make a meal consisting of soup, fish, roast, salad, side dishes and desert – Christmas dinner still sounded like a gift of stress wrapped in anxiety.

Orasmus B Bruce, Lynn's superintendent of public schools, said that the wives and mothers in many American homes were daily proving that "woman's work is never done" – and he worried that it was killing them, "In unflagging zeal for the health and prosperity of husband and children; for the release of the mortgage on the little home; for the necessities, comforts and petty luxuries of life; for all the economies of a prudent household, ... woman is voluntarily *subjected to a system of domestic slavery which has brought many a noble woman to her untimely funeral ...*"<sup>883</sup>



**"DO AMERICANS WORK TOO HARD?"** The question and problem wasn't limited to women. Overwork, competition, societal expectations, and more calls for brain work than bodily labor, were all grinding on the nerves and physical, mental, and emotional health across a wide swath of Americans – men, women, high school and college students, business professionals in sedentary occupations and laborers working on the line day after day. In March 1893 Lynn had the eight "Current Topics" conference of public discussions and the subject being addressed was, "Do Americans Work Too Hard?" Every speaker at the event concurred that the answer was emphatically *yes*.

It was pointed out at the conference that men were stressed as well, caught up in the hustle and bustle of everyday life, eating a "too-stimulating diet," as well as experiencing "excessive mental worry and physical strain" by overworking in the constant pursuit of the seldom attainable.<sup>884</sup> "He is never quiet, never rests, for the nerves are all a-quiver, and the body constantly in motion. He is tired, nervous, sleepless, and starts at the least sound. He has Americanitis."<sup>885</sup> Even Lynn's physicians were measured with the old problem by the new name:

... Within 10 minutes' walk from this place [probably alluding to the Lynn Hospital] are leading physicians who hardly know what rest and recuperation mean practically, although they insist upon them as absolute necessities for their patients. These are [some] of the many who do not take their own medicine, and "burn the candle of life at both ends."<sup>886</sup>

Emotional and mental stress had risen in frequency and prominence to become a dominant medical issue in the late century. It was alternately called nervous prostration, neurasthenia, Americanitis, depression, nerve strain, brain fag, and the blues, and its labels were far exceeded by the number of symptoms assigned to it, a few of which were sleeplessness, dyspepsia, worry, nervousness, weakness, headache, hysteria, and impotence. It was a condition that vaccines would be unable to stop because it was not generated by bacteria; Americans who were nervous wrecks had gotten that way by “the strains of American living” in the late-century, highly competitive, heavily industrialized America. “It is not work which injures, it is overwork, worry ... over-taxing the strength, strain upon nerve and body ....”<sup>887</sup>

The first directory page of Lynn’s *Blue Book* was headed, *Élite Lynn Directory*, to reemphasize exactly who was succeeding in the ruthlessly competitive economy; for the listed elites, the pressure was on to remain in it.<sup>888</sup> An 1899 *Item* ad from a local furniture store illustrated just how much stress was put on being fashionably wealthy: “A new hall tree placed in that vacant corner in your hall or to replace that old rickety piece, good in its time, but now out of date, will spruce up the house wonderfully. *First impressions count*. Your friends in their calls will greet such a change as showing prosperity and an up-to-date-ness in your affairs. Expense is not great, \$10 to \$16 will do wonders ... .”<sup>889</sup> Minimizing the expense was deceptive at best; the hall tree was still more than a week’s pay for many workers, and realistically, it wasn’t a critical piece of home furnishing, but the seductive promise that friends would be impressed by the owners’ prosperity and “up-to-date-ness,” might have been compelling enough to bring aspiring bourgeois Lynners to the furniture store.

Success wasn’t just getting in the *Blue Book*: *Élite Lynn Directory* and having a fancy hall tree; it was accomplishing more, constantly doing better, and never, ever slipping backwards, as a calligram in the *Item* graphically demonstrated:

The  
ranks  
of life's battle  
are open to all, the  
lowly as well as the great  
and though in the conflict full  
many must fall you may reach to  
an honored estate. Press up to the  
front with a resolute mind, and  
struggle with all of your  
might, or soon to your  
shame and confu-  
sion you'll find  
you are  
but the  
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890

Another speaker at the “Current Topics” conference successfully summarized the success versus health conundrum with which many Lynn citizens were struggling: “... Americans [are] too

*intense ... spending one-half [of] his life acquiring wealth and losing health; [and the] remaining half spending his wealth to regain his health. .... Worry causes most of the suicides....*<sup>891</sup>

Lynn physician Herbert W. Newhall also presented a paper at the conference about the dangers of working and worrying too much and his conclusions were not very encouraging. Overworking the brain, he said, was a problem found throughout society: among school children, especially girls in high school and college; young businessmen actively pursuing wealth; and older adults who were still burdened by cares and problems. He then itemized a long list of dangerous consequences from mental overwork, including dyspepsia, loss of appetite, excessive heart palpitations, headaches, dizziness, loss of sleep, and impaired nerve centers. Dyspepsia was the most serious result, he believed, "and when that came, many seek relief in stimulants .... Sunny dispositions are changed and enthusiasm is killed. ... It is the constant fret and worry that exhausts."<sup>892</sup> Newhall said that physicians frequently identified such symptoms as "nervous prostration" and advised the rest and relaxation of a European trip, but such a prescription was not in the realm of possibility for most people in Lynn suffering from nervous prostration. Exhausted, stressed, and depressed, they sometimes sought other solutions.

In late April 1899, John J. Malley, residing at 6 Deer Park, had enlisted the aid of the police to find his wife. Catherine Malley had been quietly suffering from nervous prostration for a year or two and before her disappearance she had several bad attacks of what was described as nervous prostration and appeared restless and depressed. Then, well before sunrise on April 21<sup>st</sup>, she just disappeared. John discovered that his wife was gone when one of their little sons' crying woke him up. The inner and outer door of the house were not only unlocked but wide open; John checked adjoining yards then went to police headquarters. The police looked along the banks of the nearby Saugus River, but there were no traces of the missing woman. Her husband suspected that she was "temporarily demented," since she left the house without attempting to arrange her hair or put on her hat or shoes.<sup>893</sup>

Twelve days later, the police followed up on a phone call from the G.E. River Works facility that a body had been seen on the marshes just west of the Saugus River. Walking along the track of the Eastern Railroad, something black was seen floating in a pool of water fed by a creek in the marshes; "it was thought that the severe thunder storm of Monday evening may have caused the body to rise to the surface." It was indeed Catherine Malley, victim of years of nervous prostration and hours of mental illness that sent her wandering to her suicide a few miles from home and family, in the lonely, secluded marshes along the Saugus River.<sup>894</sup>

The big middle ground between European vacations and suicide contained many medicines for the cure of weakness and nervous disorders. There was no lack of offerings in the marketplace and they did their commercial best to dramatize the dangers of nerve strain and the supremacy of their nerve remedies. One of Lynn's conference speakers pointed out that judging by "the myriad of panacea or patent medicine 'ads' and reading notices so conspicuous in our local and metropolitan dailies," it might be concluded that there were no longer any healthy Americans. "Yet the financial success of these nostrums (*some of them excellent and efficient remedies*) is largely due to *the prevalent, unquestionable opinion that Americans, as a people, are working too hard*, and that whatever ills their susceptible flesh is heir to are direct results or effects of [feeling drained of energy] so characteristic of Americans."<sup>895</sup>

*Dr. Greene's Nervura* was advertised as "The Great Nerve, Brain and Blood Invigorator – for Brain Exhaustion, Heart Failure, Nervous Prostration, Paralysis, Insanity, or Premature Death and [for] all who feel that their nerves are weak or their ... power and energies are impaired ...."<sup>896</sup>

You are living over a volcano. ... If you have headache, loss of memory, confused mind, dull and heavy feeling in [the] head, are drowsy during the day and wakeful at night, feel gloomy and depressed, think with difficulty and thoughts leave you suddenly, [your] mind and brain [are] tired at mental exertion, and you are irritable, cross and discouraged, you are over the yawning volcano - INSANITY. ... when the awful [eruption] comes it means annihilation and death.<sup>897</sup>

Greene's was a Boston-based medicine company and they gave public lectures in Lynn.<sup>898</sup> Their *Nervura* advertising was some of the boldest and most compelling found in Lynn's newspapers: "Dr. Greene's Nervura Makes Men Healthy, Strong, Vigorous, Powerful." "This wonderful remedy is not a patent medicine, [it] is the prescription .... It will cure you."<sup>899</sup> John and Etta Poole, young parents with busy lives full of stress and strain, were customers of *Dr. Greene's Nervura*. On 6 March 1895, John wrote in his diary, "Etta and I begin to take Dr. Green's Nervura tonight."<sup>900</sup>

Ounce for ounce and ad for ad, *Paine's Celery Compound* was every bit as dominant in newspaper advertising as *Dr. Greene's Nervura*. As its name implied, its basis was celery, the must-have vegetable of the decade; the packaging and advertising prominently featured an illustration of a big bunch of celery. Paine's was heavily promoted for nervous tension, fatigue, overwork, and "the strains of American living." It was boasted to be "the greatest of modern medical discoveries," building up the nerves, making new blood, and renewing the brain, "it is not a ... prepared concoction, but a *discovery* ... If you are a nervous sufferer, by all means use it."<sup>901</sup> Just a cursory glance at its advertising told the reader this medicine was serious business; a single ad emphasized the terrors of nerve prostration: DISEASED ... EXHAUSTION ... DESPAIR ... INFLAMED ... DISINTEGRATED ... POISON – all eliminated by use of *Paine's Celery Compound*.<sup>902</sup>

A number of medicines were aimed at weak men; that is, men who had lost the fortitude to succeed in the office and in the bedroom. *Doan's Kidney Pills* promised to keep the kidneys in great shape to perpetuate "... the sturdy specimens of manhood that for years have been the pride and boast of Lynn, - Bulging muscles, swelling chests, massive shoulders ...."<sup>903</sup> Warren Toppan advertised that *Sexine Pills* would "imbue men with more bodily and mental vigor" and another Lynn druggists offered *Nerve Seeds* "for Weak Men."<sup>904</sup> *Vin de l'Amour*, "the new French Aphrodisiac," was promoted for nerve exhaustion, muscular weakness and decay, brain weariness, and feebleness, as well as barrenness, impotency, loss of sexual instinct and power. "WEAK MEN contemplating marriage will find [it] a sure specific. ...."<sup>905</sup> Charles P. DeLangle introduced his version of a French aphrodisiac with the *Parisian Aphro Tonic* in 1894 with the trademarked image of a man who benefited from the product, appearing ready for romance or marriage, or both.<sup>906</sup>

Women were largely treated as if weakness was an unavoidable condition of the sex; therefore virtually all women's medicines promised to rebuild their "over-wrought nerves." "I am so nervous and wretched," a woman wrote to Lydia Pinkham.<sup>907</sup> The company's advertisements assured that nervous depression or "the blues" from which the women suffered was curable by Pinkham's vegetable compound:

... illogical, unhappy, and frequently hysterical ... nearly always [resulting] from diseased organs of generation.

It is a source of wonder that in this age of advanced medical science any person should still believe that mere force of will and determination will overcome depressed spirits and nervousness in women. These troubles are indications of disease.<sup>908</sup>

And since *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* could cure women's diseases, it could overcome depressed spirits and nervousness as well. An obviously thrilled user of the compound wrote with conviction that the compound had restored her health as well as her strength and vitality:

You have saved my life, snatched me from the brink of the grave almost, and I wish to thank you. ... I suffered agonies, had to give up my profession (musician and piano player), was confined to my bed and life became a terrible cross. My husband summoned the best physicians, but their benefit was but temporary at best. I believe I should have contracted the morphine habit under their care, if my common sense had not intervened.

One day my husband noticed the advertisement of your remedies ... Soon the pain in my ovaries was gone. *I am now well, strong and robust, walk, ride a wheel [a bicycle], and feel like a girl in her teens.* ...<sup>909</sup>

Another category of remedy that latched on to America's thirst for energy and nerve strength were beverages with a medicinal component. Lynn's *Kola=Rays*, a cola drink combined with a nerve tonic, were marketed as the "Great Health Drink ... highly recommended by physicians everywhere for stimulating the action of the muscles, dispelling indigestion and preventing fatigue."<sup>910</sup> Warren Toppan encouraged people to visit the soda fountain in his drug store for refreshment and remedy, "just to be cool. There's nothing like keeping yourself cool and free from excitement. ... our ice cold soda ... as [cool] as an Esquiman. ... a cool and refreshing drink without doing the least harm to the digestion."<sup>911</sup>

Lynn medicine makers and shopkeepers all stocked medicines and other products for the prevention of or recovery from the many symptoms of nervous prostration. Colcord's pharmacy was proud to point out to its fatigued and energy-drained customers that the coca in its *Beef, Wine, Coca and Iron* was the same ingredient that produced "those wonderful feats of endurance" exhibited by Andean peasants "during long and difficult journeys carrying heavy loads and almost do[ing] without food by chewing the leaves of this wonderful plant."<sup>912</sup> Colcord's also offered its own *Headache Powders*; a few storefronts away, the Bubier Laboratory Company was giving away samples of *Burrill's Celery-Caffein Headache and Nerve Powders*.<sup>913</sup>

A depressing drizzle of nervous disorder symptoms seemed to be falling upon Lynn's citizens, making almost everyone at least a little bit wet, and nerve disease specialists also set up shop in Lynn to cash in on the misery of others. "Dr. Spinney & Co., The Celebrated Nerve Specialists," set up a dispensary at 467 Essex Street where he could be consulted by all who suffered from nervous diseases.<sup>914</sup> The Lynn Magnetic Medical Institute, set up in the Boyden House at 276 Union Street offered to treat all diseases, including "nervous diseases – nervous debility from any cause, hysteria, neurasthenia," and more.<sup>915</sup> Healer James Castle also treated any diseases that came his way, including nervousness (which he also referred to as neurasthenia); his advertisement warned Lynn's shoemakers that they were particularly at risk of losing their minds and memories, so they should hasten to his office: "This affection steals and grows upon unsuspecting patients very slowly and insidiously, destroying their vitality and energy to the extent that if allowed its course, memory and mind become diseased." After including the usual long list of symptoms of nervous disease, he explained that they were "very prevalent amongst all who do work requiring activity or rapidity of nerve action such as those who work in shoe shops and places where quickness of motion is more necessary than actual muscular force."<sup>916</sup>

Nervous prostration was bad news but good business. Even dry goods store owner Thomas Rogers figured out a creative angle to increase his sales of window screens,

## THE VERY LATEST! WAR! WAR!! WAR!!!

In time of peace prepare for war. Now is the time to fix up those  
window screens before the busy fly and the musical mosquito give  
you nervous prostration. To assist in the good work we offer

500 PIECES

Adams' Best Mosquito Netting,

Two yards wide in all colors, pink, blue, buff, green, black, white,  
etc. ...

**THOMAS W. ROGERS,**

280-282 UNION STREET.<sup>917</sup>

Of all the overworked, stressed, exhausted citizens in Lynn during the last decade of the century, none had their trials, failures, and shortcomings recorded as completely as Mayor Walter L. Ramsdell. He was the lone Democratic mayor of Lynn sandwiched between two decades of

Republicans, and from the eve of his election victory, all of his actions were scrutinized under a microscope that was deliberately out of focus; his every step was measured as a misstep by the very pro-Republican *Daily Evening Item*. Even though earlier in his career he had been one of their own, a reporter for the *Item*, he was a Democrat and therefore, in politics, their adversary.

He fought powerful opposition to have the city's outfall sewer line extended further into Lynn Harbor, which required his petitioning and appearing before the state legislature for their approval to raise the city's debt ceiling by \$100,000 for the work.<sup>918</sup> He went through the same process with the state to raise the city's limit an additional \$35,000 in order to purchase the site where the city's library would be located. The city already had 53,000 volumes (the fifth largest collection in the state) taking up seven rooms in the city hall, so the need was compelling and urgent, and although his petition prevailed, he was again vehemently opposed by other parties in Lynn.<sup>919</sup> His effort to be a peacemaker, resolving a strike in Lynn, was noted by the newspaper to be a "fruitless" failure.<sup>920</sup> He tried to show his support to Lynn laborers who insisted he get twenty Italians from Boston replaced who were working on the street rail line on Union Street by successfully negotiating with the contractor for their removal and replacement with Lynn men, but it won him little admiration from the *Item* editors – they were already trolling for his next mistake.<sup>921</sup>

His pro-labor decisions angered the capitalists and manufacturers, and his political appointments usually rankled someone or other who invariably wanted someone else to fill the position.<sup>922</sup> Ramsdell was reminded again and again that the actions, words, and decisions of the mayor rarely received accolades but often found ridicule and argument; even more so for him because he was a Democrat adrift in a city hall filled with Republicans. When the next re-election season began, less than a year after the last election, an article appeared in the *Item* about the effort to sidetrack Mayor Ramsdell. One of the parties that had supported him in the first election was making an effort to prevent his renomination for the officer of mayor; they were "willing to take any other candidate, be he either Republican or Democrat, in preference to the present Mayor."<sup>923</sup> Stumping at a meeting of the Ward 6 Democrats, he was among friends and received a warm round of applause, after which he expressed his thanks, saying their greeting was "an encouraging sign," but then the embattled mayoral candidate pleaded for help:

The conditions have not been favorable for the best government, with one man standing practically alone, with all the rest of the government of a different political complexion.  
... you should vote for all the candidates of the party. It needs more than one representative in the City Hall to hold up the hands of the Chief Executive. ... *During the past year I have been a sort of Robinson Crusoe, standing alone. If elected this year I would like a few men Fridays for company.*<sup>924</sup>

In December 1897 Walter Ramsdell was re-elected to the mayor's chair for his second term. The *Item*, which consistently showed palpable excitement in their headlines when a Republican mayor got elected, printed with an equally palpable grump, "RAMSDELL AGAIN." He actually got more votes than in his first election, but the good news for Mayor-Elect Ramsdell stopped right there. The city council still got stacked with Republicans – a huge seventeen Republicans versus seven Democrats and only one Democrat was elected to the board of aldermen, so Ramsdell was still Robinson Crusoe, stranded with little support. The *Item* couldn't resist turning the mayor's words at the Ward 6 rally against him in an editorial cartoon depicting Ramsdell as Robinson Crusoe finding a footprint in the sand made by the one Democratic alderman elected.<sup>925</sup>

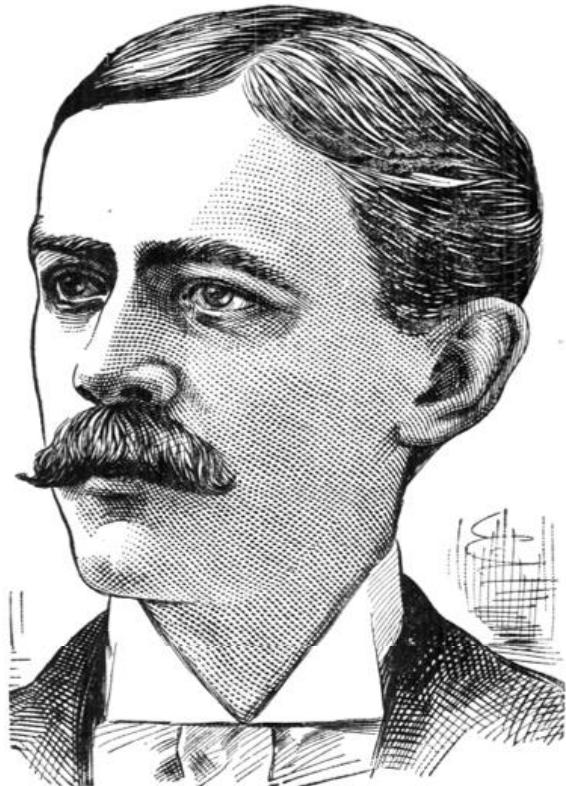
Emotionally bruised and beaten down even in the midst of his victory, facing another year of overwhelming opposition to his every move, Mayor Ramsdell claimed he had found a new wellspring of energy and strength – not in those who applauded his re-election to office or from grabbing hold of personal will and determination to overcome depressed spirits, but from the remedial powers of *Paine's Celery Compound*. During the heat of his re-election campaign, he had written a letter to them, endorsing their medication.

In the letter dated 5 November 1897, Mayor Walter L. Ramsdell wrote, "Gentlemen – A previous experience with Paine's celery compound, as a restorer of exhausted energy, induced me recently to take it again, the many duties of the mayor's office having taxed my slight physical resources greatly. I made no mistake. In one week, I found my appetite improved, the feeling of weariness disappearing, and my nerves becoming steadier. Paine's celery compound has thus been a friend in time of need, and I like to say a word for a friend." The ad contained a fine portrait of Mayor Ramsdell and strong praise for his stature and work as Lynn's mayor written by the *Paine's* manufacturer. It appeared in the January 29, 1898 edition of the *Item*; there had never been as many kind words in the *Item* about this mayor as this moment in time when the newspaper was compelled to honor its contract with the valuable advertiser by running their ad.<sup>926</sup>

At first blush, it may appear that Mayor Ramsdell was taking a risk, admitting to exhausted energy, taxed physicality, weariness, and poor appetite, not to mention endorsing a medicine, but celebrity endorsements of patent medicines had become quite common; *Paine's* had acquired and published endorsements from many other mayors and even congressmen. In the eyes of many, Ramsdell's published endorsement elevated his stature along with that of the medicine. Since *Paine's* was a large, national advertiser, the Ramsdell endorsement was published across the country: in the *New England Farmer*, the *Austin (TX) American-Statesman*, *The Moline (IL) Review-Dispatch*, *The Capital Journal* of Salem, Oregon, and newspapers in several other states.<sup>927</sup> It might even have been considered a good move for any

## THE MAYOR OF LYNN.

### Paine's Celery Compound Never Fails to Invigorate Him when Worn Out.



Mayor Ramsdell is again mayor of Lynn.

Wells, Richardson & Co., Burlington, Vt.

Two years ago he was elected by the combined People's party, Democratic and Citizens' Reform party. He was again nominated by acclamation by the Democrats to succeed himself as mayor of the busy modern city, and was again elected by a rousing majority last month.

Mayor Ramsdell's present high position is the legitimate reward of his ability and his fearlessness in defending his opinions. He has never hesitated to declare his convictions in public, nor has he been slow to espouse the cause of the shoemakers and other wage earners. In 1894 he was candidate of the People's party for Congress. A hard worker, a conscientious official, Mayor Ramsdell has more than once been pushed to the limit of his strength. At such times of extreme nervous tension and overwork, he has saved himself from breaking down by taking Paine's celery compound.

Mayor Ramsdell's honest opinion of this great remedy cannot be mistaken by any one who reads his letter that follows:

Gentlemen—A previous experience with Paine's celery compound, as a restorer of exhausted energy, induced me recently to take it again, the many duties of the mayor's office having taxed my slight physical resources greatly. I made no mistake. In one week, I found my appetite improved, the feeling of weariness disappearing, and my nerves becoming steadier. Paine's celery compound has thus been a friend in time of need, and I like to say a word for a friend.

Truly yours,  
WALTER L. RAMSDELL  
Nov. 5, 1897.

In every city, in business houses, banks, newspaper offices—wherever the friction of worry is wearing out the nerves and reducing the nutrition of the body, Paine's celery compound is proving its inestimable value. It invariably insures sound sleep, and thus gives the overstrung nerves their natural rest; it corrects a constipated habit that so commonly goes with sedentary occupations, and frees the blood of poisonous humors, that at some time or other develop into grave disease.

politician considering national office or appointment. A few months later, *Paine's* published the endorsement of the mayor of Lowell, who had written that the “unhesitating recommendation of his personal friend, Mayor Ramsdell of Lynn, had much to do” with his endorsement.<sup>928</sup>

The *Daily Evening Item* was quick to twist Mayor Ramsdell’s appearance in the *Paine's* advertisement into a political barb. Shortly after his inauguration for the second term, an editorial cartoon showed him crowned as “King Ramsdell I,” in his throne room, lording over his privy council of sycophants; a case of *Paine's Celery Compound* is half hidden on a shelf in the background, probably meant as a metaphor for the “power behind the throne.”<sup>929</sup> The previous day, the paper excoriated “King Ramsdell the First” in another cartoon for the rash of armed hold-ups that were happening in Lynn at the time. The newsprint beatings continued throughout the year; Mayor Ramsdell might well have kept a bottle of *Paine's* nearby throughout the remainder of his second term.<sup>930</sup>

Walter Ramsdell ran for Congress in November 1898, but lost; then he ran for a third term as the mayor of Lynn, but got trounced by the Republican candidate. Even after his defeat, the *Item* kicked his political carcass one more time because he didn’t express support for his former license commissioner named Fred W. Herrick, who was looking for reimbursement from the new city government for legal fees he had incurred during his term in office. The *Item's* editorial squib read, “Ex-Mayor Ramsdell may be an outspoken advocate of Paine's Celery Compound, but it is noticed that he isn't furnishing any testimonials for Herrick's pills and plasters.”<sup>931</sup> It was the usual long stretch for editorial humor, but at this point, Ramsdell probably couldn’t have cared less.

A few years later, Ex-Mayor Ramsdell was diagnosed with pulmonary tuberculosis. How long he had been suffering from it wasn’t known, but his mention of “slight physical resources” in his endorsement letter for *Paine's* might hint that he even had it when he was mayor. Early in 1907 he suffered from “general paralysis” that lasted until his death on 26 August 1909. He was 49 years old. A brief obituary mentioned “His mind gave way about a year ago and he was taken to the Danvers asylum” where he died. It was said that he died from an illness (allegedly the paralysis) that was brought on by his failure to secure the Democratic nomination for yet another run for mayor of Lynn in 1906.<sup>932</sup> Pummeled by disease and weakness, needled by adversaries, and finally assaulted by paralysis and mental illness, The Honorable Walter L. Ramsdell, citizen of Lynn, had nothing left to give. His time was done, as it eventually was for all of Lynn’s sons and daughters throughout the century, regardless of their efforts to be healthy and perpetually full of life.

## Chapter 10 Notes

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1. The leather and shoe market was consistent in its perpetual inconsistency, vacillating between dull demand and brisk bursts in the early part of the decade. The roller coaster ride was regularly reported in the local newspapers; see for example in *Daily Evening Item*, articles in feature column, “Shoe and Leather Notes,” 24 January 1891 and 3 April 1891; article, “Local Forecast,” 18 August 1892; editorial, no title, 5 May 1892, and article, “The Leather Market,” *Weekly Leather Circular*, as quoted in *Daily Evening Item*, 21 October 1891.
  2. Elihu Thomson held 696 patents for his inventions before his death in 1935.
  3. Article, “THOMSON-HOUSTON. Annual Report of the Largest Electric Company,” *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1891. Annual sales of the company steadily and dramatically increased from 1883, its first year in Lynn, at \$426,987 to \$10,617,661 in 1890. In April 1892, the employee count was at 3,800 and was projected to reach 4,000 within a few months; see article, THOMSON-HOUSTON Co. An Immense Business Which Is Constantly Increasing,” *Daily Evening Item*, 5 April 1892.

4. References to Thomson as the “Wizard of Swampscott” appeared frequently in the area newspapers; see for example, article, “THOMSON-HOUSTON WORKS,” *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1891, and article, “MEN YOU OUGHT TO KNOW,” *The Boston Globe*, 25 October 1891.
5. *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: New Bedford, MA, p.13 (recto), house 186, dwelling 66, family 96 (Stanton).
6. Articles in *The Malone Palladium* (Malone, NY): “Burned to Death,” 12 April 1877, and Sad Accident Last Friday Evening,” 13 April 1877; untitled squizzles in *Democrat and Weekly Sentinel* (Burlington, VT), 21 April 1877, and *Swanton Courier* (Swanton, VT), 21 April 1877.
7. *The Haverhill and Bradford (MA) Directory, 1883* (Boston, MA: W. A. Greenough & Co.), p.345; *The Portland (ME) Directory, 1884* (Portland, ME: B. Thurston & Co.), Vol.18, p.503. Alexander Stanton continued to appear as a shoe cutter in the Portland directories of 1885 through 1889.
8. Classified ad, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, MO), 8 MAY 1884.
9. *Register of Deaths in the City of St. Louis* (MO), 20 May 1887, No.3450.
10. *The Lynn Directory, 1891* (Boston, MA: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1891), No. 26, p.551.
11. It should also be noted that Scott included a second motto in his busy design, the classic “VENI, VIDI, VICI” (I came, I saw, I conquered); it was far more epigrammatically descriptive of the inventor than the customer.
12. Article, “National Electric Brush Co.,” *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1891. The firm was allegedly capitalized at \$500,000 and to be run by Elmer F. Robinson of Robinson & Lyons, shoe dealers, President, Hon. William M. Hill, of Salem, Treasurer, and directors not named but “made up of wide-awake Lynn men.” No further evidence of the firm or product has been found; this singular local newspaper item may have been a marketing puff to attract investors rather than an announcement of established, capitalized investment in the company, as it was presented to be.
13. Letters Patent No. 462,599, dated 3 November 1891. (See Appendix D for illustrations and further patent description.)
14. 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.
15. Research performed by the author. Of the 156 total guests, 138 had identifiable occupations in the 1892 Lynn city directory; categorically, there were 41 merchants (including storekeepers), 27 manufacturers, 23 professionals, 17 manual laborers (including carpenters), 11 agents of real estate and/or insurance, 8 business owners, 4 bankers, and 4 working in city government.
16. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
17. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
18. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
19. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
20. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
21. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892.
22. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF TRADE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1892. A year after Thomson’s address to Lynn’s board of trade, he attended the Chicago World Columbian Exposition of 1893. There he and his colleagues bitterly complained to the managers of the Electrical Exhibition Hall because they had given floor space to companies selling electric belts, brushes, and other appliances, letting them share space and spotlight in the building built upon the success of the other exhibitors: General Electric, Westinghouse, etc. See David O. Woodbury, *Elihu Thomson, Beloved Scientist, 1853-1937* (Boston: The Museum of Science, 1960), p.209. Woodbury further explained that exposing electrical frauds was a lifelong crusade for Thomson.
23. *Missouri Death Records, City of St. Louis*, p.197, No.5010, 11 July 1892.
24. Alexander Stanton appeared in St. Louis city directories as a packer in 1893 and a clerk at Keller & Tamm Mfg. Co., a handle-making company from 1895-1901; see especially the directory for 1899, p.1658.
25. *Lynn, its Representative Business Men and Points of Interest* (New York: Mercantile Publishing Co., 1893), p.26.
26. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: ALL THAT BELONGS TO HER. That is What the Bureau of Statistics Gives to Lynn. . . .” *Daily Evening Item*, 3 JUN 1891.
27. Squib, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 June 1893.
28. Illustrated article, “OF FORMER DAYS. Slate Gravestone Unearthed on Exchange Street. . . .” *Daily Evening Item*, 19 July 1898. (Note that there is an artist’s rendering of the gravestone in the article.)
29. Article, “Bottle of Medicine Exhumed.” *Daily Evening Item*, 2 July 1890.

30. Editorial, "Reflecting on the Future," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1890.
31. Article, "Removing Bodies," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 September 1895. The Lummus tomb, apparently now empty, was relocated to a row of tombs on the South Street side of the Old Western Burial Ground. One of the descendants who was present stated that the tomb had been in use for seventy-five years but, to the best of his knowledge, it should have contained thirty bodies.
32. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN'S GROWTH. The Record of Building Progress in 1892. Unequalled by Any City of Proportionate Population." *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1892.
33. Item in feature column, "Notes.", *Daily Evening Item*, 5 June 1893.
34. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN'S GROWTH" *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1892.
35. Article, "HOW WE GROW," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1891.
36. Illustrated article, "LYNN'S NEW STATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1895.
37. Illustrated article, "HIGH SCHOOL," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 June 1892.
38. Illustrated article, "LYNN'S NEW ALMSHOUSE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1894.
39. Illustrated article, "BY THE SEA. Views Showing the Beauties of Shore Drive. Handsome Appearance on the Beach Front. Will Be the Most Attractive Spot on the North Shore. Rich and Poor Alike Can Enjoy the Surf View. ..." *Daily Evening Item*, 25 March 1899.
40. Article, "THE CRYSTAL SPA. West Lynn Enterprise." *Daily Evening Item*, 22 June 1896.
41. Article, "OLD ATTWILL HOUSE. Structure With a History Hard to Trace. It was Once the Only Dwelling on the Common. Belief Exists That It Was Built in 1682," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 August 1896. The pond near the Attwill house became known as Frog Pond. The Alonzo Lewis Map of Lynn (1829) shows a stream emerging from what at the time was Lynn's harbor and proceeding through the Lynn Common; he labeled it Plum Brook. Apparently Witch Creek either connected to Plum Brook or they were one rivulet known by multiple names. Note that a part of Lynn harbor eventually became enclosed and recognized as Lamper's Mill Pond. See also article by Henry A. Rhodes of West Roxbury, but originally from Lynn, "THE TOWN OF LYNN. A Glimpse Back Over an Expanse of 72 Years. A Native, Now a Non-Resident, Writes of the Past. Scenes Enacted here When the Century Was Young." *Daily Evening Item*, 4 March 1899.
42. Illustrated articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "STEARNS' FACTORY BUILDING," 23 June 1890 (brick, granite), and "THE NEW ITEM BUILDING," 26 July 1890 (brick, brownstone).
43. Illustrated article, "V. K. & A. H. JONES'S FACTORY BUILDING," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 September 1890.
44. Illustrated article, "TAPLEY BUILDING, BROAD STREET," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 September 1890.
45. Editorial, "THE PEVEAR BLOCK, CORNER OF WASHINGTON AND MUNROE STREETS," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1891.
46. Illustrated article, "JAMES W. GOLDTHWAIT'S," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 August 1890..
47. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: NEW CHIP FACTORY. Boyd Bros. Will Erect a Fire Proof Building on Washington Street," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1895.
48. Article, "ANOTHER FIRE. ... Value and the Danger of the Automatic Sprinkler," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1892.
49. Article, "HORROR AVERTED," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 November 1892.
50. Ad, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 February 1890.
51. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: NEW CHIP FACTORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1895.
52. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: NEW CHIP FACTORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 September 1895.
53. Article, "Interesting Health Statistics." *The Lynn Transcript* , 24 April 1891 (emphasis added).
54. Article, "WOMAN SUFFRAGE CLUB. Lecture by Dr. F. F. Brigham, of the board of health. He Describes the Board's Duties and Methods. How the Health of the City is Preserved." *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1891 (emphases added).
55. Article, "WOMAN SUFFRAGE CLUB," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1891.
56. Article, "Health of Lynn" *Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1891.
57. Illustrated ad for L.A. May Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 25 June 1890.
58. Article, "SANITARY DEPARTMENT. A Complete and Elaborate Method of Showing Plumbing Fixtures," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 March 1891.
59. Article, "The House Fly," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1891.

60. Advertisement for W. B. Gifford, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 August 1890.
61. The flyswatter was invented in 1900. In New Bedford, MA, the great-grandmother of the author used to have her children roll up a cone of newspaper and swat flies in the house for a penny a fly. Recollection of the author's grandmother (Margaret Lima Correia) and great aunt (Elsie Lima Bowen Rezendes).
62. Journal of John W. Poole, 17 March 1891; Journals of John W. Poole, manuscript, 1881-1894. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) Each year is contained in a separate journal.
63. Journal of John W. Poole, 18 March 1891.
64. Journal of John W. Poole, 20 March 1891.
65. Journal of John W. Poole, 23 March 1891.
66. Journal of John W. Poole, 28 March 1891.
67. Journal of John W. Poole, 6 Aug 1891 (\$1400) and 30 July 1888 (\$1,500).
68. Journal of John W. Poole, 8 August 1891 (Kodak), and 9 September 1891 (pants).
69. Journal of John W. Poole, 27 February 1890. John noted it had Waltham Movement Serial No. 4226927 (and case No. 225916), which meant it was a new watch because watches with that serial number were manufactured starting in October 1889 (see website: pocketwatchdatabase.com).
70. Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1895 (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1896) Vol.5, p.284. reported that more than half of all Lynn non-salary wages (male and female wage earners) were between \$10 but under \$20 weekly. John Poole listed his incoming and expenses in the back of each yearly volume of his journals.
71. Advertisement for Lewis B. Breer, Merchant Tailor, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 April 1890.
72. Advertisement for Hartman Mfg. Co., Beaver Falls, Pa., lawn fencing, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1891.
73. Advertisement, "The Lynn 'Moll Pitcher' Souvenir Spoon" by W. F. Newhall, Jeweler and Silversmith; and illustrated advertisement, "The Lynn 'Dungeon Rock' Souvenir Spoon," H. M. Hill & Co., 254 & 256 Union St., *Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1891.
74. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE FOURTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 July 1891.
75. See for example, Advertisements for Safety bicycles and Columbia bicycles, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 April 1890, 23 April 1891, 10 August 1895, and 1 May 1899.
76. Article, "MORE SEVERE," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1896.
77. Article by Jonathan Wiseman, Lynn, "THE CYCLING CRAZE. Remarkable Mania for Wheels ...," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1893. (There is no Jonathan Wiseman in the 1891 or 1893 Lynn directories, or the 1880 or 1900 censuses; it was probably a pseudonym (note: Wise-man), but he was said to be of Lynn and even wrote that the cyclist he wrote about got in trouble for riding on the sidewalks of Saugus, so it appears the author was, indeed, living in Lynn.]
78. Article, "BICYCLE SKIRTS. Abbreviated Dress of Teachers Tabooed. ..." *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1899.
79. Article, "Professor Thomson's Leg Broken," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 May 1896.
80. Article, "MORE SEVERE ... Lynn Wheelmen to Oppose the Lantern Law ... ,," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1896.
81. Advertisement for the America Bicycle, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 March 1896.
82. Article by Jonathan Wiseman, Lynn, "THE CYCLING CRAZE," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1893.
83. Article by R. W. Shoppell, Architect, "GYMNASIUM BUILDING," *Lynn Daily Evening Item*, 16 June 1890. It is not clear that this particular gymnasium proposal found investors and was built, but there were gymnasiums already in Lynn, as described in the previous chapter.
84. Illustrated advertisement, "HOME ATHLETICS. Physical Development," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 November 1895.
85. 1890 Lynn CD: George S. Sanborn, toolmaker, rear 141 Oxford, h.74 Rogers Av. (p.495)
86. Advertisements, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1890 (Mills); 7 April 1890 (Crowley); 18 June 1890 (McKenna); 2 October 1890 (Millie).
87. U.S. Patent No.419,285 EXERCISING APPARATUS, George S. Sanborn, Lynn, Massachusetts, issued 14 January 1890. (See Appendix D for illustrations and further patent description.)
88. Illustrated article, "Sanborn Exercising Machine," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 March 1890.
89. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1890.
90. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 April 1890.
91. Article, "LYNN MILITIA," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 April 1893.

92. Article, "Physical Culture in the Lynn Schools," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 29 December 1892, Vol.127, p.639.
93. Article, "ANNUAL REPORT Of the School Committee for 1894. ... Physical Culture Thought to Have been a Benefit." *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1895.
94. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: EXHIBITION DRILL By the Girls of the Lynn High Schools. Swedish Gymnastic Classes Make a Fine Appearance," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1895.
95. Classified advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1893.
96. Periodical, *Light: A Journal of Physical, Occult, and Mystical Research*, Vol.25, No.1,291, 7 October 1905, p.1.
97. Illustrated classified advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1893.
98. Article, "CORA BECKWITH, The Champion Woman Swimmer of the World, Doe What No Woman Has Ever Done Before. She Swims Ashore From Egg Rock to Nahant," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 July 1892.
99. Advertisement, "FREE TO HOUSEKEEPERS!" *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1898.
100. Advertisement for F. F. French, *Daily Evening Item*, 12 December 1898.
101. Advertisement for Postum Cereal Coffee, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1898.
102. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "Remedial Foods," 27 January 1896 (invaluable); "Value of Celery," 10 March 1896 (root). The *Item's* March 1896 article cited the *Boston Journal* as its source, but no article name is identified.
103. Advertisements for M. P. Longley, L. M. Folsom, The Metropolitan Beef Co., E. J. Caverly & Co., and Brooks Bros., *Daily Evening Item*, 9 October 1896.
104. Article, "Remedial Foods," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 January 1896.
105. Article, "Remedial Foods," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 January 1896.
106. Article by Dr. Atkinson, "Health Food," Yankee Blade, reprinted in *Daily Evening Item*, 12 August 1891 (emphasis added).
107. Article, "NOVEL TREATMENT. A Former Lynn Woman Thought to Be Cured of Cancer in the Stomach by a Protracted Fast." *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1894. The article explains that Emma and Frank Bean were living in San Francisco in 1894.
108. Article, "NOVEL TREATMENT." *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1894..
109. Feature column, "GOOD COOKERY," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 July 1898.
110. Article, "THE WAFFLE CART," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1892.
111. Article, "Ice Cream as a Medicine," *Albany [NY] Express*, reprinted in *Daily Evening Item*, 25 July 1892.
112. Article, "LYNN ANTI-CIGARETTE LEAGUE," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 May 1895; article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: DISGUSTING PRACTICE," 18 Marcy 1898 (cigarettes); letter to the editor by One Who Travels to Her Work, "Let Something be Done," *Daily Evening item*, 26 February 1891 (spitting).
113. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1891.
114. Article, "LYNN POSTERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 February 1896.
115. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 September 1891.
116. Article, "HORROR-STRICKEN PURITANS. Miss Margaret Leslie Leland Shocks Salem's Prudish Taste," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 November 1896 (emphases added).
117. Advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 21 March 1891 (troupe); 26 December 1893 (bevy); 30 December 1893 (British; 20); 5 January 1894 (Irish); 13 April 1898 (PARISIAN); and 18 October 1895 (Rich). Note: a burletta is a brief comic opera.
118. Advertisement for the Music Hall, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 March 1897.
119. Article, "A LA SEELEY DINNER. Appearance of the Police Disconcerts Two "Little Egypys" in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 January 1897.
120. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: PEARL AND BABE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1897 (emphasis added).
121. Article, "Vandals at Work In Echo Grove," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 December 1899 (emphases added).
122. Article, "THE POLICE MATRON. Some of Mrs. Jillson's Duties at the Station," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 January 1890.
123. Article, "GANG OF SHOPLIFTERS. Four Well-known Women Accused of the Crime. GOOD WORK DONE BY THE POLICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 December 1897.
124. Article, "THE LATEST ... SLY GIRL," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1897.

125. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 November 1892. It's interesting to note that Garrood ran a bicycle shop; perhaps he also sold but didn't advertise guns or the boys might have somehow been aware that he had guns hidden away somewhere on the premises.
126. Article, "JACK THE RIPPER," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1891.
127. Article, "WEST LYNN. Exciting Tussle," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 January 1890.
128. Research performed by the author. For example, the annual reports of the city marshal showed drunkenness as the cause for 65% of arrests in the year 1891 (2,109 of 3,221); 1893 was 64% (1,505 of 2,348); 1897 was 69% (2,523 of 3,646); 1899 was 65% (2517 of 3,883).
129. Article, "BLAZED AWAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1897.
130. Articles in feature columns of the *Daily Evening Item*, "The LATEST: BEER BOUGHT," 26 October 1894; "ITEM EXTRA: FULL EXTENT OF THE LAW," 29 October 1894; "ITEM EXTRA: ANOTHER CONVICTION," 30 October 1894.
131. Article, "TEMPERANCE MASS MEETING," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 March 1892.
132. Article, "ATTEMPTED ROBBERY," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1897.
133. Article, "SHOT BY HIGHWAYMAN," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 August 1897.
134. Article, "AT REVOLVER'S POINT," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1897.
135. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1897.
136. Article, "MASKED MEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 January 1898.
137. Letter to the editor by Inquirer, "Lynn's Dusty Streets," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 October 1894.
138. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1895.
139. Article, "Mud, Mud, Mud," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 February 1890.
140. Editorial cartoon, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 December 1893.
141. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 July 1892.
142. Article, "THE OVERFLOWED DISTRICT," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 February 1899.
143. Article, "BOARD OF HEALTH. Hearing Upon an Alleged Nuisance on a Vacant Lot." *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1896.
144. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CAMDEN STREET. A Thoroughfare That is Covered With Water. Quite a Good Place to Raise Water Fowl," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
145. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CAMDEN STREET," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
146. Article, "CONDEMNED," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 September 1898.
147. Illustrated article, "DISEASES AND DEATH. How the Residents of Hood Street And Vicinity Suffer From Continued Floods Due to Uncompleted Sewer," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
148. Illustrated article, "DISEASES AND DEATH," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
149. Illustrated article, "DISEASES AND DEATH," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
150. Illustrated article, "DISEASES AND DEATH," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
151. Article, "CITY HALL MATTERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1898.
152. Article, "Filter Your Water," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1890.
153. Letter to the editor by "R", "Lynn Water Supply," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 August 1892.
154. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE ALEWIVE INDUSTRY." *Daily Evening Item*, 17 May 1893 (emphasis added).
155. Article, "AN UNMITIGATED NUISANCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 October 1895.
156. Article, "STRAWBERRY BROOK. Board of Health to Be Petitioned. To Prevent a Continuance of a Nuisance. Results of Investigations by Prominent Physicians." *Daily Evening Item*, 16 June 1892. In the same source was a letter from esteemed physician Joseph G. Pinkham who had also examined the condition of "Strawberry Brook, on both sides of Federal street, near Boston street, and found it to be exceedingly foul. I have no hesitation in saying that ... the brook [is] a serious menace to the health of the neighborhood."
157. Article, "VISITNG LEGISLATATORS," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 April 1894.
158. Letter to the editor by a Boston Streeter, "The Brooks as Nuisances," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 April 1890.
159. Article, "CITY ENGINEER'S REPORT. Work Accomplished In His Department in 1893. Total Cost of the Sewerage System, \$1,010,096," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1894.
160. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: LYNN SEWERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 November 1896.

161. Analysis of the author. Senator Josiah C. Bennett stated that eight million gallons of sewage was running through the outfall in West Lynn (near the gas works). He didn't state his source or the basis of his calculation, but it appears to be an overstatement. (See article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE CITY WINS," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1898.) A preliminary report in 1912 created by the Commission on the Investigation of Lynn Harbor, stated that daily consumption of water is about 70 gallons per capita per day and assumed 75% of the consumption reached sewers, or 52,500 gallons per capita per day. Additionally 50,000 gallons per day of ground water drained into each mile of Lynn's sewer system. The study further states there were 80 miles of sewers in the city. In 1898 Lynn's population was approximately 65,000. Using the assumption that half of Lynn's 1912 sewer lines had been installed in 1898 (40,000 gallons per day), the total per capita daily sewage was (65,000 people x 52.5 gallons = 3,412,500 gallons) + (40 miles of sewerage x 50,000 gallons of ground water = 2,000,000 gallons) = 5,412,500 gallons per capita per day; 1,975,562,500 gallons per year. See Commonwealth of Massachusetts; *Commission on the Investigation of Lynn Harbor, Preliminary Report*, 13 June 1912, pp.71-72.
162. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES." *Daily Evening Item*, 10 March 1892 (emphases added).
163. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: IN THE DOCK. Body of a Woman Floating in the Water. Recognized as That of Mrs. Bridget Barker. Found This Morning at Sprague & Breed's Wharf. Lungs and Stomach Free From Water. This Would Mean She met Death Not by Drowning," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 April 1899.
164. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN'S WANTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 April 1896.
165. Article, "Concerning Nuisances," *Lynn Transcript*, 16 June 1892.
166. Article, "THAT OUTFALL SEWER," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 March 1898.
167. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: OUTFALL SEWER," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 March 1898.
168. Letter to the editor by Anti-Diphtheria, West Lynn, "WARD SEVEN SEWAGE," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 October 1890.
169. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF HEALTH. The Dump Problem a Difficult One to Solve," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 April 1892.
170. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (November 1892), Vol.2, No.4, p.25. A statement in the *Boston Herald* that "tons of putrid matter" covered "two acres of marsh land." The statement is quoted in Letter to the editor by William P. Darling, "The Garbage Question," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1892.
171. *Journal of the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health* (1892), (West Newton, MA: W. S. French, 1892), Vol.2, Nov.1892, No.4, p.25.
172. Article, "It Is Rank," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 August 1890.
173. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF HEALTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 April 1892.
174. *Journal of the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health* (1892), Vol.2, Nov.1892, No.4, p.34 (emphases added).
175. Article in Feature Column, "ITEM EXTRA ... BOSTON'S OFFAL. Continues to Be a Nuisance to Neighboring Places. Lynn, Nahant and Swampscott the Sufferers," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1891.
176. Article in Feature Column, "ITEM EXTRA ... BOSTON'S OFFAL.," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1891.
177. Article in Feature Column, "ITEM EXTRA ... BOSTON'S OFFAL.," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1891.
178. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE GARBAGE QUESTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 SEP 1891 (emphasis added).
179. Article, "Board of Health Scow," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 October 1892.
180. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN GARBAGE," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1893.
181. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 July 1893.
182. *Journal of the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health* (1892), Vol.2, Nov.1892, No.4, p.34 (emphasis added).
183. Article, "OUT SCOWING. Trial of Board of Health's Marine Dump Cart," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 July 1893 (emphasis added).
184. Article, "OUT SCOWING. Trial of Board of Health's Marine Dump Cart," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 July 1893.
185. There was clearly interest in stories of bottles containing messages being found; it was a traditional way for sailors to try communicating with others, as described in the Prologue was done by the captain of the ship *Dragon* in 1694. Three instances of bottles with messages appeared during the decade in the *Daily Evening Item*, two of which had a Lynn connection; see articles: "FOUND IN A BLACK BOTTLE. Mysterious Note

- Which May Interest Somebody in Lynn," 30 August 1892; "Another Bottle Story," 15 September 1892; and "Another Bottle Joke" (allegedly written by someone from Lynn), 27 July 1899. See also articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Dead Sword Fish on the Beach," 18 July 1896 (swordfish); and "Dead Grampus Returns," 30 September 1896 (dolphin).
186. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LEVIATHAN," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 April 1890. It is also interesting to note that the Lynn Musée's bill of entertainment for the week 12 May 1890 was to be "Relics, Pictures and Lectures on THE LYNN BEACH WHALE," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 May 1890.
187. Article, "GIVES UP ITS DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1898. Also note that an excellent map showing all the shipwrecks that had occurred along the coast of Lynn and surrounding communities is found in illustration, "THE WRECK-STORY OF THE LYNN COAST," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1898.
188. *Journal of the Massachusetts Association of Boards of Health* (1892), Vol.2, Nov.1892, No.4, p.26.
189. Illustrated article, "DEAD FISH WASHED UP," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 July 1896.
190. Article, "SICKENING SIGHT." *Daily Evening Item*, 12 May 1897.
191. Article, "LYNN SMELLS BAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 August 1891 (emphasis added).
192. Article, "HEALTHY CITY. Desirable Natural Location Heads Its Advantages," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 September 1897.
193. Article, "ALL DOUBT DISPELLED. Electrical Sprinkling Car's First Appearance. On the Streets of Lynn Creates Acclaim," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1896. See also editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 May 1896.
194. Illustrated article, "LYNN'S PROPOSED ELECTRICAL FOUNTAIN," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 July 1892..
195. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 12 July 1890.
196. *Lynn Directory, 1890* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1890), pp.618-619.
197. Illustrated advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 24 July 1897 (lights); 9 July 1897 (fans); and 28 July 1897 (bells).
198. Article, "MILES OF WIRE," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 February 1898; also Article, "TELEPHONE SERVICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1898 (subscribers).
199. Article, "BIG ELECTRIC CONTRACT," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1890.
200. Article, "T.-H. ELECTRIC CO.," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 September 1897 (employees); Edwin A. Start, "The City of Lynn," *The New England Magazine* (Boston: New England Magazine Co., 1891), Vol.4, p.507 (hopeful).
201. Article, "FORTY ROUNDS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1890.
202. Illustrated article, "NEW RESIDENCE OF PROF. THOMSON," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 August 1890.
203. Article, "THE ELIHU THOMSON," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 October 1890.
204. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE "ELIHU THOMSON," " *Daily Evening Item*, 20 October 1890.
205. Article, "The Governor in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 March 1891.
206. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. HARRISON'S VISIT," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1891.
207. Elihu Thomson, "Future Electrical Development," *The New England Magazine* (Boston, MA: New England Magazine Corp), July 1892, p.623.
208. Elihu Thomson, "Future Electrical Development," p.633.
209. Elihu Thomson, "Future Electrical Development," p.634.
210. Elihu Thomson, "Future Electrical Development," p.634.
211. Advertisement for the Electric Switch Board Game, *Boston Globe*, 3 December 1890. Four years later, Hallbauer, a machinist at 37 South St., received U.S. Patent No. 332,126 for his invention of a "Support for Electric Wires" hanging from poles; he had submitted the patent application before producing his game product.
212. Article, "ELECTRIC CIGAR CO. New Industry For Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 February 1890.
213. Advertisement for *Clarke's Electroclarient Bitters*, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 June 1894.
214. Advertisements in *Daily Evening Item*, 20 November 1893 (Dobbins); 7 March 1891 (Shoes); 26 March 1891 (Lustre).
215. Advertisement for Mademoiselle Dynamonia, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1890 (Thomson-Houston); Item in feature column, "AMUSEMENTS: The Musée," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 April 1890 (shock).

216. Article, "WHAT IS ELECTRITY?" *Daily Evening Item*, 22 January 1890 (emphasis added).
217. Article, "THE PHONOGRAPH," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 March 1890.
218. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. His Memory Recalled by the Lynn Press Association. Magnificent Banquet at the Revere House, Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 January 1892 (emphasis added).
219. Article, "Important Electrical Notice," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 January 1890. Edward Trevert was sometimes referred to as Edward Trevert, 2d, having been named after his father.
220. Puff, "Fun with Electricity," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1889.
221. Edward Trevert, *Experimental Electricity* (Lynn: E. Bubier Publishing Co., 1896), "Important Electrical Notice," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 January 1890 (tenth); Item in feature column, "Personal," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 April 1891 (eighteen).
222. Article, "An Attractive Place," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 April 1890. The first electric toy train was sold in 1896, running on a three-foot track. (See the keyelco.com)
223. Article, "ELECTRICAL DISPLAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1898.
224. Article, "ELECTRIC ACCIDENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 February 1890.
225. Article, "PROF. THOMSON. He Talks on 'Lightning and High Potentials,'" *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1894.
226. Article, "PROF. THOMSON," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1894
227. Article, "3432 VOLTS. A Fearful Shock Experienced by A. L. Ellis," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1897.
228. Article, "PRANKS OF ELECTRICITY," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 December 1898.
229. Article, "FIRE! FIRE! FIRE!," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1890.
230. Article, "POLICE SHOCKED," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1897.
231. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THUNDER AND LIGHTENING," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 August 1892.
232. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: COATED IN ICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 January 1891.
233. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: OVERHEAD WIRES," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1893 (emphasis added).
234. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1898: "STORM PARAGRAPHS" (communication); and "A HOWLING BLIZZARD" (power).
235. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1898.
236. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: OVERHEAD WIRES. Fast Disappearing and Being Put Underground," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 August 1898.
237. Article, "SHARP FIGHT. Fire in Allen's Box Factory, Broad Street. Upper Story Attacked by the Fiery Monster," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 November 1899.
238. Article, "SHARP FIGHT. Fire in Allen's Box Factory, Broad Street. Upper Story Attacked by the Fiery Monster," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 November 1899.
239. Article, "SHARP FIGHT. Fire in Allen's Box Factory, Broad Street. Upper Story Attacked by the Fiery Monster," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 November 1899.
240. Article, "PACKER CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 December 1897.
241. Article, "\$20,000 AWARD," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 December 1897.
242. Article, "PACKER CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 December 1897.
243. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: A TERRIBLE FATE," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 November 1892.
244. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: BADLY BURNED," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1899, and Article, "DIED FROM HER BURNS," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1899.
245. Article, "LYNN LOOMS Up in the Horizon of Better Times. Great Results Expected From the Board of Trade," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 January 1891.
246. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 August 1892.
247. *Massachusetts of To-Day: A Memorial of the State; Historical and Biographical. Issued for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago*, Thomas C. Quinn, editor (Boston: Columbia Publishing col, 1892), p.542.
248. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 March 1890.
249. Article, "Thomson-Houston Electric Company," *The Lynn Transcript*, 17 April 1891.
250. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 March 1890.

251. Article, "THOMSON-HOUSTON CO.," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1892; see also item, "Football Gossip," in article, "SPORTING EVENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 November 1892 (Experts); the April article mentioned another T.-H. E. football team, the "Wanderers."
252. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: A LYNN INDUSTRY," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 October 1891 (pearl); Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 August 1892 (rattan).
253. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CITY ELECTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 December 1892.
254. Manual count of the 1897 edition of the *Blue Book of Lynn* (Boston: Edward A. Jones, 1896), by the author (Rapoza). It was the first and possibly the only edition of a social register blue book for Lynn in the nineteenth century.
255. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 April 1892.
256. Article, "Changes at the T.-H. Works," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 January 1894.
257. Article, "LYNN'S ELECTRICAL LOSS," *New York Boots and Shoes Weekly*, as quoted in the *Daily Evening Item*, 9 June 1894.
258. Article, "WORST IN 50 YEARS. Dismal Business Record of the Year 1893," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1893.
259. Article, "THOMSON-HOUSTON," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1892.
260. Article, "DESERTED BABY. A Pretty Four-Months'-Old Waif Found on a Doorstep in West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1895. The Mellors were listed in the article by the spelling Mellar, but in the *Lynn City Directory* for 1895, the spelling was listed as Mellor.
261. Article (under the pseudonym, Observer), "SATURDAY NIGHT. The Sights and Sounds in Central Square. A Living Panorama of Diversified Humanity. Rich and Poor, High and Low, Together," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 November 1893 (emphasis added).
262. Article, "A BROKEN RIB," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 March 1899.
263. Article, "EVICTION. A Family Ousted from home on Harbor Street," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 March 1894.
264. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: TWO FAMILIES EVICTED," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 May 1895.
265. Article, "LYNN'S UNEMPLOYED," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1894.
266. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1894 (donations); fundraising concerts are described in *Daily Evening Item* articles, "To Aid Lynn's Unemployed," 30 December 1893, and "GRAND CONCERT IN AID OF The: Unemployed," 27 February 1894; and illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CHOIR FESTIVAL," 31 January 1894.
267. Advertisement for free soup, "Daily Evening Item, 19 December 1893.
268. Article, "BEEF IS A LUXURY," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 April 1895.
269. Article, "LYNN'S UNEMPLOYED," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1894.
270. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 31 January 1894.
271. Article, "LYNN'S UNEMPLOYED," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1894.
272. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THREE AT A BIRTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 January 1895.
273. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THREE AT A BIRTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 January 1895 (ruddy); article, "THE THING TRIPLETS," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 January 1895 (Judkins).
274. Article, "THE THING TRIPLETS. Were Born on Their Mother's Birthday," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 January 1895.
275. Editorial, "The Thing Triplets," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1895.
276. Article, "Reception to the Thing Triplets," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1895.
277. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 24 June 1895, No.562 (Rachel Farmer Thing); 26 October 1895, No.947 (Walter J. Thing); 5 November 1895, No.1006 (James F. Thing).
278. Article, "LYNN DRUGGISTS. A Still Further Reduction in the Price of Patent LYNN MEDICINES." *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1894 (Druggists'); Advertisement for Hard Times Tobacco, *Daily Evening Item*, 31 July 1894 (Pike's).
279. Article, "Wants to Settle an Insolvency," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 April 1895.
280. Article, "STRANDED AT GLENMERE, Montana Jack's Wild West Show Disbanded and the Treasurer Scarce" *Daily Evening Item*, 22 August 1896.

281. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "RAN AROUND. Steamer Elihu Thomson, of Lynn, Badly Stove," 24 August 1897 (Pollock); "STEAMER ELIHU THOMSON. Lynn Vessel Sold to a Pacific Firm for the Yukon Trade," 31 January 1898 (Yukon).
282. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 September 1893.
283. Feature column, "THE TOILERS," in the *Daily Evening Item*, 20 June 1894 (barbers) and 12 June 1894 (bakers); article, "LYNN MILK DEALERS," 29 August 1894 (milk).
284. Articles in feature columns, *Daily Evening Item*, "THE TOILERS: Lynn Coatmakers' Strike," 28 April 1891 (coat makers); article, LYNN PLUMBERS STRIKE," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 May 1892 (plumbers).
285. Article in feature column, "THE TOILERS: Lynn's Electrical Workers," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 August 1892. There was a brief and small walkout at Thomson-Houston in 1892 over a notice about a 30% piece price reduction; about 20 young men walked out at 3:00 PM but all of them returned the next morning. See article in feature article, "WEST LYNN. Little Strike," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1892.
286. Article, "THOMSON-HOUSTON. A Reduction in Salaries Has Taken Place," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1893.
287. Article in feature column, "WEST LYNN. What the Guard is For," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1890.
288. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*: in feature column: "ITEM EXTRA: SHOE STRIKE," 7 January 1898 (cutters); "LASTERS STRIKE," 19 January 1898; feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SLEPT IN THE FACTORY," 31 July 1896 (Plant).
289. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE END," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1891.
290. Article, "IN THE MOROCCO SHOP," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 October 1890.
291. Article, "THE MOROCCO STRIKE," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 September 1890.
292. Article, "IN THE MOROCCO SHOP," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 October 1890.
293. Article, "USED A KNIFE. Stabbing Affray Growing Out of Williams, Clark & U Co. Trouble," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 April 1897.
294. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE END," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1891.
295. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: AT DONALLAN'S FACTORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1891.
296. Article, "ANOTHER MOB SCENE," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 February 1891.
297. Article, "THE MOROCCO SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1890 (emphasis added).
298. Article, "LYNN'S COLORED ORATOR," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1892. For the occupation and residence of Thornton, see *The Lynn Directory, 1892* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock & Co., 1892), No.27, p.583.
299. Article, "Lynn Socialists," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1896.
300. Letter to the editor, by Thomas H. Broderick, "Mr. Broderick Objects," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1892.
301. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "LYNN SOCIALISTS. Labor Agitation Now and One Hundred Years Ago," 8 January 1894 (past 50 years) and "LYNN SOCIALISTS. The Effect of Improved Machinery on Labor the Theme of Discussion," 19 February 1894 (machinery).
302. Article, "Populists on the Common," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 September 1893.
303. Article, "SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ... Phials of Wrath Emptied on the Old Parties," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1894.
304. Article, "LYNN SOCIALISTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1896.
305. Article, "Lynn Socialists," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1896.
306. Article, "Meeting of Lynn Socialists," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 October 1893 (emphasis added).
307. Article, "PEOPLE'S PARTY," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 November 1893.
308. Article, "VOTE OF CITY OF LYNN, NOVEMBER 7, 1893," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1893.
309. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CITY ELECTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 December 1893.
310. Article, "PEOPLE'S PARTY RALLY," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 October 1894.
311. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: INDIGNATION MEETING," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 July 1896 (emphasis added).
312. Obituary, "PROMINENT IN CITY AND STATE. Walter L. Ramsdell of Lynn Dead," *The Boston Globe*, 26 August 1909.
313. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 18 January 1892, No.98 (Mary A. Ramsdell).
314. Item in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: INDIGNATION MEETING," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 July 1896.

315. Article, "LABOR PARADE. Twenty Thousand People Gather Upon the Common," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1896.
316. Article, "HONORS DIVIDED. Walter L. Ramsdell, Fusionist, Elected Mayor of Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 December 1896.
317. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 July 1897.
318. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 July 1897.
319. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ELECTRIC WORKS, An Increase in Business Looked Forward To," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1898.
320. Article, "FAILURES FOR 1898," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1899.
321. Advertisement for Flint's Drugstore, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1899 (Hard Times) and article, "WE GIVE TRADING COUPONS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 November 1897 (coupons).
322. Advertisement for Famous Washburn Credit House, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1898.
323. Advertisement for H. Cush[ing]. Bulfinch, Pharmacist, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 December 1899.
324. Article, "TRADE CARNIVAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 October 1896.
325. Article, "GHOST OF LITTLE NAHANT. Supernatural Stories Circulating on the Peninsula," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1895.
326. Illustrated article in feature column, "THE LATEST: DIGGING FOR TREASURE," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1896.
327. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: LIMITED TO TWENTY," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 August 1897.
328. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: EXPLOSION," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1897.
329. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: STUCK FAST," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 November 1897.
330. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "ANOTHER KLONDIKE. Schooner Reuben L. Richardson to Fit Out from Lamper's Wharf," 18 November 1897 (Commonwealth); "MORE KLONDIKERS," 10 December 1897 (overland).
331. Article, "LEFT FOR KLONDIKE," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1898.
332. Article, "GEEN GONE," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1898.
333. Article, "LOST IN THE KLONDIKE," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 April 1899.
334. Article, "RETURNED KLONDIKER," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 May 1899.
335. Article, "A LYNN INDUSTRY. One Establishment that Doubled Its Business Last Month," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 July 1894.
336. Article, "PINKHAM LABORATORY. Extensive Addition to Be Made to the Building. Increased Manufacturing Facilities Imperatively Demanded. Business Larger in 1894 Than Ever Before," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 April 1895.
337. Article, "PINKHAM LYNN MEDICINES. An Imposing Feature of the Trades Carnival Parade," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1896.
338. Article, "AN IMMENSE SHIPMENT. Twelve Large Express Wagons Escorted from the Pinkham Laboratory to its Local Destination by Band," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 October 1896.
339. Article, "AN IMMENSE SHIPMENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 October 1896.
340. Article, "C. H. Pinkham's Gift," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1897.
341. Article, "PINKHAM LABORATORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 April 1895. Charles Pinkham gave his endorsement to Gombault's Caustic Balsam, a medicine for horses. His testimonial appeared on a trade card for that product. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
342. Article, "LYNN'S POST OFFICE. Big Increase in the Amount of Business in a Year. The Lydia E. Pinkham Company Responsible for It," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1897.
343. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN'S POST OFFICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 December 1897.
344. Illustrated article, "THE PINKHAM MEDICAL WORKS WITH THE LATEST ADDITIONS," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1898 (twenty-five). The author (Rapoza) was able to locate some of these confidential correspondents in the 1900 Federal Census, along with twenty others working at the factory, from bottlers to packagers. All of the workers lived within the Ward 2 boundaries, where the factory was located. All of the correspondents ranged from 20 to 29 years old. See, for example, Lena M. and Luella B. Carr, both 20 (apparently twins), living on Gage Street; see *Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Lynn, MA, Ward 2, Enumeration District 361, dwelling 141, household 152*.

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345. Many examples exist of the correspondence dated in the 1890s and beyond and signed with the name Lydia E. Pinkham, even though she had died in 1883. (collection of the author).
346. Illustrated advertisement, “A NOBLE LIFE,” *Daily Evening Item*, 9 April 1895 (emphasis added). Charles Pinkham was clearly allowing the ad agency to perpetuate a belief that his mother, Lydia, was still alive. In 1892 another illustrated ad showed Lydia and Charles sitting opposite each other, with Charles asking his mother if she wearied dealing with all the correspondence, to which she replied, “No, my son, these letters of confidence bring to me the joy that a mother feels The women of the world are my daughters ...”; Charles replied, Yes, mother, and they love you.” See advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 February 1892.
347. The author has redefined Lydia E. Pinkham into four distinct persona: Lydia the Legend, Lydia the Person, Lydia the Image, and Lydia the Corporation; see Andrew V. Rapoza, “A Baby in Every Bottle: The Curative Powers of Lydia E. Pinkham,” *The Ephemera Journal*, Vol.4 (1991), pp.49-64.
348. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: TEN TONS OF MAIL,” *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1899.
349. Illustrated article, “THE PINKHAM MEDICAL WORKS WITH THE LATEST EDITIONS,” *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1898.
350. Article, “Visited the Pinkham Laboratory,” *Daily Evening Item*, 5 October 1899.
351. Article, “SEWER INSPECTION. Legislative Committee on Cities and Drainage,” *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1898.
352. Article, “Visited the Pinkham Laboratory,” *Daily Evening Item*, 11 October 1895.
353. Advertisements for Mrs. Dr. Drew, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 October 1896 and 14 October 1899 (illustrated); also advertising booklets and letterhead in the collection of the author.
354. Illustrated advertisement for Dr. Pierce’s Favorite Prescription, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 December 1899 (emphasis added).
355. Advertisement for Colcord’s Rheumatic Cure and Liniment, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 January 1899.
356. Article, “A Sharp Tongue,” *Daily Evening Item*, 14 July 1892.
357. Article, “The Handbill Nuisance,” *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1892.
358. *The Lynn Directory, 1895* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock & Co., 1895), No.30, pp.732-733..
359. Article, “A HAPPY PLAN,” *Daily Evening Item*, 17 December 1892.
360. Advertisement for Drs. Pearson and Carroll, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1893.
361. Article, “Cracker-Eating Contest,” *Daily Evening Item*, 15 August 1890 (entertainment); items in feature columns, “WEST LYNN,” 6 August 1890 (Hill’s) and “Notes,” 30 August 1890 (Alley).
362. Letter to the editor by Edward Williams, 60 Market Street, “Extracting Teeth at Music Hall,” *Daily Evening Item*, 26 January 1892.
363. Advertisement for Daniels’ Specialty Company, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 June 1893 (emphasis added).
364. Advertisement for Dr. Daniels’ Hindoo Lynn Medicines, *Daily Evening Item*, 13 June 1893.
365. Puff, “Wonderful Healing Power,” *Daily Evening Item*, 12 April 1895.
366. Article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: THE DIVINE HEALER, Schlatter, So Termed, Pays a Visit to Lynn,” *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1899.
367. Article, “SCHLATTER AT LYNN THEATRE. The Divine Healer Talks to Two Small Audiences Sunday,” *Daily Evening Item*, 29 May 1899 (emphasis added).
368. Article, “SCHLATTER AT LYNN THEATRE. The Divine Healer Talks to Two Small Audiences Sunday,” *Daily Evening Item*, 29 May 1899.
369. Article, “The Kickapoos,” *Daily Evening Item* 30 July 1895.
370. Advertisement for “‘VITO,’ THE GREAT HEALING POWER,” *Daily Evening Item*, 6 June 1898. The exact phrase he used was, “as different as the electric light was from the tallow-dip.”
371. Advertisement for Vito’s Remedies, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 June 1898.
372. Advertisements for Vito Remedies, in the *Daily Evening Item*, 13 June 1898 (Aylward); 16 June 1898 (Hanley); 2 July 1898 (Burrows).
373. Advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 12 (laying) & 17 August 1898 (ancestry); 6 June 1898 (Vito).
374. Advertisement for Mrs. Dinsmore’s Cough & Croup Balsam, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 February 1896.
375. Advertisement for Mrs. Soule’s Eradicator, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1898.
376. Advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1893.
377. Advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1894.

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378. Advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 May 1894.
379. Advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 February 1895.
380. Advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 February 1895.
381. Advertisement for Parisian Aphro Tonic, *Daily Evening Item*, 26 February 1894.
382. Advertisements for Dr. C. P. de Langle, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 August 1892 and 12 January 1893 (Central) and 28 November 1893 (Parisian).
383. Advertisement for Dr. de Langle's Drug Store, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 May 1894.
384. U.S. Trademark No.24,018, issued 9 January 1894 to Charles F. J. Petit de Langle for *Parisian Aphro Tonic*. (See Appendix B for the trademark image.)
385. Article, "FELICITATED BY FRIENDS, *Daily Evening Item*, 15 July 1896.
386. Advertisement for Indian Hair Renewer, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 July 1892. (See Appendix B for the trademark image. Although the words TRADE MARK appear embedded in the image, no record of an application for trademark could be found.)
387. Advertisement for Queen Alva's Gypsy Camp, *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1899.
388. Advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 23 April 1890 (Nichols); 24 April 1890 (Berry). Nichols' business card listed him as a psychometrist (collection of the author.)
389. Advertisement for Mrs. Garland, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 June 1893 (emphasis added).
390. Puff for the Solar Compound Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 20 November 1895.
391. Illustrated advertisement for the Solar Compound Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 26 November 1896.
392. Classified advertisement for the Solar Compound Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1898.
393. Illustrated advertisement for the Solar Compound Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 26 November 1896.
394. See Appendix B for the trademark image.
395. Article, "MEPHITIS MEPHITICA. A Lynn Man's Experience With the Odoriferous," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 August 1894. Hill was listed as a poultry raiser, "house off B street," see *The Lynn Directory, 1894*, (Boston: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1894), No. 29, p.307.
396. Advertisement for Dr. Jackson, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1890.
397. Puff for Dr. Jackson, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1891 (emphasis added).
398. Article, "MRS. TAGNEY'S DEATH" *Daily Evening Item*, 11 September 1891. The article referred to the tapeworms as *tarula solium* but *taenia solium*, the Latin spelling for pork tapeworm, would appear to be the intended term.  
According to this article, Jackson, about 65, was arrested for the death of the widow Norah Tagney, mother of three children under ten years old, occurring during the performance of an abortion upon her. The article then pulled together details about his past that were clearly intended to construct a sordid backstory for Jackson: He settled in Lynn as a confectioner in 1882 and was arrested on 12 April 1885 for adultery "with a then notorious West Lynn woman." He was held on \$899 appearance in Superior Court but jumped bail and fled to Canada for about two years. For some reason, he was not prosecuted when he returned to Lynn. "He made some pretensions to literary fame, for he was an inveterate producer of obituary poetry. .... He has been long suspected of operating as a malpractitioner, [an abortionist] but up to this time no ... evidence has ever been presented."
- Perhaps there was an implicit association between being a purveyor of vermifuges and abortifacients; if the vermicide was powerful enough to expel worms from the intestines, if it were misapplied, could it be used to abort a fetus? If so, the specimen jars of tapeworms could have been the equivalent of a calling card for an abortionist. This, however, is purely speculation at this point.
399. Advertisement for Dr. T[ati]os K. Serijan, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1895.
400. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: FIRE IN A DWELLING," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 October 1894.
401. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: FIRE IN A DWELLING," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 October 1894.
402. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: FIRE IN A DWELLING," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 October 1894.
403. *The Lynn Directory, 1895*, p.864.
404. Feature column, "POLICE HAPPENINGS," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 December 1895.
405. *The Lynn Directory, 1898*, (Boston: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1898), No. 33, p.922.
406. Article, "DIVINE HEALING," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 July 1897.
407. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LITTLE ONE DIED," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 February 1897. A moment should be spent on the ironic passing of George N. Johnson. He was an oxymoron: an exponent of the doctrines of physical science while at the same time a "pronounced believer in the influence of mind over matter"

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and host to a large group of faith-cure followers who regularly met every Sunday in a grove near his woodland home. On 28 June 1892, he was standing at the rear of his house on Lynnfield Street, a few rods from the Great Woods Road, when there was a large explosion in the direction of the woods. A ledge was being blasted and a rock fragment of several pounds struck him on the head, crushing his skull and producing instant death. It might be said that his tragic, bizarre death was an isolated argument for matter over mind. See article, "Skull Crushed," *Lynn Transcript*, 1 July 1892.

408. Edward Trevert *Electro-Therapeutic Hand Book* (New York, NY: Manhattan Electrical Supply Co., 1898); see the Preface.
409. Advertisement for Dr. Dam's Vegetable Remedy, *Daily Evening Item*, 18 June 1891 (emphasis added).
410. Classified advertisement for Harry R. Peach," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 June 1898.
411. Puff, "A NOBLE WORK. Splendid Results Obtained in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1892.
412. See the bakers' statutes of 1646 and 1652 in *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts, out of the Records of the General Court, for the Several Years Wherein They Were Made and Established.* (Cambridge, MA, General Court, 1660), pp.4-5 (online at google.com/books).
413. *The Perpetual Laws of the COMMONWEALTH of MASSACHUSETTS, From the ESTABLISHMENT of its CONSTITUTION In the Year 1780, To the End of the Year 1800* (Boston: I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1801), Vol. 1, pp.224-225 (emphasis in original).
414. Ellen H. Richards, *Food Materials and Their Adulterations* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1886), pp.8-9.
415. Article, "POISONED," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1894.
416. Article, "CREAM CAKES. A West Lynn Family Poisoned by Them. Almost a Fatal Result in One Case," *Daily Evening Item* 6 August 1890..
417. Advertisements in *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1891 (*Ivory*); 8 August 1890, 18 January 1892 (*Cleveland's*).
418. Advertisement for Baker's Coca, *Daily Evening Item*, 13 January 1892.
419. Advertisement for Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 December 1899.
420. Article, "BEA[unreadable]S THAT ARE FRAUDS. Everything Nowadays Is Full of Spoiled ADULTERATED," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1895.
421. *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1892), Public Document No.34, p.671.
422. *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts*, Public Document No.34, pp.706, 711.
423. Notice, "CITY OF LYNN. TO GROCERS AND DEALERS IN FRUIT, FISH AND PROVISIONS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 July 1892.
424. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 March 1892.
425. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, 10 (teachers, center), 11 (one percent), 15 February 1890 (1.81), and 5 April 1893 (numerous, 2.40 percent).
426. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE MILKMEN. Find it Difficult to Supply the Demand in Lynn. The Inspector Keep His Eye on the Dealers. Nineteen Hundred Cans Sod in Lynn Daily," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1891. This article did *not* specify the size of the milk can, but ten gallon cans (weighing approximately 90 pounds with full contents) was the standard milk transport can size in the late nineteenth century. The 25-gallon cans were more frequently called drums and their filled weight about 220 pounds prevented them from being used by other than for freighting from farm to distribution centers, where the contents would get poured off into 10-gallon cans for local delivery.
427. Items from the *Daily Evening Item*: article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: POLICE HAPPENINGS," 2 September 1893 (caramel); article, "ADULTERATED MILK," 18 January 1890 (annatto); article, "A FOREIGN SUBSTANCE," 1 September 1898 (formaldehyde); editorial, no title, 3 September 1898 (formaldehyde); article by J. L. S., "Milk for Children," 22 January 1890; see also *Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1886), pp.180-181 (annatto). For more charges against milkmen and grocers selling adulterated milk, see article, "POLICE HAPPENINGS ... Out of Twenty Arrests There Were Seventeen Convictions." *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1897.
428. Letter to the editor by A Mother, "Spare the Children," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 January 1890.
429. *Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1893), pp.24-26.
430. Article, "Tuberculosis Tests," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1895.

431. Article, "TUBERCULOSIS IN LYNN. Six Cows Killed at Peabody's Abattoir," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 January 1895.
432. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: ATTRIBUTED TO TUBERCULOSIS. Death of Two Children Create an Inquiry. Milk May Have been the Cause of Their Demise. State Board of Health to Investigate the Cases," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 April 1895. The two children the article were not identified, but there were four deaths from tubercular meningitis during the first four months of 1895, and all of them were children under 2 ½ years old: Mary Brown, 8 months 14 days; Frank O'Connell, 2 years, 2 months, 12 days; Carl Eugene Grover, 2 years, 5 months, 8 days; and Fannie B. Perkins, 1 year, 4 months, 19 days. See *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 2 February 1895, No.83 (Mary Brown); 16 February 1895, No.133 (Frank O'Connell); 7 March 1895, No.232 (Carl Eugene Grover); 5 April 1895, No.344 (Fannie B. Perkins).
433. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE MILKMEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1891.
434. Notice, "Pure Milk," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 February 1896.
435. Article, "Lynn's Milk Supply," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1896. Note: the article inaccurately identified H. P. Hood & Sons as "C. P. Hood & Son."
436. Advertisement for Eli Jepson & Son, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1897.
437. Advertisement for Eli Jepson & Son, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1897.
438. *Annual Report of the Board of Health of the City of Lynn* (1899), pp.364, 366.
439. "Food and Drug Act Inspection in America," *Food and Sanitation* (London, England: 6 November 1897), Vol.8, No.274, p.536 (online at google.com/books). Following are the analysis totals by the Massachusetts State Board of Health's for the decade 1890-1899. FOOD - samples tested: 29,869, adulterated: 4,486 (15%); MILK – samples tested: 42,614, adulterated/deficient: 16,827 (38.5%); MEDICINE – samples tested: 5,223, adulterated: 1,923 (36.8%). While the decade averages for adulteration of food and milk both went up a few points, the proportionately smaller number of adulterations in medicine looks more dramatic than it was. 1895 (61%) and 1896 (50.8%) were abnormally high, while 1890 (18.7%) and 1891 (17%) were abnormally low; for most of the decade, the number of adulterated medicines on an annual basis averaged in the mid-thirties percentile. While the food adulterations remained increased roughly a percentage point each year from 1896 (11.6%) through 1899 (14.8%) after an erratic first half of the decade, milk adulterations/deficiencies went down precipitously and regularly from a high of 59.8% in 1895 to 27.2% in 1899. Most of the hugh and cry about adulteration in the second half of the decade focused on milk; the steady and strong reduction in adulterated samples during that time reflect the efforts to improve milk production, storage, transport, and monitoring during that time. (Researched performed by author of Massachusetts Board of Health Annual Reports, 1890-1899).
440. Massachusetts State Board Analyst, Document No.34, as found in "Temperance Drinks," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (10 March 1887), Vol.116, No.10, p.232 (online at google.com/books).
441. "The Alcohol in 'Patent Medicines,'" *The Young Woman's Journal* (June 1904), Vol.15, No.6, p.280.
442. *Public Document No.34, Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1898), p.571. There were .19 milligrams of lead in the sarsaparilla.
443. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 January 1892.
444. Advertisement for Davis & Young's Extract Jamaica Ginger, *Daily Evening Item*, 9 July 1898.
445. Article, "ALLEGED ADULTERATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 December 1890.
446. Online at en.wikipedia.org See Mercury (II) chloride, which is mercuric chloride, corrosive sublimate.
447. Advertising trade card for Mrs. Soule's Eradicator (emphasis in original. Collection of the author).
448. Advertising trade card for Mrs. Soule's Eradicator (emphasis in original. Collection of the author).
449. Article, "CONTINUED CASES DECIDED," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1890. Note that the previous coverage on 8 December 1890 incorrectly associated Flanders with the oleomargarine case and Parker with the tartar case, but the 20 December 1890 article corrected that it was Flanders (and his clerk) who were charged for the tartar case. No further coverage of the judgement in the Parker case could be found.
450. Advertising trade card for Mrs. Soule's Eradicator (emphasis in original. Collection of the author).
451. Article, "ALLEGED ADULTERATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 December 1890.
452. Article, "ALLEGED ADULTERATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 December 1890.
453. Article, "ALLEGED ADULTERATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 December 1890. Davenport testified that the bottle contained 15 grains of corrosive sublimate per ounce and that there were four ounces of product in the bottle.
454. Article, "ALLEGED ADULTERATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 December 1890.

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455. "New England Notes," *American Druggist: An Illustrated Semi-Monthly Journal of Pharmacy, Chemistry and Materia Medica* (1891), Vol.20, No.3, p.47.
456. Advertising trade card for Mrs. Soule's Eradicator (emphasis in original. Collection of the author).
457. "New England Notes," *American Druggist* (1891), Vol.20, No.3, p.47.
458. Article, "CONTINUED CASES DECIDED," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 December 1890.
459. "Twelfth Annual Report of the OHIO Dairy and Food Commissioner for the Year Ending February 15, 1898," *Executive Documents. Annual Reports for 1897 made to the Seventy-Third General Assembly of the State of Ohio, Part II.* (Norwalk, OH: The Laning Printing Company, 1898), p.631 (no sarsaparilla); *Oil, Paint and Drug Rep.* as quoted in *Practical Druggist and Pharmaceutical Review of Reviews*, (New York, July 1897), Vol.2, No.1, p.110 (rainwater).
460. Bottle box for *Mrs. Leonard's Dock & Dandelion Bitters* (Collection of the author.)
461. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: BOARD OF HEALTH. Annual Report Will Make a Voluminous Document," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 February 1895.
462. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: POLICE HAPPENINGS ... A Diseased Meat Ranch That Made Lynn a Market," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 December 1894.
463. Letter to the editor by "A SUBSCRIBER," "Why Not?" *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
464. Letter to the editor by "A SUBSCRIBER," "Why Not?" *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
465. Letter to the editor by "A SUBSCRIBER," "Why Not?" *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
466. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 7 August 1896, No.769 (William A. Herrick, taxidermist, 55 years old. Primary cause of death: ptomaine poisoning; Secondary cause: apoplexy).
467. Item in feature column, "EAST LYNN: Bitten by a Tarantula," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 May 1898. A tarantula's venom is not dangerous and has very low toxicity to humans. The Magoni & Fensi was located at 227 Lewis Street.
468. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 12 March 1896, No.250 (William P. Cook, taxidermist, 60 years, 10 months, 16 days old. Primary cause of death: Disease of brain). Also note that none of the 1890s city directory entries for Cook list him with an occupation. Although he may have been retired or unemployed because of wealth, it is also possibility that he did not work because of a mental or physical inability to do so.
469. Article, "NARROW ESCAPE. A Dose of Iodine Taken by Mistake," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 June 1892.
470. Article, "WEST LYNN. Cats and Dogs," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 October 1891.
471. Advertisement for Colcord's Sure Death to Insects, *Daily Evening Item*, 1 May 1899.
472. Article, "Rats!" *Daily Evening Item*, 4 November 1892.
473. Advertisement for the French Rat Trap, *Daily Evening Item*, 15 August 1891.
474. Item in feature column, "EAST LYNN: Rats!" *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1892.
475. Item in feature column, "WEST LYNN: Rats." *Daily Evening Item*, 14 March 1892.
476. Article, "A RAT STORY," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1890.
477. Article, "Bitten by a Rat," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 June 1896.
478. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LODGING HOUSE HORROR," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1892.
479. Article, "RATS AND MATCHES. Fire in Glenwood Street," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 October 1892.
480. Article, "RATS AND MATCHES. This Now Thought to Be the Cause of Fire at the McGlue Home," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 May 1899.
481. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 July 1891.
482. Several of the "Rough on" products were frequently advertised in Lynn papers; see, for example, advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 May 1890. Wells was a prolific manufacturer and had several other medicine products that did not carry the "Rough on" moniker; for example, *Wells' Throat and Lung Balsam*, *Well's May Apple Pills*, *Buchu-Paiba*, *Wells' Health Renewer*, and *Mother Swan's Worm Syrup*.
483. Retail 15-cent container for Rough on Rats; (collection of the author).
484. Article, "DEADLY MINCE PIE. Mathew Ahearne Eats a Piece of Poisoned Pie and Subsequently Expires," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 February 1892.
485. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 19 February 1892, No.218 (Matthew Ahearn).
486. Article, "ROUGH ON RATS. Narrow Escape of Thomas Gates from Death." *Daily Evening Item*, 10 July 1891.

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487. Article, "ROUGH ON RATS. A Child Eats a Large Quantity by Mistake and Narrowly Escapes Death," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 September 1893.
488. Article, "RATHER HAVE THE COLIC ... Was Given a Mixture to Relieve a Case of Cramps," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1898 (emphasis added).
489. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ROUGH ON RATS. Joseph Tarr, Pearl Street, Takes the Deadly Poison," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1891.
490. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SUICIDE. William H. Barry Takes Rough on Rats," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1894.
491. Article, "TOOK ROUGH ON RATS. And Jumped Into Spring Pond Twice, Edward Barrett's Determined Attempts at Suicide," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 November 1896. According to a notice posted by Ephraim S. Wells, the proprietor of Rough on Rats, the color of that product was being changed from white to "dark – nearly black – and when added to any liquid or damp food turns it green." See Notice, "Important Change – Rough on Rats," *The Coffeyville (KS) Weekly Journal*, 26 November 1881 (online at newspapers.com).
492. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: EPIDEMIC OF SUICIDES," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 June 1895.
493. Article, "TOOK HER OWN LIFE. Mrs. Maud Phillips Suicides With Rough on Rats," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 April 1896.
494. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SUICIDE. Thos. P. Nugent Takes Rough on Rats," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 March 1897.
495. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LOST HOPE AND COURAGE. Unable to Obtain Work, Chas. H. Gutholm Commits Suicide. Large Quantity of 'Rough on Rats' Taken," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1897.
496. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: PARIS GREEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 February 1891.
497. Article, "POISONING CASE, A Woman's Rage Against Her Husband. Narrow Escape of a Citizen of West Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 July 1891.
498. Article in feature column, "POLICE HAPPENINGS: Balloon LYNN PEDDLERS Let Off," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 July 1896.
499. Notice, "CITY OF LYNN ... AN ORDINANCE REGULATING THE BUSINESS OF HAWKERS AND LYNN PEDDLERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1890.
500. Article, "UNLICENSED LYNN PEDDLERS. The Police Looking Closely After Them – Two Arrested and Fined," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1891.
501. Article, "UNLICENSED LYNN PEDDLERS. The Police Looking Closely After Them – Two Arrested and Fined," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1891.
502. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF ALDERMEN ... REGULATIONS & LICENSES," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 September 1892.
503. Article, "Barbers Want a License Law," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1897; letter to the editor by INQUIRER, "Spiritualism and Chowder," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 July 1895.
504. Article, "DR. E. F. ADAMS, Well-known in Lynn, Before the Police Court at Providence on a Serious Charge," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1891; article, "HAVE SHADY RECORDS," *The Minneapolis Tribune*, 6 December 1895.
505. Reginal H. Fitz, M.D., "The Legislative Control of Medical Practice," Annual Oration 1894, Massachusetts Medical Society (online at masmed.org)
506. Letter to the editor by F. D. S. S. [Frank D. S. Stevens, M.D. of Lynn], "Medical Practice," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 September 1891.
507. Letter to the editor by Liberty, "AGAINST MEDICAL LICENSING," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1894.
508. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the Year 1894* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1896), Chap.458, An Act To Provide for the Registration of Physicians and Surgeons (online at archives.org), pp.530-533.
509. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the Year 1894*, Chap.458, p.533.
510. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in the Year 1896* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1896), Chap.230, An Act Relative to the Registration of Physicians and Surgeons (online at archives.lib.state.ma.us), p.168.
511. Journal of John W. Poole, 6 February 1896 (Market); 10 February 1896 (paralysis). (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
512. Article, "SHOT IN THE NECK And Coughed Up A Bullet Over Thirty Years Later," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 March 1894.
513. Advertisement for Encyclopedia Britannica, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1895.

514. Item in feature column, "ODDS AND ENDS," *Nashville Journal* (Nashville, IL), 20 December 1895.
515. Article, "THE NEW PHOTOGRAPHY," *The Sun* (New York, NY), 26 January 1896.
516. Article, "RONTGEN'S DISCOVERY. Prof. Elihu Thomson's Address on the Subject at the Revere House Banquet," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 February 1896. Thomson's patents for x-ray improvements were: Letters Patent No. 583,956, dated 8 June 1897; 587,883, dated 10 August 1897; 591,899, dated 19 October 1897.
517. Picture with caption, "HOW THE CATHODE RAY PENETRATES SOLIDS," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 February 1896 (emphasis added). (Note: the *Item* was still using artist renditions of photographs because it didn't yet have the technology to print photographs.)
518. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 March 1896.
519. Charles Jeptha Hill Woodbury 1894-1907 was assistant engineer of the American Bell Telephone Co. and secretary of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers; MIT graduate; member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, a Fellow of the American Society for the Advancement of Science; president of the Lynn Historical Society, and vice-president of the Old Essex Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. See *Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers*, April 1916, Vol.46, No.2, pp.153-154.
520. Article, "THE ROENTGEN RAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 March 1896.
521. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN SUBJECTS. Used in Experimental Photographing with Roentgen Ray," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 June 1896.
522. Edward Trevert, *Something About X RAYS for Everybody* (Lynn: Bubier Publishing Co., 1896), pp.53, 55, 61. The book only identifies Frank G. Kelly as "Mr. K.," but he was identified by his full name in Article, "NEW PUBLICATIONS. Something About X Rays," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1896.
523. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN SUBJECTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 June 1896.
524. Edward Trevert, *Something About X RAYS for Everybody*, pp.28 (application), 29 (proper). His preface is dated 10 June 1896.
525. Edward Trevert, *Something About X RAYS for Everybody*, pp.48 (Figure 31); 53, 55, 61 (Figure 36). The book only identifies Frank G. Kelly as "Mr. K.," but he was identified by his full name in Article, "NEW PUBLICATIONS. Something About X Rays," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1896.
526. Article, "ROENTGEN RAYS. Their Possibilities as Applied to a New Use," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1896.
527. Elihu Thomson, "The Rontgen Ray, and its Relation to Physics," *Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers* (1896), Vol.13, p.419. The story implies that his x-ray experiment on the mouse was performed at his house.
528. Article, "ROENTGEN RAY EXPERIMENTS. Pictures Taken of the Injuries of Two Boys," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 January 1897.
529. Article, "ROENTGEN RAY EXPERIMENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 January 1897.
530. Article, "ROENTGEN RAY EXPERIMENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 January 1897.
531. Article, "ROENTGEN RAY EXPERIMENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 January 1897.
532. Article, "ROENTGEN RAY EXPERIMENTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 January 1897.
533. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ROENTGEN RAYS," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 May 1897.
534. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ROENTGEN RAYS," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 May 1897.
535. Article, "EDISON'S TRIUMPH. X-Rays Used Without the Aid of the Photographic Plate – Human Body Transparent as Through Glass," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1896.
536. Article, "SWALLOWS BRACELET. Remarkable Incident in the Hunnewell Family at Newport – A Child Swallows String of Gems," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 July 1897.
537. Article, "SEARCHING FOR BULLETS. Roentgen Ray Applied to Two Lynn Subjects. First Test Made on a Gun Shot Wound," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1896.
538. Article, "TAKEN TO SALEM. John H. Hanley to Be Tried on a Charge of Assault with Intent to Kill," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1897.
539. Illustrated article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE X-RAY. Lynn Hospital in Possession of One," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1898 (physicians); illustrated article, "SEARCHING FOR BULLETS," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1896 (nurses, police).
540. Illustrated article, "SEARCHING FOR BULLETS," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 November 1896.
541. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "Found by the X-Ray," 17 July 1899 (Hoffman; she lived at 37 Beacon Hill Ave.); in feature column, "EAST LYNN: Located by the X-Ray," 25 August 1899 (Mowatt); in feature column, "SWAMPSCOTT: Successful Operation," 18 May 1899 (Bergen; he was from Swampscott).

542. Article, "USED THE X RAY. A Probable Successful Operation Follows Its Application to a Boy's Arm," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 November 1897.
543. Illustrated article, "MADE IT CLEAR. Puzzle LYNN DOCTORS Helped Out by the X-Ray. Troublesome Wisdom Tooth Located by It," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1899.
544. Article, "WORK OF THE X-RAY. Preston Johnson's Latest Electrical Experiment – Working Out a New Discovery," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 March 1899.
545. Classified advertisement for an x-ray machine, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 August 1896.
546. Advertisement for Hotel Nahant, Oceanside, Lynn Beach, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 July 1896.
547. Item in feature column, "LOCAL MENTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 July 1896.
548. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: PEARL AND BABE, The World's Wonderland Midway Dancers," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1897.
549. Article in feature column, "GLENMERE: Curio Exhibit," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 April 1899.
550. Article in feature column, "GLENMERE: The Museum Popular," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 April 1899.
551. Illustrated article, "Two Extras. Young Man at the T.-H. Co. Has Ten Fingers – The Photograph," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1897.
552. Article in feature column, "EAST LYNN: An X-Ray Exhibition," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 September 1899.
553. Article in feature column, "EAST LYNN: An X-Ray Exhibition," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 September 1899.
554. Advertisement for Dr. Greene's, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 March 1898.
555. Advertisement for Dr. Greene's, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 October 1898.
556. Advertisement for F. F. Dow & Company, *Daily Evening Item*, 13 August 1898.
557. Advertisement for P. B. Magrane's, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1896.
558. Advertisement for Walter Porter & Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 13 April 1896.
559. Advertisement for Sprague & Breed Coal Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 28 November 1896.
560. Advertisement for Professor J. P. Coffey, *Daily Evening Item*, 13 August 1898.
561. Article, "A SERMON ON X RAYS. The Rev. A. A. Cameron Says Their Discovery Was Foretold in the Bible," *The Brooklyn Citizen* (Brooklyn, NY), 17 FEB 1896.
562. Letter, Elihu Thomson, Lynn, MA, to E. A. Codman, M.D., Boston, MA, 1 December 1896; in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 December 1896, p.611.
563. Thomson described the burns he received in the experiment as "an x-ray finger." See letter, Elihu Thomson, General Electric Company, Lynn, MA, to E. A. Codman, M.D., Boston, MA, 21 November 1896; in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 December 1896, p.610.
564. Letter, Elihu Thomson to E. A. Codman, M.D., 21 November 1896; in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 December 1896, p.610.
565. Letter, Elihu Thomson to E. A. Codman, M.D., 21 November 1896; in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 10 December 1896, p.610.
566. Prof. Elihu Thomson, "Roentgen Ray Burns," *The Electrical Engineer* (14 April 1897), Vol.23, No. 467, p.400.
567. Article, "NOT AN EMOLLIENT. The X-Ray as a Beautifier – Prof. Thomson Explodes a Pretty Hoax," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 August 1897.
568. Mark 4:22 (New Testament, King James version).
569. Article, "POOLS OF STAGNANT WATER. Myriad Germs of Disease Bred by the Summer Sun. Board of Health Told of the Tudor Street Nuisance. By Citizens Determined on Its Abatement," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 May 1892 (emphasis added).
570. Article, "A Measure of Health," *New York Ledger* as quoted in *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1895 (emphasis added).
571. Article, "A Measure of Health," *New York Ledger* as quoted in *Daily Evening Item*, 4 February 1895.
572. Article in feature column, "“MOUTHING” MONEY. Little Interview With a Horse Car Conductor. What He Has to Say of the Horrible Habit," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 December 1890.
573. Advertisement for Ozonos, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 May 1890.
574. Advertisement for Duffy's Whiskey, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 May 1890.
575. Advertisement for Wm. Radam's Microbe Killer at C. E. Whitten, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 June 1891.
576. Article, "FOR THEIR HEALTH. Lynn Physicians, with a Few Compounders, Take an outing at Humphreys Pond – The Microbes Too Powerful for the Antiseptics," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 June 1895.

577. Article, "COUP DE SOLEIL," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1891.
578. Article, "CHOLERA INFANTRUM. Is It Caused by the Condition of City Water?" *Daily Evening Item*, 5 August 1891.
579. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: DOG DAYS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 July 1892.
580. Letter to the editor by West Lynn (pseudonym) "Are We Inviting Cholera?" *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1892.
581. Article, "LYNN FULLY PREPARED. City Physician Little Fully Satisfied That Lynn Is Well Protected," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 September 1892.
582. Advertisements in *Daily Evening Item*, 26 September 1892 (for Jaros' Hygienic Underwear) and 26 July 1894 (Calcutta), which also instructed avoiding green fruit and vegetables; editorial, no title, 26 September 1892 (boil).
583. Newspaper clipping located in the journal of John W. Poole, stuck in the pages for the week of 27 April 1896.
584. Article, "The English Typhoid Epidemic," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (27 January 1898), Vol.138, No.4, p.92), compared the Lynn epidemic to the major epidemic occurring simultaneously in Maidstone, England, during which 1,889 cases had been reported in a population of approximately half that of Lynn. For Lynn mortality from typhoid, see *Annual Report of the Board of Health* (1896), pp.321, 325 (28 deaths); (1897), pp.33-338 (19 deaths).
585. Poem, "La Grippe," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 January 1890.
586. Journal of John W. Poole, 1 January 1890.
587. Article, "Personal," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1890.
588. Item in feature column, "WEST LYNN: Notes," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1890.
589. Article, "THE GRIP," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 December 1891.
590. Article, "LA GRIPPE," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1891. A popular notion about the origin of the epidemic was that it started in eastern Europe, hence the reference to "Slavonian," i.e., Slavic origins.
591. Article, "LA GRIPPE," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1891. See also, Article, "Quiet Sick," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1891 (inauguration).
592. Article, "LA GRIPPE," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1891.
593. Advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 8 January 1892 (underwear; overcoats); 30 December 1891 (mufflers); 16 January 1892 (Dane's).
594. Advertisement for Heffernan Rock, Rye and Honey, *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1891.
595. Article, "LA GRIPPE IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 December 1891.
596. Puff, "Magnetic Treatment and Cures," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1892.
597. Death totals aggregated from Lynn's Annual Reports of the Board of Health, 1890-1899. Consumption and tuberculosis were used synonymously during the decade, with tuberculosis becoming more frequently in the latter part of the decade than it had been previously. Consumption deaths were listed at 1,083 for the decade, and tuberculosis was listed separately from consumption, accounting for 176 deaths; combined, the consumption/tuberculosis deaths totaled 1,259.
598. Article, "Seeking for Health," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 May 1892.
599. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 6 October 1892, No.963 (Patrick J. Riley). The cause of death was listed as phthisis, another term for tuberculosis, and his place of death was listed as Westboro, although it was recorded in Lynn's deaths records.
600. Article, "AN AFFLICTED FAMILY," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 March 1892.
601. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. CARSON'S TROUBLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1892.
602. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. CARSON'S TROUBLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1892.
603. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. CARSON'S TROUBLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1892.
604. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. CARSON'S TROUBLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1892.
605. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MRS. CARSON'S TROUBLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 April 1892.
606. Articles, "CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 November 1893 (four); 9 November (seven). See also article, "Diphtheria in Lynn," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 16 November 1893, Vol.129, No.20, p.501.

607. Article, "CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1894.
608. Article, "DIPHTHERIA EPIDEMIC," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 October 1894.
609. Item in feature column, "WEST LYNN: Sad Affliction," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 November 1895.
610. Article, "Cure for Diphtheria," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1892.
611. Article, "ANTI-TOXINE. Dr. Judkins Administering the Serum to a Child." It is an Advanced Case of Malignant Diphtheria. First Application of the Treatment in Lynn." *Daily Evening Item*, 24 January 1895.
612. Article, "ANTI-TOXINE TREATMENT. Drs. Lovejoy and Little First Administer the Serum to an Adult Person in This City," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 January 1895.
613. Article, "DIPHTHERIA PATIENTS. Two Cases doing Well Under Anti-Toxine Treatment." *Daily Evening Item*, 26 January 1895.
614. Article, "CITY PHYSICIAN'S REPORT," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1896.
615. Article, "Modern Treatment of Diphtheria," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 January 1899.
616. Article, "Modern Treatment of Diphtheria," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 January 1899.
617. Article, "DOG STORY. Chloroformed and Buried – The Dog Reappears at the End of Two Months," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 March 1890.
618. Article, "Danger of addin," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 February 1891.
619. The average weight range of the American Foxhound is 45-65 pounds for females (greater for males). The description in the *Lynn Transcript* referred to the animal as "a small fox-hound" of "the appearance of having eaten but very little for some time"; therefore, for the purpose of this account description, the author (Raposa) has assumed it was a female on the small side. See article, "MAD DOG (?) SCARE," *Lynn Transcript*, 20 May 1892.
620. Article, "CHRONOLOGY OF THE YEAR," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 January 1893.
621. Article, "MAD DOG (?) SCARE," *Lynn Transcript*, 20 May 1892.
622. Article, "Supposed Hydrophobia," *Lynn Transcript*, 10 June 1892.
623. Article, "TWO OTHER FATAL CASES," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896.
624. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "POOR PATRICK FARRELL," 3 August 1892 (strapped); "THE PRANKER DOG," 2 August 1892 (chin).
625. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HYDROPHOBIA. Lieut. Doe Has the Dreaded Disease ... Dec. 30 He Was Bitten by a Large Dog," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 February 1896.
626. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HYDROPHOBIA. Lieut. Doe Has the Dreaded Disease ... Dec. 30 He Was Bitten by a Large Dog," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 February 1896.
627. Illustrated article, "HYDROPHOBIA'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896.
628. Illustrated article, "HYDROPHOBIA'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896. The use of onions to draw out the rabies germs was another example of a transference cure surviving all the way to the end of the nineteenth century. Since the sixteenth century, onions had often been turned to as something that could draw out infection. See for example, article, "ONIONS CURE RABIES," *San Francisco Call*, (San Francisco, CA), 9 July 1905.
629. Illustrated article, "HYDROPHOBIA'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896. For more on Xantho, see advertisements for Xantho in *Boston Post*, 20 and 27 October 1895.
630. Illustrated article, "HYDROPHOBIA'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896.
631. Illustrated article, "HYDROPHOBIA'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 February 1896.
632. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN. A Genuine Case Discovered on Blossom Street. The Victim and Her Parents Removed to Pesthouse. Miss Ida M. Russell Is the Young Woman Stricken," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1894.
633. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1894.
634. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1894 (emphasis added).
635. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1894.
636. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1894. The one loose end in this story, which the newspaper pointed out but didn't resolve, was that Ida had a sister and brother who were not quarantined or controlled in any way. The sister continued to work in a shoe shop until Saturday afternoon and the 15-year-old brother was allowed to roam with several other boys at will about the neighborhood until late Saturday evening. The article also did not state that the two siblings were finally

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- taken to the pest house; it can only be assumed they were. See also article in feature column, "SMALL-POX," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1894 (speedy).
637. Article in feature column, "SMALL-POX," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1894.
638. Journal of John W. Poole, 29 April 1895.
639. Article, "CITY HALL. Report of City Physicians on Vaccination Examinations. They Would Have All Inoculations Certified by Them. Street Watering to Be Considered This Evening," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 April 1894. See also article in feature column, "THE LATEST: CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 March 1894.
640. Letter to the editor by Anti-Monopoly, "Compulsory Vaccination a Crime," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1894.
641. Article, "Hospital Letter from Snowdrop," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1899. The letter was dated, "West Kensington, London, May 8, 1899" (emphases added).
642. Article, "SMALL POX SCARE. The Swampscott Case Creates Much Fear. Household Duly Quarantined by Health Board. Schools of the Town May Be Ordered Closed for a Time. Patient's Child Was in Attendance on Thursday. Lynn and Salem Taking All Necessary Precautions," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1899.
643. Article, "SMALL POX SCARE," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1899.
644. Article, "SMALL POX SCARE," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1899.
645. Article, "SMALL POX SCARE," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1899. Frank B. Stratton is only identified as "Dr. Stratton" in the article, but there were only two Strattons living in Swampscott at the end of the decade; one was a widow who went by "Mrs.," and the other was Frank B. Stratton, a "veterinary surgeon dentist." In 1898 and 1902 directories he was listed as Frank B. Stratton, veterinary surgeon dentist, 160 Burrill St., Swampscott (see Swampscott Street Directory in *City Directory of Lynn, Massachusetts*, (1898), p.101, and *Swampscott, Massachusetts City Directory* (1902), pp.98, 116 (both online at ancestry.com). In the 1900 Federal Census for Swampscott, he is listed at 28 years old and therefore about 27 at the time of the smallpox outbreak at the Rust house.
646. Article, "WILL NOT SPREAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1899.
647. Article, "WILLIAM A. RUST DEAD. Victim of Small Pox Passes Away Tuesday Night. Wife and Daughter Now Stricken with the Disease," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1899.
648. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "SMALL POX SCARE," 19 May 1899 (proper); "WILL NOT SPREAD," 20 May 1899 (Lynn); the nurse from Lynn whose services were secured was Alfred C. Bennet.
649. Article, "WILL NOT SPREAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1899 (Herrick); Notice, "Free Vaccination," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1899 (Swampscott).
650. Article, "WILLIAM A. RUST DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1899.
651. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "SMALL POX SCARE," 19 May 1899.
652. Article, "WILLIAM A. RUST DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1899.
653. Article, "LYNN'S PEST HOUSE. Entirely Unfit for Treatment of Small Pox Patients. Bedding Moth Eaten and Furniture in Poor Shape. Small Pox House and Shed Consigned to Flames." *Daily Evening Item*, 7 June 1899 (emphasis added).
654. A contemporary source to the 1899 end of Lynn's pesthouse wrote, "If there is any one expression which is full of horror, terror and loathing it is the pest house. No poor [house] directors should ever allow it to pass his lips. Many a poor sufferer who would gladly go to a municipal, a township, a contagious disease, or an emergency hospital, will crawl into a hole and die rather than be taken to a pest house." Benjamin Lee, M.D., Secretary of the State Board of Health and Vital Statistics of Pennsylvania, Address Delivered Before the Associated Charities and Poor Directors (October 1902), *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1902, Official Documents* (PA: Wm. Stanley Ray, 1903), Vol.8, No.19, p.376.
655. Articles in feature column in the *Daily Evening Item*, "ITEM EXTRA: SMALL-POX IN LYNN," 12 March 1894 ("made ready"); "ITEM EXTRA: SCARLET FEVER. A Victim From Sale Creates a Panic Sunday," 2 May 1892 (storehouse).
656. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SCARLET FEVER, A Victim From Salem Creates a Panic Sunday," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 May 1892.
657. Item in article, "CITY HALL: Hospital for Contagious Disease Patients," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1892.
658. Article, "PEST HOUSE NEEDED. Some Provisions for Scarlet Fever Patients Required," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 May 1892. There are gaps in the newspaper account of this story. Sophia A. Clements was identified in the article as "the negro woman" and in article, "ANOTHER CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1892, the home that took in Fanny Brown was identified as that of Stephen E. Clements, on Fayette street court." She was further identified in *The Lynn Directory, 1896* (Boston: Sampson, Murdock, & Co., 1896) p.152, as "Sophia A.

- Clements, widow of Stephen E., house 14 Elmore." There is no explanation offered as to how Fanny Brown, a white housekeeper, came upon Sophia Clements, a black launderer (per the 1900 Federal Census), whether she was told by someone that Clements might be willing to help her or if she just got lucky and found someone with a big enough heart to take her into her own home; perhaps in Brown's role as housekeeper, one of her duties was to bring the family's laundry somewhere for washing and she had developed an association with Sophia Clements that way. It's also interesting to note that Sophia's husband, Stephen E. Clement, a black teamster, died three years later of typhoid fever, another highly contagious disease. (*Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 15 April 1895, No.364 (Stephen E. Clements).
659. Article, "ANOTHER CASE," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 May 1892 and article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AT CITY HALL. Necessities for a Pest House Increasing Daily," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1892.
660. Article, "FOR CONTAGIOUS DISEASES," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1895.
661. Article, "NEW HOSPITAL. Institution for treatment of Contagious Diseases," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1895.
662. Article, "FOR CONTAGIOUS DISEASES," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1895.
663. Article, "Inspected Lynn's Contagious Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 February 1895.
664. Article, "CITY PHYSICIAN'S REPORT," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 February 1896. In its first full year (1896), the hospital had 99 patients consisting of 93 diphtheria and 6 scarlet fever; 8 diphtheria cases died. See *Annual Report of the Board of Health* (1897), p.296.
665. *Annual Report of the Board of Health* (1899), p.369.
666. *Annual Report of the Board of Health* (1899), p.361.
667. Illustrated article, "A NEW HOSPITAL BUILDING FOR LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 November 1899.
668. Article, "HOSPITAL AMBULANCE. Handsome Wagon Built in Latest Improved Manner for Contagious Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 January 1899.
669. The Children's Home was the third of three buildings with human inhabitants on the poor farm property (their word outbuildings as well, like a barn for the farming implements and animals on the poor farm. The Children's Home was the newest building on the property, built in 1884, and there were no comments that it was becoming outdated or was inadequate to its purpose. Replacement of the almshouse was the focus of the city's efforts in 1894-1895.
670. Article, "CITY HALL. Annual Report of City Physician Little. Sanitary Condition of Almshouse and Children's Home," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1894.
671. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 January 1894.
672. Illustrated article, "THE NEW CITY HOME," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 November 1895. The article also mentioned that removal of the old almshouse was planned to happen in "the near future."
673. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 December 1895.
674. Article, "STILL THEY COME," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 October 1895.
675. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MISSING," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 October 1895 (Social Purity, president); article, "Essex County H. H. Society," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 July 1894 (Helping Hands, secretary); Item in feature column, "LOCAL MENTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1895 (Union).
676. Item in feature column, "LOCAL MENTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 May 1894.
677. Article, "THE COTTAGE HOSPITAL. An Appeal to the Friends on an Institution That is Doing Much Good," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 March 1895.
678. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "COTTAGE HOSPITAL. Work Accomplished the Past Year as Shown by the Annual Report," 13 May 1895 (first); "THE COTTAGE HOSPITAL," 29 March 1895 (none).
679. *The Lynn Directory*, 1895, p.867.
680. Article, "COTTAGE LYING-IN HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1895.
681. Advertisements for Nervease, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 April and 4 MAY 1895.
682. Article, "THE COTTAGE HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 March 1895.
683. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MISSING," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 October 1895.
684. Article, "LIZZIE BENT CAUGHT," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 October 1895.
685. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: MISSING," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 October 1895.
686. Article, "MRS. BENT'S HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 September 1895.
687. Article, "WILL GIVE IT UP. Mrs. Lizzie F. Bent Will Surrender Her License for Keeping a Lying-In Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 October 1895.

688. Article, "LIZZIE BENT CAUGHT," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 October 1895.
689. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "MRS. BENT ARRAIGNED," 22 October 1895 (bonds); "MRS. VENT CONVICTED," 6 November 1895 (sentenced).
690. Article, "HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital. Annual Meeting of the Corporation," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 December 1895.
691. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., 1918), p.49. Quote was attributed to Chauncey C. Sheldon, M.D.
692. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HOSPITALS," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 December 1890. The Annual report for 1893 had the following on maternity cases: "... during the past year, 10 women have been confined here, though such patients are taken only when no other suitable place can be found for them. The hospital takes them out of charity and humanity, and does its best for them. But if obstetrical work is done here, and if the hard times continue, applications are likely to increase, then the proper quarters ought to be provided for this work. Such women ought to be in a ward by themselves, with nurses and appliances devoted to their sole use, and with nurses giving their attention solely to them. By such means only can the risks of a confinement be reduced to their lowest terms." See article, "Lynn Hospital Annual Report," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 December 1893.
693. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: INFORMAL RECEPTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 December 1896.
694. Illustrated article, "HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital ADDITION. Completion of the New Maternity Ward. Detailed Description of the Much Needed Quarters," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1896.
695. All six entries are from *Records of the Lynn Hospital*, Maternity, 20 December 1896 – 13 July 1899 [manuscript, single volume]; (collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).
696. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1897.
697. Article, "LYNN HOSPITAL. An Evil Which Exists in Connection with All Such Institutions – Only the People Themselves Can Correct It," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1897.
698. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1897.
699. Article, "HOSPITAL BOXES. Total Amount Contributed of \$3721.42. Substantial Answer to the Needs of the Institution," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 October 1899. By comparison, the Lynn Daily Item donated \$37.82 and L. M. Brock & Co donated \$1.40.
700. Article, "HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1892.
701. Illustrated advertisement for Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, *Daily Evening Item*, 13 May 1897.
702. Article, "WILL LOSE HIS LEG. Accident to a Lynn Man in Gloucester, This Noon. Robert Ramsdell Falls Under a Car. His Right Leg Crushed Below the Knee," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1890.
703. Article by Robert Ramsdell, "INSIDE THE HOSPITAL. Excellent Attention – Daily Routine – The Story of a Patient," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1891.
704. Editorial no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 23 March 1897.
705. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "LYNN HOSPITAL," 16 March 1897 (12 to 30); "LYNN HOSPITAL. Annual Meeting held Monday Evening," 19 December 1899 (8,594).
706. Article, "LYNN HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1897.
707. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: IN A VAT OF BOILING WATER," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 February 1892.
708. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: PROBABLE MURDER," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 May 1892 (shoulder); item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1892 (recover).
709. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AN UMBRELLA IN HIS EYE," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 July 1892 (umbrella); Article, "Hospital Cases," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 August 1892 (gashes).
710. Item in feature column, "POLICE HAPPENINGS: Charles Crompton's Nose Broken," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 December 1895.
711. Article, "VITRIOL'S VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 August 1897.
712. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: OUR NEW HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 February 1892.
713. Article, "Surgical Operation," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 October 1892.
714. Article, "Successful Surgical Operation," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1893.
715. Article, "EAST LYNN. Charles McIntire Operated Upon," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 October 1892.
716. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 December 1897.

717. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 12 February 1892.
718. Article, DEATH AND RUIN, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 February 1895.
719. Article, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1895.
720. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 October 1899.
721. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HOSPITALS: Lynn Hospital Annual Report for the Year Ending 1890," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 December 1890 (emphasis added).
722. Classified ads in the *Daily Evening Item*, 10 August 1888 (Brock); 12, 14 January 1893, 5 December 1893 (women); 13 January 1893 (Protestant).
723. The *Daily Evening Item* noted that interest in genealogical work and hereditary societies had been stimulated "in a marked degree," to such an extent that they had committed to providing space for genealogical queries and responses. See editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1897.
724. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 April 1891.
725. Editorial, no title, *Lynn Transcript*, 26 February 1892.
726. Feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 August 1892.
727. Article, "A CHINESE WAH," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1899 (emphasis added).
728. Article, "ALIEN IMMIGRANTS. . . Seven Classes of Foreigners Not Wanted In This Country," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 May 1891. For details on the Immigration Act of 1891, see [immigrationhistory.org](http://immigrationhistory.org).
729. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892. Note how her nationality and religion were tied in as if tangible, important factors contributing to the presence of cholera.
730. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
731. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892. Among the several steps being practiced for effective remediation of a location effected with contagious disease was keeping privy disinfected and the plumbing capable of proper flushing. The *Item* reported that the plumber had discovered "a piece of wood thrust into the pipe," but did not speculate on how a piece of wood suddenly appeared as an obstruction to what was for all intents and purposes indoor plumbing; however its verb choice ("thrust") suggests that it was done manually and purposely, perhaps by one of the irate occupants who was trying to create a compelling reason for the authorities to allow them to leave the house for functioning bathroom facilities.
732. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
733. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
734. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
735. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: ALARMING SITUATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
736. The Jaros Hygienic Underwear was sold by the New England Clothing company of Lynn, a long-time and regular advertiser in the *Item*. See illustrated advertisement for Jaros' Hygienic Underwear, *Daily Evening Item*. 26 September 1892.
737. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: IT IS NOT CHOLERA," *Daily Evening Item*. 28 September 1892.
738. Article, "IMMIGRATION LAWS. Senator Lodge Says Some Change in Them is Probable," *Daily Evening Item*. 28 January 1896.
739. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: RESTRICTED IMMIGRATION. Speech of Senator Lodge on an Important Subject," *Daily Evening Item*. 16 March 1895.
740. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: RESTRICTED IMMIGRATION," *Daily Evening Item*. 16 March 1895 (emphasis added).
741. *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts 1895* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1896), Vol.1, p.861.
742. Tabulation and analysis of the *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900) by the author.
743. Tabulation and analysis of the *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900) by the author.
744. Classified advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1893.

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745. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), Lynn, MA, Ward 4, ED 374, dwelling 232, household 355 (Joseph Smith).
746. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), Lynn, MA, Ward 5, ED 388, dwelling 212, household 16 (Lena Lundskog); Ward 5, ED 387, dwelling 300, household 452 (Hannah Peterson); Ward 6, ED 398, dwelling 72, household 74 (Theresa Swanson); Ward 2, ED 362, dwelling 7, household 7 (Bloom sisters).
747. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), Lynn, MA, Ward 1, ED 360, dwelling 207, household 235 (Clickstein); Ward 3, ED 364, dwelling 35, household 53 (Pulumbo); Ward 3, ED 364, dwelling 62, household 98 (Ezra Street).
748. Tabulation and analysis of the *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900) by the author.
749. Article, "FAST NAG AND A JAG," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 August 1898. See also *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), Lynn, MA, Ward 5, ED 384, dwellings 246-250, families 413-423 (house numbers 67, 71, and 75 Pleasant Street).
750. Article, "Electrical News," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1890.
751. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*: "SCANDINAVIAN CHURCH," 16 June 1890; "THE SWEDISH CHURCH," 12 October 1891; "THEIR OWN HOME OF WORSHIP," 27 January 1896; "HEBREW SYNAGOGUE," 2 May 1892. For benevolent and social clubs see two more articles from the *Daily Evening Item*, "A Hebrew Club," 11 November 1891 and "REATION OF THE WORLD," 11 September 1893 (largely about the good works performed by the Lynn Hebrew Benevolent Society for poor and suffering Jews).
752. Item in feature column, "WYOMA. Emigrants from Sweden," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 April 1892.
753. Edwin A. Start, "The City of Lynn," *The New England Magazine* (1891), Vol.4, p.513.
754. Article, "HEBREW SYNAGOGUE," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 May 1892.
755. Article, "IMMIGRATION BILL. President Cleveland's Veto of the Measure. He Argues Against Any Restriction Whatever. Senator Lodge Not Surprised – Expected It," *Daily Evening Item*. 3 March 1897.
756. Feature column, "THE TOILERS: Important Meeting of the Lynn Central Union," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 December 1891.
757. Feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE FOURTH. Lynn Celebrates the Day Gloriously. Finest Parade Ever Seen in the City," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 July 1891.
758. Feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LET LYNN HELP LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 April 1890.
759. Letter to the editor by "A Sufferer" (a pseudonym), "A Nuisance," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 April 1890.
760. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 October 1892. "Lhaim" was probably the reporter's phonetic spelling of what was meant to be L'Chaim.
761. Item in feature column, "POLICE COURT," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 March 1893.
762. Article, "PUNISHED ENOUGH," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 August 1898 (emphasis added).
763. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: THE IOWA," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1897.
764. The *Maine* was referred to as an armored cruiser and as a second-class battleship; see en.wikipedia.org.
765. Illustrated article, "WARSHIP MAINE," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 January 1898.
766. The first report just one day after the *Maine* incident included different casualty counts, reflecting the confusion attached to the incoming news reports. The actual final count of deaths from the explosion was 268. See illustrated article, "LOSS OF 253 LIVES. Big U.S. Battleship Maine Blown Up in the Harbor at Havana," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 February 1898, which includes an illustration and biographical of Charles Johnson.
767. Article, "A WAR SCARE," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 March 1898.
768. Article, "WAR ORDNANCE. Factory at West Lynn Running on Overtime," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 March 1898.
769. Article, "GENERALL ELECTRIC CO.," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1898.
770. Article, "ARMY AND NAVY. Knapsacks Packed, Campaign Clothes Ready. Lynn's Militia Men Waiting for the Call," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 April 1898.
771. Article, "SHARPSHOOTERS. Meeting for the Formation of a Company of Home Defenders," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 April 1898.
772. Article, "AURORA BOREALIS," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1898.
773. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: SENATOR LODGE," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1898.
774. Article, "WAR IS APPROACHING," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 April 1898.
775. David O. Woodbury, *Elihu Thomson, Beloved Scientist, 1853-1937*, p.239.

776. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: RED ROCK," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 April 1898 (Newhall); article, "PATRIOTIC CITIZEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 April 1898 (Fenton).
777. Article, "DEFENCE WORK. Government Pushing Matters in This Vicinity. Curious Crowds Gather and Speculate," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1898.
778. Article, "FIRING STATION. ... Point Is Strictly Guarded Against Visitors," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 April 1898 (emphasis added).
779. Article, "FORTIFIED! Lynn, Marblehead and Salem to Be Defended," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 April 1898 (cannons); illustrated article, "ON BAILEY'S HILL, NAHANT," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1898 (earthworks).
780. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 May 1898.
781. Article, "SPUKY LYNN WOMAN," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 May 1898.
782. Article, "SPANIARDS SCARCE," *Daily Evening Items*, 6 April 1898. The second great-grandfather of the author (Rapoza) was Agustin Rivero Gonzalez, 54; at the time of the war, he was one of those 156 Spanish male immigrants. Living in New Bedford, he was known by the nickname "Spaniol," because he spoke Spanish, not English, and he refused to apply for citizenship because he was proud of his Spanish heritage. It's difficult to imagine the scrutiny and alienation he must have felt especially during America's war with Spain in 1898.
783. Article, "PORTUGUESE FOR AMERICA," *Daily Evening Item*, 12 April 1898.
784. *Twelfth Census of the United States* (1900), Lynn, MA, Ward 4, ED 381, dwelling 269, household 449 (Portugal); Ward 6, ED 400 dwelling 118, household 182 (Azores).
785. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 May 1898.
786. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: TOUR OF DUTY MOST OVER," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1898.
787. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: TOUR OF DUTY MOST OVER," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 May 1898.
788. Article, "FOURTH IN LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 July 1898.
789. Article, "BOYS OFF FOR WAR," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1898.
790. Harry E. Webber, *Twelve Months with the Eighth Mass. Infantry in the Service of the United States* (Salem, MA: Newcomb & Gauss, 1908), p.43.
791. Article, "THE SOLDIER BOYS," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 May 1898.
792. Article, "REJECTIONS. Many Disappointed Blue Coats at Camp Dewey," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 May 1898 (failed); article, "REJECTION OF VOLUNTEERS," *New York Timex*, 5 June 1898 (glasses).
793. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 May 1898.
794. Article, "And He's Got Them All," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1898. It's not clear what six diseases were being referred to; however, conditions and diseases that were causes for physical rejection included varicose veins, hemorrhoids, vision defects, heart trouble, consumption, hernia, flat feet, ten percent under or over weight, as well as mental insufficiency, and bad or doubtful moral character. This set of rejection criteria, which may not be a complete list, appeared in article, "REJECTION OF VOLUNTEERS," *New York Timex*, 5 June 1898. Recruiting sergeants from Chickamauga, Georgia, came to Lynn in June 1898 to sign up men for military service. "None but strong, healthy, single men are desired. A physical examination will be necessary, and the teeth, eyes, lungs and heart must be in first-class condition. Any flat-footed person or those troubled with profuse perspiration will not be accepted. Article, "JUST FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 June 1898.
795. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1898.
796. Harry E. Webber, *Twelve Months with the Eighth Mass. Infantry*, p.381.
797. Article, "WATER AND FOOD," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 May 1898.
798. Article, "WATER AND FOOD," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 May 1898.
799. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1898.
800. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1898.
801. Article, "OUR LYNN TROOPS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1898.
802. Article, "TOLD YARNS FOR FUN. Sentenced to Hard Labor for Penning Lying Stories. Two Members of Company D Will Do It No More," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 June 1898 (emphasis added).
803. Article, "OUR LYNN TROOPS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 May 1898.

804. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1898. This observation was corroborated by Major General J. P. Sanger, "It was the only volunteer regiment I saw fully uniformed in khaki"; see Harry E. Webber, *Twelve Months with the Eighth Mass. Infantry*, p.16.
805. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: FROM CHICKAMAUGA," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1898.
806. Article, "WATER AND FOOD," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 May 1898.
807. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1898.
808. Article, PRIVATE BURNHAM DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 May 1898.
809. Article, "Died in Camp," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 August 1898.
810. Article, "ANOTHER DEAD," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 August 1898.
811. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: NO STARVATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 May 1898.
812. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: CAMP THOMAS," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 August 1898.
813. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, , "SOLDIER DEAD. Lynn's First Loss on Field of Battle," 24 July 1898; "Lynn Spanish War Veterans," 5 June 1899.
814. Article, "PRIVATE WHEELER. A Lynn Soldier Dies on the Outposts of Santiago," *Daily Evening Item*, 4 August 1898.
815. Circular No.1 from the Surgeon-General's Office (25 April 1898), *Report of the Surgeon-General of the Army to the Secretary of War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p.140 (online at google.com/books). The report turned out not to be correct in stating the housefly was the vector for carrying malaria.
816. Article, "FLIES DID IT. Germs of Fever Carried Through the Army by the House Fly," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1898.
817. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: HIS BUGLE NOW SILENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 August 1898 (Hobbs); article, "ANOTHER LIFE GOES OUT," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 August 1898 (Paquette). Hobbs was a member of Company K in the 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, but he was a resident of Lynn.
818. Article, "HOME COMING. Convalescents From the Eighth Arrive in Lynn. ... HOME AMONG FRIENDS," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1898.
819. Article, "SICK SOLDIERS. Only Ghosts of Their Former Selves," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 August 1898.
820. Harry E. Webber, *Twelve Months with the Eighth Mass. Infantry*, p.19.
821. Article, "THE EIGHTH. Two Hundred Soldiers of the Regiment on the Sick List," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 August 1898.
822. Article, "THE EIGHTH. Men Who Enlisted to Fight Want to Come Home Now That the War is Over," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1898.
823. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 25 August 1898.
824. Article, "BAY STATE: THE EIGHTH," *Daily Evening Item*, 30 August 1898.
825. Article by Patrick Gargan, "THE LATEST: ANOTHER GAP," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 September 1898.
826. Article, "BREAKING CAMP," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 January 1899.
827. Articles by Patrick Gargan in the *Daily Evening Item*, "AT MATANZAS" (correspondence dated 27 January 1899), 2 February 1899 (tropical); "EIGHTH AT MATANZAS," 23 March 1899 (paradise).
828. Article by Patrick Gargan, "THE EIGHTH. Health of the Regiment Remains Good," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 February 1899.
829. Article by Patrick Gargan, "HEAT INTENSE," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 February 1899.
830. Article, "EMBALMED BEEF," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 January 1899.
831. Article, "NEW BEEF SCANDAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1899.
832. Article, "EIGHTH ARRIVES," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 April 1899.
833. Article, "ENDS IN BANQUET," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 April 1899.
834. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: RECORD BROKEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 June 1897.
835. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXRA: CURRENT TOPIC CONFERENCE. 'Is the World Growing Better?' Profitably Discussed," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 March 1894 (emphasis added).
836. *Lynn, its Representative Business Men and Points of Interest*, pp.18-19.
837. Illustrated advertisement for Gilston & Hatch, 144 Munroe Street, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 November 1899.
838. Article, "Electric Cars," *Lynn Transcript*, 22 July 1892. The horses were sent to other places (Chelsea, Revere, and Prattville) for use on their horse-drawn street cars.

839. Illustrated advertisement for Israel B. Oliver, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 August 1891.
840. Article, "Cooking by Electricity," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 July 1899 (broiler); illustrated advertisement for "1900" Washing Machines, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 September 1899 ("1900").
841. Article, "A Horse with a Tube in its Neck," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 September 1892.
842. Article, "A TELESCOPE MAN," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 July 1891. Seeing snakes and lizards in the stronger liquid was probably metaphorical for the hallucinations sometimes seen by the inebriated.
843. See both featured columns, for example, in *Daily Evening Item*, 17 December 1897.
844. U.S. Patent No.487,026 TOILET OR WRAPPING PAPER, Edward N. Cummings, Lynn, Massachusetts, issued 29 November 1892. Cummings then received an additional patent (No.598,315, issued 1 February 1898), for an improved version of his earlier version of tearable toilet paper.
845. Article, "A NOVELTY. C. L. Simonds Invents a Steam Carriage that Will be Exhibited in the Streets of this City Next Week – Description of the New Conveyance," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 August 1893.
846. Editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 April 1899.
847. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AUTOMOBILES. General Electric May Manufacture Here," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 July 1899.
848. Article, "THOMSON ON AUTOMOBILES. Distinguished Electrician lectures on the New Carriages," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 September 1899. G.E. may have decided against setting up a manufacturing facility because it was calculated at the time to be prohibitively expensive to do, as Thomson alluded to in his talk. The comment, "Electricity is of course the most expensive power used on account of the necessity of carrying large storage batteries, and the necessity of recharging ... the majority leans towards gasoline as a fuel," appears in article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AUTOMOBILES. The Horseless Carriage on Lynn Streets ... Some Very Pretty Vehicles Are to Be Seen," 8 September 1899.
849. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AUTOMOBILES. The Horseless Carriage on Lynn Streets," 8 September 1899.
850. Illustrated advertisement for Sprague & Breed Coal Company, *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1899.
851. Illustrated advertisement for Felt Brothers, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 December 1899.
852. Article, "A SALEM MAN'S INVENTION. Details of an Ingenious Flying Machine Lately Perfected," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 June 1893.
853. See for example, illustrated advertisement for Sprague & Breed Coal Company, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 August 1899 and article, "FLYING MACHINES," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 February 1895.
854. Illustrated articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, 24 June 1896: from the *New York Journal*, "ACROSS THE OCEAN BY FOOT POWER" and from the *Philadelphia Record*, "A Water Bicycle."
855. Item in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 December 1899.
856. Illustrated cartoon from *Black and White*, "A Great Rarity," *Daily Evening Item*, 27 July 1896.
857. Article, "FUTURE OF ELECTRICITY ... Shall We Signal to the Planet Mars?" *Daily Evening Item*, 22 March 1893.
858. J. B. Holder, The Great Unknown," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (June 1892), Vol.44, No.2, pp.247-253 (emphasis added).
859. Illustrated article, "SEA SERPENT," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 August 1896.
860. Illustrated article, "A 'SEA SERPENT.' Fishing Schooner Minnehaha, Capt Horton, Captures Him. PROVES TO BE A MAMMOTH TURTLE," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 August 1896.
861. Article, "SENT TO DANVERS," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 December 1897.
862. Article, "A METEORITE. One Falls in West Lynn Last Night. Seen by Arthur L. Leach, of Grove Street. Buildings in Vicinity Shaken by the Explosion. Like a Ball of Fire Larger Than Man's Head. No Trace of It Can Be Found This Morning," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 January 1898. Edward Trevert *Electro-Therapeutic Hand Book*
863. Article, "AMUSEMENTS. Nellie Bly," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 February 1890.
864. Article, "IN THE YEAR 1960. The X Ray Reveals the Secret of the Future. Municipal Government in a Twentieth Century Leap Year. How Candidates for Office Will Address the People," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 February 1890.
865. Article, "CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 6 February 1895.
866. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LYNN HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 February 1891.
867. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: AT CITY HALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 February 1891 (emphasis added).

868. Letter to the editor by pseudonym XXX, "Woman Versus Poor Department," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1891 (emphasis added).
869. Letter to the editor by pseudonym XXX, "Woman Versus Poor Department," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1891.
870. Letter to the editor by pseudonym Q, dated 17 February 1891, "Response to XXX," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 February 1891.
871. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: BOARD OF ALDERMEN," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 March 1891.
872. Article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: LOCAL LEGISLATION," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 June 1891.
873. Article, "WOMEN SUFFRAGE," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 January 1892.
874. Article, "LADIES' BICYCLE CLUB," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 July 1895.
875. Article, "LADIES' BICYCLE CLUB," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 July 1895.
876. Captioned illustration, "BATHING ATTIRE FOR SEASHORE BELLES," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 June 1895 (bathing suit).
877. Article, "DRESS REFORM," *Daily Evening Item*, 1 January 1896.
878. Article, "NEW SYSTEM OF DRESS. Some Picturesque and Hygienic Gowns. ... Jenness-Miller Fashions." *Daily Evening Item*, 11 June 1890.
879. Illustrated advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, "Attractive Women," 9 February 1899 (emphasis added).
880. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, *The Boston Globe*, 16 February 1880, and reprinted in an illustrated pamphlet, Lydia E. Pinkham, *NERVE STRAIN. The Busy Lives of American Women. The Cause of their Ill Health and the Remedy*. The text recognized that some wealthier women had some household or cooking help, but the pamphlet's wording included these women intentionally as also being victimized by the long list of expectations (emphasis added).
881. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?' the Subject Discussed. ..." *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce.
882. Article in feature column by Louis Role, "Good Cookery: CHRISTMAS DAY HINTS," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 December 1899 (emphasis added).
883. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce (emphasis added).
884. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce. See also advertisement for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *The Boston Globe*, 22 September 1895 ("too-stimulating").
885. Advertisement for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *The Boston Globe*, 22 September 1895. Nervous prostration became embellished into a broadly defined illness called neurasthenia and appeared commonly starting in the 1880s, but the term only started to appear in Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* in 1894. Americanitis was essentially the nationalized identification for neurasthenia, since industrial growth and prosperity made the U.S. appear to be the epicenter for the condition. While nervous prostration was frequently mentioned in the *Item* and *Transcript*, neurasthenia was infrequently used during the 1890s and Americanitis was not used until the 1900s, so neither is emphasized in this book.
886. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce.
887. Advertisement for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 March 1899.
888. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce.
889. Advertisement for Titus & Buckley Company, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 January 1899 (emphasis added).
890. Calligram in feature column, "BY THE WAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 October 1892.
891. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Mrs. Alice E. Breed (emphasis added).
892. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Herbert W. Newhall.
893. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: LEFT HER HOME," *Daily Evening Item*, 21 April 1899.
894. Article, "BODY FOUND," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 May 1899.
895. Article, "CURRENT TOPICS. 'Do Americans Work Too Hard?'" *Daily Evening Item*, 15 March 1893. The speaker was Orasmus B. Bruce (emphasis added).

896. Advertisement for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *Daily Evening Item*, 24 October 1890.
897. Advertisement for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1891.
898. Puff, "DR. GREENE'S SPRING COURSE OF MAGNIFICENTLY Illustrated Free Lectures in Odd Fellows' Hall," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 April 1896.
899. Advertisements for *Dr. Greene's Nervura*, *Daily Evening Item*, 4 March 1899 (Makes); 20 November 1892 (wonderful).
900. Journal of John W. Poole, 6 March 1895. In Poole's diary "Cash Accounts" for 6 March 1895, he spent 85 cents on Medicine; on 10 March he recorded another 71 cents spent on "Greene's Nerv[ura]." *Dr. Greene's Nervura* was later analyzed to contain 18% alcohol and Poole was an adamant temperance advocate.
901. Advertisement for *Paine's Celery Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1891.
902. Advertisement for *Paine's Celery Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 7 October 1899.
903. Illustrated advertisement for *Doan's Kidney Pills*, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1899.
904. Advertisements in the *Daily Evening Item*, 13 August 1898 (*Sexine*); 25 June 1896 (*Nerve Seeds*) .
905. Advertisement for *Vin de L'Amour*, *The Lynn Transcript*, 10 January 1891.
906. U.S. Trademark No.24,018, issued 9 January 1894 to Charles F. J. Petit de Langle for *Parisian Aphro Tonic*. (See Appendix B for the trademark image.)
907. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 12 October 1898.
908. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 8 August 1898.
909. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 6 June 1899 (emphasis added).
910. Advertisement for *Kola=Rays*, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 June 1898.
911. Advertisement for Warren Toppan, *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1894.
912. Advertisement for *Colcord's Beef, Wine, Coca and Iron*, *Daily Evening Item*, 2 February 1893.
913. Advertisements in *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1899 (Colcord's); 2 August 1897 (Burrill's; illustrated). Burrill's and Colcord's were at 34 and 48 Central Square, respectively.
914. Advertisement for Dr. Spinney & Co., *Daily Evening Item*, 2 August 1894.
915. Advertisement for Lynn Magnetic Medical Institute, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 August 1894.
916. Advertisement for Dr. Castle, *Daily Evening Item*, 28 March 1896 (emphasis added).
917. Advertisement for Thomas W. Rogers, *Daily Evening Item*, 30 April 1891.
918. Article in feature column, "THE LATEST: BY TELEGRAPH ... LYNN'S PETITION," *Daily Evening Item*, 16 March 1897.
919. Article, "LIBRARY HEARING" *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1897.
920. Article, "THE TOILERS. Mayor Ramsdell's Fruitless Visit to Williams, Clark & Co.," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 March 1897.
921. Article, "ITALIANS DOING THE WORK . Intercession In Behalf of Lynn Laborers on a Track-Laying Job," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1897.
922. See for example, article in feature column, "ITEM EXTRA: NEW BULDING INSPECTOR," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 June 1897.
923. Article, "POLITICAL PLANS. .... Effort Among Them to Sidetrack Mayor Ramsdell" *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1897.
924. Article, "WARD SIX DEMOCRATS," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 December 1897 (emphasis added).
925. Article, "RAMSDELL AGAIN. Elected to the Mayor's Chair for a Second Term. BUT ONE DEMOCRAT IN THE BOARD. Eighteen Republicans and Seven Democrats in the Lower Branch." *Daily Evening Item*, 15 December 1897.
926. Illustrated advertisement for *Paine's Celery Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1898.
927. *New England Farmer* (Vol.36, No.7), 12 February 1898; *Austin American-Statesman* (Austin, TX), 30 January 1898; *The Moline Review-Dispatch* (Moline, IL), 11 February 1898; *The Capital Journal* (Salem, OR), 29 January 1898. The ad also ran in newspapers from Ohio, New York, Montana, Missouri, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Utah, Wisconsin, Nebraska, etc.
928. Illustrated advertisement for *Paine's Celery Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 16 April 1898.
929. Editorial cartoon, *Daily Evening Item*, 11 February 1898.
930. Editorial cartoon, *Daily Evening Item*, 10 February 1898.

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931. Editorial squib, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1899.  
932. *Fall River Globe*, 26 August 1909 (mind); *New-York Tribune*, 26 August 1909 (failure).

❧ Epilogue: 1900-1929 ❧

## City of the Dead, Land of the Living

*"The secret of all true civic prosperity is the triumph of righteousness and the uplifting of the weak. ... Are the devils cast out and are the sick made whole ...[?]"*

Rev. Albion H. Ross,  
"The True Basis for Civic Rejoicing"  
Lynn 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration as a City, 1900

*"The progress of medicine is a steady evolution, but it is retarded by superstition, ignorance and quackery, which will not be wholly eliminated from medicine for centuries to come."*

Myra Allen Ruppel, physician  
Address to the Lynn Women's Club, 1903

**Q**uiet, reflective walks through Lynn's Pine Grove Cemetery were taking a lot longer; many more streets and residents had been added. The plot of land that received its first solitary burial in 1850 had grown as quickly as a regiment of volunteers at the outset of the Civil War or a treasure hunting expedition to the Yukon gold fields, often with the same results. Marble and granite headstones and footstones seemed to bloom all over its hills and dales like a strange crop, unmoved by the winds and snows that pummeled the ornamental flowers. Names and dates of life were carefully engraved so those who dwelled beneath would be remembered, but time inevitably made everything else about them be forgotten. Obelisks, urns, and lifeless angelic statues stood a little higher than the rest, signaling the last hurrah of the affluent, just like their homes, clothes, and jewelry had marked the pretensions of their difference in life. Fallen soldiers were mustered in their final precision formation around the nation's flag, eternally vigilant for its protection. Pine Grove had become the place where the rich and poor were next-door neighbors and the lamb laid down with the lion. All around these hallowed acres, Lynn was grinding, churning, honking, clanking, yelling, laughing, and crying, but in the midst of that land of the living had been built this city of the dead.<sup>1</sup> And there was no lack of newcomers.

### **DEATH & OLD MEDICINE**

The beginning of the new century was also the end of an epoch. The Victorian Era ended with the death of Queen Victoria in January 1901 and President McKinley was assassinated eight months later, in September. Another grave had been dug in the Pinkham family plot for the corpse of Charles Pinkham in November 1900, leaving a messy void in the leadership of the Pinkham medicine company. He had been complaining about trouble in his legs, which his doctor initially diagnosed as rheumatism, so he and his doctor went to some mineral baths at St. Clemens, Michigan, but they didn't seem to help at all; in fact, when Charles arrived back at his mansion in Lynn, he had to crawl up the steps on his hands and knees. His diagnosis was changed to kidney trouble, anemia, and nervous prostration. He was bedridden for the remaining month of his life,

during which time he was often “out of his head, [talking] about things that happened years before.”<sup>2</sup> He died at the end of his fifty-fifth year, likely from the effects of a stroke.<sup>3</sup> His death was the third in the Pinkham household that year, after those of his father-in-law and sister-in-law; Arthur Pinkham named the chapter covering all three family deaths in his *Reminiscences* “A VERY SAD YEAR.”

Lemuel Brock’s death in September of 1900 also created problems for the company’s continued success if not succession; advertising and sales dropped off dramatically over the ensuing decades and the once very successful company faded into oblivion.<sup>4</sup> George Thurston expired in 1908, which prompted his widow to sell the small company assets and brands to the Eastern Drug Company of Boston, which continued selling at least *Thurston’s Family Balsam* with a label featuring the portrait of its once-proud creator.<sup>5</sup>

All three medicine businesses – Pinkham’s, Brock’s, and Thurston’s – had been family owned and run, so the death of the family patriarch meant a large seat to be filled at the company office, perhaps even moreso than at the family dinner table. In death, the families grieved, adapted, and moved on, but the family business was more likely to implode from the loss of leadership, vision, and business plan that, in life, the founder had coursing through his veins alone.

By the end of the new century’s first decade, Charles Crompton suddenly found himself one of the few founders of a Lynn medicine company who was still alive. He would try to build a medicine empire like the others, but his challenge was doing so in a century that wasn’t nearly as fertile for proprietary medicines to grow and flourish.<sup>6</sup>

The business of proprietary medicines and other sometimes sketchy health practices didn’t end with the dawn of the twentieth century any more than they did with the arrival of the twenty-first. A 1905 souvenir booklet highlighting Lynn’s business leaders included A. J. Badger, M.C. (Magnetic Clairvoyant), despite the dubious stature of that class of healer, although, by its own admission, that hesitating endorsement had become the exception:

The general public is always skeptical of advertising and traveling clairvoyants, and not without reason. ... however, we have a clairvoyant and magnetic healer ... whose efficiency of service is known and testified to by hundreds of our fellow citizens. Mr. Badger uses his powers of second sight to diagnose diseases and treats by the natural gift of magnetism, employing also when required, roots, herbs and barks, that nature, a wonderful healer herself, has provided. ...<sup>7</sup>

Mysticism was far from giving up the ghost but the fuzzy world of clairvoyant cures was being eclipsed by claims of hard science and hygienic prevention of illness. At the turn of the century, Lynn’s Charles H. Stephenson had developed a whole line of patented, hygienically designed, underground garbage receptacles. His advertising insisted it was “The only Sanitary method of caring for garbage, deep in the ground in [a] heavy galvanized bucket ... No odors, etc. Away from dogs and cats,. The typhoid fly cannot get at it and distribute poisonous germs. Health demands it.”<sup>8</sup> By stepping on the cast iron foot pedal, the lid opened and garbage could be dumped into the large pail below, out of sight until the trash man arrived to take it away. The underground garbage receivers were the new, civilized way to eliminate the sight, smells, and unhealthy danger of garbage, ashes, grease, grass clippings, and even outhouse waste. Long gone were the days when roaming pigs were counted on to eliminate the slops and offal dumped out of Lynn’s windows.

In 1904 the Ostermoor mattress company of New York offered a new hygienic mattress built with elasticized felt instead of being stuffed the old-fashioned way, with disease-ridden horse hair. The mattress company explained anthrax bacteria was on the infected hair and hides of beasts imported from foreign lands for mattress stuffing. Lynn had an anthrax outbreak of some twenty cases and the advertisement highlighted the “narrow escape of George E. Sprague of Lynn from death” by anthrax; it concluded with the punchline that the revolutionary new Ostermoor Mattess “is very good life insurance.”<sup>9</sup>

In 1921, there were Lynners seeking “Fountain of Youth” rejuvenation by means of monkey, pig, sheep and other animal glands, and the news story promised it was nothing but pure science: “It is stated authoritatively that these pills [made from desiccated animal organs] *are not of the patent medicine variety*, obtainable at any drug store, but are prescribed after a careful and thorough analysis of the particular case in question.” Among the patients were “society women from Lynn” who disguised themselves with veils as they entered the Boston clinic.<sup>10</sup>

Whether the medicines and measures used were faithfully followed family lore, ill-conceived cures, or outright fraudulence in a bottle, they kept getting made. However, new laws made it tougher to deceive and scientific developments provided continually improving alternatives, but human gullibility, mixed with urgency, frailty, and often insufficient funds, still left many doors, wallets, and minds open to choices that did not help. Science hadn’t been mastered, accidents still happened, and people still got sick. Health, the foundation for happiness, still had to be pursued by each person in Lynn the way they felt was best for them.

## ***NEW BATTLES, NEW WEAPONS***

The battle for health had never been fought on stranger terrain. The Wonderland Amusement Park on the other side of the Saugus River was opened in the springtime of 1906. Somewhere between the popcorn stand, the scary Hell Gate ride, the Wild West Show, and Gillette’s Dog and Monkey Circus was a building exhibiting startlingly tiny infants with nicknames like Midget and King John; they were on display like exotic zoo animals, in strange glass cabinets, struggling to stay alive. Pass the popcorn.

Premature babies and infant deaths had always been a sadly frequent reality and when another babe of just a few pounds came into the world, it was fully expected to die a few breaths later. An emaciated cry or the tiniest leg kick or flinch of fingers gave some parents hope that maybe their newborn, too-soon-born, might be the exception and live. Keeping them warm appeared to be the first instinct. Back in 1893, at Mrs. Horace Lord’s boarding house on 22 Ellis Street, Lynn, two tiny specimens of humanity were born by Mrs. Aubrey B. Chace. The boy weighed 3 1/4 pounds and the girl was 2 3/4 pounds. A good-sized finger ring could slide over an entire hand and a teacup would have fit over a head. Despite their diminutive size they appeared healthy, eating and sleeping well. The doctor who delivered them devoted much of his time and attention to their preservation, ordering them to be wrapped in flannels blankets, placed in a sturdy wooden box, and kept close to the stove, with the temperature at 100 degrees. Eventually the temperature has been lowered to about 75 degrees, and the twins seemed to be growing strong. When they were born, the clothing that had been made was far too large, so the enterprising nurse borrowed a doll’s clothes from a neighbor and used them as patterns for appropriately sized garments. With hope that their future had been secured, the boy was named Edison Leslie and the girl Effie Idelia. But they didn’t survive; Effie died in a few weeks and Edison expired a month later.<sup>11</sup> It was a sad scene that was repeated all too often in Lynn and everywhere else. But the new century brought a new weapon to defeat death by prematurity – the incubator – chicken farmers could tell you all about them.

In April 1902, Mrs. Jennie Rolland of 5 Witt Street delivered her second child, but it arrived “many days before the time allotted by the Creator”; the little human was not even three pounds at birth. The attending physician, George F. Woodill, and his able assistant, Miss Annie M. Smith, a nurse graduate of Lynn Hospital, observed that the newborn speck of humanity was as animated as any other newborn of normal size; Nurse Smith told the *Item* reporter, “All I can say is, she seems determined to live.” So they tried to act quickly by telephoning for one of the new infant incubator inventions from Boston, but none being available, the doctor was happy to accept as a substitute a chicken egg incubator offered by Frederick Usher of 59 Commercial Street, a few blocks away. Unlike the Russell Triplets and other infant curiosities that had preceded the Rolland’s tiny baby,

safety and survival precluded her becoming a for-pay spectacle, “It is perhaps needless to say that the child is not on public exhibition and strangers calling at present for that purpose will go away disappointed.” Despite the valiant efforts of the doctor and nurse with their makeshift infant incubator, baby Alice, as she was briefly called, lived only twelve days.<sup>12</sup> In May 1901, Elfrieda Gertrude Laurian, another incubator baby, emerged at two pounds, seven ounces, survived her premature birth, and overcame measles the following spring while her family lived on Floyd Avenue in the Wyoma area, but she succumbed to gastroenteritis the following September at one year, three months, and twenty-two days. Her life was barely longer than her name, but it was proof that survival of premature birth by use of an incubator was possible, and the local newspaper called it “a very striking illustration of what modern science and skill are able to do for humanity.”<sup>13</sup>

For the first waves of thrill-seekers attending Revere’s newly opened Wonderland in 1906, the Infant Incubators building was an unexpected oasis from the camels and belly dancers, the noise of passing caravans of crowds, and the hawking of hustlers. Entering the amusement park’s quiet sanctuary, revelers turned into reverent guests and curious gawkers, just as their grandparents had been when viewing the Russell Triplets and other exceptions to nature a generation earlier. In front of the spectators were glass and metal incubators lining the walls, protected with iron railings that kept the audience at a distance. Nurses and a physician or two carefully and delicately administered to the tiniest needs of their premature patients, who were swaddled in blankets and protected in an artificially embryonic environment of circulating air, warmth, and perhaps most important of all, a barrier from the airborne germs of the gawking visitors who were just a pane of glass away from the struggling infants. A publicity photo showed a few of the park’s fortune tellers analyzing the abbreviated palm of one of the premature babies; while the diminutive customer’s lifeline was decidedly small, it was apparently longer than it appeared – the incubator babies all over the nation were doing far better than premature infants had done in any other environment.<sup>14</sup> The incubators and the medical attendants had an admirable success rate, and from Coney Island to Wonderland, premature babies had a better chance of survival at an amusement park than at a hospital.

When Gloria Soucie was born in the family home at 33 Amity Street, Lynn, on 3 July 1907, she weighed only one and a half pounds, which instantly qualified her as a guest at Wonderland’s infant incubator hotel the next day. Gloria “thrived” in the incubator and steadily gained weight to



**Infant Incubator Showroom, Wonderland Amusement Park, Revere Beach, MA.**  
From a postcard dated 17 July 1906, shortly after the park opened to the public  
(Collection of the author).

six pounds, but when the beach resort was closed the baby was obliged to leave her Wonderland home and be returned to Amity Street in the middle of September, where she died in late October; it was thought the change in atmosphere had been too much for her.<sup>15</sup> She was 116 days at death – it was long for a baby born at just eighteen ounces, just not long enough.

The following spring, the McEwens of 2 Gertrude Street, Lynn, watched their baby, Elmira Eleanor, be brought to the Wonderland incubator hospital. She had been born at three and a half pounds, but four months later, at eight pounds, she was ready to come home for good. “The parents are enthusiastic of the splendid treatment of the little one during her stay at Wonderland.”<sup>16</sup> Elmira went on to live a full life that lasted just a few months short of eighty years, thanks in part to an incubator and medical staff at an amusement park. They gave a second chance to a life that had almost missed its first chance.



**MAKING SLIMY THINGS CRAWL AWAY.** Lynn’s religious leaders were taking their roles as moral shepherds very seriously and some were outspoken in their criticism about the sinful and socially dangerous choices that seemed to be multiplying in the new century. In 1913, Harry R. Hole, the pastor of Lynn’s Society of Friends, had seen too much to stay quiet any longer. For one of his Sunday sermons he used for his text Matthew 5:27-28, “Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery, but I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” In his sermon he railed against promiscuity everywhere he saw it: in the Chabas’ painting, “September Morn,” on the area beaches, in the latest women’s fashions, and the newest dances. In all of these, sexual desire was being provoked, “to the ordinary observer, the perfect picture of a ripe peach is one that ‘makes the mouth water’; to that end, the Chabas painting of a nude was not art, it was filth, designed to ignite “sexual desire in the healthy and normal, but unbridled male.” He also condemned the fashionable plunging necklines, the “indecent tight” hobble skirt, and slits in skirts that were allowing flashes of undergarments and stocking ends to be seen.<sup>17</sup> A retreat to modesty was the only solution:

Probably the more innocent do not know that smart American styles are copies of the street badge of the prostitute in France. If the prevalence of this type of clothing continues to grow, those individuals who desire to be recognized as honorable may find it necessary to adopt a uniform modeled after the garb of the sister of charity, the Salvation Army lassie, or the Quakeress of the olden time.<sup>18</sup>

“I have seen sights at the bathing beaches,” the Quaker pastor continued, to which youth should not have to be exposed as they try to enjoy a day “of innocent recreation”; and there was no redemption for the new dances until they stopped the movements and touching that were “from the realms of sex.” Showing some concern that his sermon had been focused exclusively on the promiscuity of women, he explained that men shared in the blame: “The lowering of the womanly standard is always because the men will have it so. For the support of every common prostitute there must be from five to eight men involved.”<sup>19</sup> At least.

Despite providing a comprehensive account of the pastor’s address on the provocative nature of society, the *Daily Evening Item* intentionally broke the transcript of his talk at the middle of his sentences, to draw out parts of his message into salacious subheadings: “Carnality of Women’s Dress,” “The Indecent Tight Skirts,” “From the Realm of Sex,” and “Picture of Six Denver Girls.”

Pastor Hole ended his talk with a recommendation that candidates for marriage be required to give at least a month’s advance notice of their intention to marry so that there would be time to “be carefully and fully instructed in their upcoming marriage relationship” by their religious leader who would provide the “Light” (apparently a gospel-inspired instruction for marriage):

"The Light" will cure many disorders when once it is turned upon dark places. Sunshine is purifying, so is fresh air. Slimy things crawl away from them and hide in the dark. Let the light come soon and strong, that we may be saved! When scientific and moral and religious education have done their good and perfect work, then no longer will mental adultery prevail.<sup>20</sup>



**BREEDING PERFECT PARISHIONERS.** In that same year, Reverend C. Thurston Chase, pastor of Lynn's Central Congregational Church, had similar thoughts as Pastor Hole, that engaged couples needed to be prepared and purified before their marriage, but the purification Reverend Chase wanted to ensure was physical, not spiritual. It was, in fact, eugenic – bringing no "transmissible diseases" to the marriage, so that the married couple's progeny would be the best of the human race, perpetuating intelligence and skills rather than frailties and evil proclivities. It was a spin on Darwin's "survival of the fittest" theme, through pure breeding. To Reverend Chase, it was proven science: "I suppose the time was when people refused to breed horses, hens, dogs and cats, but it is done now with scientific care. Why should we neglect the children[?]"<sup>21</sup>

... Cannot it be understood even by laymen that eugenics represents something scientific, as in producing acceptable flower varieties in plants, wonderful horses, beautiful cats and useful dogs? Why not be scientific with children? It is the science of making future generations well born and providing for them a clean heredity. It now costs \$100,000,000 annually to provide for paupers, blind, deaf and otherwise defective people of the land. ... The slogan is "no one is fit to be married who is unfit to be an ancestor. ... Must we put up with deaf mutes, color-blindness, myopia, epilepsy, imbecility, delinquency, insanity and blood diseases[?] ..."<sup>22</sup>

Reverend Chase cited an investigation by U.S. Surgeon General Rupert Blue of one drinking woman who had two daughters. "The result in five generations was 840 descendants out of which number... 167 were illegitimate, 64 in the almshouse, 162 were professional beggars, 164 were prostitutes, 17 were procurers [of prostitutes], 76 were in prison for terms aggregating 118 years and seven were condemned for murder."<sup>23</sup>

With eugenic convictions set deeply in his mind, Reverend Chase surprised Lynn in that summer of 1913 by announcing he would no longer perform marriages unless the prospective bride and groom both provided certificates from their physicians that they brought no transmissible diseases – essentially, no organic imperfections – to the marriage. On 26 June 1913, he performed the first eugenic marriage in Lynn (and as far as the *Item* could determine, it was the first in New England) because Edwin Perron and Catherine Wills each brought him permission certificates from their physicians. It was front-page news and expectations were high. Before the marriage was one month old, Mr. Perron told the Lynn police that the first eugenic marriage in Massachusetts "was a dismal failure. ... I do not say that eugenic marriages are a failure. It was a failure in my case, but eugenics are not supposed to be a guarantee of domestic happiness."<sup>24</sup> Clearly not.

The certificates provided by their physicians did not make a match in heaven. The new Mrs. Perron told the police "We began to have trouble the day after we were married. ... My husband threatened to shoot me and remarked that the pressure of gas was pretty strong in our suite, and that some night the valve might get left open. We had one row after another."<sup>25</sup>

Her estranged husband told a different story. When they were married, he was earning a weekly wage of \$15.50 at the General Electric plant in Lynn, supplying his new wife with enough food, ample clothing, and a nicely furnished apartment, but she went to work at another factory, earning \$7 - \$8 weekly. She was gone from home frequently and was seen on at least one occasion at a social event with another man. When her husband found a cigar butt in their apartment, he decided to hide behind a chair in the corner to find out what was going on. According to the account he told police, his wife came into the apartment with another man, who took off his coat and hat.

When he proceeded to take off his shoes, Mr. Perron sprang out from behind the chair and protested his presence, then tried to get him out of the apartment, but the stranger was much brawnier than the outraged 120-pound husband, so it was Perron who found himself in a choke hold, then punched and pushed out of the apartment and tossed down some stairs. "With his mouth bleeding from two bad cuts and his teeth loosened and bent back, Perron rushed into Lynn police headquarters at midnight and made a complaint against his assailant."<sup>26</sup>

Reverend Chase's first attempt at eugenic marriage had fallen far short of its goal, just as Reverend Hole's stand against lust hadn't caused a retreat to modest dress or artists to stop painting nudes. The theory of a purified, perfected species would be debated and fought over for years to come, but in the meantime, there were still plenty of impure, imperfect people needing clerical counseling and medical care.



**THE DOORS OF THE LYNN HOSPITAL** were having a hard time getting closed, so many were constantly coming through them. In 1913, three decades after the hospital's doors first opened to the public, the city's population had doubled but the number of hospital patients for the year was over thirteen times the volume of its first year (170 in 1883 vs. 2,272 in 1913; this number didn't even include all those who came to the outpatient clinic); the hospital had clearly been accepted by the general public as the medical sanctuary for the city's sick, injured, and pregnant.<sup>27</sup> Within a growing collection of buildings could be found trained doctors and nurses who provided attentive and dedicated medical care to everyone in need. Originally intended to be a charitable service for the poor, many from the middle class were entering through its doors as well. In 1904, Mrs. Pollie Bliss had her first baby at the hospital even though her husband, George S. Bliss, was a well-compensated electrical engineer at General Electric. The doctor's bill alone ended up being \$180 (\$5,234.39 in 2020 USD), which George paid in payments.<sup>28</sup> He made no comment in his journal about the cost; perhaps he was in shock. But at the hospital his wife had been cared for and operated upon by some of the most reputable and skilled physicians in the city.

On 31 January 1904, Carolus Cobb, Pollie Bliss's doctor, said it would be a boy and immediately the female members of their extended family went to work making baby clothes: four night gowns, a dress, a jacket, a pair of hose and a pair of socks one pining blanket, one shoulder blanket, one wrapper (two cut out), "& dides [diapers] galore (5 doz.)! finished."<sup>29</sup> Pollie worried because she believed she was having twins.<sup>30</sup> The baby's estimated due date was April 23<sup>rd</sup>, but was born on the 15<sup>th</sup>, and the predicted boy turned out to be a girl.<sup>31</sup> The baby slept in a basket in Pollie's room.<sup>32</sup>

Pollie was given ether for the birthing process but she was badly lacerated from the birth. The doctor said the baby's head had been in the wrong direction, and that the opening was small and a dry birth ensued with long initial pains. The doctor said even after removing the stitches ten days after the birth, there was still a tear 1½ inches long "between 2 openings" (the anus and vagina) that would have to be closed by an operation and if she had another child, it "would probably be bad."<sup>33</sup> If that wasn't enough, poor Pollie also suffered from piles.<sup>34</sup> George wrote, "Pollie was just as brave and patient as a saint – bless her."<sup>35</sup> The nurse helped her with breastfeeding the baby.<sup>36</sup>

Pollie had been admitted to the Lynn Hospital on 15 April, the day she gave birth, and was released 19 May. The baby (who was only identified at this point in George's journal as "bed-bug" or "bug" for short) was fed from a bottle part of the time because her mother's milk supply was not enough.<sup>37</sup> In less than a week, Pollie was taking a ride in the Lynn Woods with a friend and then went to the grocery store, where an acquaintance told her that "she was looking prettier every day and if going to the hospital would make one look so well he would go too!"<sup>38</sup> Hospitals were losing their stigma as places of last resort for the poor; for the Lynn Hospital at least, it had become a trusted medical center for the community.



**Patient Outpatients.** Real photo postcard, about 1908. Photo insert: Lynn Hospital Administration Building. Although it may simply be a case of kids being kids, it is interesting to note that at least two of the children are not wearing shoes. Also note that veterinary care was not provided; sorry, Scruffy. (Collection of the author.)



**Pride of the Maternity Department.** Real photo postcard, about 1908. Photo insert: Lynn Hospital Administration Building. The purpose of this view is to show the staff of the maternity department and the recent newborns in their care; it is not a display of quintuplets. (Collection of the author.)



**Young Patients and Their Nurses.** Real photo postcard, postmarked 1908. Photo insert: Lynn Hospital Administration Building. There was no children's ward at the hospital when this picture was taken, so children had to be placed in the general adult wards, which "caused considerable annoyance" to the adults and was considered detrimental to the children as well. A children's ward was finally added to the hospital in 1915. (Collection of the author.)



**Lynn Hospital Day Pin and Ribbon, both about 1906.**  
Probably sold or distributed on a donation basis for the annual hospital fund drive. (Both collection of the author.)



In 1901 the hospital's reliance on the police multi-purpose accident victim, officer, and prisoner transport wagon was finally replaced by an ambulance exclusively for hospital use. The fine new medical ambulance was black with gold stripes and plate glass windows on the sides bearing the red cross "that tells the errands of mercy on which the ambulance is to run." The two lamps on the front of the vehicle also had the red cross. Under the driver seat was a drawer with medicines, medical instruments, bandages, and other medical gear and rubber-covered wheels provided the smoothest ride available. Silken curtains covered the windows inside and the back of the vehicle, "providing the privacy so sadly lacking in the police ambulance in present use," and the word "Ambulance" appeared in large letters over the front of the new transport.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the successful Lynn Hospital, a consortium of sixteen Lynn physicians (only half of which were members of the Massachusetts Medical Society) worked together in 1901 to create an additional hospital within the city limits called the Union Hospital and, unlike the Lynn Hospital, it would allow the patients "to have the physician of his choice of whatever legitimate school he may be." They purchased the magnificent mansion home of the former Philip Tapley, one of Lynn's most successful shoe manufacturers of his time. The stately residence on Lynnfield Street in the northern part of Lynn was known as "Linwood"; every one of its twenty-plus rooms had exotic doors and window frames of elaborately carved exotic woods, and many had marble fireplaces and fancy mirrors. On the second floor, a large billiard room with a view of Lynn Harbor in the distance was converted into the operating room. The grounds were covered with beautiful trees, "many of them rare species." Some of the rooms were ideally suited to be private rooms for paying patients. The spacious home was completely remodeled, "from the top of the tower to the foundation .... The rich furnishings of the interior of the house ... being rubbed up and polished to a beautiful brilliancy," with a starting goal of housing forty to sixty patients.<sup>40</sup> While there were provisions and promises for the care of charity cases, it was designed with paying, private patients in mind.

In 1912 a tuberculosis sanatorium was added on the grounds of Lynn's contagious disease complex on Holyoke Street. In the eighteenth century, tuberculosis had been called the white plague because of the sufferer's skin pallor; then in the nineteenth century it was called consumption because of the victim's emaciation. By any name, it had a powerful impact on Lynn's history and inhabitants and was the city's leading killer in the nineteenth century. Tuberculosis sanatoriums were getting established all over the country in the early twentieth century, but those who could not afford the health luxury of going off to such a facility for many months needed a local option, and thus, the Lynn Sanitorium came to be.

There was a vacant, cobweb-filled building sitting on the Holyoke Street property for eight years. It was the Children's Home orphanage that had been nearby the Lynn City Home; in 1903 it was made vacant and unneeded when the children were rerouted to a state agency. The Children's Home was relocated to Holyoke Street with the intention of being used as a hospital for convalescent patients, but it languished unoccupied until renovations began for the new sanatorium in 1911.<sup>41</sup>

The displaced children from the Children's Home wouldn't have recognized their old orphanage when the renovations were done. The spiffy new "Lynn Tuberculosis Sanatorium," suitable for about 60 patients, was encased by a glass solarium on the first and second floor, surrounding the three sides that faced the sun: east, south, and west. The *Item* made the observation that the large window-lined verandas made the building look from a distance like a florist's hothouse – an apt description for a building designed to help lives bloom rather than wither. Grand, sprawling sanatoriums were most often found up in the mountains, where patients could benefit from the cool and fresh air and absorbing powers of the sun's rays. Lynn's tuberculosis sanatorium had no lofty elevation or bracing mountain air, but with all those glass windows they felt sure that the patients would benefit from the solarium. Reclining lounge chairs and iron cot beds painted white could be positioned to best advantage as the patient basked in the rays of the life-sustaining

fireball in the sky and the windows could be angled open to allow fresh air inside.<sup>42</sup> A “White Plague Exposition” was run in Lynn in 1912 to help support afflicted Lynn neighbors fight the deadly killer. The week-long exposition had forty-six vine and flower-covered pergola booths with all sorts of souvenirs and entertainments, like a glass-blowing demonstration, an automatic picture machine, and a display of the newest automobiles; seeing their own bones with the x-ray apparatus was also a big attraction.<sup>43</sup>

A tuberculosis social worker supported sufferers in Lynn outside of the sanitorium; in 1914, 3,000 sputum cups were distributed to 337 patients who were busy coughing up the infection from their lungs, ever hopeful of a recovery.<sup>44</sup> In 1915, 4,000 more sputum cups were distributed.<sup>45</sup>



**VACCINATIONS AND QUARANTINES** continued to slow down the contagious disease infection and mortality rates in Lynn, but new or less frequently appearing strains of contagious diseases emerged, vexing doctors and patients alike. Instances of infantile paralysis (formally poliomyelitis and more commonly, polio) had appeared since ancient times, but Lynn’s history had virtually no instances of the disease recorded until the mid-1910s; however, some of the mentions of paralysis may have been the result of what was later recognized as polio. In 1910 the *Boston Evening Transcript* reported the disease had been somewhat rare, but within the last ten years it was appearing with increasing frequency. An outbreak in greater New York in 1907 had produced three to four thousand cases.<sup>46</sup> Lynn’s *Daily Evening Item* had noted in 1911 that nearby Woburn had worked itself into a frenzy when multiple cases of polio appeared in the town, “... The playgrounds remained closed, no gatherings of children are permitted, and all persons under 15 years of age are excluded from the moving picture shows.”<sup>47</sup>



**Sputum Cup and Sputum Flask.** Left: A low-cost spring-loaded tin sputum cup likely similar to the type mass-distributed by Lynn to its afflicted residents. Right: sputum flask (flat on two sides), designed for use by people still circulating in business and public settings; they could be stored discretely in a pocket and when needing to cough up some pulmonary congestion, the large silver cap would be opened to cough into the flask, which was more sanitary and less messy than spitting into a handkerchief or on floors. The small-capped end was used for draining and rinsing the bottle. (Both early 20<sup>th</sup> century; in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History.)

Like typhoid, ingestion of fecal contamination was the source of the problem, but in 1912 authorities at Harvard University and Harvard’s medical school, in collaboration with the Massachusetts State Board of Health, announced they had discovered the virus of infantile paralysis (poliomyelitis) was distributed by the common stable fly much like certain mosquitoes had been discovered to carry the virus of malaria and yellow fever, and in 1913 officials in nearby Wakefield claimed that children were known to have contracted polio by handling stray kittens.<sup>48</sup>

From June to November 1916, poliomyelitis had taken on epidemic proportions in the U.S.: there were over 27,000 cases and 6,000 deaths; the urban giant, New York City, had accounted for about a third of the nation's deaths. Lynn had its own grim news to tell, although on a much smaller scale. The first mortal case was Clyde Phillips, a young black teamster, just 19 years of age, who died at the quarantined home of his uncle on 104 Blossom Street. He was taken ill on Saturday and was dead by Tuesday.<sup>49</sup> Four-year-old Mary Ditto, an Italian girl, was taken ill on August 31<sup>st</sup> and doctors had already prognosed the following day that she would not survive.<sup>50</sup>

Fear of the contagion that attacked especially the young had stirred up some of Lynn's residents. As a precaution against the spreading of infantile paralysis in Lynn, the board of health took a page out of Woburn's script, requesting all theater managers to prohibit children under 16 from attending their establishments until the epidemic "has passed over. Lynn has but four cases of the disease."<sup>51</sup>

At the end of the year, the annual report of the Lynn Board of Health was written in defense of how its professional prudence and restraint had been the best path for the city, medically and financially, to get through the epidemic:

The unusual epidemic of poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) that swept the country during the summer months, and *the consequent hysteria attending, taxed the department's resources to the limit*; not because of the unusual number of cases in the city, but because of hysterical demands, of various individuals and communities, that the department do unusual things and adopt unnecessary and drastic measures. The department feels that the results prove its course to have been the proper one. That all necessary precautions were taken is evidenced by the results obtained, and the city was saved the expenditure of enormous sums *expended by other communities through the adoption of various fads and fancies of quarantine precautions*, examinations and various other unnecessary measures.<sup>52</sup>



**AN ILL WIND BLOWS.** As 19-year-old Charles Heywood Green sat in a crowded revival meeting at Lynn's St. Paul's Methodist Church in February 1909, trying to listen to a preacher talk about "Home & Heaven," a woman sat next to him in the pew. He was instantly suspicious that she was infected with the contagious white plague; perhaps it was her pale complexion that revealed her condition, or maybe she coughed disturbingly into her handkerchief, or even spat into a sputum flask that she tried to hide in her gloved hand. With a survival reflex that had become second nature, Charles did what might be expected from a teenage boy: he looked at her and scowled a menacing, disgusted look to let her know he didn't want her near him. He wrote in his journal, "Woman with consumption sat next to me. I scouled & finally she left."<sup>53</sup> (Patience and compassion were not his strong suits, as his pet turtle discovered: in September, two days after the turtle was given to him, he wrote, "Scalded the turtle. Will use his shell for watch fob."<sup>54</sup>) Since the 1890s, when disease-laden bacteria was understood to be carried in the air and even by some of the insects that flew through the air, there was increased vigilance and public outcry for measures to protect their health from the ill wind that blew. In May 1905 meat dealers were criticized by Edwin W. Ingalls of the *Lynn Review* for carrying their meats in open wagons during the previous month when "the dust storms were the most lively" and the uncovered meat wagons invited disease. "If it is not a state law it should be a criminal offence to have meat transported in open wagons," the author insisted, because it contributed "very much toward spreading disease." The article was a call to action: if the board of health didn't have the authority to require having meat protected while in transport, the *Review* demanded that it should be given to them. Ingalls then opened the window to show his readers that the ill winds were blowing on other groceries as well:

We noticed a confectionary store where cakes were displayed in the open window, flooded with dust, and the children patrons were eagerly buying the dust covered



**Brothers Forever.** Cabinet card photograph taken 22 January 1911. Left: Roger Shaw Brown, 1 year, 22 days; right: Albert Weston Brown, 4 years, 4 months, 14 days. Albert's leg brace and short leg may indicate he suffered from poliomyelitis, but when he died two and a half years later, on 24 July 1913 at 6 years, 10 months, 16 days, the cause of death was listed as sarcoma (cancer) of the right kidney. Although contagious from up to ten days before onset of the disease to as long as six weeks after, a case of polio did not always result in an epidemic. (Collection of the author.)

goods, and people wonder concerning the spread of cerebro-spinal meningitis and similar diseases! The health authorities should wake up to the importance of more stringent regulations in the handling of food. The wonder is that there is not more disease in the community [with conditions like this].<sup>55</sup>

The new century ushered in an age where control and regulation replaced laissez-faire oversight, and as long as the city budget could fund it, changes were being made to improve and protect the public health moreso than at any previous time in the city's history. Among the several new and modified health regulations for 1907, the board of health imposed a certification process to ensure the safe manufacture, transport, and sale of ice cream.<sup>56</sup> In 1910 the board passed another regulation that protected dates, figs, salted peanuts and cracked nuts of any kind, corn cakes, candy, and maple sugar from being exposed for sale "in any street, or public place, or outside of any shop or store, or in the open windows or doorways thereof, unless they be kept covered so that they shall be protected from infection and injury by dust, dirt, and flies." An existing regulation was also amended to similarly require that fruit, confectionery, or any other item not requiring cooking before consumption must "be covered and protected by glass or other material to prevent the deposit thereon of dusty particles and noxious germs carried by the atmosphere."<sup>57</sup> Edwin Ingalls must have been pleased.



**IN FLEW ENZA.** Something in the air in 1918 was far more dangerous than dust on the baker's cakes and cookies. During that year, children were immersed in grown-up problems of a world that was embroiled in a massive conflict involving tanks, airplanes, and gas warfare, and at the same time was being devastated by the influenza. Children adopted the strange-sounding word as the subject of their innocent, lilting rhyme to help them jump rope:

I had a little bird,  
Its name was Enza;  
I opened the window  
And in flew Enza.

But there was nothing entertaining about the international killer or the other horrors that had been unleashed upon their world. Lynn dutifully sent many hundreds of young men to fight in the Great War, and other men and women – teachers, nurses, doctors and more – in support roles needed by the troops. In September 1918, although the war had been dragging on for four years, 12,149 Lynn men between ages 18 to 45 registered for war service, responding to President Wilson's call for more men to fight, and the *Item* noted proudly, "the ready response ... speaks well for the loyal spirit of the people of Lynn."<sup>58</sup> In that same month, ten nurses from Lynn's Union Hospital responded to "Uncle Sam's call for nurses to care for the sick and wounded soldiers" in far-away battlefields and the hospital was able to fly a service flag with ten stars, commemorating their valiant service.<sup>59</sup>

Wives and mothers who remained on the homefront were still urged to do their part for the war effort by saving paper, peach pits, walnut shells and conserve on their use of sugar. These simple acts, they were told repeatedly, could "defeat the Hun" and help win the war. "Save paper! Use as little of it as possible and save the waste whenever practical. ... To burn papers, rags or wood today is *treason*." By reusing bags instead of getting new ones with every purchase, the nation's paper, coal and chemical supplies could be saved for more important things, like making ammunition.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, saving 200 peach pits or seven pounds of nut shells would supply the carbon used as filter for a gas mask: "The greater the absorption of German-made poison gases, the less danger to the American soldier who encounters them"; and using less sugar meant mothers were allowing ships to be used to transport troops instead of importing the sweetener: "Eliminate sugar as a luxury, and you release many ships for war purposes."<sup>61</sup>



**Promising Cures from 1900-1929.** Life was being threatened on multiple fronts. During World War I, the skies turned red with cannon and gun fire while the earth became red with spilled blood. In 1918 the Great War overlapped with the Great Influenza (also called the Spanish Flu, the German Flu, etc.) pandemic, which brought far more death.

There was no slowdown of medicine making in Lynn, but government regulation was starting to shut down unproven health promises and required alcohol and narcotic ingredients to be prominently listed. Note, for example, the reduction of claims for *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*: "RECOMMENDED AS A VEGETABLE / TONIC FOR CONDITIONS FOR WHICH / THIS PREPARATION IS ADAPTED"). All of the tall bottles for *Liberty Compound*, *Pinkham*, and *Var-ne-sis* dutifully stated the presence and percent of alcohol . (All collection of the author.)

Shoemaker Everett H. Dunbar made foot health a matter of patriotism, just like others tried to make peach pits and sugar matters of national pride:

I'm just enough of a crank about shoes ... to declare that some of the styles in footwear that we have indulged in the last 10 or 15 years have fitted right into German propaganda. ... they helped to lower American standards of health and efficiency. ...

People should walk more and would walk more if they wore good shoes. And if they walked more they wouldn't be scared of the Spanish influenza, nor any other new fangled disease, because a fellow who walks a lot gets lungs as strong as a horse. He gets in a good health and good health is a foe to disease, and to the kaiser, too. Put on good shoes, and take long walks in the ozonated air along Lynn beach, if you would ward off Spanish influenza, indigestion, cold feet, or any other affliction to which mortal flesh is heir.<sup>62</sup>

An impressive woman in military uniform, saluting in a Lydia E. Pinkham advertisement told the women of America that none of them could afford to do their part for the nation, without first taking the vegetable compound, "ATTENTION! / Sick Women / To do your duty during these trying times your health should be your first consideration."<sup>63</sup> In 1918 the Pinkham company also distributed millions of copies of its *War-Time Cook and Health Book*, with a cover scene (framed in a border of stars and stripes) of a woman cooking in her kitchen as men marched to war outside.<sup>64</sup> Everyone could do their part to win the war.

As much as Americans back home were told they could help win the war, they couldn't stop their soldiering family members from becoming casualties. Lynn's newspapers dutifully reported the bad news of every injury, death, capture, and those missing in action. William A. Conley, the father of eight children, had been wounded in France.<sup>65</sup> William E. Kelly, a former G.E. worker, became the first aviator from Lynn to die in service to his country, drowning when his plane went down in the ocean off the coast of Ireland.<sup>66</sup> A. Baribeau had become a prisoner of war and Walter Edward McLaughlin of the 59<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry was gassed during an August 1918 battle in France, despite the plucky efforts of people back home to save their fruit pits and nut shells.<sup>67</sup>

Amid all the war's terrors, an influenza bug arrived uninvited and largely unnoticed, but it spread with a fury that made some in Washington wonder if it was biological warfare insidiously perpetrated by the Germans,

The strong possibility that German submarines brought to this country and spread the germs that have caused epidemics of Spanish influenza was admitted tonight by Lieut Col Phillip S. Doane, chief of Health and Sanitation of the Shipping Board. ... Col. Doane said:

"It is quite possible that the epidemic was started by Huns sent ashore by German submarine commanders. ... It would be quite easy for one of these German agents to turn loose Spanish influenza germs in a theatre or other public place where large numbers of persons are assembled. The Germans have started epidemics in Europe, and there is no reason why they should be particularly gentle to America. ..."<sup>68</sup>

Influenza, also known as the flu and the gripe, had shown up in Lynn throughout its history, but only occasionally had it been widespread enough in the city's population to be regarded as an epidemic, like in 1891. When it first hit Lynn in the spring of 1918, there were few deaths resulting, so it was regarded as more of a nuisance than a threat to life – miserable and debilitating, to be sure, but rarely lethal. Then it came back in late summer, angry and dangerous. By the first of October, officials at the General Electric Company said 2,600 employees of the Lynn plant were affected by the epidemic and it might become necessary to suspend operations in some of the buildings.<sup>69</sup>

It hit hard and fast and spread like wildfire. Its victims were atypical targets for an epidemic: they were most often healthy young adults, from twenty to forty years old – the cream of the human crop. The disease hit suddenly and forcefully, with chills then fevers as high as 103 degrees

Fahrenheit, reddening or mahogany-colored spots on the cheekbones, blue-tinged ears and lips, or cyanotic bluing of the skin all over the face, sometimes accompanied by nosebleeds, reddening eyes, achiness all over the body, and general weakness.<sup>70</sup> Worst of all was the pulmonary edema: the lungs filled with a bloody fluid that sometimes brought on pneumonia and often caused death. Soldiers, factory workers, mothers, and children suddenly came down with the disease while simply walking down the street, doing their daily duties, or some other innocuous activity; within days, and sometimes just hours, they were dead.

Lynn in 1918 was a perfect breeding ground for contagious disease: much of the almost 100,000 population lived together in tenements and boarding houses, worked in factories, crowded into schools, churches, movie theaters, and fraternal meetings in large numbers, and packed together in trains and electric street cars. If German submarine commanders wanted an ideal target to start an epidemic, it could easily have been Lynn. There is no evidence that germ warfare was being used, but unfortunately, the germs found Lynn anyway.

On 16 September 1918, there were about 600 cases of influenza in Lynn; by the 22<sup>nd</sup> the count had risen to 3,000, then two days later, there were 10,000 people in Lynn infected with influenza – more than ten percent of the city’s population – with tragedy in every life lost. There was 14-year-old Raymond Thompson of 21 Chestnut Avenue, who contracted influenza probably while working as an usher at the often-crowded Strand Theater. His pay had been supporting his mother while his two older brothers were with the fighting forces in France and his sister and baby niece were both ill.<sup>71</sup> Mervin L. Griswold had miraculously survived battle wounds three times while fighting in Europe for which he earned a medal for bravery and an honorable discharge. Coming back across the Atlantic, his ship was torpedoed. He was rescued from the briny deep after several hours, was brought to an American port, and made his way back to his home on 9 Connolly Terrace, where he contracted influenza, then pneumonia, then died in a few days.<sup>72</sup> Lynn had more than its share of loss from the influenza epidemic of 1918. On September 25<sup>th</sup>, influenza took 49 lives in Massachusetts of which Lynn accounted for 20; On October 10<sup>th</sup> there were 169 deaths among the state’s 115 cities and towns outside of Boston and 50 of those were from Lynn.<sup>73</sup>

In the fall of 1918, Lynn was ill-prepared for such a powerful, dangerous, quickly escalating epidemic. The 20-25 available beds at each of the Lynn and Union hospitals were quickly filled and wholly inadequate for a city teeming with influenza cases; police were ordered to bring certain patients to the hospital, but there were no beds available at either institution. They were so crowded when there were just 3,000 cases in the city that a man who was taken ill at a local lodging house was obliged to go to a private house to be cared for by a nurse because the hospitals were filled up; two days later, there were 7,000 additional cases in the beleaguered city.<sup>74</sup> Private care in homes was not a last resort; it had always been regarded as the first choice, but the lack of skilled medical attendants meant that most of those languishing at home were being taken care of by well-meaning but unskilled family and friends, if anyone at all. One *Item* article summarized, “Pitiful cases are cited without number of those who are in need of medical attention and cannot get it.”<sup>75</sup> Michael R. Donovan, Lynn’s health commissioner, was particularly concerned about “terrible” conditions in West Lynn’s Polish district around River Street; in some of their tenements, whole families were ill and undertakers said the situation there was the worst in their experience.<sup>76</sup> On one block at 107 River Street, there were twenty-seven cases stricken with the malady, including a mother and three children (the entire family).<sup>77</sup> As bad as it was, some of the Polish patients refused to go to the hospitals for treatment.<sup>78</sup>

The war had also taken away a large number of Lynn’s physicians and nurses for medical and surgical services near the battlefield. The surgeon general had put out a call in June for 25,000 nurses and George Haywood, the Lynn Red Cross nursing services chairman, encouraged and sent many trained nurses to Europe, never dreaming that a worldwide pandemic was coming a few months later; he apologized, “the blame belongs on me for answering the call of the surgeon general for nurses for the army.”<sup>79</sup> Some trained nurses were recruited from out of town and

unskilled volunteers did what they could. Nuns from Lynn's St. Mary's and Sacred Heart parishes were among the volunteers willing to risk their lives to save others.<sup>80</sup> Anger and frustration also erupted among some who demanded a solution that didn't exist. City Councilor Frederick W. Ryan ranted at a council meeting that trained nurses feared contracting the influenza and were therefore not coming forward to reduce the epidemic conditions in Lynn; in an ill-tempered outburst directed at the allegedly nervous nurses, he declared, "They ought to be dead themselves."<sup>81</sup>

Claiming that trained nurses were fearful for their own safety was unfair and incorrect, but everyone was on edge. Examples of being afraid of infection had been noted among some of the volunteers, but the trained nurses had brought honor to themselves and their profession under conditions in many ways as difficult as their sisters were experiencing on the French front.<sup>82</sup> Nurses and physicians were often ill with the disease even as they administered to their sick patients.<sup>83</sup> One such hero was Miss Mary A. Spears, a 27-year-old student nurse at Lynn Hospital, who died September 30<sup>th</sup> of the influenza she had caught while caring for her patients.<sup>84</sup> On 27 September, twenty-two nurses and one house physician were sick with influenza.<sup>85</sup>

Volunteers at Lynn's Red Cross sewed several thousand face masks for the protection of doctors, nurses, and the public who were caring for influenza patients in the region. The masks were made of gauze material cut into three-inch by seven-inch rectangles that completely covered the mouth and nose when properly adjusted and tied at the back of the head. Over 1,500 masks were made specifically for use at Lynn's hospitals.<sup>86</sup> The U.S. Public Health Service promoted the use of face masks to the whole country, alerting everyone to the influenza's danger by comparing it to the mustard gas attacks the soldiers were exposed to in Europe. That message was then awkwardly juxtaposed with a heavy-handed warning to not get sick so that they could help the country to keep fighting. In short, be patriotic – don't spread the influenza:

**Coughs and Sneezes  
Spread Diseases  
As Dangerous as Poison Gas Shells  
SPREAD OF SPANISH INFLUENZA  
MENACES OUR WAR PRODUCTION**<sup>87</sup>

The doctors and nurses dutifully tied on masks to protect themselves from the epidemic's germs, but they still came down with influenza. Ambulance officers who drove the infected to the hospitals wore masks but instead of the tie-on gauzy masks, what they wore mimicked the military-grade masks used by the U.S. troops to fend off mustard gas attacks: "they donned regular firemen's smoke masks, fitted with a sponge saturated with a strong disinfectant."<sup>88</sup> They may have had the form of the soldier's gas masks in mind, but the function of their headgear was also reminiscent of that of medieval plague doctors. Members of the police department who were called upon to move patients had no masks, however, "and some are feeling a little uneasy for fear they will become victims."<sup>89</sup> They were right to worry – the epidemic caught them too. Patrolman James D. McAuliffe came down with influenza, so his brother William took care of him and when James died, William dug his grave; then William came down with influenza himself.<sup>90</sup>

The influenza pandemic in Lynn was clearly a crisis of sickness and death and in such times bureaucrats historically gave a wide berth to medical authorities to find a way out of the mess. This was the case in the fall of 1918. Health Commissioner Donovan advised Lynn's Mayor Walter H. Creamer and the mayor followed the doctor's orders. First was the critical need for more beds for influenza victims needing care and oversight in a hospital setting. The home at 18 Olive

Street was established on October 4th as a convalescent haven for infected children who had lost both parents to the disease.<sup>91</sup>

The need for adult beds was a much bigger problem. By September 20<sup>th</sup> both the Lynn Hospital and the Union Hospital had run out of beds and were excluding visitors; there were so many influenza patients at the Union Hospital they were forced to put them in cots set up in the corridors.<sup>92</sup> On September 24<sup>th</sup>, ten more influenza deaths were reported. About thirty school teachers and over 2,000 students were out sick with the flu.<sup>93</sup> Shoe factories and the GE plant were struggling to fill orders with so many employees out sick. The city was at its sickest with 10,000 infected and still rising – the health commissioner had to secure more beds immediately.<sup>94</sup>

Donovan thought he had another property lined up for additional bed space: the A. B. Martin estate on Lawton Avenue, which he calculated could hold as many as seventy-five beds. It was owned by Misses Alice and May Martin, heirs to the estate but living in Brookline. It was Donovan's understanding that they placed the mansion at the disposal of the Red Cross, so he assumed this meant it could be used for emergency purposes, but the two ladies refused to turn over the house for an influenza hospital, (probably out of concern about the contagious nature of the disease). But the city was bursting at the seams with a health crisis: thousands of infected people and no place to put even the most desperate cases. There was simply no time to waste. So Donovan enlisted the help of the assistant city solicitor about the legality of seizing the estate for that purpose. With the solicitor's assurance, Donovan secured a warrant for the seizure from the Central District Court judge and it was granted.<sup>95</sup> A few trained nurses and several volunteers staffed the new facility and the Martin estate officially became an emergency hospital, all because of the determination and negotiation skills of Health Commissioner Donovan.

The mayor was also feeling a lot of pressure about closing the schools and churches and was inclined to do so. Other mayors were also closing movie theaters and places of amusement because they drew crowds. Movie fans thronged Lynn's Park Theatre for the silent movie, *To Hell with the Kaiser*, all week long, and the Strand (where Raymond Thompson had ushered until he came down with a lethal case of influenza) featured the popular Mary Pickford, "America's Sweetheart," in the movie *Johanna Enlists*; the tease copy read that Pickford's character, "... prays for a real 'Beau' and gets 2000 of them when a regiment of soldier boys camp on her father's farm. She makes love to all of them in her latest Artcraft Picture, and then MARRIES THE CAPTAIN!"<sup>96</sup> Mayor Creamer appeared ready to shut down all crowd venues, but on the 24<sup>th</sup> of September, Donovan told him no, closing them was the wrong move. He believed "the children would be better off in school" where they could be kept under observation, "in order that disease may be detected early and the proper treatment given," plus he suspected that if the kids didn't go to school they would be in greater danger, spending their time at the crowded movie theaters.<sup>97</sup> Instead, he told the mayor Lynn's schools should remain open and that those students showing any signs of a head cold or complaining of headaches or chilliness should be sent home immediately with instructions to their parents to put them to bed and send for a physician. He further instructed that children having the disease remain away from school at least five days after it first appeared. Thus, Lynn's schools, churches, and theaters remained open "upon advice of Dr. Donovan, health commissioner."<sup>98</sup>

The *Daily Evening Item* was solidly behind the city's health commissioner, convinced that his decisions in the face of the epidemic were correct. In light of the thousands of infected Lynners, absent students, depleted factories, physician and nurse shortages, lack of beds, and daily death counts, it's amazing how calm and trusting the newspaper was in Donovan's dogged determination to keep Lynn open:

Despite the fact that considerable concern has been evidenced in the spread of Spanish Influenza, the health officials have not found it necessary to take drastic action in the closing of schools and places of amusement, feeling that the situation in Lynn is not of such serious proportions as to warrant this move.

Lynn has always been a healthy place in which to reside, and were it not for the practical methods employed by the Health Department in keeping conditions at a high standard of sanitary efficiency, *it is not at all improbable that Lynn would today be afflicted with one of the worst epidemics in the history of the city.* ...

There is every reason to believe that had not the city been favored with such an exemplary [health] department, headed by Dr. M. R. Donovan, who has brought his wide and intelligent professional experience into play as health commissioner, Lynn today would be closed up tight, with schools inactive, amusement places lying dormant and a paralysis of business generally.<sup>99</sup>

Despite the *Item's* veneration of and confidence in the city's health commissioner, Lynn was, indeed, engaged in one of the worst epidemics in its history. Two days later, on Thursday, 26 September, the news of the influenza's spread continued to be more grim, so Health Commissioner Donovan revised his recommendation to the mayor and the newspaper announced, "The health board today ordered the schools and theatres closed until Monday and a meeting of the ministers was called for tonight to consider omitting Sunday services at the churches."<sup>100</sup> So the doctor ordered, so was it done.

On Monday, 30 September, new infections and deaths had taken a turn for the better, but "on advice of Mr. Donovan, Mayor Creamer ordered the schools and theatres to remain closed until Monday, Oct. 7."<sup>101</sup> Before the end of the week, churches were added to the list of closures, "by the order of doctors on the board."<sup>102</sup> Placing their good citizenship before their doctrinal disbelief in illness, the Christian Scientists announced they wouldn't be having a meeting on Wednesday evening, "because of the prevalence of influenza."<sup>103</sup> The closures seemed to be helping the downward curve of influenza incidents, so Donovan pressed for more. On 5 October the newspaper announced, "The Lynn health commissioner this noon closed up all billiard and poolrooms, coffee houses and soda fountains, till further orders."<sup>104</sup> He also warned the populace against the use of "grip cures" that had peppered the newspapers during the epidemic.<sup>105</sup> He may have had Ackerman's Drug Store on Union Street in mind; a few days before his warning the drug store had listed "Spanish Influenza Preventives" like *Listerine*, *Shaw's Cold Tablets*, and aspirin. National brands also promised Lynn readers solutions for influenza, including *Father John's Medicine*, which promised to build up a body's strength to prevent influenza infection, *Dr. J. F. True's Elixir*, for removing poisonous impurities that accumulated in sluggish bowels that would otherwise welcome influenza, and even *Horlick's Malted Milk* because they said it helped, somehow.<sup>106</sup>

By the end of October, the influenza scare had passed and schools, theaters, churches, businesses, and the libraries had all reopened. The Martin estate emergency hospital closed about a month after it had opened.<sup>107</sup> A third wave of the epidemic hit in late December and it was estimated that there were only about 1,200 to 1,500 cases in the city and the death rate was very low, so Health Commissioner Donovan saw no reason for taking any measures other than to warn people to stay away from the houses containing infected individuals.<sup>108</sup> When the influenza had finally run its course, Lynn had endured at least 24,000 cases, and probably more, in that one fateful year, 1918.<sup>109</sup> Lynn had lost 465 people to the disease in that year; in 1919 influenza deaths dropped down to 95, then to 61 in 1920.<sup>110</sup>



**A NEW CROP OF MEDICINE MAKERS** continued to appear over the first three decades of the new century, but the industry was changing, at least in Lynn. The marketing brashness of the start-up enterprises was often more tame than that of their Victorian predecessors and startling promises of cures were being replaced with simple assurances of comfort, relief of inflammation, and lessening of pain. Even the problems addressed by the medicines were becoming more banal; most twentieth century medicine makers weren't taking on tuberculosis or polio but had lowered

their sites to things like chronic rheumatism, inflamed hemorrhoids, and yellowed teeth. Nonetheless, individuals and small companies in Lynn kept presenting new products for non-terminal, common health issues from the top of the head to the bottoms of the feet:<sup>111</sup>

- **Toiletries for Hair, Skin, and Teeth:** A few companies put together complete lines of toiletries for the hair, skin, and teeth, which included *VENUSA* (1917), *Citlin* (1920), and the Grace Eleanor Brain Co. (1924), whose extensive product line included a fat reducer and a beauty clay. In 1900 Mrs. E. V. Frelich gave her hair tonic a distinctly modern name: *The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scalp Healer and Vegetable Hair Restorer*. In 1886, 28-year-old John Poole had Frelich's name listed in the back of his journal when she was known as a metaphysician. He had carefully noted her address and the days and hours she could be visited; fourteen years later, at 42 years old, he may have become ready for her hair restorer product, much to his dismay.<sup>112</sup>
- **Congestion:** *Must-a-rub* (1920) was rubbed on the chest to treat colds, congestion, rheumatism, asthma, headache, and more; *Sprayoline* (1919); *Asma Relief* (1923), and *Dr. Dam's Remedy* (1924) were medicines for bronchial congestion; and *Dr. Churchill's Emulsified Gum Syrup* (1927) was an internal preparation also for colds and pulmonary troubles.
- **Tonics:** Tonic medicines (under legal pressure this became the more acceptable, non-specific term for blood purifiers) included *Lax-Pre-Par-E-Ton* (1916). *Mossea* (1919); *Vita-Life* (1923). *Liberty Compound for Men* and *Liberty Compound for Women* (both 1929) were tonics apparently specially formulated for the different health-building needs of the two sexes.
- **Soreness:** *Malldunn Anti-Sor-Nes Oil* (1918) and *Waitt's Indian Remedy Salve* (1925) were among the liniment products offered by Lynn manufacturers.
- **Indigestion:** was quelled with *San Cap* (1915), which was marketed with the unsettling motto, "Eat A Peck of Dirt." The Grace Eleanor Brain Co. (1924) also had a product for upset stomachs.
- **Constipation:** Relief was promised by *Bubier's Laxative Salz* (1900), *BOST* (1909), and a laxative product made by the Grace Eleanor Brain Co. (1924).
- **Piles:** The pain of piles (hemorrhoids) was lessened with *Kankas* (1913); *Victor* (1913); *Dombal* (1914); *Herbine* (1918); and *Cotec* (1919).
- **Foot Ailments:** *Crow Corn Corer* (1913) was a remedy for corns and *Sansodor* (1918) was a foot powder. Additionally, the Shoe City had at least three companies producing foot arch supports: the George G. London Manufacturing Company (1906) that used before-and-after x-ray images to show how their instep support or arch prop benefited the foot; and *Lynco* (1913). All of these foot care companies and products were walking in the footsteps long since trod by Edward Henry Dunbar, Lynn's trailblazer for corrective footwear.

While many of these products may have been prepared for sale with little less than profit in mind, the story of Everett H. Dunbar is an excellent reminder that there was also sincere thought and effort that went into some of them. Though just a boy, Dunbar had apprenticed to learn the shoemaking trade and by the time he was sixteen he was able to make an entire shoe entirely by hand. He set up his own shop in Lynn at 17 years old and made shoes to the customers' specifications, even though the ten-footer shops were being abandoned as factories and machinery began producing standard shoes, faster. Dunbar's success in making custom-made shoes has been attributed to his drive to learn all he could about his real customer – the human foot: "He studied the structure of the foot and no student of medicine or surgery more completely mastered its anatomy. From this intimate knowledge of foot structure he evolved shoes better to support the

arch, shoes to retain the natural shape of the foot, in short, shoes built on scientific principles.”<sup>113</sup> He had taken upon himself the moniker of “Footologist,” a term used back at least as far as the 1830s, then falling into disuse until Dunbar’s use of it was considered “a new and original expression. … Footology is, briefly, the cure of the ills of the human feet.”<sup>114</sup>

He had built up a large custom-made shoe business, and “those suffering from foot deformities, fallen arches, and various forms of foot trouble came to him for foot wear. This led him to still deeper study of the structure of the human foot and to an effort to find the cause of so much foot trouble.” He despised high heels and shoes with pointed toes and blamed those styles on the proliferation of flat feet. He retired from shoe manufacturing in 1907 to focus entirely on the manufacture of arch supports.<sup>115</sup> It was said that a hundred “patients” (not merely customers) came to him weekly from Lynn, Boston and other places in the region and “Mr. Dunbar is credited with some remarkable cures.” He was determined to carry out a crusade to educate shoe manufacturers and sellers everywhere about the science of footology and how to provide a better shoe for the foot.

He is preparing various wooden models of feet, each being a reproduction of a foot from life. The various bones, muscles and tendons of the models are detachable, as well as movable. So, by observation, it is hoped shoemen will learn the construction of the foot, its peculiar duties and the injuries that may be inflicted upon it by the use of improper footwear. … ”<sup>116</sup>

Stamped metal tokens can still be found displaying a human fit benefiting from the Dunbar arch, surrounded by his name and his expertise: “EVERETT H. DUNBAR’S FOOT SUPPORT.” His medical knowledge was self-taught and therefore might be considered suspect, but his sincerity and conviction to help people walk more comfortably seemed to be quite genuine.

In the five years since the 1895 start of Charles Crompton’s flavoring extracts, medicines, and household chemicals business, he had managed to build and grow the business into a successful



**The Factory of Charles Crompton & Sons, about 1910.** Located behind the Crompton family home in the foreground, but it was not physically connected as the photo would appear to suggest. The following postcard photo of the Crompton delivery truck was taken in front of the two doors at the lower left of the facility; even the staining visible on the ground appears in the photograph of the truck. (Collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society.)



**Crompton's Delivery Wagon, 1910.** Real photo postcard along with four colorized enhancements. This photograph was taken when it was brand new, ready for use as a delivery truck at the high point of the company's success; father and son resplendent in their new delivery uniforms, which included "ZAT-ZIT" stitched into their driving caps. Two months later the truck was hit by an automobile and Charles Crompton, foreground, was injured, but the company products in the truck were destroyed. Colorized images (black, red, green, and purple) are hypothetical color schemes to give some idea of what the vehicle might have looked like on the street – impressive in any color. (Collection of the author; digitally enhanced color renderings by Nicholas Rapoza, son of the author.)

company, necessitating a large combination warehouse, shipping, and laboratory facility on the grounds behind the family home on Ontario Street. The building must have had a constantly clashing combination of fragrances as medicines and food flavorings, as well as household cleaning chemicals, were prepared and bottled in the same facility. Extracts of lemon, vanilla, peppermint, spearmint, and anise shared the tablespace and airspace with ammonia, spirits of camphor, liniment, and cough syrup. The one ingredient virtually all of the products had in common was a base of alcohol; otherwise, the food products and the medicines seemed to provide Crompton a broad portfolio: if the sales in one category were weak, he had the other to bolster his business.

Charles' aged father had also come down from Canada for a while to assist the business as an extract salesman, drawing from his long experience as a traveling salesman during his prime years back in England.<sup>117</sup> In 1900 Charles celebrated his own success during an anniversary parade for Lynn's fiftieth anniversary as a city; he entered two covered wagons in the parade, gaily decorated with flags, flowers and fir branches.<sup>118</sup> He and his business had become synonymous with the Pine Hill region of Lynn where his family and business were located, and the respected businessman was elected to serve on the Lynn Common Council in 1905-1906.

On the first of September 1910, Charles Crompton and one of his sons stood by the company's delivery truck, dressed impeccably in matching uniforms, to mark a milestone moment: to show off their fine new truck and proudly promote their business on a postcard that could be sent to prospective customers everywhere. Son Edward snuck one of the new postcards apparently to impress a girlfriend.<sup>119</sup>

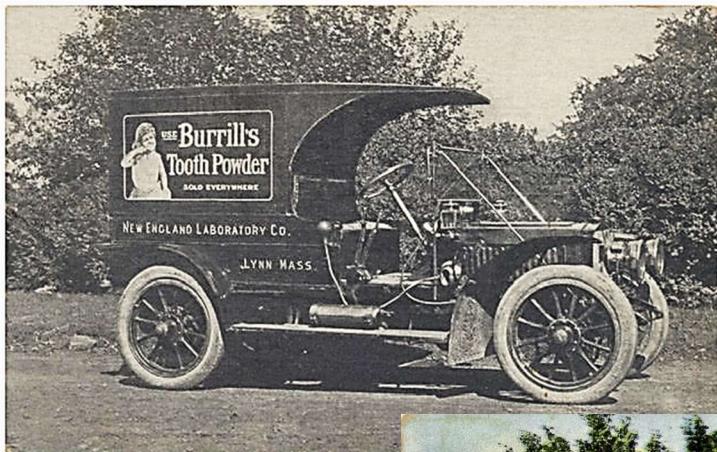
A month later, on October 3rd, Charles filed an application for trademark registration of what had clearly become an important and good-selling medicine: *Zat-Zit*. The application stated the cough syrup had been in use since July 1, 1905.<sup>120</sup> The new delivery truck promoted *Crompton's Headache Powders* but it featured *Zat-Zit* as the banner product.

Charles's vision back in 1898 of a family-run company had been fulfilled by 1910, when most of his children were old enough to take roles in the business. In the federal census of that year, Charles Crompton's occupation was listed as "Extracts" while his son Charles, 28, was the company delivery truck driver; son George, 22, was the salesman of extracts, and daughters Lillie, 20, Emma, 18, and son Edward, 14, were listed as bottlers in the extract laboratory, and an apparently unrelated boy, Everett White, 17, was a laborer at the laboratory. Only wife Mary and daughter Ada, 8, were not listed as working in the family business. In this pivotal year of 1910, the business that had been called Charles Crompton & Sons for seven years had matured to its next step: the family-run company had been formally incorporated. Charles had succeeded in the medicine and extract business for the first fifteen years and now he had sons and daughters who were experienced adults and young adults, ready to be counted upon for continued success.

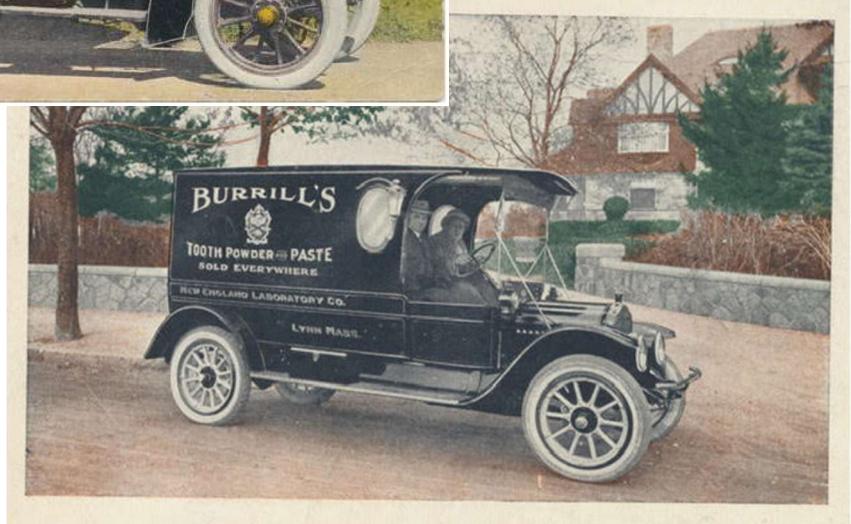
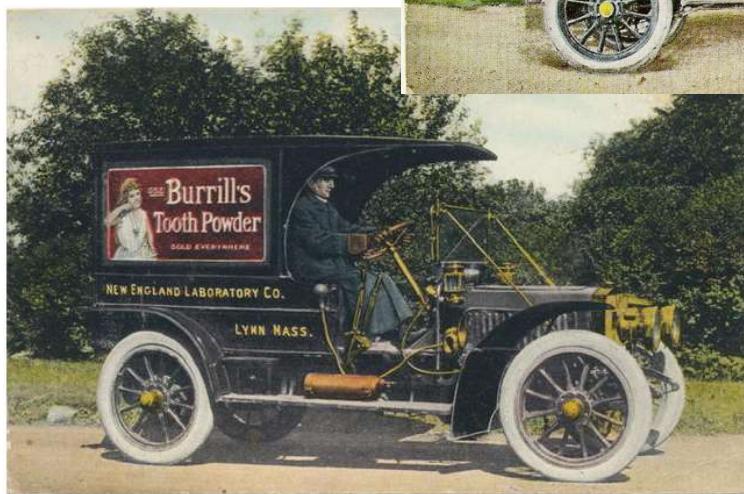
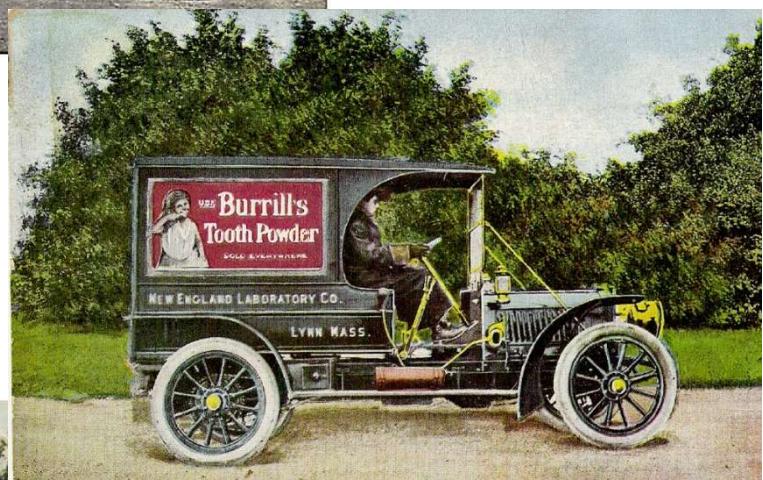


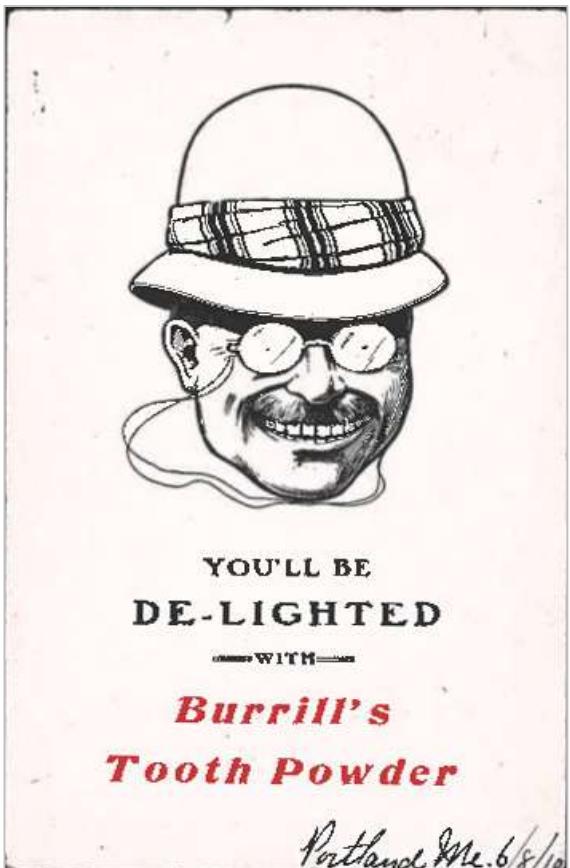
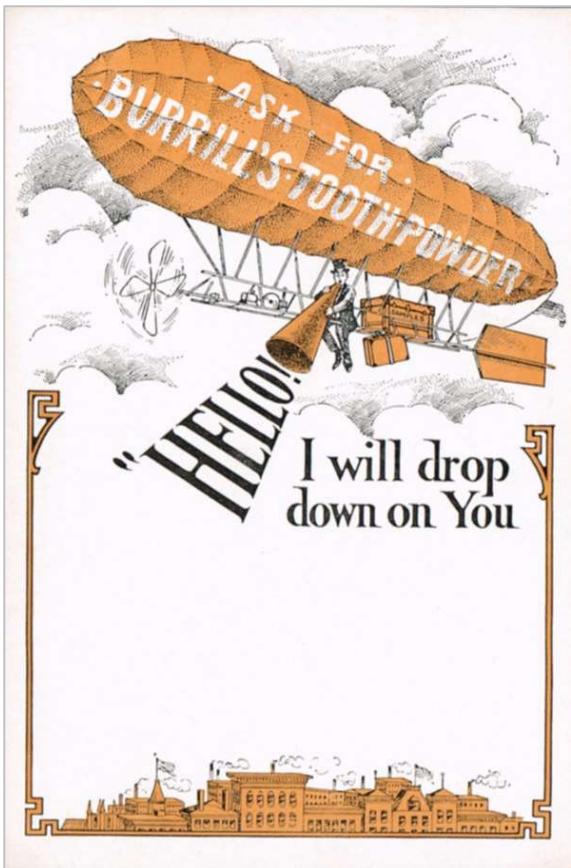
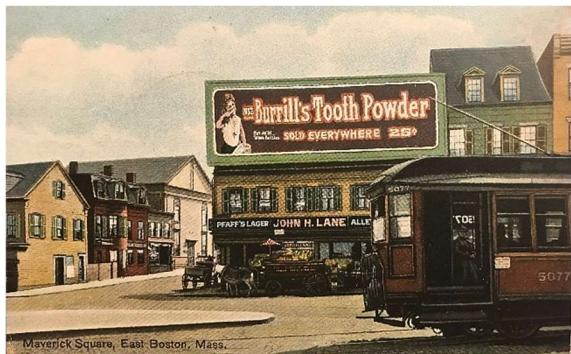
**ALL SMILES.** The main product of the New England Laboratory Company was their *Burrill's Tooth Powder*, and all they wanted to do with the product was to make people smile, with confidence.<sup>121</sup> The company had been in existence since the early 1880s, confining itself to the manufacture of "high-grade medicinal formulas" sold directly to physicians, hospitals, and pharmacists, then they branched out to include toilet articles for the general public, including the tooth powder, *Burrill's Tooth Paste*, and *Aleppo Cold Cream*. They prided themselves on their facility's cleanliness in the manufacture of their products and that these Lynn-made products were "SOLD EVERYWHERE," from coast to coast, "the name of Lynn appearing on every package carries the spirit of New England quality into countless homes."<sup>122</sup>

They heavily advertised their tooth powder using postcards, print ads in newspapers, billboards, and even postcards of the billboards, to present the image that their product was in demand everywhere. They also created booklets geared to children to amuse and educate about its



**Burrill's Tooth Powder Fleet.** Real photo postcards. The New England Laboratory Company of Lynn seemed to have more postcard views of their delivery trucks than they had trucks. First three views are the same vehicle; black & white and colorized (1912) and a newer truck (bottom view, about 1925). Not many of the earlier truck postcards may have survived because the backside had sometimes been printed as pieces to be cut up for use as a puzzle. (All collection of the author; two were gifts of Ben Z. Swanson.)





Styles Change  
but it is always  
Good Taste

to use  
**Burrill's  
Tooth Powder  
or Paste**

New England Laboratory Co.  
Lynn, Mass.  
MAKERS OF THE FINEST  
TOILET PREPARATIONS

**Burrill Advertising Postcards & Ink Blotter.** Advertising for this product is evidence of the huge popularity of postcards in the early 20th century, replacing advertising trade cards of the prior century as the advertising card medium of choice. The contagious smile of President Teddy Roosevelt had special meaning to Lynners after the 1902 speech he made on the steps of the Lynn City Hall. (Landscape postcards and blotter, collection of the author [Portland gift of Ben Z. Swanson]; dirigible and Roosevelt postcards courtesy of Ben Z. Swanson collection)

value. Their advertisements in show programs featured young starlets and ingenues who owed their beautiful smiles to Burrill's, and there was one popular male smile allegedly improved by *Burrill's Tooth Powder* – that of President Teddy Roosevelt – but no evidence has been found that he either used or consented to the company's use of his image in connection with the tooth powder.<sup>123</sup>

William A. Varney was bolder than most Lynn medicine manufacturers in the early 1900s. For over thirty years, he had been a milk dealer in Lynn; then in 1904 he suddenly gave up his milk route and announced that he was selling *VAR-NE-SIS Blood Purifier*, the great nerve remedy, invigorating tonic, and bowel regulator. "I have cured many persons who suffered and were sick," one of his earliest advertisements promised, and "You may be healthy if you believe what I say."<sup>124</sup> Unlike many other of Lynn's twentieth century startup companies, he was unafraid to use the old-style bravado. One of his earliest advertisements (in 1906) had the bold heading that included an attack on local (unnamed) doctors and a hospital, an eye-popping reward (especially for a man who had most recently made his living delivering milk), and the bold, repeated statement of "CURE":

## **Three Lynn Doctors Failed and a Boston Hospital, Too**

# **VAR-NE-SIS**

### **Cured Completely**

## **\$1,000 Reward**

This sum will be paid to anyone who can prove that any testimonial I have published is not a bona fide authentic statement.

### **Varnesis Cures Rheumatism**

It was a daring gambit at a time when the local, state, and federal governments were all clamping down on spurious claims and questionable products; such advertisements were not likely to go unnoticed, or uninvestigated.<sup>125</sup>

### ***BROKEN, BEATEN UP, & BUSTED***

Early twentieth century Lynn had come a long way from the ancient times when putting urine and bent pins in a bottle was thought to keep away witches and sickness. Science was steadily replacing superstition, investigative reporting was launching scandals that triggered concern and doubt, and laws were putting a bite on freewheeling business. The medicine makers of Lynn didn't need more grief to deal with, but it showed up on their doorsteps anyway.

The day after Edward Crompton sent his friend the postcard of the *Zat-Zit* mobile, the truck had an accident with a tree:

Ex-Councilman Charles Crompton, the extract man, was thrown out of his new automobile delivery wagon at 1:30 o'clock today when the machine got away from him and ran into a tree, and although shaken up considerably, [Crompton] escaped with minor bruises. A young man who occupied a seat beside him was also precipitated into the street, but escaped serious injury. The accident happened at the corner of Smith and School streets where Crompton and his young companion were delivering goods. The machine was traveling at a fairly good rate when suddenly it darted for the nearest tree beside the road, the steering gear evidently not working

properly, and when the machine struck the tree the impact sent Mr. Crompton and his companion into the air several feet. The automobile was squashed in the front-end, but can be quickly repaired.<sup>126</sup>

Before he got his truck, his chemical, medicine, and extract deliveries had to be made by horse-drawn wagon and as fate would have it, this form of transportation proved just as painful and problematic as his new truck would be. While making deliveries by the horse and wagon in the late summer, he had unbridled the horse so it could eat, but the horse became frightened and, while trying to stop the horse from bolting, Charles was “seriously injured” when his head hit the wagon. Several months later, on the first of November, his oldest son, George, was also seriously injured by the delivery wagon horse in almost the same spot where his father had been injured. Again the horse was frightened and George “made a grab for the horse and was knocked down and a wheel of the wagon passed over his finger.” The little finger on his left hand was so badly crushed that it was necessary to amputate it at the first joint.<sup>127</sup>

Charles Crompton had repairs to the delivery truck made as quickly as possible because the truck was vital to delivering merchandise and keeping their business moving forward ... and they weren’t having very good luck with delivering their products by horse-drawn wagon. Just two weeks after his son lost his finger in their second horse accident of the year, Crompton and his truck were involved in another road accident, this time being hit by another vehicle. On 14 November an automobile collided into the Crompton company truck; once again, Charles was injured and merchandise in the truck was damaged.<sup>128</sup>

It probably came as no surprise that Crompton was having so much trouble negotiating the road; as early as 1903, when license plates were first issued in Massachusetts, there were already 114 auto vehicles registered in Lynn, and the rest of greater Boston was equally enthusiastic about having the new vehicles.<sup>129</sup> The motorized buggies and trucks awkwardly navigated the still mostly dirt roads, rutted, potholed, and muddy or dusty, depending on the weather, while trying to avoid pedestrians, dogs, bicyclists, motorized cyclists, horses, wagons, electric street cars, and trains, with almost no signs yet in place controlling traffic flow and speeds, and few safety features in the vehicles themselves, other than a brake, headlights, and a horn. Accidents, as tragic as they sometimes were, had been no surprise in congested urban areas for decades and it had only gotten worse as motorized gasoline- and steam-powered vehicles were added to the road circus.

Getting stores to sell the Crompton’s products was supposed to be the hardest part of their business, but even getting the goods to the stores proved to be an overwhelming undertaking. Within months of their incorporation, Charles Crompton receiving his driver’s license and the registrations for their delivery truck and the trademark for *Zat-Zit*, the small family company had sustained four accidents, five injuries, and at least two loads of broken, unsellable merchandise, and their problems were just heating up.

An hour before midnight on 18 November 1921, the Crompton’s three-story laboratory and manufactory was quiet and long-empty of the twenty-three people who worked there during the day, yet something was definitely moving on the second floor. A gas plate burner used to cook a part of the *Zat-Zit* cough mixture had overheated and then ignited some flammable chemicals which were near containers of oil of peppermint, lemon, and other ingredients. The building was an arsonist’s dream come true: the building was made of wood and filled with chemicals, many of a very flammable and explosive nature. Paper boxes ready to be packed with medicine and extract bottles just added to the blaze. A neighbor saw the fire once it had spread considerably in the 150-foot by 60-foot building and, soon after he pulled the fire alarm, “there were three explosions, one of which rocked his home.”<sup>130</sup>

When the first fire crew arrived, flames were shooting up to the roof from the windows on the west side of the structure, right above where “CHAS. CROMPTON & SONS” had been proudly painted on the side of the building. A squad of police also showed up quickly, dressed in tuxedos,

having come directly from the annual policemen's ball; they kept back the enormous crowd that congregated to watch the fire.<sup>131</sup>

As the fire spread through the first and second floor, it destroyed batches of peppermint, checkerberry oil, and lemon extract, as well as the area used for filling and packing extract bottles; thousands of the small paper boxes were destroyed. On the first floor, orders of cough drops totaling \$500 were destroyed and the fire almost reached a storage area in the basement that had quantities of chemicals used to make Jamaica Ginger, flavoring extracts, medicines, and other products.<sup>132</sup>

The fire department worked quickly, spraying water from hydrants and chemical spray from the fire engines and in so doing were able to salvage some of the building; in twenty minutes the blaze was confined to the structure's front end. "Some of the firefighters heroically carried out quantities of explosive chemicals, ammonia, and alcohol and other flammable liquids" in order to mitigate the fire's catastrophe. The very next day, product continued to be made amid the charred ruins while a small army of carpenters began the process of rebuilding.<sup>133</sup> The total loss was valued at \$13,100 (\$189,410 in 2020 USD); the building loss of \$4,900 was covered by insurance, but the \$8,200 loss on the contents was only insured for \$4,000, so the Crompton's loss was \$4,200 (\$60,727 in 2020 USD).<sup>134</sup>



**SOMETHING "SEEMED TO BE ALIVE" IN THE VEGETABLE COMPOUND.** Less than a mile from the Cromptons as the crow flies, the Pinkham laboratory was having struggles with its own medicine business at the start of the new century. The Pinkham Medicine Company was a much bigger company than Crompton's, Brock's, or any other medicine maker in Lynn: at the start of 1903 the Pinkham plant had 1,178,928 bottles of the vegetable compound bottles and 72,000 bottles of the blood purifier in storage, ready for shipment.<sup>135</sup> But with more success and bigger volumes manufactured came the potential for large-scale problems as well. In January 1904, near catastrophe was averted when a sealing pot blew up because of built-up excess pressure; fortunately there was "No damage outside the pot and no one [was] hurt. Room was filled with steam."<sup>136</sup>

The employee recording detailed observations about the production of Pinkham products was Ernest Pinkham Lane, the grandson of Isaac Pinkham and the younger brother of Arthur Wellington Lane whom Lydia Pinkham had tried to nurse back to health in her home on Western Avenue in the late 1870s. When Ernest began his two-year diary in January 1903, Ernest was almost thirty years old and was performing superintendent duties at the Pinkham laboratory, focusing most of his time on the quality and production of the vegetable compound. He "worked in [the] herb room piling and sorting herbs" two days before Thanksgiving, 1903, and he sent some of the boys upstairs in the manufactory to spend the day "emptying seed" from deliveries of herbs for the medicines in late August 1904. He also recorded the overhauling and rebuilding of a bottle washer, as well as mentioning percolators, a machine for dating labels, and negotiations with various bottle and box suppliers.<sup>137</sup> He seemed to be deeply involved and well aware of the many challenges of continuously producing the Pinkham medicines.

An ongoing problem was getting the liquid contents of each bottle to consistently taste and look the same – pleasant to the palate and pleasing to the eye – not an easy thing to accomplish across millions of bottles containing water and botanical ingredients. The alcohol content helped to reduce the possibility of spoilage and variations in flavor, but it was no guarantee. In mid-January 1904, Ernest recorded that it was necessary to reduce excess acidity in the medicine. "Worked today on med[icine] trying to make it without it being acid ... We are working today and this week with a view to get our med[icine] sweeter."<sup>138</sup> A much bigger problem, however, was the growth of algae in bottles of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*.

On 19 January 1903, Ernest's diary mentions a return of 12 bottles of the Compound from an English warehouse, "3 bottles very stringy 3 bottles full of fierce stuff the other 6 had sediment

but it seemed to shake up some leaving med[icine] Very cloudy and dark." That was the first mention of problems with the medicine in his diaries, and he spent all of the next two years further examining and attempting to rectify the problems with the compound. During all this, however, production and sales never halted. He started examining the contents himself with hydrometers and microscopes. The quality of Lynn water was often suspect, "coming in rather dirty," so Ernest contacted Lynn's water board.<sup>139</sup> The next day Lane makes an enigmatic entry, "having some trouble with a star fish oily substance in the water" and in February of the next year he seemed unsurprised to learn, "See in the paper that the state board of health has condemned part of Lynn water supply."<sup>140</sup> A whole new system of piping had been put in well before his diary notes about the city's fouled water, and this was followed by new water meters.<sup>141</sup> In addition, they decided to put in filters in all water used in manufacturing, hopefully eliminating whatever it was that was fouling up the medicine. If there was any doubt as to the need for the new measures taken, four days later, still more vegetable compound was returned that had been "made [the] old way with string sed[iment] in it."<sup>142</sup>

Ernest had sought out the assistance of Everett Whipple of Salem. (Ernest had his first pair of eyeglasses recently made at Whipple's; in Ernest's mind, their skills with lens work for eyeglasses and microscopes apparently made them logical consultants to examine the compound.) Within a month of examining the samples, Whipple reported that the strings in the medicine "were an algae caused probably by the water."<sup>143</sup> A month later, Ernest corroborated Whipple's findings, "an algae from water that lives on something in our med[icine;] that looks reasonable."<sup>144</sup> In September Whipple came up with another cause and Ernest recorded with some frustration, "We have now found the 2nd cause of strings. It comes from the alcohol that has been recovered from the dam medicine."<sup>145</sup> All of the wonderful research seemed to be making little difference, however, since ten days later more sediment was found in the medicine just made. "Looked like germs of some sort and seemd to be alive."<sup>146</sup>

At some point heated water became a suspected cause of the contamination. They first added filters to the hot water. Later they tried making the medicine by cold water percolation of ground-up herbs and the prospects seemed good, "Med[icine] made [four days earlier] by cold percolation turning out fine and will be I think the best yet. Very little sed[iment] so far."<sup>147</sup> "Think soon we will be using ground herbs and no hot water."<sup>148</sup> Ernest enlisted the assistance of Ellen Henrietta Swallow Richards, Instructor in Sanitary Chemistry at MIT, to solve the water problems. She confirmed that the temperature had a good deal to do with the water, but her recommendation was wisely to sway him away from cold water percolation and towards sterile hot water filtration.<sup>149</sup>



**BAD BLOOD AND BOTTLED-UP HOSTILITY.** The medicine business in the early twentieth century was hard enough with manufacturing and delivery setbacks, but for the Pinkham company, even success became a breeding ground for a unique problem: the emergence of the green-eyed monsters. When Charles Pinkham died, the controversy over succession in company leadership tore apart the Pinkhams and the Goves like they were an industrial version of the Hatfields and McCoys. Until Charles' death in 1900, his sister Aroline had little more to do with the business of the Pinkham company than to collect her dividend checks and let her attorney husband provide for their comforts and home in Salem, several miles away from the Pinkham laboratory in Lynn. But she was the last of Isaac and Lydia's children, which made the matter of succession passing on to her and her husband obvious, at least to them. Looking over at Charles' widow and children, the Goves saw a woman whose sole contribution to the business had been the nominal use and excuse of being the continued personification of "Mrs. Pinkham," who actually busied herself with her several children, servants, and palatial surroundings, not the women in the correspondence department across the street who worked non-stop answering the letters of suffering women. Besides, running such a big company needed the acumen of an experienced

businessman like Attorney William Gove; the oldest remaining Pinkham male was Jennifer Pinkham's son, 21-year-old Arthur Pinkham, who was attending Brown University in Rhode Island – hardly the seasoned business professional, or so it seemed to the Goves.

With the shrewd scheming of a Yankee horse trader, Arthur fought back to protect his family's interests in the Pinkham Company. He duplicated the *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound* formula to create a competing medicine: *Delmac Liver Regulator*. (The name *Delmac* was an acrostic comprising the first letter of each of Charles Pinkham's children: Daniel, Elsie, Lucy, Marion, Arthur, and Charlie.) Arthur also put his father's well-known and respected face and name on the packaging, a signal to merchants nationwide that this product had the Pinkham imprimatur, just like the popular vegetable compound. From the start, *Delmac* was designed to remind the Goves that they weren't the only ones who knew the secrets to the Pinkham Company's success. Arthur could have arranged the letters of *Delmac* to spell out *Calmed*, but he was trying to aggravate the Goves, not relax them. The Goves quickly realized another version of the same medicine associated with the same family would unravel the success and sales of *Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, so an unamicable truce was established during the mutually destructive battle, dividing control between both families for decades to come. William Gove was the president of the company and Aroline was the treasurer at the time of Ernest's diaries, while Arthur was made the vice-president and secretary and his mother was given a voting seat on the board and became manager of the correspondence department.<sup>150</sup> The Pinkhams and Goves continued to wrestle for control while keeping the company moving forward – the family canoe was being aggressively paddled in opposite directions over whitewater rapids, each team of canoeists bent on control of the craft they shared rather than watching for the rocks ahead.

Ernest Pinkham Lane was awkwardly caught in the middle of the family feud. He was related to the Pinkhams and the Goves and was employed in the bilaterally owned family business, making him a pawn in an uncomfortable chess game; even moreso because he was more closely aligned with the Goves. When Will Gove ran unsuccessfully for state senator, Ernest was his campaign manager. When Ernest was describing business matters, he referred to his uncle as "Gove" or "the boss," but when they went on vacation together, he referred to them as "Uncle Will and Aunt Arrie." When "Uncle Will and Aunt Arrie" told him that his salary would be raised to \$2,500 a year, Ernest and his wife were very happy, but "the Pinkhams objected and gave me a great raking over. They hate my name even[,] I guess[;] cant help it."<sup>151</sup> The internecine family rivalry came very near destroying the company several times over the decades ahead.



**BEATEN UP BY THE WRITTEN WORD.** In June 1900, the *Lynn Review* had complained, "The advertising of patent medicine by the Lynn & Boston Railroad Co. on the outside of the cars, is not in good taste, and should be abolished. This is the kind of advertising that offends."<sup>152</sup> There was no further explanation about exactly what the editor found so offensive, but



**Delmac Box Art, about 1901.**  
Featuring the image and autograph of Charles H. Pinkham. The product may have never actually been distributed. (Collection of the Schlesinger Library, MC181, Folder 380).

in the early years of the new century, newspapers and periodicals were increasingly sniping at proprietary medicine advertising where a decade earlier they had been groveling for the advertising dollars of the booming proprietary medicine industry. Medicine companies had actually been some of the cynical attackers of quackery, vilifying competitors while elevating their own products, but editors and writers also recognized the public's interest in outrageous news stories that exposed false claims, charlatans, and scurrilous sales pitches.

An April 1903 meeting of the Lynn Women's Club heard from several of the city's female physicians, including Myra Allen Rupel, who predicted a long future for quackery, no matter how much it was exposed and despised, "The progress of medicine is a steady evolution, but it is retarded by superstition, ignorance and quackery, which will not be wholly eliminated from medicine for centuries to come."<sup>153</sup> That wasn't to say the patent medicine business wasn't already receiving some stomach punches in the first decade of the new century. The Lydia Pinkham Company was getting more negative press attention than any other Lynn medicine maker, perhaps proving the axiom, "The bigger they are, the harder they fall."

The year 1904 was clearly more difficult for the Lydia Pinkham Company than it was in the previous year. Ernest Pinkham Lane complained frequently of the lack of orders and the quiet days at work. "Business awful quiet," he wrote in his diary in March 1904, and again in April, "Business terrible quiet."<sup>154</sup> In July, Ernest compared sales during the first half of 1904 with the first half of 1903: they had lost 503 gross in year-to-year sales for that period. "Business all over the country is very dull especially the drug and patent med[icine] Business."<sup>155</sup> As the year wore on, things didn't improve: "Business rotten. Only 9 Gro[ss] all day[.] Business all over the country is very poor especially among some of the people in the same lines as ourselves."<sup>156</sup> By year's end he was pointing out the impossibility of shipping 14,000 gross (which was apparently the previous year's production, closer to a daily average of 55 gross), "hardly believe we will do it."<sup>157</sup> Ernest was correct to feel the industry beginning to stagger. Muckraking journalism was opening the curtains in the food and medicine industries and some of the biggest manufacturers were the biggest targets – like the Lydia Pinkham Company.

The company had been somewhat on the defensive for a while, consistently promising in its advertisements and booklets the wholesome herbal goodness of their products, their safety for temperance ladies, the company's discreetness and confidentiality in handling their customers' personal correspondence, and the knowledge, compassion, and attention to the letters by Mrs. Pinkham herself. A Pinkham booklet published in 1899 reassured the women of America, after scaring them a little,

Every true woman appreciates the horror of relating her private disorders to a man, be he who he may. She can talk more freely to a woman – she can, without hesitancy, relate her every symptom to one of her own sex ... And, in addressing Mrs. Pinkham, she appeals ... to a woman whose experiences in healing feminine diseases is wider than that of any male physician in the entire medical profession.<sup>158</sup>

That same booklet included facsimiles of letters from Lynn's newest mayor, William Shepard, as well as the treasurer of the Lynn chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and Lynn's post master, all testifying to the "noble work" of Mrs. Pinkham and the great care taken at the laboratory to safeguard the confidential letters of the women who wrote to her. Mayor Shepard wrote, "It gives me great pleasure to say that I know *the present* Mrs. Pinkham personally, who for so many years was Lydia E. Pinkham's assistant and [I] have visited her laboratory."<sup>159</sup> But as the nineteenth century was rolling into the twentieth, the company propaganda was being challenged by other publications.

In the September 1905 issue of the popular periodical, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, under a feature section titled, "Pictures that Tell Their Own Stories," editor Edward Bok took two shots at the Lydia Pinkham Company that echoed throughout the country. The first contained a snippet of

one of the many Pinkham ads (which the piece pointed out was printed in the newspapers on 27 June 1905) that ended with the encouragement, “This, therefore, is the reason why Mrs. Pinkham, in her laboratory at Lynn, Mass., is able to do more for the ailing women of America than the family physician. Any woman, therefore, is responsible for her own suffering who will not take the trouble to write to Mrs. Pinkham for advice.” Next to the urgent instruction to write to Mrs. Pinkham was a large photograph of the Pinkham family grave marker in Pine Grove Cemetery, that noted quite clearly that Lydia E. Pinkham had died on 17 May 1883, which the caption emphasized was “22 Years Ago.” Never mind the sometimes-used cosmetic coverups that Charles’s wife Jennifer was a Mrs. Pinkham or that the women in the correspondence department copied Lydia Pinkham’s original instructions for certain symptoms; Lydia Pinkham was dead and buried and every woman in America now understood clearly that this was the case. They had not been corresponding with the legendary “Savior of Her Sex” for the last twenty-plus years – it had all been a thinly veiled deception that was now exposed.<sup>160</sup>

On the same page with this brash revelation, the *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* had the dubious distinction of being featured in a piece titled, “How Patent Medicines Will Burn. A Most Interesting Experiment.” In a photograph that looked somewhere between a test laboratory and a distillery, four well-known patent medicines each stood behind a gas burner under a can containing four drams of the sample medicines, whose heated alcohol vapors were sent up rubber tubes to keep candles lit in candlestands above the scene. The four products were two strongly alcoholic medicines, *Hostetter’s Bitters* and *Peruna*, then *Lydia Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound*, and finally a bottle of beer. The implication was that the greater the alcohol content, the longer the product’s candle would stay lit. The *Lydia Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* candle had burned longer than the beer candle by two minutes, fifteen seconds and was outlasted by *Peruna* (a medicine that was found by the federal government to be too intoxicating and tempting to be given to the Indians) by only five more seconds. As the section heading promised, the picture did, once again, tell its own story: *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* had a wallop of alcohol; it was definitely not the safe temperance drink that the WCTU had endorsed a few years earlier.<sup>161</sup>

The reputation of the Lydia E. Pinkham Company had only begun to be dragged through the mud; it was one of the largest proprietary medicines in the country, due to the success of the vegetable compound, and consequently it was a big target for muckraking, which had become a popular and widely read form of journalism. In late 1905 through early 1906, *Collier’s* magazine, another popular, nationally read periodical, published “The Great American Fraud: A Series of Articles on the Evils of Patent Medicines,” a well-researched and scathing eleven-article series of exposures about the business of patent medicines. Written by muckraking journalist Samuel Hopkins Adams, it opened the eyes of the nation to the proprietary medicine industry like the Sinclair Lewis novel, *The Jungle*, had done to the meatpacking industry. Among Adams’ many big targets was the Lydia Pinkham Company.

Through the eleven-article series, Adams mentioned Lydia Pinkham twenty-five times and none of them complimentary: “Lydia Pinkham’s compound is another dangerous drug used largely by drinkers ...”; “Lydia Pinkham’s variety of drink depends for its popularity chiefly on its alcohol.”; “Lydia Pinkham appeals to suffering womanhood with 20 per cent. of alcohol. ...”; “... Lydia Pinkham ... [is a fraud] in attempting to foster the idea that [the vegetable compound] will cure ... disease ...”<sup>162</sup> Adams urged the government to tax patent medicine like any other beverage containing alcohol and to require the “the purveyors of the concoctions [to] label every bottle with the percentage of alcohol it contains; then ... the W. C. T. U. member who indorses ... Lydia Pinkham” and the other alcohol-laden medicines would realize that “they are sipping by the tablespoon or wineglassful” as strong a drink as the town drunk was getting down at the bar.<sup>163</sup>

Adams’ excoriation of the Pinkham company and medicine was brutal, and clustered amid a wide and deep exposé of many medicine makers, charlatans, liars, and quacks, the Pinkham

company appeared guilty on its own lack of merits as well as by association with all the others who also wished the spotlight could be turned off. For the Pinkhams, however, the light just got brighter:

No little stress is laid on "personal advice" by the patent-medicine companies. This may be, according to the statements of the firm, from their physician or from some special expert. As a matter of fact, it is almost invariably furnished by a \$10-a-week typewriter, following out one of a number of "form" letters prepared in bulk for the "personal inquiry" dupes. Such is the Lydia E. Pinkham method. The Pinkham Company writes me that it is entirely innocent of any intent to deceive people into believing that Lydia E. Pinkham is still alive, and that it has published in several cases statements regarding her demise. It is true that a number of years ago a newspaper forced the Pinkham concern into a defensive admission of Lydia E. Pinkham's death, but since then the main purpose of the Pinkham advertising has been to befool the feminine public into believing that their letters go to a woman — who died nearly twenty years ago of some of the diseases, it is said, which her remedy claims to cure.

#### **The Immortal Mrs. Pinkham**

True, the newspaper appeal is always "Write to Mrs. Pinkham," and this is technically a saving clause, as there is a Mrs. Pinkham, widow of the son of Lydia E. Pinkham. What sense of shame she might be supposed to suffer in the perpetration of an obvious and public fraud is presumably salved by the large profits of the business. The great majority of the gulls who "write to Mrs. Pinkham" supposed themselves to be addressing Lydia E. Pinkham, and their letters are not even answered by the present proprietor of the name, but by a corps of hurried clerks and typewriters.<sup>164</sup>

It looked to most Americans, especially the women who had taken the vegetable compound and written very personal, private letters to Lydia E. Pinkham, that the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Collier's* had pulled the skeleton out of the closet — and even worse, the skeleton was Lydia herself.

Even the innocuous Burrill's tooth powder and tooth paste products had its detractors. Harvey Washington Wiley, M.D., the Director of the Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health for *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, and the creator of the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval, berated those tooth products as not rising to the level of their promises. He wrote that Burrill's was a good tooth paste with some antiseptic properties but its claim to "destroy germs" and "prevent sore and receding gums" could not be proved, and the assertion that the tooth powder's antiseptic properties were more efficient than Listerine or hydrogen peroxide were too extravagant.<sup>165</sup>

The muckraking campaigns had accelerated the wide-spread, long-brewing perception that proprietary medicines, their manufacturers, and their pitchmen were suspicious characters, not to be listened to or believed. Anyone associated with the patent medicine industry had become a metaphor for someone not to be trusted. In September 1908, presidential candidate William Howard Taft's train stopped in sparsely settled South Dakota towns, "but at every station crowds were gathered to cheer the Republican nominee," and at these small-town rallies, "his short platform speeches were full of ginger." He compared his opponent, William Jennings Bryan, to someone who was recognized even by isolated families in the remote backwaters of South Dakota to be sleazy and untrustworthy — the medical quack:

He did not mince his words in criticism of Mr. Bryan whom he denominated a physician with nostrums and panaceas for the cure of every organic disease. The Republican party, he said, offered no quack medicines guaranteed to cure over night, but submitted its record of things accomplished and asked that it be continued as the family physician and not succeed by an itinerant vendor.<sup>166</sup>

Taft also promised to "devote all his ability and all his strength" to carrying on the good work of his predecessor, Teddy Roosevelt, who happened to have been the president that imposed the first meaningful controls upon the patent medicine industry.



**BUSTED BY THE LONG ARM OF THE LAW.** The Pinkham company's fortunes, sales, and future in the first few decades of the new century were an undulating trajectory of successes and failures; solutions and new problems. Even during lackluster 1904, new markets were opening up for the company. Ernest Pinkham Lane recorded in his diary, "shipped our first lot to Buenos Ayres"; but counterbalancing that new opportunity, they had to shut down exporting to Cuba in January 1905.<sup>167</sup> An old Spanish law of 1844, prohibiting the sale of "secret medicines" had never been annulled and it was strengthened in 1905 by a requirement that foreign manufacturers provide the formulas of patent medicines in order to be sold in Cuba. The secret of a proprietary medicine was its most carefully guarded secret, so rather than cooperate with Cuban authorities, Arthur W. Pinkham withdrew all Pinkham medicines from Cuba.<sup>168</sup>

Obscenity charges had been filed in 1900 against some of the Pinkham company's field workers, brothers who had been contracted to distribute Pinkham booklets to homes in Wilkes-Barre and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. One of the distributors told the Pinkham company, "The Mayor was very cross with us, and reprimanded us in strong language for being guilty of such an offense as distributing such XXX 'Obscene Literature' into the houses of Wilkes-Barre. After reading to us the Law, he held us both for Court in \$300.00 Bail each."<sup>169</sup> The company wrote back to the distributor, trying to give him some talking points to get the case resolved in favor of him and his brother, and in so doing, they explained that they were not trying to titillate or offend, but to educate the badly underinformed majority of women in America:

... Never in the history of our business have we ever known any of our literature to create evil impressions in any one's mind, and in order to make the different women, many of whom are ignorant, realize and understand just what their illness is, it is necessary, we have found from years' of experience to use very plain terms in describing symptoms.

In the course of our correspondence during a year, which amounts to over one hundred thousand letters, *it is perfectly astonishing how many women know nothing about their organism*, and although they have aches and pains they have no idea from what source these aches and pains emanate or what organs are diseased, but when they read our literature they are immediately enabled to determine just what the matter is with them and where the disease is located. This is the only reason why we use such plain language.<sup>170</sup>

Despite the occasional friction their booklets caused with local laws and officials, they were able to continue printing dozens more editions over the years ahead and distributing them through the mails and hand-delivered to doors and front porches all over the country. The enactment of federal regulations, however, necessitated some substantial changes to what they sold and how they did business.

Teddy Roosevelt's meteoric rise to the presidency was the stuff dreams were made of: within just four years he had distinguished himself as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a war hero, governor of New York, vice president and then president of the United States. During the first year of his presidency he went on a tour of New England to promote his "Square Deal" domestic agenda, which included control of corporations and consumer protection. His plans included staying at the elegant Nahant home of his good friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, and the next day, 27 August 1902, the president spoke before a huge crowd on the steps of Lynn's city hall.<sup>171</sup> The city clamored to give what the *Item* aptly described as a "Royal Welcome" to their honored guest when he visited on that late summer day. In front of the city hall that had been patriotically festooned in American flags and bunting, President Theodore Roosevelt spoke briefly but powerfully to an adoring audience of cheering thousands:

Mr. Mayor and you, my fellow citizens, men and women of Lynn, I thank you from my heart for the way in which you have greeted, not me personally, but the Chief Executive of the American Republic (cheers) ...

... we must have wise legislation; we must have honest, fearless and able administration, the enforcement of law, but the law must be so framed and so administered as to secure justice for all alike – a square deal for every man great or small, rich or poor. (Cries of "Good," and cheers.) ...

Laws are good things, ,but they are only the implements with which the men who make them and live under them work out their own salvation and the salvation of the nation.

Let us strive together, my fellow citizens, to see that there are put on the statute books, national and State, first-class laws, laws that shall secure, so far as laws can secure, fair dealings, fair play between man and man. ....

I thank you. (Applause and cheers.)<sup>172</sup>

Four years later, President Roosevelt signed into law a landmark piece of consumer protection and corporate control legislation, which became popularly known as the Pure Food and Drugs Act.

So far as it impacted medicines and drugs, the new federal law was just a first step in regulating the goods, but it was an important opening salvo across the bow of medicine manufacturers that had previously been conducting business the way that best suited their bottom lines. The most impactful feature of the new law was its requirement that the package label had to state the existence and amount of highly addictive and potentially dangerous drugs it contained; the law specified alcohol, morphine, opium, cocaine, heroin, alpha or beta eucaine, chloroform, cannabis indica, chloral hydrate, or acetanilide. The new law also specified penalties of \$500 or a year's imprisonment for the first offense, and \$1,000 or another year's imprisonment, or both, for subsequent infractions.<sup>173</sup> Massachusetts also passed a law in 1906 requiring the alcohol content and addictive elements to be listed on the label and prohibited altogether the sale of "any patent or proprietary medicine ... containing cocaine ... [or] eucaine ... ."<sup>174</sup> A druggist in Fitchburg perceptively predicted that the new laws were about to dismantle the proprietary medicine industry:

For the physician it will eventually sweep the boards of nostrums and semi-patent preparations with high-sounding formulae and relieves him of the possibility of becoming the unpaid distributor of quack medicines. The reason that it does not do this at once is that this class of [proprietary] preparations has gained such an enormous sale and their proprietary value has reached such an enormous money value that every device of human ingenuity will be exhausted to keep them going, *but their death knell has been sounded.*<sup>175</sup>

Things began to change for the proprietary medicine makers because they had to: Lynn's liquid medicines all had alcohol and so the percentage of alcohol used began to be listed on the label as the law directed. Arthur Pinkham had the vegetable compound tested and found that samples sometimes read as high as 22%; but more internal controls were put in place so that the labels could read 18% alcohol; nonetheless, it was still an admission of a large amount of alcohol in a medicine that many female customers previously assumed had none.<sup>176</sup> L. M. Brock & Co. had to admit on labels of *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam* that each bottle used 13% alcohol and one-fifth of a grain of morphine per ounce to subdue coughs.<sup>177</sup> The revelations of dangerous contents in the medicines was like discovering poisonous insects lurking behind the bottles and boxes in the medicine cabinet – it was no longer possible to be at ease reaching for them.

Some Lynn companies didn't own up to the requirements of the new laws but analyses by the state and federal bureaus of chemistry exposed the truth and they were busted. Since he opened his business in 1904, J. Maro Harriman was a popular and innovative pharmacist at 248 Union Street, being the first to keep his drug store open all night; a brief biography of Harriman in 1914 stated that he hadn't locked his doors in ten years.<sup>178</sup> But he had several run-ins with the new Pure

Food and Drugs Act,, making and selling his own proprietary medicines without revealing the addictive ingredients as required by the law. In 1907 he was twice convicted of making and selling a catarrh remedy that had no mention on the packaging of the cocaine it contained.<sup>179</sup> In 1909 Harriman was taken to court for shipping one of his proprietary medicines across state lines (destination Michigan), called "*Funny-How-Quick*" *Headache and Neuralgia Cure*, which contained the following copy on the label, "A Sure and Quick Relief for all Headaches and Neuralgia. Contains no Opium, Morphine or Antipyrine. Does not stupefy but braces one up. Will not cause a habit. Guaranteed to cure or money refunded. ... Price 10 cents Large Box 25 cents."<sup>180</sup>

Samples from this shipment were procured and analyzed by the U.S. Bureau of Chemistry and its findings were reported to the U.S. Attorney General: the product was misbranded according to the Food and Drugs Act of June 30, 1906 and the evidence was used as the basis for prosecution.

... the label ... contained certain false and misleading statements, to wit: "'Funny-how-quick' Headache and Neuralgia Cure," whereas, *in truth and in fact*, the said drug was *not* a quick headache and neuralgia cure; "A sure and quick relief for all headaches and neuralgia," whereas, *in truth and in fact*, it was *not* a sure and quick relief for headaches and neuralgia; "Will not cause a habit," whereas, *in truth and in fact*, the said drug *was* a habit-forming drug; in that said product contained acetanilide, and the amount and proportion of such acetanilide were not properly and correctly stated on the principal label of the containers of said drug product.<sup>181</sup>

Upon arraignment the defendant entered a plea of nolo contendere (no contest) and the court imposed a fine of \$25.<sup>182</sup>

The Crompton's were snagged in the Bureau of Chemistry's net as well; the bureau's analysis determined their lemon and vanilla extracts had been adulterated and misbranded; they were judged to be "inferior products artificially colored to conceal inferiority." The bureau asserted that true lemon extract "was known to the trade and generally understood by the public to be the flavoring extract prepared from oil of lemon or from lemon peel, or both, and contains not less than 5 per cent by volume of oil of lemon"; but their analyses showed "the so-called lemon extract" to be an artificially colored solution, containing almost 45% alcohol by volume and only a fraction more than 1% oil of lemon. The bureau went on to explain that vanilla extract was understood to be the flavoring extract prepared from vanilla beans, but that Crompton's "so-called vanilla extract" had artificial flavoring but no actual vanilla resins. On May 10, 1911, the Cromptons were tried by a jury, found guilty on two of three counts, and fined \$50.<sup>183</sup>

The existing laws to ensure pure medicines were making a difference, but there were several loopholes that had to be sewn up, so amendments were added over the ensuing years. Notable among these were the Sherley Amendment of 1912, which prohibited false therapeutic claims intended to defraud the consumer, and the Gould Amendment of 1913, which required the manufacturer to display all of the contents plainly and conspicuously on the outside of the package – the U.S. had finally caught up to the law Cuba had had on its books for almost 70 years.

William Varney thought, or hoped, that he would be immune to the spate of laws regulating the medicine business, but with the accumulating new legislation, his continued brassy promises of cures were challenged and he was in trouble. The state of Connecticut did a chemical analysis of *Var-ne-sis* and compared it to its advertising promises: "A vegetable Remedy for Stomach and Rheumatism. Guaranteed Strictly Vegetable." "18% alcohol." The state's chemical analysis established that the preparation was really just an alcoholic solution that contained less than one per cent of vegetable drug extracts, chiefly derived from laxative-yielding drugs and capsicum pepper, but Varney had made his medicines sound like a botanical cornucopia of cure:

Dr. Varney, the sponsor for this "positive stomach and rheumatic remedy," tells us in his literature how his heart, back, head, and whole body ached, how his brain was weary and how he tossed through many a restless night until "a merciful

Providence led me to this remedy made of pure roots and herbs, nature's own simples combined with *the most perfect combination of roots and herbs ever put together.*"

"*Var-ne-sis* has cured, and is today curing hundreds." "all forms of Rheumatism yield to *Var-ne-sis*." "*Var-ne-sis* makes the stomach sound." "*Var-ne-sis* stimulates, purifies and enriches the blood and soothes the nerves." "Hundreds have been cured, why not you?"

Although on one page of his circular Dr. Varney tells us relief from his terrible rheumatism "came after a few doses," on another page he advises us that rheumatism requires from three to twelve bottles; "in some cases it may require a little longer to produce the desired effect." "Where the disease is of many years' standing there may be no apparent results until from seven to twelve weeks, but in all cases the treatment must be followed consistently to produce the desired result." It is apparent, therefore, according to the good doctor, that if the remedy does not cure, the fault lies with the patient, not the medicine. All the patient has to do is to keep up his faith, which will doubtless be stimulated by the alcohol in the medicine, and continue to pay one dollar per short pint for a remedy containing only a trace of medicament other than alcohol.<sup>184</sup>

As the regulation of medicines continued to progress and tighten in the second and third decades of the century, medicines continued to conform, with diluted claims and dulled product names: *Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle, and Pimple Eradicator* was deconstructed into *Soule's External Lotion*.<sup>185</sup> In 1917, the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, pointed out that while *Var-ne-sis* was once promoted as the "Great Stomach and Rheumatic Remedy" those claims "have now disappeared."

The claim used to be made that "Varnesis has cured and is today curing hundreds;" this claim has also disappeared. It used to be "the most perfect combination of roots and herbs ever put together;" but it is so no longer. It used to be said: "Varnesis corrects all disorders of the stomach and restores vigor to all the organs of the body ... Varnesis stimulates, purifies and enriches the blood, soothes the nerves and gives the vigor of youth ... Varnesis restores sleep." All of these claims have been abandoned.

"Varnesis" is sold as a cure for rheumatism and the directions state that it should be taken six times a day two tablespoonfuls to a dose. As "Varnesis" contains 15 per cent. alcohol, this means that the person taking it according to these directions is getting as much alcohol as he would obtain from the consumption of a half-pint of raw whisky every four and one-half days; or, to put it another way, it is the alcohol equivalent of about twelve bottles of beer a week.<sup>186</sup>

By the 1920s, *Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Purifier* became *Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Medicine* because it really couldn't be proven to purify the blood, and the *Vegetable Compound* label stated defensively that the reduced 15% alcohol content was "ADDED SOLELY AS A SOLVENT AND PRESERVATIVE." But the biggest change to the popular woman's medicine was in the label's curative claims. Since 1881 each bottle had promised,

A SURE CURE FOR PROLAPSUS UTERI, OR FALLING OF THE WOMB AND ALL FEMALE WEAKNESSES INCLUDING LEUCORRHOEA, IRREGULAR AND PAINFUL MENSTRUATION, INFLAMMATION AND ULCERATION OF THE WOMB, FLOODING & [E]TC. Pleasant to the taste, efficacious and immediate in its effect. It is a good help in pregnancy and relieves pain during labor. FOR ALL WEAKNESSES OF THE GENERATIVE ORGANS OF EITHER SEX, IT IS SECOND TO NO REMEDY THAT HAS EVER BEEN BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND FOR ALL DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS IT IS THE GREATEST REMEDY IN THE WORLD<sup>187</sup>

but in the mid-1920s the promises had been completely replaced by the nondescript statement:

RECOMMENDED AS A VEGETABLE TONIC IN CONDITIONS FOR WHICH  
THIS PREPARATION IS ADAPTED<sup>188</sup>

The new vague, ambiguous label left the medicine's curative properties entirely to the imagination of the user but it had become the only safe way to be sold without being challenged by the government.

There were thousands of medicine companies with dangerous secret ingredients and adulterations, unproven claims of cures, and fabricated testimonials of paid-off shills, but in the first three decades of the twentieth century, the efforts of federal, state, and local authorities to expose them caused the make-believe world of promising cures to begin coming apart. Doctors and specialists who were practicing in Massachusetts without a license also felt the pressure of being under the law's magnifying glass and in Lynn, which had given sanctuary for centuries to healers of every stripe, the unlicensed were being hauled into court.

John R. Laxton, a botanic healer of Lynn, was summoned before the police court in August 1907, charged with practicing medicine without a license. The AMA reported, "This is one of the first shots fired in the battle which Lynn physicians have started against a great number of persons in that city alleged to be practicing medicine without the license required by the state."<sup>189</sup> In October, Laxton was fined \$500.<sup>190</sup> Then in December, Edward E. Hosmer, "osteopath," Samuel F. Sanborn, "herbalist," Herbert F. Clough, an "electrotherapeutist," and Alfred J. Badger, the magnetic healer, who had been presented as a prominent Lynn healer two years earlier, were all brought before the police court on the same charge of practicing medicine without a license, and John R. Laxton was convicted a second time and fined \$100, like the rest.<sup>191</sup>

The 1913 *Daily Evening Item* advertisement of Illde A. Witherell and Samuel Mendelssohn, "chiropractors and mechano therapists," promised that their combination of spinal adjustments, electrical vibration, manual manipulation, spondylo percussion, mineral and vapor baths and scientific dieting were being "hailed by all our patients as the 'Elixir of Life.'"<sup>192</sup> In 1914, Lynn music composer W. T. Williams had been afflicted with epilepsy, accompanied by convulsions, chronic constipation, and shattered nerves that made him "a menace to society and a dread to myself." In his "frantic hunt for health ... Heaven blessed him and the City of Lynn with the arrival of two chiropractors, a professional partnership of a woman and man. They were able to cure him with their newly introduced skills and an obviously grateful Williams wrote and dedicated an instrumental song to them that he titled, "The Chiropractor March."<sup>193</sup> Despite the musical testimonial of a very satisfied patient, in 1915 Mendelssohn joined the ranks of Lynn healers to be arrested and convicted on the charge of practicing medicine without a license. The law was taking control away from public opinion.



**DRY HUMOR.** Few legal changes in the era had been as strongly felt as the constitutional enactment of Prohibition which lasted from 1920-1933. Lynn had debated and voted on temperance and licensing issues for well over a century, which had also been happening in towns and cities all over the country, and eventually Congress voted and state legislatures ratified in favor of a constitutional amendment banning the sale of liquor as a beverage. Medicinal alcohol was still allowed during Prohibition, which helped many of the proprietary medicine makers survive during these years.

A notable example of this in Lynn was Charles Crompton & Sons, whose entire operation seemed to pivot away from extracts, medicines, and chemicals to focus on the production of *Crompton's Extract of Ginger*. This was understood to mean Jamaican ginger, the notoriously popular Prohibition drink. The strong ginger taste suspended in a potent alcoholic base gave the perception that it was too disagreeable to be drunk on its own, so it was sold, like most Crompton products, as an extract, to be blended into some other potable liquid, like cider. In December 1918,

before Prohibition was in place, Lynn police tried to crack down on local haunts selling drinks made of Jamaican ginger extract, which was also called “Jakey” and “Jake,” notable for making a man “Dead to the World,” the *Item* said, putting him into a drunken stupor where “he cannot lift his head from the floor and ask for another drink. In such cases the prisoners are incapable of assisting themselves and they have to be carried bodily from the ambulance into the police station.”<sup>194</sup> All three locations raided were found making and selling drinks made from the extract and the *Item* reported, “some of the stores have been doing a land-office business,” in other words, selling it as fast as they made it.

The Crompton family business, which had been listed as “extracts” in the 1910 federal census, completely changed its focus in the 1920 census to the production and sale of the ginger extract. Charles Crompton was the president of the “ginger factory,” his oldest son was its manager, another son was listed as a “Jamaican Ginger” salesman and still another son and a son-in-law were “ginger truck chauffeurs” (drivers); his oldest daughter was a bottle filler at the ginger factory and the younger daughter was its bookkeeper.<sup>195</sup> According to the label, *Crompton’s Extract of Ginger* contained mostly alcohol – a powerful slug of 90% (180 proof). It was poured into a decoratively embossed two-ounce “pumpkin seed flask,” perfect for putting into one’s jacket pocket for a quick, discreet drink, even though the label assured it was “A Valuable Family Medicine for Chills, Colds, Nausea, Nervousness, Depression, [unreadable], Debility, Numbness, Pains of the Stomach or Bowels, Indigestion.”<sup>196</sup> America’s liquor drinkers were well aware that Prohibition was coming to dry them out, but the Cromptons had prepared for that day by making extract of Jamaican ginger their main product.

With somewhere between 18%-22% alcohol, *Lydia E. Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound* was already a stimulating beverage for everyone from the visiting gentlemen who enjoyed samples at the factory to the unsuspecting, temperance-card-carrying female customers. The women’s medicine that was often the subject of tawdry humor and college drinking songs was an easy target for Prohibition jokes as well. Even before Prohibition became a constitutional amendment, as individual states went dry, patent medicines had become an attractive alternative in the absence of alcoholic beverages. While the Pure Food and Drugs Act had meant to expose the alcohol content in liquid medicines, it also unintentionally became a promotional incentive for the liquor-starved to purchase. A November 1909 article in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* explained this phenomenon:

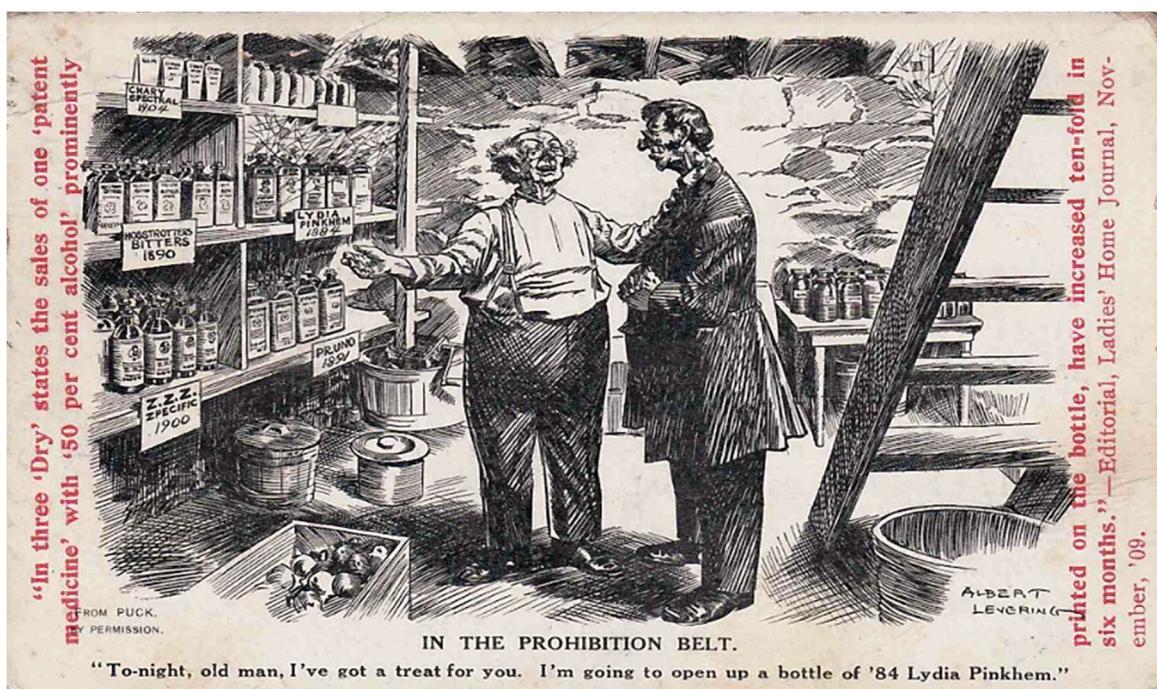
When Three Years Ago Uncle Sam Said to the “patent-medicine” manufacturers, “You must put on each bottle the amount of alcohol in your medicine,” there was



*Crompton’s Extract of Ginger*, to take the edge off of Prohibition. The flask shape and decoratively molded bottle were definitely not designed for the sick but to attract the customer looking for a stiff drink. Note “CONTAINS 90% ALCOHOL.” In front of a Crompton shipping box; note company seal. (Both collection of the author.)

strong resentment. Every effort was made to defeat the law. But the law was inexorable and the line "25 per cent. alcohol" appeared on various bottles. Every care was, however, taken to have the line appear in as small type as possible. Then a curious change took place. The line "25 per cent alcohol" suddenly appeared in larger type and stuck out prominently on the wrapper. Because the law demanded it? [No,] the law was the same. The change came, curiously enough, at the same time with the great wave of prohibition throughout the country. To the average mind there would seem to be no special connection here until this significant fact now comes out – that in nearly all the States that have by law recently gone "dry" the sales of "patent medicines" having the largest quantity of alcohol in them have increased. In three "dry" States, for example, the sales of one "patent medicine" with "50 percent. alcohol" prominently printed on the bottle, have increased more than tenfold in six months.<sup>197</sup>

This was the article referenced (in red type) on the comic postcard featuring two men in a cellar full of carefully stored and inventoried medicines. The caption reads, "To-night, old man, I've got a treat for you. I'm going to open up a bottle of '84 Lydia Pinkhem."



**The Wet Cellar in a Dry State.** Postcard postmarked 1910. The property owner shows off his collection of alcohol-laden medicines stored in his basement, intimating the medicinal equivalent of a wine cellar. (Collection of the author.)

Alcohol helped the sale of proprietary medicine products when individual states and eventually the whole country had gone dry, but other impositions of the law, coupled with the muckraking journalism and the legion of production and business problems that burdened the medicine business, ultimately resulted in a more uniform code of conduct and accountability in the industry.

It made sense that this would be the direction of medicine. Health itself had changed dramatically over the centuries of Lynn's history. Health measures had minimized several contagious illnesses and the quality of medicines had, in many instances, improved. Some health concerns did not continue to have the urgency they once had. It is somewhat telling that lice, the perpetual plague of soldiers and school children, had become the subject for the entertaining *Cootie*

*Game*, created in Lynn in 1927, in which teams of players tried to be the first to complete a cartoonish drawing of a cootie from cards listing cootie body parts.<sup>198</sup> Similarly, marshmallow had been transformed from the white, sticky root of the marshmallow plant into a sweet, gooey confection of sugar and egg whites, produced in Lynn and sold under the name, *Marshmallow Fluff*. People in the early twentieth century were clamoring for the new taste treat, probably wholly unaware that the history of marshmallow use in Lynn went back hundreds of years, when the roots were dug out of the muck in Lynn's swamps for the cure of inflammation and irritation of the nose, mouth, lungs and stomach, and as a soothing balm when used in a poultice; and what's more, they probably wouldn't have cared.



**LYNN AT 400 YEARS OLD.** These days, Ontario Street is a quiet residential neighborhood bordering the even quieter Pine Grove Cemetery; the sounds of the Crompton family building a medicine, extract and Jamaica ginger business have been forever silenced.

A funeral home at Breed Square replaced the headquarters of Lynn's most successful cough and croup balsam, giving the Lemuel Brock factory and his bustling nineteenth century business its eternal rest.

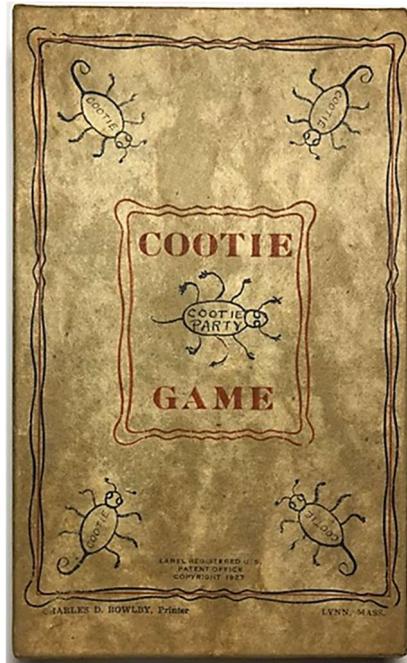
The old Pinkham laboratory now houses a collection of businesses, from pottery to pest control. Lydia's name is no longer associated with an alcohol-infused medicine; it is now an herbal supplement containing only two of five ingredients in Lydia's original formula; nonetheless, some online user reviews insist it helped them to conceive, which has never been one of the promises the manufacturers of the compound have made – the mystique lives on.<sup>199</sup> The legacy of Lydia Pinkham seems destined to bounce forever in an eternal hell between a legend larger than life and the butt of ribald jokes. Her name that once stretched across the front of the landmark building on Western Avenue has been covered over by many coats of paint, just like the true story of her remarkable life has been hidden by layers and layers of cosmetic retouching.

The Lynn Hospital has disappeared and been replaced by a grocery store and parking lot.

Homes where operations were performed without anesthesia, where contagious families huddled in quarantine, and where wakes and funerals were performed in the front parlor, continually get razed or renovated; their centuries of occupants long since having disappeared into the realm of the forgotten, remembered only occasionally by the odd, worn what-not in an antique shop or on Ebay.

Lives snuffed out by wars and industrial accidents, fires and freezing, murder and suicide, small pox, diphtheria, and countless diseases and disorders are buried in Lynn's several cemeteries, remembered by little more than the names and dates of their existence, if they are remembered at all. The terrors, pains, fears, and sadness that accompanied their passings have subsequently been forgotten, except when death returns, coming to visit each of us, sooner or later.

But through it all, the people of Lynn have lived here for many generations before us, loving life and trying to hold on and enjoy it and each other for as long as they could. Hopefully this book has helped each reader to understand and embrace this fragile, temporary, amazing existence a little bit more fully, as we each add our own sentences, paragraphs, or pages to the ongoing story of the pursuit of health in Lynn, Massachusetts.



Cootie Game, 1927. Box for the card game, 1927. (Collection of the author.)



**20<sup>th</sup> Century Tonic.** By the time of this real photo postcard view, dated 1916, “tonic” had taken on a whole new connotation. No longer meaning a bracing medicine that brought tone to the nerves and energy to the body, the old term steeped in Galenical medicine had metamorphosized into a sweet, carbonated beverage meant purely for enjoyment. It went better with the popcorn and peanuts that they also sold ... far more enjoyable than the pukes and pills that went along with ancient tonics. Here, salesmen of the Coates company of Lynn appear to be set up in a tent at a fair or carnival; they were dressed in white coats, looking more like soda jerks than pharmacists, with bottles of “Coates’ Tonics from Lynn” ready for sale. To this day, the word “tonic,” especially in northern New England, is a term used synonymously with “soda,” “pop,” or “cola.” Note a couple of old crockery vessels still being used at the right foreground, apparently selling larger quantities of the bubbly beverages. (Collection of the author.)

## Epilogue Notes

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1. The term, “city of the dead,” was used several times in Lynn’s literature of the period to describe the Pine Grove Cemetery. See for example, Clarence W. Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings* (Lynn: Lewis & Winship, 1886), p.16, and article in feature column, “ITEM EXTRA: ... PINE GROVE CEMETERY,” *Daily Evening Item*, 18 April 1891.
  2. Arthur W. Pinkham, *Reminiscences* (Lynn, MA: self-published, 1954), p.27. Located in the records of the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company; MC 181, Vol.3365, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
  3. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 10 November 1900, No.1027 (Charles Hacker Pinkham). Cause of death listed as anemia of brain. Age 55 years, 11 months, 1 day.
  4. *Deaths Registered in the City of Lynn*, 18 September 1900, No.887 (Lemuel M. Brock). Cause of death listed as chronic nephritis. Age 62 years, 10 months, 12 days. Operation of the company was continued by Brock’s two sons-in-law, Frank E. Davis and Fred M. Newhall. Per the 1920 federal census, Newhall had left the business and was living as a farmer back in his native New Hampshire. According to Lynn city directories, Davis continued to make and sell medicines as Lemuel M. Brock & Company until 1928. In the 1930 census, Eleanore V. Enwright was listed as the manager of “Toilet[ries] & Medicines” as her occupation; years later she was named in government actions against her product, *Soule’s External Lotion*, and in *Polk’s Lynn Suburban Directory*, 1939,

Vol.12, p.399, as associated with the L. M. Brock & Co. She was also the daughter of Frederick W. Enwright, publisher of the Lynn newspaper, *Telegram News*. Virginia Jones, one of Brock's great-granddaughters, had a vague memory in her elderly years that the company was sold "to the man who owned Lynn's newspaper," which was correct. Apparently, Frederick W. Enwright purchased the company from Davis and gave it to his adult daughter, Eleanor V., to run.

5. *Return of a Death, Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 26 October 1908, No.1142 (George B. Thurston). Primary cause of death: pneumonia; contributory: heart disease. Age 59 years 8 months, 3 days.
6. Article, "CHARLES CROMPTON OF LYNN DIES IN SAVANNAH," *The Boston Globe*, 9 June 1925. The article explains he was returning from his winter home in St. Petersburg, Florida, when he became ill with diabetes that he had been afflicted with for several years. He was sixty-three years old. He had retired four years earlier.
7. *City of Lynn, State of Massachusetts*, "Shoe City" Souvenir -1905, no page number.
8. Advertisement, *Country Life in America*, 1 June 1911, Vol.20, No.3, p.93.
9. Advertisement, *Harper's Bazar*, January 1905, Vol.39, No.1, p.1171 (advertising p.19). See also articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "THEIR DIAGNOSIS WAS CORRECT. The Knife Saved Geo. E. Sprague's Life," 3 June 1904, and "ORIGIN OF ANTHRAX IS IN TROPICAL CLIMATES. Bailli Found in the Soil, Water and Vegetation in Certain Districts. SURGICAL CLEANLINESS A CHECK. Board of Health Once Posted Notices in Factories Subject to Danger, but Custom Was Dropped," 1 June 1904.
10. Articles in the *Telegram News* (Lynn), "LYNN WOMEN IN 'TESTS' SEEK MONKEY GLAND YOUTH. NAMES BEING KEPT SECRET BY DOCTORS." ("Fountain"), 1 November 1921, and "Lynn Man Is Seeker After Gland Youth," 5 November 1921 (authoritatively; emphasis added). Charles C. Foss, of 5 Clark Street, was specified as one of the Lynn people being treated in this way.
11. Article, "TINY TWIN BABES." *Daily Evening Item*, 27 March 1893.
12. Article, "THE INCUBATOR THE BABY'S HOME. A Tiny Mite in West Lynn Making Determined Effort to Live," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 April 1902. See also *Deaths Registered in Lynn, Massachusetts*, 1 May 1902 (No.397): "Alice Rolland, twelve days, of premature birth."
13. See articles in feature column, "WYOMA," in the *Daily Evening Item*: "A Wonderful Case," 26 February 1902 (two pounds); 5 April 1902 (measles). The two sources did not specify whether the incubator used for Elfrida was designed for humans or brooding chicks. Elfrida Gertrude Laurian was born in Boston (Jamaica Plains), but the birth also appears in *Births Registered in the City of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 31 May 1901 (No.681) and she died in Jamaica Plains as well, on 22 September 1902 (online at ancestry.com).
14. For photograph of fortune tellers with one of the babies, see lost-wonderland.com.
15. Article, "LITTLE INCUBATOR BABY PASSES AWAY," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 October 1907. The closing in September would have been for seasonal reasons; late fall can be cool and even freezing north of Boston.
16. Article, "Incubator Baby," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 August 1908.
17. Article, 'SEPTEMBER MORN' AND PUBLIC MORALITY OF THE PRESENT. Friends' Church Pastor Criticises Latest Conspicuous Offering of 'Art for Art's Sake.' DEGRADING TENDENCY OF WOMEN'S DRESS AND MODERN DANCE EVILS. Balneatory Abominations He Witnessed on Beaches --- Scores the Publication of Some Newspaper Illustrations." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
18. Article, 'SEPTEMBER MORN' AND PUBLIC MORALITY OF THE PRESENT." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
19. Article, 'SEPTEMBER MORN' AND PUBLIC MORALITY OF THE PRESENT." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
20. Article, 'SEPTEMBER MORN' AND PUBLIC MORALITY OF THE PRESENT." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
21. Article, "WHY NOT BE SCIENTIFIC WITH THE CHILDREN. In Support of Eugenic Marriage Rev. C. T. Chase Calls Attention to Horse Breeding. WHY SHOULD WE NEGLECT THE CHILD. Race Should Not Be Tinctured With Diseased Blood or Alcoholism." *Daily Evening Item*, 14 August 1913.
22. Article, "WHY NOT BE SCIENTIFIC WITH THE CHILDREN." *Daily Evening Item*, 14 August 1913 (emphasis added).
23. Article, "WHY NOT BE SCIENTIFIC WITH THE CHILDREN." *Daily Evening Item*, 14 August 1913.
24. Article, "FIRST EUGENIC HUSBAND HAS DOUBTS ABOUT THIS NEW WEDLOCK IDEA." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
25. Article, "FIRST EUGENIC HUSBAND HAS DOUBTS ABOUT THIS NEW WEDLOCK IDEA." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.

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26. Article, "FIRST EUGENIC HUSBAND HAS DOUBTS ABOUT THIS NEW WEDLOCK IDEA." *Daily Evening Item*, 28 July 1913.
27. Carolus Melville Cobb, M.D., *The History of the Lynn Hospital* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols & Son Co., 1918), pp.59-60.
28. Diary of George S. Bliss, Lynn Massachusetts, 1 January-30 December 1904, manuscript, 23 May 1904. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) The hospital doctor tending to and operating upon Pollie Bliss was William B. Little.
29. Diary of George S. Bliss, 31 January 1904.
30. Diary of George S. Bliss, 10 February 1904.
31. Diary of George S. Bliss, 15 April 1904.
32. Diary of George S. Bliss, 16 April 1904.
33. Diary of George S. Bliss, 25 April 1904.
34. Diary of George S. Bliss, 27 April 1904.
35. Diary of George S. Bliss, 15 April 1904.
36. Diary of George S. Bliss, 17 and 18 April 1904.
37. Diary of George S. Bliss, 16 May 1904.
38. Diary of George S. Bliss, 25 May 1904.
39. Article, "HOSPITAL AMBULANCE," *Daily Evening Item*, 18 December 1901.
40. Article, "UNION HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 June 1901. See also Article, "THE UNION HOSPITAL," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 July 1901 (billiard room).
41. "Annual Report of the Overseers of the Poor, " *The City Documents Comprising the Mayor's Address, the Annual Reports for 1903 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: Whitten & Cass, 1904), p.491. Also see article, "NEW HOSPITAL TODAY OPENED FOR INSPECTION," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 July 1912 (cobweb).
42. Article, "New Hospital Open Today for Inspection," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 July 1912.
43. Article, "LYNN WHITE PLAGUE RELIEF ASSOCIATION OPENS ITS EXPOSITION AT ARMORY WITH IMPOSING CEREMONY," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 May 1912.
44. "Report of Social Tuberculosis Worker," *The City Documents Comprising the Annual Reports for 1914 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1915), p.274.
45. "Report of Social Tuberculosis Worker," *The City Documents Comprising ... the Annual Reports for 1915 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: G.H. & A.L. Nichols, 1916), p.233.
46. Article, "INFANTILE PARALYSIS," *Boston Evening Transcript*, 1 June 1910.
47. Article, "WOBURN WAGING WAR ON INFANTILE PARALYSIS," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 August 1911.
48. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "INFANTILE PARALYSIS CARRIED BY INSECT," 22 November 1912 (stable fly); "Beware Stray Cats," *Wakefield Item*, as quoted by the *Daily Evening Item*, 23 October 1913 (kittens).
49. Article, "Lynn Man Dies," *The Boston Globe*, 23 August 1916.
50. Article, "Lynn Girl Stricken," *The Boston Globe*, 1 September 1916.
51. Article, "Lynn Bars Children From Theatres," *The Boston Globe*, 8 September 1916.
52. "Annual Report of the Board of Health," *The City Documents Comprising the Annual Reports for 1916 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1917), p.234 (emphases added).
53. Diary of Charles Heywood Green, Lynn Massachusetts, 1 January 1904 - 2 December 1912, manuscript, 26 February 1909. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) Charles was born on 1 October 1888; see *Births Registered in Lynn, Massachusetts*, 1 October 1888, no.974.
54. Diary of Charles Heywood Green, 29 September 1909.
55. Article by Edwin W. Ingalls, "Dust and the Public Health," *The Lynn Review*, May 1905, p.11.
56. "Annual Report of the Board of Health," *The City Documents Comprising ... the Annual Reports for 1907 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1908), p.447.
57. "Annual Report of the Board of Health," *The City Documents Comprising the Annual Reports for 1910 ... of the City of Lynn*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1911), p.302.
58. Article, "12,149 LYNN MEN 18 TO 45 REGISTER FOR WAR SERVICE," *Daily Evening Item*, 13 September 1918.
59. Article, "TEN YOUNG NURSES ANSWER COUNTRY'S CALL," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 September 1918.

60. Article, "Save paper to Help in Winning War," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 September 1918.
61. Article, "Save Pits and Shells for Uncle Sam ...," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 September 1918 (peach); illustrated notice," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 October 1918 (sugar).
62. Article, "LYNN FOOTOLOGIST SEES FEET BENEFITED BY WAR," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1918.
63. Advertisement for *Lydia E. Pinkham Vegetable Compound*, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 September 1918.
64. Article, "Save Pits and Shells for Uncle Sam ...," *Daily Evening Item*, 28 September 1918 (peach); illustrated notice," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 October 1918 (sugar). The booklet's cover is shown in Appendix F.
65. Article, "FATHER OF EIGHT AMONG WOUNDED ON BRITISH LINE," *Daily Evening item*, 17 September 1918.
66. Article, "First Lynn Flyer Loses Life in the Service," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1918.
67. Articles, "GREATER BOSTON MEN IN CASUALTY LIST," *The Boston Globe*, 26 September 1918 (Baribeau); "Priv. McLaughlin Reported Gassed," *Daily Evening Item*, 10 September 1918 (McLaughlin).
68. Article, "Men From U-Boats May Have Scattered Germs," *The Boston Globe*, 19 September 1918.
69. Article, "IMPROVEMENT AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 1 October 1918.
70. Article, "SURG-GEN. BLUE ISSUES RULES ON INFLUENZA," *Daily Evening Item*, 14 September 1918.
71. Article, "3 MORE DEATHS FROM INFLUENZA IN THIS CITY," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 September 1918.
72. Article, "WOUNDED THRICE IN WAR, LYNN BOY PNEUMONIA VICTIM," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 October 1918.
73. Articles in *The Boston Globe*, "Great Demand for Nurses," 25 September 1918 (20); "BOSTON GRIPPE TOLL DROPS TO 144," 10 October 1918 (50).
74. Article, "EPIDEMIC OF INFLUENZA IS SERIOUS HERE," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1918.
75. Article, "NURSES SCARCE AND DOCTORS OVERWORKED," *Daily Evening Item*, 2 October 1918.
76. Article, "LYNN DESPERATELY IN NEED OF NURSES," *The Boston Globe*, 1 October 1918.
77. Article, "Martin Mansion Taken By City As Hospital For Influenza Victims," *The Boston Globe*, 24 September 1918.
78. Article, "IMPROVEMENT AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 2 October 1918.
79. Editorial by George W. Haywood, "LYNN NURSES ARE DOING A NOBLE WORK," "Daily Evening Item", 10 October 1918.
80. Article, "IMPROVEMENT AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 7 October 1918.
81. Article, "Says Nurses Backward In Giving Aid Because Fearful of the Epidemic," *Daily Evening Item*, 9 October 1918.
82. Article, "LYNN DESPERATELY IN NEED OF NURSES," *The Boston Globe*, 1 October 1918 (afraid).
83. Article, "EPIDEMIC OF INFLUENZA IS SERIOUS HERE," *Daily Evening Item*, 23 September 1918.
84. Article, "LYNN DESPERATELY IN NEED OF NURSES," *The Boston Globe*, 1 October 1918.
85. Article, "GRIPPE CLOSES SCHOOLS AND THEATRES AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 27 September 1918.
86. Article, "The Making of Masks for Influenza Workers," *Lynn Daily Evening Item*, 8 October 1918. This article refers to face masks as Manchurian masks, after their invention during the 1910–11 Manchurian plague outbreak.
87. Advertisement for the U.S. Public Health Service, *The Topeka State Journal*, 12 October 1918.
88. Article, "IMPROVEMENT AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 2 October 1918.
89. Article, "THREE IN ONE FAMILY DEAD FROM INFLUENZA," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 September 1918.
90. Article, "LYNN PATROLMAN DIES," *The Boston Globe*, 12 October 1918.
91. Article, "BETTER SHOWING IN LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 4 October 1918.
92. Articles in the *Daily Evening Item*, "Spanish Influenza Closes Hospital to All Visitors," 19 September 1918 (Lynn Hospital); "Union Hospital Closed to Visitors for the Present," 20 September 1918; "THREE DEATHS FROM SPANISH INFLUENZA HERE," 21 September 1918 (corridors).
93. Article, "18 DEATHS IN LAST 24 HOURS FROM INFLUENZA," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 September 1918.
94. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of September, an update was released that the number of influenza cases had exceeded 10,000, but the new estimate was not stated. Note, however, that the number of influenza infections had jumped from

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- 3,000 on 22 September to 10,000 on 24 September; the jump in one day could have also been precipitous. See article, "LYNN CASES PASS 10,000," *The Boston Globe*, 26 September 1918.
95. Article, "Martin Mansion Taken By City As Hospital For Influenza Victims. Dr. Donovan After Learning That Owners Had Refused to Turn It to City," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1918.
  96. Advertisements for *To Hell with the Kaiser* and *Johanna Enlists*, *Daily Evening Item*, 21 September 1918.
  97. Articles in *Daily Evening Item*, "Lynn Suffers Heavily," 24 September 1918 (children); "18 DEATHS IN LAST 24 HOURS FROM INFLUENZA," 25 September 1918 (movie).
  98. Article, "18 DEATHS IN LAST 24 HOURS FROM INFLUENZA," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 September 1918.
  99. Article, "LYNN A HEALTHY COMMUNITY," (Lynn) *Telegram-News*, 23 September 1918 (emphasis added).
  100. Article, "BETTER OUTLOOK IN LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 26 September 1918.
  101. Article, "GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN LYNN'S GRIPPE SITUATION," *The Boston Globe*, 30 September 1918.
  102. Article, "SCHOOLS AND THEATRES WILL REMAIN CLOSED," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 October 1918.
  103. Article, "No Meeting of Christian Scientists," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 October 1918.
  104. Article, "IMPROVEMENT AT LYNN," *The Boston Globe*, 6 October 1918.
  105. Article, "Martin Mansion Taken By City As Hospital For Influenza Victims," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 September 1918.
  106. Advertisements in *Daily Evening Item*, 14 October 1918 (*Father John's*); 22 October 1918 (*Dr. True's Elixir*); 29 October 1918 (*Horlick's Malted Milk*). Note that The Lydia E. Pinkham Company later purchased the rights to *Dr. J. F. True's Elixir* and manufactured it in Lynn.
  107. Article, "'GRIP SITUATION IMPROVES, MARTIN HOME TO CLOSE," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 October 1918.
  108. Article, "DEATH RATE FROM 'FLU' IN LYNN IS VERY LOW," *The Boston Globe*, 28 December 1918.
  109. In 2022, the National Archives featured a page titled, "THE DEADLY VIRUS / The Influenza Epidemic of 1918," [online archives.gov/exhibits/influenza-epidemic/] which stated, "The flu afflicted over 25 percent of the U.S. population." That statement, combined with the fact that Lynn was one of the hardest-hit communities in Massachusetts during the influenza epidemic of 1918, would conservatively establish that 25% of its population experienced the influenza during that year. The population of Lynn in the census of 1920 was 99,148, an eleven percent increase over 1910. A purely mathematical breakout of the eleven percent increase, evenly over the decade, would put the population of Lynn in 1918 at 96,472. Twenty-five percent of this population would be 24,118; again, this estimate seems on the conservative side, given how much Lynn suffered during that epidemic.
  110. *Annual Report of the Department of Public Health of the City of Lynn, For the Year Ending December 31, 1927* (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1928), p.31.
  111. All of the twentieth century medicines are listed in Appendix C.
  112. Journals of John W. Poole, manuscript, 1881-1894. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) His notes on "E. V. Freliah" [E. V. Freleigh] are in the Addresses section of his 1886 journal.
  113. William Richard Cutter, *Encyclopedia of Massachusetts* (New York, American Historical Society, 1916-1920), Vol.5, p.388-390.
  114. *The Shoe Retailer and Boots and Shoes Weekly*, 20 July 1904, Vol.51, No.1, p.24.
  115. William Richard Cutter, *Encyclopedia of Massachusetts* (New York, American Historical Society, 1916-1920), Vol.5, p.388-390.
  116. *The Shoe Retailer and Boots and Shoes Weekly*, 20 July 1904, Vol.51, No.1, p.24.
  117. In the 4 October 1861 birth record of Charles Crompton, his father, Abel Crompton, was listed as a "Commercial Traveler" (a traveling salesman; see 1861 England Census, online at ancestry.com). Abel Crompton died in York County, Ontario, Canada, of asthma following gastric carcinoma on 6 February 1906 (online at ancestry.com).
  118. City of Lynn, Massachusetts, Semi-Centennial of Incorporation (Lynn: Whitten & Cass, 1900), p.254.
  119. However, the son standing in front of the truck's radiator, wearing the driver's gloves, appears to be older brother George, who was 20 at the time of the photograph; Edward was just 14 and not yet old enough to drive the truck. (Collection of the author).
  120. *The Spatula*, Vol.17, No.1, p.288.

121. The New England Laboratory Company also made *Aleppo Cold Cream*, but it wasn't advertised nearly as frequently or prominently as its Burrill's tooth products.
122. *Municipal History of Essex County in Massachusetts*, Benjamin F. Arrington, Editor-in-Chief (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company 1922), Vol.2, p.904. The four examples of the postcards featuring the Burrill delivery trucks, as well as those featuring billboard advertising, all contain the wording "SOLD EVERYWHERE."
123. Advertisement, *Tremont Theatre Programme*, p.9, features three "Cousin Lucy Actresses" (Grace Russell, Claudia Carlstedt, and Irene Palmer) "who use and endorse Burrill's Tooth Powder [and] Paste."
124. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 27 February 1904.
125. Advertisement, *Daily Evening Item*, 14 December 1906.
126. Article, "CHARLES CROMPTON THROWN FROM AUTO," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 September 1910.
127. Article, "LOSES A FINGER WITH RUNAWAY HORSE," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 November 1910.
128. Two lawsuits were leveled against the driver of the other vehicle; one by Charles Crompton (for his injuries) and the other by the Charles Crompton and Sons corporation (for the merchandise destroyed in the accident). See Henry Walton Swift, reporter, "Charles Crompton vs. Chester B. Williams. Charles Crompton & Sons, Incorporated, vs. Same. Essex. November 5, 1913. – November 25, 1913," in *Massachusetts Reports 216: Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, October 1913 – February 1914* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1914), pp. 184-187.
129. *Interstate Automobile Register and Tourists' Guide*, Number One New England 1905, (Worcester, MA: F. S. Blanchard & Co., 1905; online at archive.org).
130. Articles, "BIG FIRE IN CHEMICAL PLANT; POLICE RUSH IN DRESS SUITS, 3 EXPLOSIONS FOLLOW BLAZE IN LABORATORY" *Telegram News*, 19 November 1921; and "\$5,000 FIRE IN CROMPTON & SONS' SHOP, PINE HILL," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1921.
131. Article, "BIG FIRE IN CHEMICAL PLANT," *Telegram News*, 19 November 1921.
132. Article, "BIG FIRE IN CHEMICAL PLANT," *Telegram News*, 19 November 1921.
133. Article, "\$5,000 FIRE IN CROMPTON & SONS' SHOP, PINE HILL," *Daily Evening Item*, 19 November 1921.
134. Article, "Insurance on Lynn Chemical Laboratory," *The Standard* ("A Weekly Insurance Newspaper devoted to the interests of Sound Underwriting in All its Branches"), Volume 89, 3 December 1921, p.751.
135. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, manuscript 1903-1904, 1 January 1903. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) Lane's notes actually quantified the inventory as 8,187 gross of the vegetable compound and 500 gross of the blood purifier.
136. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 8 January 1904.
137. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 11 April 1904 (labels).
138. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 14 (acid); 19 January 1904 (sweeter).
139. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 11 November 1903.
140. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 12 November 1903 (star fish); 23 February 1904 (condemned).
141. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 4 May 1903 (meters).
142. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 8 May 1903.
143. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 2 June 1903.
144. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 7 July 1903.
145. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 8 September 1903.
146. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 18 September 1903.
147. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 5 June 1904.
148. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 8 June 1904.
149. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 14 November 1904.
150. Charles H. Pinkham, *Advertising* (Lynn: Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, 1953), Vol.1, p.111.
151. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 25 July 1903.
152. *The Lynn Review*, June 1900, p.20.
153. Feature Column, "THE WOMAN'S COLUMN," *Daily Evening Item*, 8 April 1903.
154. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 30 March 1904 (awful); 9 April 1904 (terrible).
155. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 7 July 1904.

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156. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 11 July 1904.
157. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 15 December 1904.
158. *Yours for Health, Lydia E. Pinkham*, booklet, 1899.
159. *Yours for Health, Lydia E. Pinkham*, booklet, 1899 (emphasis added).
160. Photo essay, untitled, *Ladies' Home Journal*, September 1905, p.15. It did not specify which publication the Pinkham ad was found in on 27 June 1905, but a large selection of Pinkham ads ran concurrently in newspapers and periodicals throughout the country and not necessarily during a narrow timeframe; thus, that copy can be found in a Pinkham ad that ran in Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* on 23 November 1901.
161. Photo essay, "How Patent Medicines Will Burn. A Most Interesting Experiment," *Ladies' Home Journal*, September 1905, p.15.
162. Samuel Hopkins Adams, *The Great American Fraud: Articles on the Nostrum Evil and Quacks, in Two Series, Reprinted from Collier's Weekly* (P. F. Collier and Son, 1905 and 1906), pp.13 (dangerous), 17 (drink), 21 (suffering), 52 (foster).
163. Samuel Hopkins Adams, *The Great American Fraud*, p.22.
164. Samuel Hopkins Adams, *The Great American Fraud*, pp.59-60.
165. Harvey W. Wiley, M.D., *1001 Tests of Foods, Beverages and Toilet Accessories, Good and Otherwise: Why They Are So* (New York: Hearst's International Library Co., Revised Edition, 1916), pp.307-308.
166. Article, "TAFT WELL RECEIVED. Cheerful Greetings to Candidate in Tour of South Dakota," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 September 1908.
167. Diary of Ernest Pinkham Lane, 12 April 1904.
168. *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 59<sup>th</sup> Congress: 1<sup>st</sup> Session. December 4, 1905 – June 30, 1906. House Documents (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), Vol. 1, p.263.
169. Richard J. Evans, Distributor, Wilkes-Barre, PA, typed letter to L. E. Pinkham Med. Co., Lynn, Mass., 4 April 1900, manuscript (Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company Papers, 1859-1968, Schlesinger Library, MC 181, Box 168, Folder 3132).
170. Lydia E. Pinkham Company, Lynn, MA, typed letter to Richard J. Evans, Wilkes-Barre, PA, 7 April 1900, manuscript (Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company Papers, 1859-1968, Schlesinger Library, MC 181, Box 168, Folder 3132), pp.2-3 (emphasis added).
171. Article, "LYNN'S ROYAL WELCOME," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1902.
172. Transcript of President Theodore Roosevelt's speech, "THE ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF LYNN," *Daily Evening Item*, 26 August 1902.
173. Public Law 59-384, 34 STAT 768, for Preventing the Manufacture, Sale, or Transportation of Adulterated or Misbranded or Poisonous or Deleterious Foods, Drugs, Medicines, and Liquors, and for Regulating Traffic Therein, and for Other Purposes," Section 8 (alcohol), Section 1 (penalties). (online at catalog.archives.gov)
174. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1906* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Col., State Printers, 1906), Chapter 386, An Act Relative to the labelling of Certain Patent or Proprietary Drugs and Foods, pp.362-364. Chapter 386 was amended by the Acts of 1907, Chapter 259, and another law (Acts 1907, Chapter 180) preventing the distribution, delivery, or giveaway of bottles, boxes, envelopes, or packages of liquid, medicine, pills, powders, tablets or other article which is composed of any drug, poison or other ingredients or substance "which may be in any way injurious or harmful to any child or other person who may taste, eat, drink or otherwise use the same." Not only was it getting harder to sell patent medicines, it was becoming harder to even give away samples.
175. Article, "PURE FOOD LAW. Its Application to Medicine Discussed by H. A. Estabrook before the Medical Club. *Fitchburg Sentinel*, 10 May 1907.
176. "1902 Process of Manufacture. Previous to July 1902 No Record of mfg our medicine was kept." Typed narrative (Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company Papers, 1859-1968, Schlesinger Library, MC 181, Folder 2634.)
177. Bottle label, Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam, dated 1 April 1902.
178. *The Driving Clubs of Greater Boston*, John W. Linnehan and Edward E. Cogswell, editors (Boston: Atlantic Printing Company, 1914), p.286.
179. *Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts*, (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1908) Vol.39, p.354.
180. NOTICE OF JUDGMENT NO. 568, FOOD AND DRUGS ACT. MISBRANDING OF HEADACHE AND NEURALGIA CURE, F.& D. No.1307, I.S. No. 11424-b., Issued 9 September 1910, United States

- Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, W. M. Hays, Acting Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., August 17, 1910.
181. Notice of Judgment, No.568, F.& D. No.1307, I.S. No.11424-b., Issued 9 September 1910 (emphases added).
182. Notice of Judgment, No.568, F. & D. No.1307, I.S. No.11424-b., Issued 9 September 1910.
183. Notice of Judgment, No.1029, F.&D. No.1834. I. S. Nos.18523-b and 18524-b. Issued August 30, 1911. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture. Washington, D.C., July 24, 1911. (online at archive.nlm.nih.gov) Also see Pure Products (Scientific Station for Pure Products, 1911), Vol.7, p.595.
184. State of Connecticut Public Document No. 24: *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of The Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, Being the annual report for the year ended October 31, 1915.* (Hartford, CT: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1916), pp.375-376 (emphasis in original).
185. In 1940, thirteen bottles of *Soule's External Lotion* were seized in Jacksonville, Florida, and found to be adulterated and misbranded. "It contained mercuric chloride, a poisonous or deleterious substance, which might have rendered it injurious to users under the conditions of use prescribed . . ." See National Library of Medicine, FDA Notices of Judgment Collection, Cosmetics, 1940-1964, Case 22.  
In the same and following year, the Cotec Co. of Lynn, Mass., was twice found guilty of adulteration and misbranding its products for piles and laxative as not adequate treatments for the conditions mentioned and was "a filthy mixture unfit for medicinal use." See National Library of Medicine, FDA Notices of Judgment Collection, Cosmetics, 1940-1964, Case 95 (May 1940) and Case 155 (April 1941).
186. *Journal A. M. A.*, August 18, 1917, as quoted in Arthur J. Cramp, M.D., *Nosstrums and Quackery: Articles on the Nostrum Evil, Quackery and Allied Matters Affecting the Public Health; Reprinted, With or Without Modifications, from The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago: Press of American Medical Association, 1921), Vol.2, p.627.
187. Labeled bottle of *Lydia E. Pinkham Vegetable Compound*, about 1881 (Collection of the author.)
188. Labeled bottle of *Lydia E. Pinkham Vegetable Compound*, about 1925 (Collection of the author.)
189. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago, IL: 31 August 1907), Vol.49, No.9, p.782.
190. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago, IL: 19 October 1907), Vol.49, No.16, p.1374.
191. *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago, IL: 21 December 1907), Vol.49, No.25, p.2094.
192. Advertisement for Witherell and Mendelsohn, *Daily Evening Item*, 18 November 1913.
193. Sheet music, "The Chiropractor March," w. T. Williams, composer, 1914. Images of the sheet music along with accompanying description can be found in Appendix D.
194. Article, "POLICE SEIZE NEW DRINK FOR LYNN, 'JAKEY' AND CIDER," *Daily Evening Item*, 5 December 1918. Jamaica ginger was seized at three Lynn stores and chemically analyzed, and found to contain high alcohol content (92%). The article did not identify the manufacturer of the Jamaican ginger extract they found in the seizures, but it did note that it was being blended with cider at one of the locations.
195. *Population Schedules of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*: Lynn, MA, p.9 (verso), house 96, dwelling 150, family 171 p.10 (Edward B. Crompton); p.10 (recto), house 100, dwelling 151, family 174 (Charles Crompton).
196. The clear glass flask is three inches wide by four and one-half inches tall and seven-eighths of an inch wide at the base, ideally suited for man's jacket or pants pocket.
197. Editorial, "The New Drink," *Ladies Home Journal* (Philadelphia, PA: November 1909), Vol.26, No.12, p.6.
198. Edward Dunbar, Lynn's "footologist," also became an inventor of children's games, "from which he realizes a good royalty. He expects to continue making and playing with children, who are his hobby," according to a typed caption attached to a photograph of a wizened Dunbar, about 1923. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
199. Testimonials of conception by customers of the herbal supplement were found online in 2022 at Amazon.com under user reviews of the product.

# Volume 4 Index

## -A-

Ackerman's Drug Store, 1184  
 Act to Provide for the Registration of Physicians and Surgeons, 1067  
 Act Regulating the Sale and Purchase of Poison, 1059  
 Adams, Everett F., 1066  
 Adams, Samuel Hopkins, 1197  
 adulterated food: (brandy drop candy) 1056; (bread) 1055; (cream cakes) 1055-1056; (milk) 1057-1058; 1146, 1147  
 Ahearne, Dr., 1011  
 Ahearne, Matthew, 1064  
 alcohol content, 1045, 1058, 1197-1200, 1202-1204, 1214  
 Allen, George H., 1026  
 Allen, Myra D., 1122-1124  
 Allen, Widow Abbie M., 1040  
 Alley, Eliza Bethiah, 991  
 almshouse, 994, 1057, 1079, 1089-1093, 1097-1098, 1121-1122, 1155, 1170  
 ambulance, 1010, 1028, 1089, 1092, 1096, 1099, 1174, 1182, 1204  
 American Bell Telephone Company, 1069, 1150  
 Americanitis, (see *neurasthenia*)  
 American Ordnance Company, 1108-1109  
 American Society for the Advancement of Science, 1069, 1150  
 John Anderson, p.1084  
 Anglo-American Remedies (see Charles Crompton & Sons), 1053  
 anthrax, 1166, 1208  
 Armenian, 1034, 1105-1107  
 Ash, Edmund, 1041  
 Association of Manufacturers and Wholesale Dealers in Proprietary Articles, 1045  
 Atlantic City, NJ, 1015  
 Attwill house, 995, 1134  
 Aylward, Mark, 1048

## -B-

Badger, Alfred J., 1166, 1203  
 Bangs, Charles H., 1061  
 Baribeau, A., 1180  
 Barker, Owen J., 1009  
 Barnard, F. L. 993, 1032  
 Barnum, P. T. (and circus) 1048  
 Barrett, Edward, 1065  
 Barry, William H., 1065

Bartlett, Allan F., 1009  
 Batchelder, Mrs. Caroline A., 1050  
 Battleship Maine, 1108-1111, 1114, 1158  
 Beal family (George A.; children: Bertha, Ethel), 1083  
 Bean, Emma, 1005-1006  
 Beckwith, Cora, 1003  
 Bent, Mrs. Lizzie F., 1093-1095  
 Bergen, John, 1072  
 Berry, Judge, 1060  
 Berry, L. 1051  
 Bickford, Mr. 1091  
 bicycles, 1000-1003, 1033, 1039, 1079, 1049, 1062, 1079, 1119-1120, 1124, 1128, 1137  
 biological warfare, 1180  
 Bixby, Alvah C., 1040  
 Blair, John W., 1065  
 black diphtheria, 1083  
 Blatchford, Arthur, 1074, 1076  
 Bliss family (George S.; wife: Pollie), 1171  
 Blizzard of 1898, 1023, 1025-1026, 1108  
 Bloom family (sisters: Annie, Carrie), 1105  
*Blue Book of Lynn*, 1029-1030, 1102, 1126, 1141  
 Blye, Frank, 1039  
 Bly, Nellie, 1122  
**BODY AILMENTS AND ABNORMALITIES:**  
 asthma, 1005, 1051, 1118, 1185, 1211  
 bowel complaints, 1079, 1204  
 bruises, 1191  
 burns, 988, 1024, 1028, 1077, 1100, 1151  
 catarrh, 1078, 1080, 1201  
 constipation, 1113, 1185, 1203  
 convulsions, 1203  
 corns, 1185  
 cough, 997, 1005, 1039, 1049, 1068-1069, 1081, 1175-1176, 1182, 1188, 1200  
 cramps, 1055, 1063, 1079, 1103  
 croup, 1051, 1053  
 diarrhea, 997, 1005, 1061, 1063, 1079, 1113, 1114  
 dizziness, 1026, 1127  
 dyspepsia, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1126, 1127  
 exhaustion, 1080-1081, 1113, 1127-1128, 1131  
 fever, 1086, 1091, 1095, 1178, 1180 (also see specific fevers under DISEASES)  
 food poisoning: 1117; (cream cakes) 1055-1056; (lobster salad) 1061  
 freckles, 1049  
 headaches, 993, 1013, 1085, 1086, 1094, 1126, 1127, 1183, 1185, 1201  
 impotence, 1126, 1128  
 infection, 1077, 1092, 1100, 1114, 1153, 1175, 1178, 1182, 1184, 1210-1211

- insomnia, 1005, 1059
- liver complaint, 1005
- loss of appetite, 1127
- nerves, 1005, 1039, 1125, 1127, 1128, 1131, 1202-1203, 1207
- neuralgia, 1053, 1201
- paralysis, 1072, 1074, 1132, 1175-1176, 1184
- piles, 1171, 1185, 1214
- sore throat, 1078, 1113
- sprains, 1001
- stomach pains, 1059
- sunburn, 1076
- thirst, 1113
- whooping cough, 997, 1033
- Bok, Edward, 1196
- bottles with messages, 1017, 1138
- Bowdoin Medical School, 1066
- Bowman, Walter S., 1053
- Boyd Brothers' potato chip factory, 995
- Boyden House, 1091, 1129
- Boyle, Robert V., 1053
- Brann, Eugene H., 1112
- Breakfast cereals: (*Grape Nuts, Shredded Wheat, Wheatena, Wheat Germ, Wheatlet*) 1004
- Breed's Square, 1060
- Breed & Stevens, wharf, 1040
- Breer, Lewis B., 1000
- Brennick, Zachs, 1102
- Bridgewater, MA, 1037
- Brigham, Frank F., 997-998
- Brock, Lemuel, 1010, 1029, 1049, 1057-1060, 1101, 1156, 1166, 1206
- Brothers, Harry, 1072
- Brown family (Albert Weston; Roger Shaw), 1177
- Brown, Fanny, 1091, 1154-1155
- Brown, Ida, 1008
- Bruce, Orasmus B., 1125
- Brunswick Hotel, 1100
- Bubier, Edward Trevert (see *Edward Trevert*)
- Bubier, ex-Mayor Samuel M., 1084
- Buck, Stearns, 1074
- Buckman, H., 1024
- Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows, 1048
- Buffum's Wharf, 1014
- Bulfinch's drugstore, 1039
- Burke family, 1103
- Burnham, Private Herbert O., 1114
- Burrill, Walter, 1072
- Burrows, James, 1048
- Burt, Frederick A., 1094
- Butman, Edwin T., 1027
- Cape Cod, 1033
- Carson family (Amos; wife: Carrie N.; son: Charles), 1081-1082
- Castle, James, 1128
- celery, 1005, 1129
- Central Congregational Church, 1170
- Chace family (mother, Aubrey B.; siblings: Edison Leslie, Effie Idelia), 1165
- Chandler, Richard, 1063
- Charles Crompton & Sons, 1053, 1186, 1188, 1203
- Chase, Lieutenant Daniel, 1111
- Chase, Rev. C. Thurston, 1170
- Chase, Willard C., 1024
- Chicago, IL, 1117
- Chickamauga, GA, 1112-1115, 1117, 1159
- Children's Home, 1082, 1123, 1155
- chiropractor, 1203
- Christian Science, 1068
- Citizen's Reform Party, 1035, 1038
- City Hall Square, 993, 1023, 1039
- Clarke, J. Curtis, 1022
- Clements, Sophia A., 1091, 1154-1155
- Cleveland, President Grover, 1107
- Cleveland's Superior Baking Powder*, 1057
- Clickstein, Samuel, 1106
- Clough, Henry, 1039-1040
- Clough, Herbert F., 1203
- Cobb, Carolus, 1171
- Colcord, Joseph W., 1045, 1062
- Colcord's pharmacy, 1129
- COLLECTIBLE SPOONS:
  - Dungeon Rock, 1000
  - Moll Pitcher, 1000
  - Salem Witch, 1000
- Collier's* magazine, 1197, 1198
- Collins, Thomas, 1031
- Colt firearms factory, 996
- Commonwealth Mining Company, 1040
- Concord, NH, 1094
- Conley, William A., 1180
- Connecticut Board of Health, 1066-1067
- Cook, William P., 1062, 1148
- Crookes tube, 1072-1073
- Cootie Game, 1205-1206
- Cottage Lying-In Hospital, 1093-1095
- Cracker Jacks*, 1004
- Craig, William F., 1057-1058
- Creamer family, 1091
- Creamer, Mayor Walter H., 1182-1184
- Crompton, Abel, 1211
- Crompton family (Charles, 1052-1054, 1056, 1100, 1186-1188, 1191-1192, 1203-1204, 1208, 1211,

1212; wife: Mary; children: Charles, George, Lillie, Emma, Edward, Ada, 1188, 1189, 1189)  
 Cuddy family, 1082  
 Cummings, Edward N., 1119, 1161  
*Cushing's Laxative Fig Syrup*, 1039

**-D-**

Dame, Melvin A., 1105  
 Dane's Family Laundry, 1081  
 Danvers Asylum, 1065, 1132  
 Danvers, MA, 1064, 1121, 1132  
 Davenport, Dr. Bennett F., 1060, 1147  
 Davock, Mrs. Winnie, 1062  
*Deering, Abbie M.*, 1040  
 de Langle, Charles Francois Julien Petit, 1050, 1081, 1128  
 Dennis, Dr. C S. (of Salem) 1047  
 Dennis, Howard, 1062  
 Dineeski, Lhaim, 1108  
**DISABILITIES:**

- blindness, 1170
- deafness, 1047, 1170
- emotional impairment (depression, despair, despondency, hysteria, irritability) 1030-1032, 1033, 1037, 1038, 1041, 1042, 1045, 1047, 1051, 1065, 1098, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1176; (see also *neurasthenia*)
- mental illness (insanity) 1065, 1102, 1021, 1122, 1125-1126, 1127, 1132, 1148, 1159, 1170

**DISEASES:**

- cancer, 997, 1003, 1005-1006
- cholera, 997, 1001, 1061, 1079-1080, 1102-1104, 1120
- cholera infantum ("summer complaint") 997, 1033, 1079-1080
- consumption (see *tuberculosis*)
- diphtheria, 997, 1010, 1013, 1014, 1079, 1081-1084, 1085, 1091, 1092, 1100
- influenza, 1005, 1080-1084, 1210, 1211
- malaria, 1114
- poliomyelitis, 1175-1177, 1184
- puerperal fever, 1097
- rheumatic fever, 1011
- scarlet fever, 997, 1010, 1052, 1090-1092
- smallpox, 1079, 1083, 1086-1090, 1092, 1154
- tuberculosis (consumption), 1037, 1052, 1057-1058, 1078, 1079, 1081, 1138, 1152, 1159
- typhoid fever, 997, 1013, 113-1115, 1118, 1120, 1152, 1155, 1166, 1175
- yellow fever, 1110, 1114, 1175

- Ditto, Mary, 1176
- Doane, Lieut. Col. Phillip S., 1180
- Dobbins, J.H., 1026-1027
- Doe, Lieutenant Nelson H., 1085-1086
- "Dog Face" Welch, 1009
- Donallan's factory, 1034-1035

Donovan, Michael R., 1181, 1182-1184  
 Dotridge, Private John F., 1115  
 Dow, F. F., 1075  
 Dow, Mrs. 1064  
*Dr. C. H. Peirce's Sarsaparilla Compound*, 1060  
*Dr. Dam's Vegetable Remedy*, 1054  
 Dr. Daniels's Specialty Co., (see *Hindoo Medicine Company*)  
 Dr. DeLangle's Drug Store, 1145  
 Dresser, Frank, 1079  
*Dr. Greene's Nervura*, 1075, 1127-1128, 1162, 1163  
*Dr. J. F. True's Elixir*, 1184, 1211  
*Dr. Richardson's Concentrated Sherry Wine Bitters*, 1058  
 Dr. Spinney & Co., 1129  
 Dr. Vito and his Gilded Carriage, 1046, 1048  
 Drew, Mrs. Francis H., 1045  
*Duffy's Pure Malt Whiskey*, 1056, 1079  
 Dunbar, Everett H., 1180, 1185-1186, 1214

**-E-**

Eastern Drug Co., 1166  
 Eastern Railroad, 1127  
*Echo Grove* (picnic park) 1008, 1010  
 Eddy, Mary Baker, 1045  
 Edison, Thomas, 987, 991, 1076, 1077  
 Edson & Co., N. W., 1004  
 Egg Rock, 996, 1015, 1120-1121  
 Electric Cigar Company, The, 1022  
 electric hair brush, 988-991  
 electricity, 987, 988, 990, 991, 1010, 1020-1025, 1029, 1030, 1033, 1054, 1069, 1077, 1085, 1086, 1118, 1120, 1121, 1161  
*Elihu Thomson*, 1033  
 Eli Jepson & Son, 1058  
 Ellis, Alvarado LeRoy, 1024  
 "embalmed beef," 1116-1117  
 Emmons, John, 1060  
 Enwright, Eleanore V., 1207-1208  
 Ernst, Professor, 1103-1104  
 Essex County Helping Hand Society, 1093  
 eugenics, 1170  
 exercise equipment, 1001, 1002  
*Experimental Electricity*, 1023

**-F-**

Fannie Mills, the Ohio Girl with the Big Feet, 1002  
 Farish, James C., 1100  
 Farrell, Patrick, 1084-1085  
*Father John's Medicine*, 1184  
 Felt Brothers, 1120  
 Fenton, Michael A., 1109

*Fig Newtons*, 1005

First Methodist Church, 1084

Flanders, Cyrus H., 1059-1060

fluoroscope, 1071-1075

Flynn, Patrolman, 1072

"Footologist," 1186, 1214

Fowler family (Robert, 1088), 1089

Francis, Mrs. Hannah, 1062

Franklin, Benjamin, 1022-1023

Freigh, Mrs. E. V., 1185

Friedman family (Max: 1102; wife: Fanny, 1102),  
1103

frozen bodies, 1041

fruits as remedies (bananas, blackberries, figs) 1005

## -G-

Gainley, Private, 1113

Galloupe's Point, Swampscott, 1109

garbage, 1014-1018, 1020-1021, 1080, 1120, 1168

Gard, Jr., John, 1040

Gardiner, ME, 1082

Garland, Mrs., the "Queen Trance Clairvoyant of the  
Atlantic Coast," 1051

Garrood, John C., 1008, 1137

Gates, Thomas, 1064

Gavony, Rodolphs, 1062

General Electric Company (G. E.), 991, 1029, 1039,  
1069, 1070, 1109, 1119, 1133, 1171, 1180 (see  
also *T.-H. E. Company*)

General Electric River Works, West Lynn, 994, 1039,  
1072, 1098, 1102, 1105, 1109, 1127, 1170

George G. London Manufacturing Company, 1185

Gibson Girls, 1002, 1077

Gifford, W. B., 998

Glenmere Bicycle Park, 1033

Gloucester, MA, 1099

Gloyd, Harrison G., 1056

Goldthwait's horse stable, 995

*Good Housekeeping Magazine*, 1198

Gordon, Babe, 1007-1008, 1074

Gorman, Daniel, 1064

Gould Amendment, 1201

Gourley family, (Emma; daughter: Jessie), 1096

Gove family (William H., 1195; wife: Aroline, 1194-  
1195)

Grace Eleanor Brain Co., 1185

Grady, Thomas, 1048

Graves, The (shoals) 1015-1017

Gray, George, 1028

Great Fire of 1889, 988, 991, 994-995, 1024, 1037

Green, Charles Heywood, 1176

Green, George L., 1040

Griswold, Mervin L., 1181

Guthholm, Charles H., 1065

gymnasium, 1001-1003, 1135

## -H-

Hallbauer, Albert L., 1022

*Hall's Catarrh Cure*, 1059

Hanley, John H. 1072-1073

Hanley, Peter, 1048

Harney Brothers shoe factory, 1117

Harriman, J. Maro, 1200-1201

Harris, Abram, 1106

Hartford, CT, 996

Hart's drugstore, 1047

Harty, Mary, 1031-1032

Harwood, Mayor Charles E., 1013

Hastings, Charles H., 1024

Hastings family (Wilmot R., 1082; son: Abner, 1082-  
1084)

Havana, Cuba, 1117

Haverhill, MA, 988

Hayden, Ellis L., 1112-1113

Hayes, Mayor Elihu B., 989-990, 1015-1017, 1080

Haywood, George, 1181

Haywood, George W., 1068-1069

Heffernan, Edward, 992, 1009, 1081

Henry A. Pevear & Sons, 1028, 1034, 1100

Herrick, Fred W., 1132

Herrick shoe factory, 1088-1089

Herrick, William A., 1061

Hill, City Marshal, 1056

Hill, Franklin P., 1051

Hill's field, 1047

Hinckley, Frank A., 1114

Hindoo Medicine Company, 1046-1047

Hing, Goon, 1102

Hobbs, Spencer S., 1115

Hoffman, Mrs., 1072

Holder, Nathaniel, 1105

Hole, Rev. Harry R., 1169-1171

Holman, Edward, 1035

Horgan, Daniel, 1121

*Horlick's Malted Milk*, 1184

Hosmer, Edward E., 1203

Hosmer, William, 1105

*Hostetter's Bitters*, 1197

houseflies, 998, 999, 1114, 1129, 1135, 1160

House of Correction, 1094

Howe's Rubber Goods, 1002, 1003

Hunnewell family, of Newport, RI, 1071-1072

Hunt, Allstone, 1083

Hurlburt, H.F., 1018

*Hydroleine*, 991

**-I-**

- ice cream (as a medicine) 1006  
 incubator, 1167-1169, 1208  
 influenza (including Spanish influenza) 1178-1183  
 Ingalls, Edwin W., 1083, 1176  
 Isolation Hospital (pest house) 1089, 1091, 1092-1093, 1110, 1153-1155

**-J-**

- Jack the Ripper (a dog), 1008-1009  
 Jackson, Horace W., 1052  
 Jamaica Ginger, 1058-1059, 1064, 1193, 1206, 1208, 1214  
 James, Jesse, 1008  
 Janofsky family, 1103  
 Jaros' Hygienic Underwear, 1104, 1152, 1157  
 Jerry Crowley, The Living Suicide, 1002  
 Jillson, Mrs. Sarah C., 1008  
 Johnson, Charles, 1108, 1114, 1158  
 Johnson, George N., 1145-1146  
 Johnson, Peter, 1124  
 Johnson, Preston, 1074  
 John Valanti's French Restaurant, 1063  
 Jones, Frank W., 1071  
 Jones shoe factory, V. K. & A. H., 995  
 Joyce, Maurice, 1079  
 Judkins, Dr., 1033  
 Juvenile Court, 1008

**-K-**

- Kelly, Frank G., 1070, 1150  
 Kelly, William E., 1180  
 Kickapoo Indians, 1046, 1048  
 Kidney, John (& family), 1082  
 Kidd, Captain, 1039-1040, 1121  
 Kimball, Herbert L., 1120  
 Kimball, Rufus, 1024  
 King, City Marshal, 1124  
 King, Thomas, 1012  
 Kings of Dentists, 1046-1047  
 Klondike, 1040-1041, 1117  
 Knop, Nicholas, 1055

**-L-**

- Ladies' Bicycle Club, 1124  
*Ladies' Home Journal*, 1196, 1198, 1204, 1213  
 Lahey, Mrs. Edward, 1011  
 L. A. May crockery, 1124  
 Lane, Arthur Wellington, 1193  
 Lane, Ernest Pinkham, 1193-1196, 1199, 1194, 1199

Laster's Hall, 1036

- Laurian, Elfrieda Gertrude, 1168, 1208  
 Lawrence, MA, 1105  
 Laxton, John R., 1203  
 Leach, Arthur W., 1121  
 Leland, Miss Margaret Leslie, 1007  
 Lemp, Herman, 1072, 1073, 1119-1120  
 Lewis, Edward B., 1100  
 Lexington, KY, 1115, 1117  
*Listerine*, 1184, 1198  
 Little, City Physician William B., 1079, 1083, 1085, 1089, 1092-1093, 1103, 1104, 1209  
 Little Egypt, 1007  
 Littlefield, John A., 1100  
 Little Nahant, 996, 1017-1018, 1039, 1121  
 L. M. Brock Co., 1200, 1208  
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 1024, 1104, 1107, 1199  
 Long family (husband; wife: Kate; son: Michael), 1096  
 Longley, M. P., 1032  
 Lord, Mrs. Horace, 1167  
 Lovejoy, City Physician Charles A., 1083  
 Lovejoy, John, 1069  
 Lowell, MA, 1028, 1045, 1105, 1132  
 Lundskog, Lena, 1105  
 Lummus family, 994  
 Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, 1027, 1041, 1165, 1193  
 Lynn Bicycle Club, 1001  
 Lynn Board of Health, 997, 1011, 1012, 1015, 1016, 1018, 1057, 1058, 1060, 1061, 1065, 1066, 1078, 1081, 1082, 1086-1092  
 Lynn Box Company, 1024  
 Lynn City Hall, 994, 1011, 1016, 1023, 1025, 1036, 1041, 1042, 1069, 1090-1092, 1122, 1123, 1130, 1190, 1199  
 Lynn City Home, 1089, 1093, 1174  
 Lynn City Physician, 1066, 1089  
 Lynn Common, 996, 1020, 1036, 1038, 1134  
*Lynn Daily Press*, 1037  
 Lynn Druggists' Association, 1033  
 Lynn Educational Association, 1061  
 Lynn Gas & Electric Company, 1119  
 Lynn Gold Mining Company, 1040  
 Lynn high schools, 994, 1003  
 Lynn Hospital, 1012, 1031, 1066, 1072, 1074, 1079, 1084, 1087, 1090, 1095, 1099-1101, 1122, 1125, 1167, 1171-1174, 1182, 1183, 1206  
 Lynn Hospital for Contagious Diseases, 1091-1093  
 Lynn Institution for Savings, 1032  
 Lynn Magnetic Medical Institute, 1129  
 Lynn Milk Company, 1057-1058  
 Lynn Music Hall, 1007, 1047  
 Lynn Musée, 1002, 1022, 1033, 1084, 1139

**LYNN NATURAL FEATURES:**

Bog Meadow, 997, 1014  
 Breed's Pond, 1079  
 Butman's mill pond, 1020  
 Dungeon Rock, 1000, 1121  
 Flax Pond, 1012  
 Floating Bridge Pond, 1036  
 Jackson Brook, 1014, 1020  
 King's Beach, 1018, 1109  
 Little River, 1013  
 Lover's Leap, 1121  
 Lynn Beach, 1015, 1036, 1074, 1109, 1180  
 Lynn Common, 996, 1020, 1036, 1038, 1134  
 Lynn Harbor, 995, 1013, 1014, 1016, 1017, 1033,  
     1035, 1130, 1134, 1138, 1174  
 Lynn Women's Club, 1165, 1196  
 Lynn Woods, 1020, 1032, 1171  
 Marine Park, 1036  
 Red Rock, 1018, 1109, 1110  
 Saugus River, 996, 1010, 1014, 1108, 1127, 1167  
 Stacey's Brook, 998, 1014, 1020  
 Strawberry Brook, 998, 1010, 1012-1013, 1014  
     1020, 1137  
 Tomlin's Swamp, 1032  
 Witch Creek, 995, 1134

**LYNN NEIGHBORHOODS**

Breed Square, 1206  
 Brockville, 1010, 1101  
 Central Square, 1019, 1031, 1039, 1042, 1050,  
     1062, 1071, 1120  
 Diamond District, 1013  
 East Lynn, 994, 1014, 1024  
 Glenmere, 1025, 1033  
 Linwood, 1174  
 Tower Hill, 1079, 1091  
 West Lynn, 994, 996, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1013,  
     1014, 1015, 1016, 1021, 1022, 1028, 1039,  
     1060, 1062, 1065, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082,  
     1098, 1105, 1108, 1121, 1138, 1145, 1181  
 Wyoma, 1025, 1078, 1084, 1105, 1078, 1106,  
     1168

Lynn Post Office, 1043

**LYNN PROPRIETARY HEALTH PRODUCTS:**

(also see *Appendix A*)  
*Aleppo Cold Cream*, 1188, 1212  
*Asma Relief*, 1185  
*Beef, Wine, Coca and Iron*, 1129  
*BOST*, 1185  
*Bubier's Laxative Salz*, 1185  
*Bu-Lax*, 992  
*Burrill's Celery-Caffein Headache and Nerve Powders*, 1129  
*Burrill's Tooth Paste*, 1188  
*Burrill's Tooth Powder*, 1188-1189, 1198, 1212  
*Citlin*, 1185  
*Clarke's Electroclarient Bitters*, 1022  
*Colcord's Rheumatic Cure and Liniment*, 1045  
*Cotec*, 1185, 1214  
*Crompton's Extract of Ginger*, 1203-1204  
*Crompton's Headache Powders*, 1188  
*Crompton's Liniment*, 1053

*Crow Corn Corer*, 1185

*Davis & Young's Extract Jamaica Ginger*, 1058

*Delmac*, 1195

*Dombal*, 1185

*Dr. Churchill's Emulsified Gum Syrup*, 1185

*Dr. Dam's Remedy*, 1185

*Electric hair brush, (Stanton's)*, 988-991

*Funny-How-Quick Headache and Neuralgia Cure*, 1201

*Furbush's Magnetic Cream*, 992

*Heffernan's Rock, Rye and Honey*, 992, 1081

*Herbine*, 1185

*Indian Hair Renewer*, 1050

*J. J. Blackford's sarsaparilla*, 1058

*Kankas*, 1185

*Kola=Rays*, 1129

*Lax-Pre-Par-E-Ton*, 1185

*Liberty Compound for Men*, 1179, 1185

*Liberty Compound for Women*, 1179, 1185

*Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound*, 1045,  
     1049, 1058, 1099, 1124, 1128, 1179, 1193,

1195, 1197, 1204

*Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Medicine*, 1202

*Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Purifier*, 1202

*Lynco*, 1185

*Malldunn Anti-Sor-New Oil*, 1185

*Mossea*, 1185

*Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam*,

1049, 1200

*Mrs. Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters*,

1061

*Mrs. Soule's Moth, Tan, Freckle & Pimple Eradicator*, 1049, 1059-1060, 1202

*Must-a-rub*, 1185

*Parisian Aphro Tonic*, 1050, 1128

*QUICKSTEP*, 992

*San Cap*, 1185

*Sansodor*, 1185

*Sexine Pills*, 1128

*Soule's External Lotion*, 1202, 1207-1208, 1214

*Sprayoline*, 1185

*The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scalp Healer and Vegetable Hair Restorer*, 1185

*Thurston's Family Balsam*, 1166

*Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters and Blood Purifier*, 1058

*Toppin's Calcutta Cholera Cure*, 1080

*VAR-NE-SIS*, 1179, 1191, 1201-1202

*Victor*, 1185

*Vita-Life*, 1185

*Watt's Indian Remedy Salve*, 1185

*Zat-Zit*, 1187, 1188, 1191, 1192

**LYNN STREETS, AVENUES, ETC.:**

*Abbott*, 1081

*Albany*, 1097

*Allen*, 1120

*Alley*, 1047, 1098, 1117

*Amity*, 998, 1031, 1168-1169

*Andrew*, 1023, 1042, 1079

*Basset*, 1050

*Beach*, 1020

*Blossom*, 1086, 1087

- Boston, 995, 1010, 1012, 1013, 1019, 1028, 1095, 1108, 1109, 1137  
 Box Place, 988  
 Breed, 1024  
 Broad, 1026, 1040  
 Brownville, 1074  
 Buffum, 1064  
 Camden, 1010, 1011  
 Central, 1042  
 Centre, 1119  
 Chestnut, 997, 1035, 1042, 1181  
 Commercial, 1010, 1079, 1167  
 Connolly, 1181  
 Cottage, 1011, 1076  
 Court, 1011, 1082  
 Deer Park, 1127  
 Eastern, 1093, 1100  
 Elizabeth, 1082  
 Ellis, 1167  
 Elm, 994  
 Essex, 1081, 1089, 1105, 1129  
 Exchange, 991, 1019, 1118  
 Ezra, 1106  
 Farrar, 995, 1079  
 Federal, 1108  
 Flint, 1035  
 Floyd, 1168  
 Franklin, 1010  
 Gertrude, 1169  
 Glenwood, 1063  
 Grove, 1121  
 Grover, 1063  
 Harbor, 998, 1062, 1102, 1103-1104  
 Heffernan, 1096  
 Holyoke, 1055, 1091, 1174  
 Hood, 1011  
 Ida, 1013  
 Leighton, 1083  
 Lewis, 1024, 1148  
 Liberty, 1107, 1119  
 Linwood Park, 1121  
 Lloyd, 1100  
 Lynnfield, 1174  
 Mailey, 1035, 1106  
 Market, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1039, 1042, 1049, 1050, 1052, 1068, 1075, 1119  
 Morris, 1011  
 Mount Vernon, 991, 1006  
 Mudge, 1083  
 Munroe, 995, 998, 1007, 1019, 1029, 1047, 1101, 1106  
 Myrtle, 1114  
 Nahant, 1021, 1062  
 Nelson, 1011  
 New Chatham, 1040  
 Newhall, 1085  
 North Bend, 1055  
 North Common, 1044, 1084  
 Ocean, 1009, 1013, 1050, 1105  
 Ontario, 1052-1053, 1188, 1206  
 Oxford, 1019  
 Pearl, 1094, 1100  
 Pleasant, 1040, 1106  
 River, 1013, 1181  
 Shepard, 1040  
 Silsbee, 1019  
 South Common, 1003, 1010  
 Summer, 1010, 1040, 1064, 1090  
 Sumner, 1072  
 Tapley, 1105  
 Tudor, 1078, 1105  
 Union, 991, 993, 1001, 1019, 1022, 1039, 1042, 1051, 1060, 1075, 1091, 1129, 1130, 1196  
 Washington, 995, 1009, 1010, 1019, 1034, 1063, 1085  
 Western, 1010, 1041, 1042, 1105, 1193, 1206  
 Willow, 1024  
 Witt, 1167  
 Wyman, 1010, 1022  
 Lynn Theater, 1032, 1047  
 Lynn Tuberculosis Sanatorium, 1174  
**LYNN WARDS:**  
 Ward 2, 1106, 1143  
 Ward 3, 994  
 Ward 4, 994  
 Ward 6, 994, 1130  
 Ward 7, 1014  
 Lynn Women's Suffrage Club, 997, 1122, 1124  
 Lynn Woods, 1020, 1032

**-M-**

- Macey, George T., 1112-1113  
 "Mademoiselle Dynamonia, the Thomson-Houston Electric Girl," 1022  
 Magoni & Funsi, 1062  
 Magrane, P. B., 1075  
 Mailey Street Synagogue, 1035  
 Maine, 988, 1034, 1082  
 Malden, MA, 1008  
 Malley family (John J., wife: Catherine), 1126  
 Manson, James A., 1113  
 Maple Street Methodist Episcopal Church, 1074  
 Marble, Edwin, 1121  
 Marble, Hiram, 1121  
 Markerian, Paul, 1100  
*Marshmallow Fluff*, 1206  
 Martin family (sisters: Alice, May), 1183  
 Martin estate, A. B., 1183-1184  
 Martin factory, 1034  
 Martin, I. A., 1094  
 Mason, Edward, 1027  
 Massachusetts: 8<sup>th</sup> Volunteer Militia (Companies D and I) 1111-1117  
 Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1055  
 Massachusetts Dental Society, 1056  
 Massachusetts Equal Rights Association, 1035  
 Massachusetts Food and Drug Acts, 1058

Massachusetts Medical Society, 1016, 1046, 1066  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1069  
McCaffrey, John F., 1059-1060  
McAuliffe family (siblings: James D., William), 1180  
McCollom, Dr. John H., 1083  
McDonald, William, 1090  
McEwen, Elmira Eleanor, 1169  
McGin family, 1082  
McGlue home, 1063  
McIntire, Albert S., 1114  
McIntire, Charles N., 1100  
McKenna, the Human Ostrich, 1002  
McLaughlin, Edward, 1180  
McLean, Charles ("Schlatter, the Divine Healer"),  
    1047-1048  
McNulty, Martin, 1102  
Meader, Charles E., 1071  
Mellor family, 1030-1031, 1141  
Mendelssohn, Samuel, 1203  
Miller, Dr. Norman R., 1061, 1094  
Millie and Christine, the Girl with Two Heads, 1002  
Minneapolis, MN, 1021  
Montana Jack's Wild West Show, 1033  
Moody family (Ella; daughter: Mildred Lane), 1096  
Moran, John T., 1040  
Morrisey, Mary, 1096  
Moulton factory, 1034-1035  
mouth money, 1078  
Mowatt, Everett C., 1072  
Mower, Earl A., 1081

-N-

Nahant Beach, 1003  
Nahant hotels, 1118, 1003, 1074, 1118  
Nahant, MA, 996, 1016, 1017-1018, 1021, 1039,  
    1104, 1109-1110, 1121, 1124, 1199  
Najar, Mrs. Agnes, 1098  
Neal, Deputy Marshal George C., 1084  
Nelson, Deputy, 1072  
Nervease Company, 1094  
*Nerve Seeds*, 1128  
neurasthenia (Americanitis) 1125-1126, 1129, 1162  
New Bedford, MA, 988, 1105, 1110, 1135, 1159  
Newcomb, George, 1069-1070  
New England Hospital, 1122  
New England Laboratory Company, 992, 1188-1189,  
    1212  
Newell, Geo. H., 993  
Newhall, Corporal Charles H., 1116  
Newhall, Edward, 1086  
Newhall, Herbert W., 1012, 1127  
Newhall, Lucian, 1109

"New Lynn" essay contest, 996-997, 1000, 1010,  
    1061, 1107  
Newport, RI, 1071-1072  
New York, 988, 1021, 1030, 1103, 1117, 1122, 1166,  
    1175, 1199  
New York City, NY, 1007, 1084, 1176  
Nichols, Dr. Thomas R., 1051  
Nugent, Thomas P., 1065  
nuns, 1182

-O-

obscene literature, 1199  
ocean dumping, 1015-1018, 1020, 1061  
O'Connell, John F., 1009  
Odd Fellows' Hall, 1036, 1075  
Old Western Burial Ground, 994, 1134  
Oliver, Israel B., 1118  
Osborne's (shoe store) 1062  
Ostermoor mattress company, 1166  
overseers of the poor, 1082, 1091, 1122  
*Ozonos*, 1078-1079

-P-

Packer, Lois M., 1027  
*Paine's Celery Compound*, 1005, 1128, 1130-1132  
Paquette, Joseph, 1115  
Paris, Corporal Alphonse L., 1114  
Park Club, 1045  
Parker, James A., 1059  
Parker, John L., 1024  
Park Theatre, 1183  
Pasteur Institute, 1084-1085  
pasteurized milk, 1058  
Pasteur, Louis, 1079  
Peach, Harry R., D.M.D., 1054  
Pearson and Carroll, 1046, 1047, 1054  
Pedrick, Thomas F., 1080  
Peirce, Dr. C. H., 1060-1061  
People's Party (Populists) 1035-1037  
Perron, Edwin, 1170-1171  
*Peruna*, 1197  
Petengrew family (Edith, 1097, 1098; son: Ralph,  
    1097)  
Peterson, Hannah, 1105  
Pevear Block, 995  
Pevear, Henry A. & Sons, 1028, 1100  
Phelan's shoe factory, 1040  
Phillips, Clyde, 1176  
Phillips, Mrs. Maud, 1065  
Phillips, Widow Harriet, 1062  
physical culture, 1003-1004  
Picard family (Minnie; son: Joseph) 1063

- Pierce's Favorite Prescription*, 1045  
 Pierce, R. V., 1045  
 Pike's Corner cigar store, 1033  
 Pine Grove Cemetery, 994, 1012, 1163, 1197, 1206  
 Pinkham, Arthur W., 1166, 1195, 1197, 1199, 1200  
 Pinkham, Charles Hacker, 989, 1041-1045, 1049,  
     1095, 1098-1099, 1105, 1143, 1144, 1165; family  
     (wife, Jennifer, 1043, 1194-1195, 1197 children:  
         Daniel, Elsie, Lucy, Marion, Arthur, Charlie,  
         1193)  
 Pinkham laboratory, 1193-1194, 1206  
 Pinkham, Isaac, 1193  
 Pinkham, Isaiah, 1089  
 Pinkham, Joseph G., 1086, 1088, 1100, 1137  
 Pinkham, Lydia Estes, 1041, 1042, 1043-1045, 1049,  
     1128, 1144, 1193, 1196-1198, 1206  
 Pittsfield, MA, 1112  
 poliomyelitis, 1175-1177, 1184  
 Pollock Rip, 1033  
 Poole family (John: 988, 998-1000, 1066, 1068, 1080,  
     1087, 1135, 1183; wife: Etta, 998-999, 1128; son:  
     Harold, 999-1000, 1087)  
 Populists (see *People's Party*)  
 Porter & Co., Walter, 1001, 1075  
 Porter, Lewis A., 1081  
 Porter family (Thomas F.; wife: Mary; son, George)  
     1081  
 Portland, ME, 988  
*Postum Cereal Coffee*, 1004-1005  
 Practical Druggist and Pharmaceutical Review, 1060  
 Pranker, George, 1084  
 premature babies, 1167-1168, 1208  
 Proctor Theater, 1122  
 Professor J. P. Coffey, *The King of the Healers*, 1046,  
     1048, 1075  
 Pullman Strike of 1894, 1032  
 Pulumbo, Angeligo, 1106  
 Pure Food and Drugs Act, 1200, 1021, 1204

**-Q-**

- quackery, quack (charlatan) 990, 1046, 1046, 1045,  
     1054, 1066, 1165, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1200  
 quack medicines (nostrums) 990, 1046, 1061, 1085,  
     1127, 1198, 1200  
 quarantine, 997, 1057, 1079, 1082, 1086, 1088-1089,  
     1091, 1102-1104, 1153, 1175-1176, 1206  
 Queen Alva's Gypsy Camp, 1051  
 Queen Anne club room, 1062  
 Quincy House hotel, 995

**-R-**

- Rabies (hydrophobia), 1079, 1084-1085, 1090, 1153

- Raddin John, 1008  
 Ramsdell, Robert, 1099-1100  
 Ramsdell, Walter Lawrence, 1036-1039, 1045, 1069,  
     1070, 1111, 1113, 1129-1132  
 rats, 1012, 1062-1065, 1149  
 Red Cross, 1181-1183  
 red cross, 1092, 1174  
 Red Rock, 1018, 1109-1110  
 rejuvenation, 1167  
 Revere, MA, 1168  
 Richards, Ellen Henrietta Swallow, 1194  
 Richardson, Reuben L., 1040  
 Ricker family (Nettie, 1027-1028; son: Alfred, 1028)  
 Riley, Patrick J., 1081  
 robberies, 1009-1010  
 Roentgen rays (see *x-rays*)  
 Roentgen, Wilhelm Conrad, 1068-1069, 1074, 1085  
 Rogers, Thomas W., 1129  
 Rolland, Mrs. Jennie, 1167-1168  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 1112, 1188-1189, 1190, 1191,  
     1198, 1199-1200  
 "Rough on" product line (*Corns; Coughs; Itch; Pain;*  
     *Piles; Rats; Toothache; Worms*), 1063  
*Rough on Rats*, 1063-1065  
 Rumsey, Charles R., 989  
 Russell, Ida M. 1086-1087, 1089, 1090  
 Russell, Joseph M., 1085  
 Russell, Mrs. W. F., 1081  
 Russell triplets, 1032, 1167-1168  
 Russell, William, 1100  
 Russell, Winthrop S., 1062  
 Rust family (William; wife: Lucy; daughter: Rena),  
     1088-1089  
 Ryan, Frederick W., 1182

**-S-**

- Sahm, Charles, 1011  
 Salem, MA, 1000, 1007-1008, 1047, 1051, 1052,  
     1069, 1088-1090, 1120, 1194  
 Salem Willows, MA, 1124  
 Sanborn, George S., 1002  
 Sanborn, Samuel F., 1203  
 Sanborn School, 1042  
 San Francisco, CA, 1005, 1052, 1136  
 Sargent, Lucius C., 1061  
 Saugus, MA, 997, 1010, 1135  
 Saugus River, 996, 1010, 1014-1015, 1108, 1127,  
     1167  
 Saunders, Charles, 1083  
 Saunders, Johnston H., 1066, 1068  
 Saunders, Patrick C., 1040  
 Sawyer & Chase's carriage factory, 1079  
 scabs, 1034-1035, 1037, 1038

Schenectady, NY, 1030  
 "Schlatter, the Divine Healer," (see *Charles McLean*)  
*Scott's Electric Hair Brush, Dr.*, 988  
*Scott's Electric Health Shoes*, 1022  
*Scott's Emulsion*, 1003  
 scow (see *ocean dumping*)  
 Seattle, WA, 1040, 1052  
 Seavey family (Rufus E.; wife: Emma; daughter:  
     Emma), 1053  
 Serijan, Tatos K., 1052  
 sewage, 1012-1016, 1019, 1026, 1138  
*Shaw's Cold Tablets*, 1184  
 Shepard, Mayor William, 1117, 1196  
 Sherley Amendment, 1201  
 Shine family, 1082  
 Simonds, Clarence L., 1119-1120  
 Sisson, Robert S., 1124  
 Skerry family (John; wife: Ellen), 1011  
 skunk, 1051, 1052  
 Sleeper, George F., 998  
 Smith, Miss Annie M., 1167  
 Smith, Joseph, 1105  
 "Snowdrop," 1087-1088  
 Snyder, Pearl, 1007-1008, 1074  
 Socialists (see also *Socialist Labor Party*) 1035, 1036  
 Social Labor Party (see also *Socialists*) 1034  
 Society of Friends (Quakers) 1169  
 Solar Compound Company, 1050-1051  
 Soucie, Gloria, 1168  
 Spear, Charles, 1069  
 Spears, Miss Mary A., 1182  
 spiritualism, 1003, 1050  
 Sprague & Breed Coal Company, 1021, 1075, 1120  
 Sprague, George E., 1166  
 Sprague, Henry B., 1001  
 Springfield, MA, 1105, 1112  
 sputum cup, 1175  
 sputum flask, 1175-1176  
 Stanton, Alexander, 988-991  
 state almshouse, 1122  
 state board of lunacy and charity, 1094  
 Stephenson, Charles H., 1168  
 Stevens, Miss Diana, 1004  
 Stevens, Frank D. S., 989, 1066, 1068, 1087, 1118  
 Stickney, Horace I., 1113  
 St. Louis, MO, 988, 991  
 Stone, John B., 1055-1056  
 Stone, Fred T., 1084  
 St. Paul, MN, 1021,  
 St. Paul's Methodist Church, 1176  
 Strand Theater, 1181, 1183  
 Stratton, Frank B., 1088

Streckwald, Mrs. Christina, 1059-1060  
 strike, 1032, 1033-1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1070,  
     1107, 1130, 1142  
 Styles, Harry E., 1116  
 Sutherland, Augustus H., 1068-1069  
 Swampscott, Cemetery, 1089  
 Swampscott, MA, 987, 996, 1010, 1016, 1017, 1018,  
     1021, 1084, 1088-1090, 1109, 1120, 1154  
 Swanson, Theresa, 1105  
 Swedish Electric Singers, 1029  
 Sweetser, D. Herbert, 989

-T-

Taft, William Howard, 1198  
*Tanglefoot* flypaper, 998  
 tapeworm, 1052  
 Tapley Building, 995  
 Tapley, Phillip, 1174  
 Tarbox, Mrs. Maggie, 1008  
 Taylor, James A., 1059  
 Teed, Henry M., 1040  
 temperance, 1099, 1045, 1122, 1163, 1196, 1197,  
     1203, 1204  
 Tewksbury, MA, 1122  
 T.-H. E. Company, 987-991, 1000, 1015, 1021, 1022,  
     1027, 1028-1029, 1030, 1033, 1034, 1046, 1065,  
     1074, 1076 (see also *General Electric Company*)  
 Thomson-Houston Electrics (baseball team) 1021,  
     1029  
 Thomson-Houston Experts (football team) 1029  
 Therrien, Dr. John (of Boston), 1085  
 Thing family (Henry A.; wife: Nettie; triplet children:  
     James, Rachel, Walter) 1032-1033, 1141  
 Thing triplets, 1032-1033, 1141  
 Thomas G. Plant Company, 1034, 1037, 1038  
 Thomson, Elihu, 987-991, 1001, 1021-1023, 1026,  
     1069, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1076-1077, 1086,  
     1095, 1098, 1109, 1117, 1119  
*Elihu Thomson* (steamer), 1021, 1033  
 Thomson-Houston Electric Brass Band, 1029  
 Thomson-Houston Electric Company (see *T.-H. E.  
     Company*)  
 Thomson, Mrs. Elihu, 1095  
 Thomson Scientific Club, 1022-1023  
 Thompson, Raymond, 1181, 1183  
 Thompson, Walter D., 1114  
 Thornton, James E., 1035  
 Thurston, George B., 1058, 1166, 1208  
*Tootsie Rolls*, 1004  
 Toppan, Warren, 1048, 1128-1129  
 Trevert, Edward, 987, 1023, 1054, 1069-1070, 1075,  
     1121, 1128, 1140

**-U-**

- Union Hospital, 1174, 1178, 1181, 1183  
 Usher, Frederick W., 1010, 1167  
 Usher, Mrs. Josephine, 1031  
 U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, 1200  
 U.S. Public Health Service, 1182  
 U.S. Surgeon General Rupert Blue, 1170

**-V-**

- vaccination, 1079, 1083, 1087-1089, 1175  
 Varney, William A., 1191, 1201-1202  
 vegetables as remedies (asparagus, carrots, celery, lettuce, onions, water cress) 1005  
*Vin de l'Amour*, 1128  
*Vito Curative Syrup*, 1048  
*Vito Electric Fluid*, 1048

**-W-**

- Wah, Charlie, 1102  
 Wakefield, MA, 1058, 1175  
 Wales, Nelson J., 989  
 Walter Porter & Company, 1001, 1075  
 Waltham, MA, 996, 1000  
*War-Time Cook and Health Book*, 1180  
 Washburn Credit-house, 1039  
 Wass, Edgar R., 1114  
 W. Baker & Co., 1056  
 Wells, Marshal, 1072, 1090  
 Wentzel, Miss Maggie, 1083  
 Western Union Telegraph Company, 1074  
 Wheeler, James W., 1114  
 Whipple, Everett, 1194  
 white plague, 1174-1176  
 White Plague Exposition, 1174-1175  
 Whittle, Charlie, 1090-1091  
 Wiley, Harvey Washington, 1198  
 Williams, Captain, 1113  
 Williams, W. T., 1203  
 Wills, Catherine, 1170  
 Winn, Mary, 1055  
 Wires, W. M., 989  
 Whitten, C. E., 1079  
 Witherell, Ilde, 1203  
*Wm. Radam's Microbe Killer*, 1079  
 Woburn, MA, 1175, 1176  
 Wolfson, Louis, 1036  
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 1196, 1197  
 Women's Medical College of Philadelphia, 1122  
 Wonderland Amusement Park, 1167-1169  
 Wood, George A., 1113

- Woodbury, Charles J. H., 1069  
 Woodill, George F., 1167

**-X-**

- x-rays (Roentgen rays), 992, 1068-1077, 1085, 1086, 1117, 1118, 1120, 1122, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1175, 1185  
*X-Ray Bitters*, 1075  
 x-ray burns, 1076-1077  
*X-Ray Coffee Mill*, 1075  
*X-Ray Headache Tablets*, 1075  
*X-Ray Lemon Squeezer*, 1075  
*X-Ray Soap*, 1075  
*X-Ray Whiskey*, 1075

**-Y-**

- Young Hebrew Social Club, 1106  
 Yukon Territory, 1040

## Postmortem

...the Empiric [quack] commences his work of deception with soothing promises, ... and like the serpent in the garden of Eden, whispers in the ear of his deluded patient, “thou shalt not surely die.”

Zadok Howe, *A Discourse on Quackery*, 1834

## Appendix A

### **Lynn, Massachusetts, Proprietary Health Products**

This list, though comprehensive, is far from complete. It is compiled from many printed and handwritten sources as well as the product packaging; however, there were surely many dozens and probably hundreds more Lynn-based health products sold in Lynn's first three centuries that were not advertised and for which evidence simply has not yet been found. It is highly probable, for example, that most of the dozens of Lynn druggists prepared their own line of proprietary remedies, but only a small number of them have been found in the advertising that survives. There are also many manufacturers listed in the city directories whose products have not been identified.

**1<sup>st</sup> (earliest) Year:**

These health products are sorted in chronological order by their earliest documented appearance in some form of advertising. (Notes: “\*” = estimate; medicines are listed alphabetically in each year.)

**Lynn Health Product:**

These health products were sold in Lynn by their proprietor for anywhere from a few days to many years. Each product is listed by the product name or the surname of the creator or owner, if it was included in the product name. Some further identifying information is sometimes added in brackets. Where examples of bottles have been found, they are embossed unless otherwise indicated. Bottle abbreviations used:

OP	Open Pontil
IP	Iron Pontil
BIM	Blown in the Mold
ABM	Automatic Bottle Machine
embossed	words embossed on bottle glass (a label would usually have been glued to a non-embossed panel of the bottle)
label-only	bottle glass has no embossing

**Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address:**

All products listed were made in Lynn, Mass., from just a few days to many decades. Information in brackets provides further identification of the maker beyond what was found in the advertisement.

**Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit:**

For those products whose purposes was not specified in advertising, the symbol “+” assumes the impact zone (based on comparable product literature of the period) for products of the same type (cordials, balsams, etc.). In those instances where the product name does not provide categorically identifiable specificity, the impact zone is listed as “insufficient information for identification.”

**Existing Examples:**

Most of these products were bottled but some were packaged in boxes, tins, envelopes, or even ceramic containers. Different versions (by design, age, or size) are identified separately within this list. When an example has come to the author's attention, it has been identified by rarity:

Scarce = 1-5 known; Rare = 6-25; Infrequent = 26-100; Common = 101+

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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**1830-1839** (no advertisements prior to 1830 for Lynn medicines have been found)

1830	<b>Worm Syrup</b>	John Lummus, physician Common, opposite the bank	stomach, intestines+	
1831	<b>Aromatic Stomach Bitters [powder]</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	stomach, intestines	
1831	<b>Superfine Flour of Slipper Elm</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	flesh, intestines, lungs, sinuses	
1834	<b>Chickasaw Syrup</b>	Dr. Isaac B. King [traveling healer; Lynn street address unknown]	lungs	
1834	<b>Indian Specific</b>	Dr. Isaac B. King [traveling healer; Lynn street address unknown]	flesh	
1835	<b>Indian Rubber Elastic Tubes</b>	Boston and Lynn India Rubber Manufacturing [Lynn street address unknown]	ears	
1836	<b>Ointment for Broken Breast</b>	Shadrach Ramsdell, cordwainer Chatham St., Woodend	skin	
1837	<b>Aromatic Tincture</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	insufficient information for identification	
1837	<b>Asthmatic Restorative</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	lungs+	
1837	<b>Headache Lotion</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	brain	
1837	<b>[Jarvis's] tooth puller</b>	[likely Edmund B.] Jarvis, mechanic Boston St., corner No. Federal St.	teeth	
1837	<b>Lummus's Vegetable Drops</b>	Advertisement does not identify which member of the Lummus family was the maker/proprietor]	lungs+	
1838	<b>Aromatic Wine Bitters</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	stomach, intestines	
1839	<b>Columbian Soap</b>	Shadrach Ramsdell, cordwainer Chatham St., Woodend	skin	
1839	<b>Lummus's Pectoral Syrup, Dr. [OP aqua glass, embossed]</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	lungs	Scarce
1839	<b>Rheumatic Lotion</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	joints+	
1839	<b>Stomachic Elixir</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	stomach+	
1839	<b>Tooth Ache Drops</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	teeth	
1839	<b>Vegetable Cough Pills</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	throat	

**1840-1849**

1840	<b>Anti-Bilious Pills</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	stomach+	
1840	<b>Compound Sarsaparilla Mead</b>	Proctor & Rhodes, apothecaries & confectioners, 51 So. Common St.	blood+	
1840	<b>Elixir Paregoric [OP aqua glass, label-only bottle]</b>	Proctor & Rhodes, apothecaries & confectioners, 51 So. Common St.	intestines+	Scarce

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1840-1849, continued)

1840	<b>Lummus' Sarsaparilla Syrup</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	blood+	
1840	<b>Nerve Cordial</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	nerves+	
1840	<b>Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	lungs+	
1840	<b>Anglo Saxon Strengthening Plasters</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	muscles	
1842	<b>Gano's Bitters, Dr.</b>	R. K. Merriam, hotelkeeper of the Lynn Temperance Hotel [street address unknown]	brain, stomach	
1842	<b>Lummus' A. V. Bitters, T. J. [aka Armoatic Vegetable Bitters; OP aqua glass, embossed]</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	stomach, intestines	Scarce
1842	<b>Lummus's Carminative Cordial, Dr.</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	heart+, nerves+	
1842	<b>Lummus's Medicated Strengthening Plasters, Dr.</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	muscles	
1842	<b>Medicated Wrappers or Jackets</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & medicines, 14 North Common St.	lungs	
1847	<b>Indian Vegetable Bitters</b>	George Mills, dry goods peddler, residence 487 Turnpike	stomach+	
1848	<b>Lung Expander</b>	William Kingsford, physician 11 Rockaway St.	lungs	
1849	<b>Indian Restorative</b>	Dr. William L. Harmon, grocery store 2 South Common St.	insufficient information for identification	
1849	liniment [product name not listed]	George Mills, dry goods peddler, residence 487 Turnpike	skin	

**1850-1859**

1851	<b>Holman's Bitters, Dr. J. F. [pint bottle]</b>	J. F. Holman, the Apothecary Store No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	lungs, stomach	
1852	<b>Holman's Sarsaparilla, Wild Cherry, Dandelion and Thoroughwort Bitters, Dr.</b>	J. F. Holman, the Apothecary Store No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	lungs, stomach	
1852	<b>Wentworth's Western Horse Liniment</b>	J. B. Wentworth, sewing machine salesman, 36 Market St.	animal [horse]	
1853	<b>Eastman's Sick Headache Remedy</b>	Dr. Ezekiel Porter Eastman, physician, 22 Baltimore St.	brain, stomach+	
1853*	<b>Eastman's Yellow Dock Bitters, Dr. E. P. [OP aqua glass, embossed]</b>	Dr. Ezekiel Porter Eastman, physician, 22 Baltimore St.	intestines+, stomach+	Scarce
1853	<b>Grover's Humectare (aka Grover's Vegetable Hair Tonic)</b>	Manley Grover, grocery store 2 South Common St.	hair	
1853	<b>Ladd's Vegetable Bitters, William M.</b>	William M. Ladd, grocery store No.1 Sagamore Building	blood, brain, liver, stomach	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1850-1859, continued)

1854	<b>Balsam Liverwort Candy</b>	William W. Rhodes, confectioner, No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	liver+, lungs+, throat+	
1854	<b>Conversational Lozenges</b>	William W. Rhodes, confectioner, No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	throat+	
1854*	<b>Essence of Peppermint [OP aqua glass, label-only bottle]</b>	William W. Rhodes, confectioner, No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	brain+, intestines+, joints+, nerves+, stomach+, teeth	Scarce
1854	<b>Holder's Excelsior Hair Tonic</b>	Aaron L. Holder, apothecary 143 Broad St.	hair	
1854	<b>Medicated Rheumatic Bandage</b>	Aaron L. Holder, apothecary 143 Broad St.	joints+, muscles+	
1854	<b>Vegetable Cough Candy</b>	William W. Rhodes, confectioner, No.3 Exchange Building, Market St.	lungs, throat	
1855	<b>Fernald's Cough Drops, Dr.</b>	Dr. M. Fernald, botanic physician, 42 Lewis St.	throat+	
1855	<b>Fernald's Female Monthly Pills, Dr.</b>	Dr. M. Fernald, botanic physician, 42 Lewis St.	uterus+	
1855	<b>Fernald's French Preventive Pills, Dr.</b>	Dr. M. Fernald, botanic physician, 42 Lewis St.	reproductive system+	
1855	<b>Hilton's Cough Syrup, Dr.</b>	Dr. John Hilton, healer 12 Summer St.	lungs, throat	
1855	<b>Hilton's Humor Syrup, Dr.</b>	Dr. John Hilton, healer 12 Summer St.	humors, stomach+	
1855	<b>Hilton's Vegetable Curative, Dr.</b>	Dr. John Hilton, healer 12 Summer St.	brain, intestines, kidney, stomach	
1855	<b>True's German Cough Syrup &amp; Pain Destroying Compound, Dr.</b>	Dr. Joseph M. True, proprietor & manufacturer, 45 Summer St.	brain, joints, intestines, lungs, muscles, nerves	
1856	<b>Healing Balm</b>	Benjamin Proctor, apothecary No.6 Healy's Arcade	flesh	
1856	<b>Ramsdell's Indian Restorative, or Family Bitters</b>	Shadrach Ramsdell, shoemaker 65 Chatham St.	brain, liver, stomach	
1856	<b>Seavers' and Berry's Braces</b>	William H. Berry, apothecary 48 Munroe St.	muscles+	
1857	<b>Sovereign Remedy</b>	Dr. H. A. Waterman, traveling healer [Lynn address unknown]	blood, ears, heart, joints, liver, lungs, stomach	
1858	bear's oil [product name not listed]	W[illiam]. H. Berry, apothecary, 48 Munroe St.	muscles+	
1858	<b>Wormwood Bitters</b>	Warren C. Philbrick, carpenter 268 Boston St.	stomach+	
1859	<b>Compound Boneset and Wild Cherry Cough Candy</b>	Benjamin Proctor, apothecary No.6 Healey's Arcade	lungs	
1859	<b>Dysentery and Diarrhoea Elixir</b>	John Renton, physician & dentist 4 South Common St.	intestines	
1859	<b>Holder's Compound Glycerin Lotion</b>	James W. Holder, drugs and medicines, 4 Washington Square	skin+	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1850-1859, continued)

1859	<b>Lummus's Medicated and Perfumed Hair Tonic</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, druggist & apothecary, 18 South Common St.	hair	
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## 1860-1869

1860	<b>Excelsior Hair Tonic</b>	James W. Holder, drugs & medicines, 4 Washington Square	hair	
1860	<b>Extract of Jamaica Ginger</b>	James W. Holder, drugs & medicines, 4 Washington Square	stomach+	
1860	<b>Saul's Cream Salve</b>	James B. Saul, hairdresser Sagamore House, Union St.	skin	
1862	<b>Dentavon</b>	George E. Emery, soap mfr., 238 and 240 Chestnut St.	teeth	
1862	<b>Macomber's Sick Headache &amp; Anti-Bilious Remedy, Dr.</b>	Horatio N. Macomber, dentist 1 South Common, cor. Market St.	brain, stomach, intestines	
1863	<b>Mill's Remedy</b>	William H. Mills, carpenter residence Fayette Place	lungs, throat+	
1863	<b>Kittredge's Purifying Bitters, Dr. E. A.</b>	Eliza B. Kittredge [widow of physician; Lynn address unknown]	stomach	
1865	<b>Hodges' Dysentery Cordial</b>	Chauncey A. Hodges, apothecary 2 South Common St.	stomach, intestines	
1865	<b>Lummus's Vegetable Pulmonary Syrup</b>	Thomas J. Lummus, Dealer in Drugs, Medicines, Chemicals, Perfumery, etc., Dealer in Drugs, Medicines, Chemicals, Perfumery, etc., 18 South Common St.	lungs	
1865	<b>Proctor's Spring Bitters</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist and Apothecary, 6 Healey's Arcade	liver, stomach	
1865	<b>Seaverns' Cough Syrup</b>	George W. Seaverns, salesman Oxford St., near Washington St.	lungs, throat	
1866	<b>Balm of Life</b>	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	insufficient information for identification	
1866	<b>Chilblain Lotion</b>	Charles W. Brown, Druggist & Apothecary, Summer St., near corner of Commercial St.	flesh	
1866	<b>Compound Boneset Candy</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist and Apothecary, 6 Healey's Arcade	throat+	
1866	<b>Concentrated Ginger</b>	Charles W. Brown, Druggist & Apothecary, Summer St., near corner of Commercial St.	insufficient information for identification	
1866	cordial for general debility [product name not listed]	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	insufficient information for identification	
1866	<b>Cough Syrup</b>	Charles W. Brown, Druggist & Apothecary, Summer St., near corner of Commercial St.	lungs, throat	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1860-1869, continued)

1866	<b>Emollient Lotion</b>	Charles W. Brown, Druggist & Apothecary, Summer St., near corner of Commercial St.	skin	
1866	<b>Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator</b>	Joseph Hutchinson, hairdressing saloon, Central Square	hair	
1866	<b>Pain Extractor</b>	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	nerves+	
1866	<b>Pettegrew's Family Medicine, Dr.</b>	Oliver J. Pettegrew & Co., grocer Chatham St., near Lewis St.	intestines, liver, lungs, nerves, stomach, throat	
1866	plasters for old sores and fresh wounds [product name not listed]	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	flesh	
1866	<b>Renovating Powders</b>	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	insufficient information for identification	
1866	salves for chapped hands, chilblains, etc. [product name not listed]	Mrs. Catherine Greenleaf, Indian Vegetable Medicines 39 North Common St.	flesh, skin	
1867	<b>Stimpson's Dysentery Compound</b>	Leonard F. Stimpson, teamster residence 9 Suffolk St.	stomach, intestines	
1867	<b>Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup</b>	Colcord, Snow & Messinger, Apothecaries & telegraph office, Central Square	lungs, throat	
1869	<b>Kittredge's Liniment</b>	Eliza B. Kittredge [widow of physician], 7 Garland St.	flesh	
1869	<b>Stimpson's Dysentery Compound</b>	Colcord, Snow & Messinger, Apothecaries, Central Square	stomach, intestines	

**1870-1879**

1870	<b>Chamberlain's Sure Cure</b> [Trademark no.913, registered 1872]	Maj. Wm. D. Chamberlain, liquors, fruit, and confectionery 2 Sagamore Hotel	intestines	
1870	<b>Cherry Pectoral Troches</b>	Holder & Co., Apothecaries 73 Broad St.	throat+ lungs+	
1870	<b>Seavern's Celebrated Cough Syrup</b>	George W. Seaverns (retired clothing dealer), cough balsam 138 Market St.	throat+	
1871	<b>Anisette Cordial</b>	Dudley & Co. (Thomas Dudley), wine store 4 Sagamore Hotel	heart+	
1871	<b>Anti-Billious Bitters</b>	Dr. George W. Musso, physician residence 8 Walden St.	stomach+	
1871	<b>Currier's Cure for Rheumatism</b>	Warren H. Currier, dealer in groceries 23 Howard St.	joints+	
1871	<b>Female Restorative Bitters</b>	Dr. George W. Musso, physician residence 8 Walden St.	blood+, uterus+	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1871	<b>Jockey Club House Bitters</b>	Dudley & Co., wine store 4 Sagamore Hotel	brain, stomach	
1871	<b>Roserine</b>	Franklin A. Phillips, photographer 27 1/2 Market St.	skin	
1871	<b>Thurston's Worm Syrup, Mrs.</b> [BIM, label-only bottle; Trademark no.247]	George B. Thurston, manufacturer of Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup 24 Healey's Arcade	stomach, throat	Scarce
1872	<b>Cherry Brandy Cordial</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square	intestines	
1872	<b>Children's Balsamic Cough Mixture</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square	throat	
1872	<b>Diarrhoea and Dysentery Cordial</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square	intestines	
1872	<b>Excelsior Cough Balsam</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square	throat, lungs	
1872	<b>Excelsior Hair Oil</b>	George B. Thurston, manufacturer of Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup 24 Healey's Arcade	hair	
1872	<b>Fairbanks' Improved Magneto-Electric Machine</b> [wood box containing the machine]	George W. Fairbanks & Co., manufacturer of magnetic electric machines 235 Union St.	nerves	Scarce
1872	<b>Floridin or Victor's Restorative and Preservative for the Toilet</b> [Patent no.124660]	F.W.A. Bergengren, apothecary [no address has been found]	skin, teeth	
1872	<b>Heiskell's Magic Salve</b>	Heiskell & Newhall, Sole Proprietors 18-20 Central Market	eyes, rectum, skin	
1872	<b>Humanitarian Salve</b>	Mrs. Malinda P. Johnson [no further identifying information or address has been found]	skin	
1872	<b>Indian Cough Syrup</b>	Alexander Livingstone, carpenter residence 36 Shepard	lungs	
1872	<b>Shield Tooth Powder</b>	George B. Thurston, manufacturer of Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup 24 Healey's Arcade	teeth	
1872	<b>Soule's Eradicator</b>	Hatfield N. Soule, traveling salesman residence 4 Ash St.	skin	
1872	<b>Thurston's Old Continental Tonic Bitters and Blood Purifier</b> [BIM clear glass; label-only bottle]	George B. Thurston, manufacturer of Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup 24 Healey's Arcade	brain, blood, liver, nerves, stomach	Scarce
1872	<b>Waterginsen Bitters</b>	Alexander Livingstone, carpenter residence 36 Shepard	liver, stomach, kidneys, blood, skin	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1873	<b>Atkinson's Bronchia Pastilles</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	lungs	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Chlorate, Potassa, &amp; Alum Troches</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	throat	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Extract of Jamaica Ginger</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	stomach	
1873	<b>Atkinson's French Plaster</b> [for corns, bunions]	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	feet	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Oramunda Tooth Powder</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	teeth	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Sapo-Camphorated Tooth Powder</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	teeth	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Toothache Drops</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	teeth	
1873	<b>Atkinson's Trichopouion</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	hair	
1873	cancer cure [product name not listed]	Joseph Lakeman, restaurant 172 Union St.	joints+, muscles, nerves, rectum	
1873	<b>Cough Mixture</b>	Erastus Newhall, grocer 166 1/2 Essex St.	throat, lungs	
1873	<b>Croscup's Catarrh Bitters, Mrs.</b>	Mrs. Abbie F. (Armanella) Croscup, widow residence 19 Mudge St.	brain, nerves, stomach	
1873	<b>Croscup's Liver Pills, Mrs.</b>	Mrs. Abbie F. (Armanella) Croscup, widow residence 19 Mudge St.	liver	
1873	<b>Life Boat Bitters</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	brain, back, blood, stomach	
1873	<b>Magnetic Catarrh Snuff</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	sinuses+	
1873	<b>Magnetic Salve</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	flesh	
1873	<b>Mason's Genuine Dry-Up and Cure-Up, Madame</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	sinuses+	
1873	<b>Mason's Vegetable Decoction, Drss. [Doctress] S. D.</b>	Selina D. Mason, physician 13 Pleasant St.	liver, stomach, uterus	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1873	<b>Oramunda Tooth Powder</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	teeth	
1873	<b>Pile Ointment</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	rectum	
1873	<b>Splendid Wash for Sores on Animals</b>	Henry Norman, chiropodist house 20 1/2 Chestnut	animal [unspecified]	
1873	<b>Vegetable Restorative Bitters</b>	Benjamin Proctor, apothecary 22 Market Square	brain, stomach	
1873	<b>Zanzibare</b>	Dr. George Edward Clark, magnetic & botanic physician, founder of Genuine Sailor Remedies 2 Newhall St.	kidneys, bladder	
1874	<b>Atkinson's Citrate of Magnesia</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	stomach, intestines	
1874	<b>Atkinson's Constitutional Catarrh Remedy</b>	William D. Atkinson, jr., apothecary Odd Fellows' building	stomach, intestines	
1874	<b>Balsamic Cough Mixture</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square, and at corner Federal St. and Western Ave.	throat+	
1874	<b>Clovertine</b>	Mrs. Abbie F. (Armanella) Croscup, widow, residence 19 Mudge St.	blood	
1874	<b>Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam, Mrs. [BIM aqua glass; embossed bottle with A. M. Dinsmore on yellow label]</b>	Alfred M. Dinsmore & Co., Proprietors [Lynn; no street address has been found]	lungs	Infrequent
1874	<b>Elixir of Wild Cherry and Balsam of Tolu Compound, The</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 7 Market Square, and at corner Federal St. and Western Ave.	insufficient information for identification	
1874	<b>New England Balsam</b>	Benjamin Proctor & Co., druggists 6 Healey's Arcade	lungs	
1874	<b>Norman's Foot Salve, Dr. [Trademark no.5,221; registered 1877]</b>	Dr. Henry Norman, chiropodist Union St., corner School St.	feet, hemorrhoids	
1874	<b>Tar Drops</b>	Page & Bailey (D. L. Page & John B. Bailey), confectioners, 27 Market St.	throat+	
1874	<b>Thurston's XXX</b>	George B. Thurston, patent medicines, New Chatham St.	fleas on dogs & cats	
1875	<b>Amarine Bitters</b>	Charles W. Brown, druggist 111 Summer St.	brain, kidney, liver, stomach	
1875	<b>Amber Lustre</b>	Charles Bly, apothecary 79 Munroe St.	hair	
1875	<b>Camphorated Cough Balsam</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	lung+, throat+	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1875	<b>Colcord's Toothache Drops</b>	Joseph W. Colcord, apothecary 168 Union St.	teeth	
1875	<b>Crooker's Vegetable Bitters, Dr.</b>	Bly & Newman (Charles L. Bly and Charles T. Newman), apothecaries 79 Munroe St.	brain, liver, stomach	
1875	<b>Dubee's Great French Tape Worm Remedy</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	intestines, stomach	
1875	<b>Etherington's Rheumatic Liniment</b>	W. D. Etherington, shoe factory worker boards 17 Carnes	joints+, muscles+, throat+	
1875	<b>German Blood Purifier</b>	George W. Seaverns (retired clothing dealer), cough balsam 138 Market St.	blood	
1875	<b>Hurd's Grecian Compound, Dr. J.</b>	Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham residence 185 Boston St.	reproductive system+	
1875	<b>Lane's Tonic or Elixir of Life</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	insufficient information for identification	
1875	<b>Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters, Mrs.</b>	Lucius C. Sargent, variety store (tobacco, periodicals, books, confectionery, fruits, etc.) 108 Union St.	brain, liver, kidney, stomach	Infrequent
1875	<b>Painoline [Trademark no.3,116]</b>	Orrin B. Mansell, manufacturer's agent 9 Sutton St.	nerves+	
1875	<b>Russian Instant Relief</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	insufficient information for identification	
1875	<b>Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup</b>	Joseph W. Colcord, apothecary 168 Union St.	throat	
1875	<b>Toppan's XLNT Toothache Drops</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary 104 Union St.	teeth	
1875	<b>Thurston's Hoarhound and Tar [BIM aqua embossed bottle]</b>	George B. Thurston, patent medicines, 92 Commercial St.	lung, stomach	Infrequent
1875	<b>Waterhouse's Improved Bed-Seat for Invalids</b>	George H. Waterhouse, carriagesmith, inventor and manufacturer of improved bed seat residence 8 Hutchinson's Court	muscles+, nerves+, spine+	
1876	<b>2905 [Trademark no.3,556]</b>	Edwin A. Hall, apothecary 86 Lewis St.	stomach+, intestines+	
1876	<b>Bly's Extract of Jamaica Ginger</b>	Charles Bly, apothecary 79 Munroe St.	stomach+	
1876	<b>Bly's Porous Strengthening Plaster</b>	Charles Bly, apothecary 79 Munroe St.	muscles+	
1876	<b>Burke's Family Liniment [Federal Label no.744; registered 1876]</b>	Edmund Burke, seaman [street address not located]	muscles+	
1876*	<b>Dinsmore's English Tonic Bitters, Mrs. [BIM aqua glass bottle; dark blue label-only]</b>	Alfred M. Dinsmore & Co., Manufacturers and Proprietors [Saugus; no street address has been found]	kidney, liver, stomach	Scarce

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1876	<b>Hall's Blood Purifying Elixir</b>	Edwin A. Hall, apothecary 86 Lewis St.	blood	
1876	<b>Hall's Fragrant Tooth Powder</b>	Edwin A. Hall, apothecary 86 Lewis St.	teeth	
1876	<b>Hall's Guarana Compound</b>	Edwin A. Hall, apothecary 86 Lewis St.	sinuses+	
1876	<b>Hall's Tooth-Ache Drops</b>	Edwin A. Hall, apothecary 86 Lewis St.	teeth	
1876	<b>Infallible Cure for Rheumatism</b>	Timothy Parker (no occupation listed), 10 Alley St.	joints+, muscles+	
1876	<b>Kingsford's English Family Pills, Dr. William</b>	William Kingsford, botanical physician, boards rear 316 Main St.	insufficient information for identification	
1876	<b>Pinkham's Liver Pills, Lydia E.</b> [printed matchstick-style box]; [Federal Label no.1645; registered 1878]	Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham residence 235 Western Ave.	liver	
1876	<b>Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Lydia E.</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; cyan blue label; Federal Label no.536; registered 1876]	Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham residence 235 Western Ave.	uterus	Scarce
1876	<b>Tapley's Extract Jamaica Ginger</b>	Dr. Warren Tapley, apothecary 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	stomach+	
1876	<b>Tapley's Glycerine Lotion</b>	Dr. Warren Tapley, apothecary 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	skin	
1876	<b>Taraxacum and Calisaya Bitters</b>	J. G. Forman & Son, apothecaries Federal St., corner Western Ave., and 7 Market Square	lungs, throat	
1876	<b>Worm Syrup</b>	J. G. Forman & Son, apothecaries Federal St., corner Western Ave., and 7 Market Square	intestines+, stomach+	
1877	<b>Balsam of Liverwort Cough Candy</b>	W. W. Rhodes, confectioner 14 Market St.	liver+, lungs+, throat+	
1877	<b>Diamond Rheumatic Cure, The</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	rheumatism	
1877	<b>Elixir of Beef, Iron and Wine with Peruvian Bark</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	nerves, stomach+	
1877	<b>Eraser, The</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square	skin	
1877+	<b>Thurston's XXX Death to Pain</b> [BIM aqua glass bottle, cornflower blue label-only]	George B. Thurston, patent medicines, New Chatham St.	<i>internal &amp; external:</i> flesh+, joints+, muscles+, skin+	Scarce
1878	<b>Asthma Preparation, The</b>	Dr. William Duncan Corken 17 Summer St.	lungs	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1878	<b>Berlin Sedative, or Compound Syrup of Anise</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	stomach	
1878	<b>Blackberry and Cherry Brandy Cordial</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	insufficient information for identification	
1878	<b>Bly's Camphorated Ice with Glycerine</b>	Charles L. Bly, apothecary 79 Munroe St.	insufficient information for identification	
1878	<b>Bronchial Inhalant</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	lungs, sinuses+	
1878	<b>Compound Balsam of Tolu and Wild Cherry or Excelsior Cough Balsam</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	lungs+	
1878	<b>Compound Elixir of Damiana</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	reproductive system	
1878	<b>Cushing's Diphtheria Cure</b>	Alvin M. Cushing, homeopathic physician, 87 Liberty St., near Market St.	throat	
1878	<b>English Tonic, The</b>	Dr. William Duncan Corken 17 Summer St.	nerves	
1878	<b>Excelsior Worm Syrup</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren, apothecary Central Square		
1878	<b>Extract of Buchu and Uva Ursi</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	kidneys, urinary tract	
1878	<b>Extract of Jamaica Ginger</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	stomach+	
1878	<b>Heisley Headache Powders</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	brain, nerves	
1878	<b>Indian Tincture, The</b>	Dr. William Duncan Corken 17 Summer St.	bladder, kidney	
1878	<b>Infallible Toothache Drops</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	teeth	
1878	<b>Paullinia Headache Powders</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	brain, nerves	
1878	<b>Pile Ointment</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	rectum	
1878	<b>Pinkham's Blood Purifier, Lydia E. [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; scarlet red label; Federal Label no.2284; registered 1880]</b>	Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham residence 235 Western Ave.	blood	bottle: Common; with label: Scarce
1878	<b>Rose Eye Water</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	eyes	
1878	<b>Taraxacum Bitters</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	liver, stomach, intestines	
1878	<b>Tonic Hair Restorer</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	hair	
1878	<b>Vermifuge, or Worm Syrup</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	intestines+, stomach+	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1870-1879, continued)

1879	<b>Adams' Vegetable Catarrh Cure, Dr.</b>	Dr. Everett F. Adams, grocer 28 Pearl St.	sinuses+	
1879	<b>Blood Purifier and Vitalizer</b>	J. G. Forman & Son, apothecaries Federal St., corner Western Ave., and 7 Market Square	blood	
1879	<b>Camphor Ice</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist 6 Healey's Arcade	skin	
1879	<b>Compound Botanic Elixir</b>	Herbert S. Goodridge, apothecary 103 Munroe St.	blood	
1879	<b>Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist 6 Healey's Arcade	blood	
1879	<b>Echo Grove Medicinal Spring Water [stoneware jug]</b>	John Raddin, car and carriage wheel and rubber cushioned axle manufacturer, also mineral spring water, 24 Ashland St.	brain+, liver+, skin, stomach+	Rare
1879	<b>Hall's Positive Cure for Corns</b>	Edwin A. Hall, medicines 86 Lewis St.	feet	
1879	<b>Honey of Hoarhound and Tar</b>	J. Gilbert Forman & Son, apothecaries, 7 Market Square	lungs+, sinuses+, throat+	
1879	<b>Jamaica Ginger</b>	James Munroe Tarbox & Son, grocers, 1 Federal Square	stomach+	
1879	<b>Kingsford's Great Blood Purifier or Great Humor Medicine, Dr. William</b>	William Kingsford, botanical physician, boards rear 316 Main St.	blood+	
1879	<b>McArthur's Syrup of the Hypophosphites Compound</b> [BIM, cobalt blue glass, embossed bottle]	John A. McArthur Hypophosphite Co., physician 31 South Common St.	lungs	Rare
1879	<b>Pure Extract of Jamaica Ginger</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist 6 Healey's Arcade	stomach+	
1879	<b>Rhodes' "ULTIMATUM" Cough Drops</b>	John E. Rhodes, confectioner 79 Broad St.	throat+	
1879	<b>Stimpson's Cordial (aka Stimpson's Specific)</b>	Joseph W. Colcord, apothecary 168 Union St.	intestines	
1879	<b>Washington Astringent Cordial</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist 6 Healey's Arcade	insufficient information for identification	
1879	<b>Wild Cherry Balsam</b>	Benjamin Proctor, Druggist 6 Healey's Arcade	lungs	

**1880-1889**

1880	<b>Bulfinch's Corrective</b>	Jeremiah Bulfinch & Sons, apothecary, 127 Essex St.	intestines, stomach	
1880	<b>Gorilla Insect Destroyer</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary 111 Union St.	animal [insects]	
1880	<b>Jackson's Worm Powders, Dr. H. W.</b>	Dr. Horace W. Jackson, botanic physician, 441 Western Ave.	stomach, intestines	
1880	<b>Milk of Roses</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary Corner of Union Street & Union Sq.	skin	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
<i>(1880-1889, continued)</i>				
1880	<b>Tar Drops</b>	William E. King, confectioner 27 Market St.	throat+	
1880	<b>Weeks Dyspepsia Cure, Dr. J. C.</b>	Dr. Joseph C. Weeks, cancer doctor 67 Chatham St.	intestines, stomach	
1880	<b>Weld's Castor Oil</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	stomach+	
1880	<b>Weld's Elixir Paregoric</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	intestines+	
1880	<b>Weld's Essence Peppermint</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	brain+, intestines+, joints+, nerves+, stomach+, teeth+	
1880	<b>Weld's Extract Jamaica Ginger</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	stomach+	
1880	<b>Weld's Sweet Oil</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	ear+	
1880	<b>Weld's Tincture Rhubarb</b>	Weld & Co., (Charles D. Weld) apothecaries, 104 Union St.	intestines+, stomach+	
1881	<b>Beef, Iron and Wine</b>	Frank E. Flint, Apothecary 38 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1881	<b>Beef, Wine and Celery [Federal Label no.2444]</b>	Frank S. Merritt, apothecary South Common, corner Shepard St.	nerves, stomach+	
1881	<b>Carver's Rheumatic Sure Cure</b>	Nathaniel Carver	blood, joints, kidneys, nerves, skin, uterus	
1881	<b>Colcord's Glycerine Lotion</b>	Joseph W. Colcord, apothecary	skin	
1881	<b>Dillingham's Magic Cough Remedy, Mrs.</b>	Francenia J. Dillingham; manufacturer	throat, lungs	
1881	<b>Norman's Queen Bath ["since 1876"; Trademark no.5,221; registered 1877]</b>	Dr. Henry Norman, chiropodist 4 Park Square	feet, joints , skin	
1881	<b>Pectoral Syrup</b>	Frank E. Flint, Apothecary 38 Market St.	lungs	
1881	<b>Pertussine</b>	S. C. Tozzer & Co., druggist 95 Broad St.	lungs	
1881	<b>Pinkham's Blood Purifier, Lydia E. [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; beige label]</b>	Prepared by Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham 235 Western Ave.	blood	bottle: Common; with label: Infrequent
1881	<b>Pinkham's Sanative Wash, Lydia E. [packaged powder; Federal Label no.2538]</b>	Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., 235 Western Ave.	vagina	Common
1881	<b>Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Lydia E. [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; beige label]</b>	Prepared by Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham 235 Western Ave.	uterus	bottle: Common; with label: Common
1881	<b>Putney's Aromatic Cordial of Rhubarb [Federal Label no.2406]</b>	George Putney [no further identifying information or address has been found]	intestines+, stomach+	
1881	rupture truss [product name not listed]	Everett & Weigel [truss proprietors]; [no further identifying information or address has been found]	hernia	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1880-1889, continued)

1881	<b>Shurtleff's Balm and Hamamelis Compound, Dr.</b>	Balm Hamamelis Co. [no further identifying information or address has been found]	brain	
1881	<b>Soule's Infallible Moth, Tan, and Freckle Eradicator</b>	Hatfield N. Soule, proprietor of Soule's moth eradicator residence 4 Hancock St.	skin	
1881	syrup for whooping cough	S. C. Tozzer & Co., druggist 95 Broad St.	lungs, throat	
1881	<b>Taraxacum and Peruvian Tonic</b>	Frank E. Flint, Apothecary 38 Market St.	lungs, throat	
1882	<b>Alaska Blood Purifier</b>	Alaska Compound Company (John Callahan), 16 Central Square	blood, kidney, liver, skin, uterus+	
1882	<b>Alaska Catarrh Compound</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle]; [Federal Label no.3100, registered 1883]	Alaska Compound Company (John Callahan), 16 Central Square	sinuses	Scarce
1882	<b>Alaska Oil</b>	Alaska Compound Company (John Callahan), 16 Central Square	brain, flesh, nerves, teeth, throat	
1882	<b>American, French and German Electric Combined Battery</b>	Dr. William Duncan Corken 17 Summer St.	nerves, uterus	
1882	<b>Beef, Iron &amp; Wine</b>	J. G. Forman, apothecary 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	nerves+, stomach	
1882	<b>Berlin Sedative, The</b>	Dr. William Duncan Corken 17 Summer St.	brain, nerves, stomach	
1882	<b>Calcutta Cholera Cure</b> [BIM clear glass, label-only bottle]	Warren Toppan, apothecary and sole agent, 111 Union St.	intestines+, stomach+	Scarce
1882	<b>Ceylon Perle Drops</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary 111 Union St.	skin	
1882	<b>Elixir of Wild Cherry</b>	Charles F. Corry, Apothecary, Dealer in Drugs, Medicines, Perfumery, Fancy Articles, etc. 7 Market Square	lungs	
1882	<b>Excelsior Cough Balsam</b>	Charles F. Corry, Apothecary, Dealer in Drugs, Medicines, Perfumery, Fancy Articles, etc. 7 Market Square	lungs	
1882	<b>Flint's Aromatic Tooth Powder</b>	Flint's Drug Store (Frank E. Flint) 38 Market St.	teeth	
1882	<b>[Flint's] Pectoral Syrup</b>	Flint's Drug Store (Frank E. Flint) 38 Market St.	lungs+, throat+	
1882	<b>F. V. L. P. (French Vegetable Life Pills)</b>	Dr. William Enright, physician 29 Franklin St.	blood	
1882	<b>Honey of Horehound and Balsam of Tolu</b>	J. G. Forman, Pharmacist 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	lungs, throat	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1880-1889, continued)

1882*	<b>King's Worm Syrup</b>	Benjamin Proctor, dealer in drugs, medicines, chemicals, perfumery, toilet and fancy goods 6 Healey's Arcade	vermifuge	
1882	<b>Shapleigh's Canker and Diphteria Cure, Mrs.</b>	Mrs. Margaret A. Shapleigh, confectioner, 22 Central Ave.	throat	
1882	<b>Swedish Botanic Compound</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle]; [Trademark no.9,355]	F. W. A. Bergengren apothecary and physician, Central Square	blood, stomach	Rare
1882	<b>Swedish Home Cure</b>	F. W. A. Bergengren apothecary and physician, Central Square	intestines	
1882	<b>Swedish Lung Balsam</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle]; [2-oz; Trademark no.9,355]	F. W. A. Bergengren apothecary and physician, Central Square	throat, lungs	Rare
1882	<b>Swedish Lung Balsam</b> [5-oz; Trademark no.9,355]	F. W. A. Bergengren apothecary and physician, Central Square	throat, lungs	Rare
1882	<b>Swedish Pepsin Pills</b> [box; "since 1881"; Trademark no.9,355]	F. W. A. Bergengren apothecary and physician, Central Square	intestines	
1882	<b>Taraxacum Tonic</b>	J. G. Forman, Pharmacist 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	lungs, throat	
1882	<b>Toppan's Pruni Vir Cough Syrup</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary 111 Union St.	throat, lungs	
1882	<b>Toppan's XLNT. Tooth Drops</b>	Warren Toppan, apothecary 111 Union St.	teeth	
1883	<b>Bador &amp; Taylor's Hair Invigorator</b>	Bador & Taylor, hairdressers 185 Union St., basement	hair	
1883	<b>Colcord's Vegetable Liver Pills</b>	Joseph W. Colcord, apothecary 153 Union St.	liver	
1883*	<b>Curine</b> [matchstick-style box]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., medicines, Market Square, corner Western Avenue	joints , nerves	
1883	<b>Dinsmore's Great English Cough and Croup Balsam, Mrs.</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; L. M. Brock on yellow label; sizes: 6 1/4" (25cts), 4" (10cts)]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., Proprietors, rear 14 Breed Square	throat, lungs	bottles: Common; with label: Infrequent
1883	<b>Dinsmore's Headache and Liver Pills</b>	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., proprietors, Breed Square	brain, intestine+, liver, stomach+	
1883	<b>French Lotion</b>	Davis, C. E. & Co., apothecary Odd Fellows' building, Market St.	skin	
1883	<b>Needham's Diphtheria Cure</b>	Dr. William A. Needham, diphtheria cure, 4 Libby Court	throat	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1880-1889, continued)

1883	<b>Forman's Balsam of Rock and Rye</b>	J. G. Forman, pharmacist 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	lungs	
1883	<b>Knights' Herbine Blood Purifier</b>	W. H. A. Knight, M.D. 19 Ireson St.	blood, skin	
1883	<b>Knights' Herbine Cough Cure</b>	W. H. A. Knight, M.D. 19 Ireson St.	throat	
1883	<b>Knights' Herbine Restorative</b>	W. H. A. Knight, M.D. 19 Ireson St.	stomach	
1883	<b>Knights' Herbine Kidney Cure</b>	W. H. A. Knight, M.D. 19 Ireson St.	kidneys	
1883	<b>Knights' Herbine Specific</b>	W. H. A. Knight, M.D. 19 Ireson St.	joints	
1883	<b>Macalster's Obtunder</b> ["since 1882"; Trademark no.10,091]	Oris P. MacAlaster, D.D.S. [dentist] 64 Liberty St.	teeth	
1883	<b>Mollifex Cough Remedy</b>	Harry N. Porter & Co., apothecaries 47 Market St.	throat	
1883	<b>Old Elderberry Wine</b>	Darius Barry, manufacturer of native wines, 160 Boston St.	stomach	
1883	<b>Porter's Mollifex</b>	Harry N. Porter & Co., apothecaries 47 Market St.	flesh	
1883	<b>Rhodes' Celebrated Cough Drops</b>	Miss S. Augusta Rhodes, confectionery, 14 Market St.	throat	
1883	<b>Rhodes' Fountain of Life</b>	T. H. Rhodes [possibly Theodore H. Rhodes, channeller] residence 16 Federal St.	kidneys	
1883	<b>Soule's Eradicator</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., medicines Market Square, corner Western Av.	skin	Common
1883	<b>Taraxacum Tonic</b>	J. G. Forman, pharmacist 2 Market St., corner Essex St.	lungs, throat	
1884	<b>Digestine</b> [powder in envelope; envelopes in box]	The Digestine Co. [no address has been found]	stomach	Infrequent
1884*	<b>Pinkham's Blood Purifier, Lydia E.</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; beige label]	Prepared by Lydia E. Pinkham Med. Co., 271 Western Ave.	blood	bottle: Common; with label: Infrequent
1884*	<b>Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, Lydia E.</b> [BIM aqua glass, embossed bottle; beige label]	Prepared by Mrs. Lydia E. Pinkham 271 Western Ave.	uterus	bottle: Common; with label: Common
1884	<b>William's Electric Tooth Drops, Dr.</b>	Dr. Edward Williams, [Frizzell & Williams, Surgeon Dentists] Room 3, Lee Hall, opposite City Hall	teeth	
1885	<b>Arnicalin</b>	Joseph B. Locke & Co., apothecaries, 47 Market St.	joints+ muscles+	
1885	<b>Egyptian Catarrh Cure</b>	Dr. Charles H. Geary 25 Pleasant St.	sinuses+ throat, lungs, mouth	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
<i>(1880-1889, continued)</i>				
1885*	<b>Furbush's Magnetic Cream</b> [tin, label-only]	Stephen M. Furbush, medicines, phrenologist, spiritualist rear 23 Union St.	eyes, flesh+, joints, hair, muscles, hemorrhoids, skin	
1885	<b>Hadley's Indian Preparation, Mrs. W. W.</b> [Label no.04347]	Mrs. Wm. W. Hadley, widow residence 191 Chestnut St.	hair, skin	
1885	<b>Magic Barrel</b>	Ira P. & George W. Jeffs, apothecaries Western Ave. corner Federal St.	brain, ear, nerves, teeth	
1885	<b>Thurston's Family Balsam</b>	George B. Thurston, patent medicines, 92 Commercial St.	internal & external: blood, ears, eyes, flesh, rectum, intestines, lungs, muscles, skin, stomach, throat	
1885*	<b>Thurston's Hoarhound and Tar</b> [BIM clear glass; label-only bottle]	George B. Thurston, patent medicines, 92 Commercial St.	lung, stomach	Infrequent
1885	<b>Union Liniment</b> [BIM clear glass, label-only bottle]	Daniel C. Buffum, liniment manufacturer, 253 Union St.	muscles	Scarce
1886	<b>Bascom's Mandrake Sarsaparilla Compound</b>	Dr. Isaac K. Bascom, Apothecary 112 Union St.	intestines+ liver, kidneys, bladder, skin	
1886	<b>Eureka Compound</b>	Alden A. Woodward, medicines 13 Friend St. Place	lungs, sinuses	
1886	<b>Great German Rheumatic Remedy, The</b> [Federal Label no.4605]	Alden A. Woodward, medicines 13 Friend St. Place	joints+, muscles+	
1886	<b>New England Balsam</b>	Charles E. Wilkins, apothecary 8 Boscobel Block, Market Square	lungs, throat	
1887	<b>Abbott's Blood-Purifying Sarsaparilla, Dr.</b> [BIM clear-glass, label-only bottle]	Charles S. Abbott, physician and medicines, 78 Central Ave.	brain, intestines, joints, kidneys, liver, lungs, nerves, uterus, skin, stomach	Scarce
1887	<b>Hoyt's Cedar Compound</b>	Hoyt's Pharmacy [David B. Hoyt] 73 Broad St.		
1887	<b>King's Summer Cordial, Dr.</b> [Federal Label no.5329]	Frank H. Broad & Co., proprietors and apothecaries 40 Union St., Besson's block	intestines, teeth	
1887	<b>Lougee's Clover Cure for Female Weakness, Dr. R.W.</b> [Federal Label no.5309]	Robert W. Lougee, patent medicines, boards 17 Congress St.	blood+, nerve+	
1887	<b>Lougee's Juniper Kidney Cure, Dr. R.W.</b> [Federal Label no.5308]	Robert W. Lougee, patent medicines, boards 17 Congress St.	kidneys	
1887	<b>Lougee's Vitalizing Compound, Dr. R.W.</b> [Federal Label no.5307]	Robert W. Lougee, patent medicines, boards 17 Congress St.	blood, joints, liver, stomach	Infrequent

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1880-1889, continued)

1887	<b>Whittier's Blood Purifier, Mrs.</b>	Mrs. H. A. Whittier, electrician and test and business medium 57 Market St.	blood+, kidneys, uterus	
1888	<b>Bascom's Pulmonic Cough Balsam</b>	Dr. Isaac. K. Bascom, Apothecary 248 Union St.	lungs+	
1888	<b>Bascom's Rheumatic Powders</b>	Dr. Isaac. K. Bascom, Apothecary 248 Union St.	joints+, muscles+	
1888	<b>B. P. Expectorant</b>	Beckford's Pharmacy 1 Central Square	lungs+, throat+	
1888	<b>Burnham's Celebrated Eye Remedy</b>	E. H. Burnham, The Celebrated Optician, 56 Market St.	eyes	
1888	<b>Burnham's Medico-Electric Inhaler Battery</b>	E. H. Burnham, The Celebrated Optician, 56 Market St.	brain, ears, eyes, lungs, nerves, sinuses	
1888	<b>Chase's Pulmonary Cough Syrup</b>	J. W. Chase & Co., apothecaries 394 Essex St., Cor. Ireson St.	throat, lungs	
1888*	<b>Dinsmore's Cough Drops, Mrs.</b> [prototype store tin; stenciled black on yellow]	Alfred M. Dinsmore, proprietor [Lynn, but no street address has been found]	throat	Scarce [possibly unique]
1888	<b>Indian Cough Remedy</b>	S. Lydia Whittier, dressmaker, and electric applicances 36 Market St.	throat+	
1888	<b>Jamaica Ginger</b>	J. W. Chase & Co., apothecaries 394 Essex St., Cor. Ireson St.	stomach+	
1888	<b>Pratt's Quick Relief</b>	James H. Pratt, patent medicines boards 1 Tirrell's block, Pleasant St.	teeth, stomach	
1889	<b>Grader's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil</b>	Frank H. Grader, Pharmacist 133 Union St.	lungs	
1889	<b>Litch's Pure Tar Soap</b>	manufactured by Frank C. Hunt, hairdresser, 7 Sutton St.	skin	
1889	<b>Onar Consumption Cure</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle]	Tingley Compound Co. [Mrs. Hulda Tingley], residence 133 Commercial	lungs	Scarce
1889	<b>Shield Tooth Powder</b>	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines, 106 Commercial St.		

**1890-1899**

1890	<b>B. P. Sarsaparilla</b>	Beckford's Pharmacy 1 Central Square	intestines	
1890	<b>Burnham's Eye Remedy, Dr.</b>	Curtis & Spindell Co., pharmacists 2 Market St. and 144 Central Ave.	eyes	
1890	<b>Clarke's Electroclarient</b>	John C. Clarke & Son, bitters manufacturer 82 Hollingsworth St.	blood, kidneys, liver, nerves stomach	
1890*	<b>Dinsmore's Cough Drops, Mrs.</b> [yellow & black lithographed store tin]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., proprietors, Breed Square	throat	Infrequent

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1890*	<b>Dinsmore's Cough Drops, Mrs</b> [sample container: wooden cylinder; yellow & black label-only]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., proprietors, Breed Square	throat	Scarce
1890	elastic stockings and all-elastic hospital belts [trusses]	Curtis & Spindell Co., pharmacists and elastic weavers 2 Market St. and 144 Central Ave.	joints, veins	
1890*	<b>Puritan Beef Iron and Wine</b> [BIM, clear glass; embossed bottle]	Puritan Beef Iron and Wine Co. [no further identifying information or address has been found]	nerves+, stomach+	Scarce
1890	tar drops [product name not listed]	William E. King, confectioner, also a policeman, 270 Union St.	throat	
1891	<b>Balsam Tolu and Cherry Cough Cure</b>	Curtis & Spindell, Pharmacists 2 Market and 144 Central Ave.	throat, lungs [for adults only]	
1891	<b>Bliss' Horse Chestnut Oil Liniment</b>	Dr. A. G. Bliss [Albert G. Bliss, shoe cutter], 334 Broad St., boards 20 James St.	joints, muscles, nerves	
1891	<b>Honey and Tolu Cough Cure</b>	Curtis & Spindell, Pharmacists 2 Market and 144 Central Ave.	throat, lungs [for children only]	
1891	<b>Forrestall's Cough Cure</b>	J. Frank Forrestall, Manufacturing Pharmacist 48 Central Square	throat, lungs	
1891	<b>Perry's Parisian Face Enamel</b>	Mrs. Perry's Hair Dressing Parlor [Sadie Perry], 60 Market St.	skin	
1891	<b>[Perry's] Royal Hair Restorer</b>	Mrs. Perry's Hair Dressing Parlor [Sadie Perry], 60 Market St.	hair	
1891	<b>Rock, Rye and Honey, The Great French Remedy</b> [BIM clear glass, embossed bottle; sizes: 11.5", 9.875" & 8.375"] ["since 1891", Trademark no.22,116]	Edward Heffernan, liquor mfr. & wholesale dealer in wines, liquors, champagnes, both foreign and domestic, 70-78 Munroe St.	lungs, throat	Common
1891	<b>Shaw's Sure Cure for Neuralgia and Rheumatism</b>	Henry J. Shaw, Chemist and Perfumer, 124 Summer St.	joints+, muscles+, nerves+	
1892	<b>Bubier's Effervescent Bromide Compound</b>	Bubier Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	brain, nerves	
1892	<b>Bubier's Laxative Salz</b>	Bubier Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	intestines, rectum	Infrequent
1892	<b>Bubier's Litho-Seltzer</b>	Bubier Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	bladder	
1892	<b>Diamond Glasses</b>	W. F. Newhall, Optician and Jeweler 52 Market St.	eyes	
1892	<b>Good-Bye Corn Remover</b>	J. H. Emery & Co., Druggists cor. Summer & Shepard Streets	feet	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1892	<b>Grader's Botanic Cough Cure</b>	Frank H. Grader, Pharmacist 133 Union St.	throat+	
1892	<b>Hadley's Camphor Balm</b>	Mrs. W. W. Hadley 353 Summer St.	skin	
1892	<b>Indian Hair Renewer</b>	Mrs. Dr. C. A. Batchelder 62 Howard St.	hair	
1892	<b>Odontitis</b>	Dr. Everett Williams, dentist 60 Market St.	teeth	
1892	<b>Odontunder</b>	Dr. Everett Williams, dentist 60 Market St.	teeth	
1892	<b>Professor Frances' Root Appetizer and Blood Purifier</b>	Medical Co., [no further identification has been found] P.O. Box 1, Lynn, Mass	blood, flesh	
1892	<b>Syrup of Squills</b> [OP, aqua glass, label-only bottle]	Frank Berridge, Registered Pharmacist, 578 Chestnut St.	lungs+, reproductive system+, stomach+	
1893	<b>Colcord's Beef, Wine, Coca and Iron</b>	Joseph W. Colcord & Co., druggists 48 Central Square	nerves+, stomach+	
1893*	<b>Nelson's Dyspepsia Cure</b>	John M. Nelson & Co., apothecaries 129 Munroe St.	stomach+	
1893	<b>Peptonix</b>	The Allston Co., manufacturers of Peptonix, 840 Boston St.	stomach	
1893	<b>Russell's Pile Ointment</b>	Leander Russell, shoe finisher 22 Beckford Ct.	rectum	
1894	<b>Cameron's Liquid Extract of Beef and Tonic Invigorator</b>	Elias A. Hupper, shoe rack mfr. 54 Oakwood Av.	stomach, blood	
1894	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Emulsion</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	lungs+	
1894	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Jamaica Ginger</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	stomach+	
1894	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Sarsaparilla</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	blood+	
1894	<b>Emery's Tar and Tolu</b>	J. H. Emery & Co., Druggists 262 Summer St.	lungs, throat	
1894	<b>Flint's Almond Cream</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	skin+	
1894	<b>Flint's Beef, Iron and Wine</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1894	<b>Flint's Celery Nerve Tonic</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1894	<b>Flint's Chlorate Potash Tablets</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	throat+	
1894	<b>Flint's Cordial Elixir Peruvian Bark</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1894	<b>Flint's Corn Remover</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	feet	
1894	<b>Flint's Cough Cure</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	lungs+, throat+	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1894	<b>Flint's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	lungs+	
1894	<b>Flint's Headache Powders</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	brain	
1894	<b>Flint's Little Liver and Headache Pills</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	brain, liver	
1894	<b>Flint's Sarsaparilla</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	blood+	
1894	<b>Flint's Soda Mint Tablets</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	insufficient information for identification	
1894	<b>Flint's Strengthening Plasters</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	muscles+	
1894	<b>Flint's Toothache Drops</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	teeth	
1894	<b>Flint's Wine of Coca</b>	Flint's Drug Store [Frank F. Flint, apothecary], 44 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1894*	<b>Heald's Energizer (carbonated)</b>	M. C. Heald & Co., soda water manufacturers 6 and 12 Commercial St.	brain+, nerves+	
1894	[Hill's] skunk essence	Franklin P. Hill, poultry raiser B Street	hair, lungs, muscles	
1894	<b>Laxatoria</b>	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl	intestines+	
1894	<b>Parisian Aphro Tonic</b> [Trademark No.24,018]	Charles Pettit De Langle, physician Miles bldg., 44 Central Square, room 4 [Boston office, 74 Boylston St.]	reproductive system	
1894	<b>Thurston's Cough Balsam</b>	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines, 108 Commercial St.	lungs+, throat+	
1894	<b>Thurston's Root Beer Extract</b>	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines, 108 Commercial St.	stomach+	
1894	[Toppan's] Beef, Iron and Wine	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	nerves+, stomach+	
1894	[Toppan's] Belladonna & Capsicum Plasters	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	muscles+, skin+	
1894	[Toppan's] Celery Nerve Compound	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	nerves, stomach+	
1894	[Toppan's] Cocoa Wine	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	stomach+	
1894	<b>Toppan's Emulsion Cod Liver Oil</b>	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	lungs+	
1894	<b>Toppan's Headache and Liver Pills</b>	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	brain, liver, stomach+	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1894	[Toppan's] Saponaceous Tooth Powder	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	teeth	
1894	Toppan's Sarsaparilla	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl; also Chatham & Eastlake	blood+	
1894	Willoughby's Vegetable Cordial	Charles Devereaux Willoughby, essence peddler and manufacturer 14 Evelyn St.	blood+, heart+	
1895	Crompton's Liniment	Charles Crompton, manufacturer and proprietor, 102 Ontario St.	joints, muscles, nerves	
1895	ginger tea [for firefighters]	Clarence L. Allen, City Messenger 29 Crosby St.	brain+, nerves+	
1895	Hilton's Burn Salve, Mrs.	A. M. Hilton & Co., Manufacturers [no street address yet located]	skin	
1895	Holbrook's India Koff Kure	Holbrook Pharmacy [S. Harding Holbrook, apothecary] 330 Union St.	throat	
1895	Leonard's Dock and Dandelion Bitters, Mrs.	Arrington's Variety Store 242 Union St.	brain, liver, kidney, stomach	
1895	One Minute Cough Cure	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	lungs, throat	Scarce
1895	Solar Compound No. 1	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	blood, kidneys, liver	
1895	Solar Compound No. 2	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	humors	
1895	Solar Compound No. 3	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	head, throat	
1895	Solar Compound No. 4	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	lungs	
1895	Solar Compound No. 5	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	reproductive system	
1895	Solar Compound No. 6	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	brain, nerves	
1895	Solar Compound No. 7	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	bones, muscles, nerves	
1895	Solar Compound No. 8	Solar Compound Co., 333 Union St.	skin	
1895	[Toppan's] Lung and Chest Protector	Warren Toppan, Druggist cor. Union & Pearl Sts.	lungs	
1896	[Harriman's] Antiseptic Toilet Paper	J. Maro Harriman, Pharmacist 248 Union St.	rectum	
1896	[Harriman's] Celery Compound	J. Maro Harriman, Pharmacist 248 Union St.	nerves+	
1896	Compound Syrup White Pine and Tar	Frank H. Broad, Druggist 108 Union, cor. Green	lungs, throat	
1896	Pure Cod Liver Oil	Williams Bros. Fish Dealers 157 Union St.	lungs, throat+	
1897	Burrill's Celery-Caffein Headache and Nerve Powders	Bubier Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	headache, nerves	
1897	Davis & Young's Beef, Iron and Wine	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1897	Davis & Young's Compound Elixir Peruvian Bark	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1897	Davis & Young's Compound Syrup Hypophosphites	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	lungs+	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1897	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Extract Sarsaparilla</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	blood	
1897	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Little Liver Pills</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	liver	
1897	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Porous Plasters</b>	Davis & Young 21 Central Sq. & 107 Market St.	muscles+	
1897	<b>Seamless Heel Elastic Stockings</b>	Curtis & Spindell Co. 8 Market St.	joints, veins	
1897	<b>Success Sanitary Holder</b>	J. W. Potter, manufacturer 24 Stephen Ct.	"for water closet bowls ... prevents disease"	
1898	<b>Bubier's Salicylates</b>	Bubier Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	joints, muscles	
1898	<b>Bulfinch's Emulsion of Pure Cod Liver Oil</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	lungs+	
1898	<b>Colcord's Headache Powders</b>	Joseph W. Colcord & Co., druggists, 48 Central Square	brain, nerves	
1898	<b>Cushing's Antidote</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	brain, nerves+	
1898	<b>Cushing's Cold Killer Pellets</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	lungs, sinuses, throat	
1898	<b>Cushing's Red Blood Pills</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	blood	
1898	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Extract Jamaica Ginger</b>	Davis & Young, Druggists Odd Fellows Building, 107 Market St., 21 Central Square and 82 Central Ave.	intestines, nerves, stomach	
1898*	<b>Fox's Sarsaparilla Compound, Dr.</b>	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines, 108 Commercial St.	blood+	
1898	<b>KOLA=RAYS</b>	Crystal Spring Bottling Company 17 Forest St.	muscles, nerves, stomach	
1898	<b>Kenney's Pain Paint, Mrs.</b>	Botanic Remedies [identity of Mrs. Kenney has not yet been determined], Essex St., near Pearl	nerves+ muscles+	
1898	<b>La Grippe Killers</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	lungs	
1898	<b>"PALATABLE" STILL LITHIA (aka PUREOXIA)</b>	N. W. Edson & Co., 32-34 Union St.; 159-161 Franklin St.	bladder, joints+, kidneys, muscles+, nerves+	
1898	<b>Young's Violet Cold Cream</b>	Davis & Young, Druggists Odd Fellows Building, 107 Market St., 21 Central Square and 82 Central Ave.	skin	
1899	<b>All Elastic Hospital Belt</b>	Curtis & Spindell Co., apothecaries 7 Munroe St.	abdomen	
1899	<b>Caird's Rheumatism Cure, Dr. Alex</b>	Dr. Alex Caird, physician 44 Commercial St.	joints+, muscles+	
1899	<b>[Colcord's] Syrup Hypophosphites Compound</b>	Joseph W. Colcord & Co., druggists, 48 Central Square	lungs	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1890-1899, continued)

1899	<b>Colcord's White Liniment</b>	Joseph W. Colcord & Co., druggists 48 Central Square	joints+, muscles+	
1899	<b>Cushing's Celery and Sarsaparilla Compound</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	blood	
1899	<b>Cushing's Laxative Fig Syrup</b>	Henry Cushing Bulfinch, Druggist 281 Essex St.	intestines+	
1899	<b>Davis &amp; Young's Quinine Hair Tonic</b>	Davis & Young, Druggists Odd Fellows Building, 107 Market St., 21 Central Square, and 82 Central Ave.	hair	
1899	<b>Davis's Cucumber Pills</b>	Davis & Young, Druggists Odd Fellows Building, 107 Market St., 21 Central Square, and 82 Central Ave.	insufficient information for identification	
1899	<b>Flint's Aromatic Tooth Powder</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	teeth	
1899	<b>[Flint's] Blackberry Cordial</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	intestines, stomach	
1899	<b>Flint's Corn Cure</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	feet	
1899	<b>Flint's Cream of Almonds</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	skin+	
1899	<b>Flint's Hair Dressing</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	hair	
1899	<b>Flint's Kidney Plaster</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	joints, kidneys, muscles	
1899	<b>Flint's No. 44 Pellets</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	brain, muscles, nerves	
1899	<b>Flint's Orange Flower Lotion</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	skin+	
1899	<b>Flint's Syrup of Hypophosphites</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	lungs	
1899	<b>Flint's Tooth Powder</b>	The Flint Pharmacy [Frank E. Flint] 44 Market St.	teeth	
1899	<b>Funny How Quick</b>	J. Maro Harriman, Pharmacist 248 Union St.	brain, nerves	
1899	<b>[Harriman's] Compound Syrup of Hypophosphites</b>	J. Maro Harriman, Pharmacist 248 Union St.	lungs+	
1899	<b>[Harriman's] Peptonized Beef, Iron and Wine</b>	J. Maro Harriman, Pharmacist 248 Union St.	nerves+, stomach+	
1899	<b>New Life</b>	Sarah F. Beckford 32 Alice St.	hair, scalp	
1899	<b>Quickstep [tin can; label-only]</b>	Frye's Remedy Co., Medicines 779 Washington St.	brain, intestines, joints, nerves, stomach	Scarce
1899	<b>Wolf's Bismuth Compound, Dr.</b>	The Harrington-Rintels Drug Co. Pevear Block, Munroe Street	intestines, stomach	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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**1900-1909**

1900	<b>20th Century Scalp Healer and Vegetable Hair Restorer</b> [Label no.7,309]	Mrs. E. V. Freigh, faith doctor 604 Western Ave.	hair, scalp	
1900	<b>Foot Arch Supporters</b>	Everett H. Dunbar, shoe manufacturer, 101 Munroe St.	feet	
1900	<b>Thurston's Canadian Family Balsam</b>	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines, 108 Commercial St.	intestines, joints, lungs, nerves, throat; also animal [horse]	
1901	<b>Delmac Liver Regulator</b> [Label no.8,728]	Delmac Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass. 271 Western Ave.	liver	
1901	<b>Norman's Palmolene</b>	Henry Norman, Lynn, Mass.	feet, sinuses, throat	
1901	<b>Norman's Quick Work Ointment</b>	Henry Norman, Lynn, Mass.	feet, piles	
1902	<b>Soule's Eradicator</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle; white label]	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., medicines Market Square, corner Western Ave.	skin	Common
1902	<b>Williams Rheumatic Plaster, The Jay</b> [Label no.9,042]	Jay Williams, rheumatic medicines 61 Exchange St.	joints+, muscles+	
1904	<b>VAR-NE-SIS Blood Purifier</b>	William A. Varney, 25 Hamilton Ave.		Infrequent
1905	<b>One Night Cold Cure</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only screwcap bottle]	George H. Holtham, Pharmacist 153 Broad St.		Rare
1906	<b>Appliance for Straightening the Big Toe</b> [Patent no.826,515]	Lemuel W. Litch, [George G. London Mfg Co., foot specialties] 460 Union St.	feet	
1906	<b>BU-LAX / Bubier's Laxative Salz</b> [ABM, clear glass, embossed bottle] [Label no.21,294, registered 1907]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	bladder, intestines, kidney, liver, hemorrhoids, stomach, urethra,	Common
1906*	<b>Burrill's Tooth Powder</b> [ABM, clear glass, embossed bottle; light green label]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	teeth	
1906*	<b>Burrill's Tooth Powder</b> [trial size; ABM, clear glass, label-only bottle]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	teeth	Rare
1906*	<b>Crompton's Family Balsam / formerly known as Muskoka Balsam</b> [ABM aqua glass, 12-sided bottle; label-only]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., manufacturing chemists 106 Ontario St.	<i>internal and external:</i> flesh+, kidneys+, lungs+, muscles+, skin+, throat+	Rare
1906*	<b>Pinkham's Compound Lozenges, Lydia E.</b>	Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. 271 Western Ave.	uterus	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1900-1909, continued)

1906*	<b>Pinkham's Liver Pills, Lydia E.</b> [printed matchstick-style box]	Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. 271 Western Ave.	liver	Common
1906*	<b>Pinkham's Compound Pills, Lydia E.</b>	Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. 271 Western Ave.	uterus	
1906	<b>Thurston's Family Balsam</b>	George B. Thurston, patent medicines 92 Commercial St.	<i>internal &amp; external</i> (see 1885)	
1906	<b>Thurston's XXX Death to Pain</b> [ABM clear glass, cornflower blue label-only bottle]	George B. Thurston, proprietary medicines 108 Commercial St.	<i>internal &amp; external:</i> brain+, flesh+, intestines+, joints+, muscles+, stomach, teeth, throat+	Rare
1907	<b>Folsom's Cough and Croup Balsam, Mrs.</b> [BIM, clear glass; embossed bottle]	Webster Folsom, medicines boards 15 North Franklin St.	lungs	Rare
1907	<b>Juno Almond Cream</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	insufficient information for identification	
1907	<b>Juno Blood Purifier</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	blood	
1907	<b>Juno Cough Syrup</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	lungs+, throat+	
1907	<b>Juno Freckle Cream</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	skin	
1907	<b>Juno Hair Tonic</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	hair	
1907	<b>Juno Orange Flower Cream</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	skin+	
1907	<b>Juno Preventive of Private Diseases and Monthly Regulator</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	reproductive system	
1907	<b>Juno Sarsaparilla</b>	National Chemical Company 49 Parkland Ave.	insufficient information for identification	
1908	<b>Foot-Arch</b> [Patent no.899,367]	Freeman J. Winchell, foreman rooms at 10 Oxford St.	feet	
1908	"instep supporter or arch prop" [product name not listed] [Federal Label no. 20,010]	The George G. London Mfg Co., foot specialties, 460 Union St.	feet	
1908	<b>LITCH'S HYGIENIC BATH</b> [Federal Label no. 14,031]	Lemuel W. Litch, [George G. London Mfg Co., foot specialties] 460 Union St.	joints+, muscles+	
1909	<b>B O S T</b> [Trademark no.40,558]	Goodwin & Barbour [George F. Barbour, clerk], 248 Union St.	blood, intestines+, stomach+	
1909	<b>Holland's White Liniment, Dr.</b>	Standard Remedy Company, 310 Summer St.	joints, muscles	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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**1910-1919**

1910	<b>Arlin's Vegetable Solvent</b>	Arthur C. E. Arlin, Arlin Solvent Co., manufacturer, laboratory and residence 16 Clovelly St.	insufficient information for identification for identification	
1910	<b>Indian Blood Tonic</b>	Arthur C. E. Arlin, Arlin Solvent Co., manufacturer, laboratory and residence 16 Clovelly St.	blood, stomach+	
1910*	<b>Extract of Ginger</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only pumpkin seed flask]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., mfrg chemists, 106 Ontario St.	brain, intestines, lungs, nerves+, sinuses+, stomach	Rare
1910*	<b>Pinkham's Blood Medicine, Lydia E.</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle with label]	Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. 271 Western Ave.	blood	Infrequent
1910*	<b>Spockene Nerve Food</b>	The Columbia Drug Co. 127 Munroe St.	nerves	
1910*	<b>Wilson's Colic and Diarrhoea Cordial</b>	Frank Berridge, Prescription Druggist, 678 Chestnut St.	intestines	Scarce
1910	<b>Zat-Zit</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only bottle]; [Trademark No.52,086]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., mfrg chemists, 106 Ontario St.	lungs+, sinuses+, throat+	Rare
1912	<b>ORIENTAL OINTMENT</b> [Label no.16,353]	George E. P. Dalton [employed at GE Company, West Lynn] residence 52 Dearborn Ave.	insufficient information for identification for identification	
1913	<b>CROWN CORN CORER</b> [Label no.17,029]	Leon C. Ellis, Lynn, Mass. [Curtis & Ellis, druggists], 2 Market St.	feet	
1913	<b>Kankas</b> ['since 1910"; Trademark no.69,949]	Hovnan A. Hampoian, real estate 18 South Common St.	rectum	
1913	<b>Lynco Arch Supports</b> [Trademark no.70,513]	Lynn Rubber Manufacturing Company, [no street address yet located]	feet	
1913	<b>Victor</b> [Trademark no.70,681]	John W. Walsh, grocer 30 Carnes St.	rectum	
1914	<b>Dombal</b> ["since 1912"]; [Trademark no.80,119]	Dombalagian & Nouskhajian [Markar Dombalagian, shoe ironer residence 15 Lyman St. [no further information found about Nouskhajian]]	rectum	
1914	"remedy for catarrh and asthma" [product name not listed] [Trademark no.76,902]	Jacob A. Le Blanc, carpenter 109 West Neptune St.	lungs+, sinuses+, throat+	
1914	<b>SureX</b> ["since 1912"; Trademark no.79,511]	Campbell Electric Co. 17 Stewart St.	an X-Ray apparatus	
1915	<b>Burrill's Tooth Paste</b> [squeezable tube]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	teeth	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1910-1919, continued)

1915	<b>Burrill's Tooth Powder</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle] [Federal Label no. 18,503]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	teeth	Common
1915	<b>Crompton's Fly Paper</b> [envelope]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., mfrg chemists, 106 Ontario St.	animal [flies]	
1915	"medicines for the correction of dyspepsia, kidney and liver troubles, for stimulating the heart and stomach, and for diseases peculiar to women" [product names not listed; "since 1914"]; [Trademark no.82,563]	John W. R. Laxton 112 Exchange St.	heart, kidney, liver, reproductive system, stomach	
1915	<b>Pinkham's Pills for Constipation, Lydia E.</b> [matchstick-style box with printed overwrap]	Lydia E, Pinkham Medicine Co., medicines, 271 Western Ave.	intestines	Common
1915	<b>Pinkham's Pile Suppositories, Lydia E.</b> [telescope-style box with printed overwrap]	Lydia E, Pinkham Medicine Co., medicines, 271 Western Ave.	rectum	Common
1915	<b>SAN CAP</b> ["since 1913"; Trademark no.88,584]	Robert W. Thomson	stomach+	
1916	<b>LAX-PRE-PAR-E-TON</b> [Trademark no.96,150]	John W. R. Laxton 112 Exchange St.	flesh+, heart, intestines, kidney, liver, reproductive system, stomach+	
1916	<b>Var-ne-sis for Rheumatism</b> [ABM; embossed clear glass screwcap bottle]	The VAR-NE-SIS Company [William A. Varney], 25 Hamilton Ave.	joints, muscles, nerves+	Infrequent
1916	<b>Var-ne-sis for Rheumatism</b> [ABM; embossed clear glass bottle]	The VAR-NE-SIS Company [William A. Varney], 25 Hamilton Ave.	joints, muscles, nerves+	Infrequent
1916*	<b>Var-ne-sis Stomach and Rheumatic Remedy</b> [ABM; embossed clear glass bottle] ["since 1901"; Trademark no.92,095]	The VAR-NE-SIS Company [William A. Varney], 25 Hamilton Ave.	intestines, joints, stomach	Infrequent
1917	insecticide and deodorizer: [product name not listed; 'since 1915"; Trademark no.96,482]	White Cross Chemical Company [no street address yet located]	animal [insects]	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1910-1919, continued)

1917	<b>VENUSA</b> [line of products]; ["since 1907"; Trademark no.90,255]	Coates Pharmacal Co., Inc [Wallace B. Coates, Jr.] 399 Franklin St.	hair, skin, teeth	
1918	<b>HERBINE</b> [Trademark no.110,004]	Thomas E. Connor [The Cotec Co.] 253 Chatham St.	rectum	
1918	<b>MALLDUNN ANTI-SOR- NES OIL</b> [Federal Label no. 20,993]	Malldunn Medicine Company, Lynn, Mass. [no street address yet located]	joints+ muscles+	
1918	<b>SansOdor</b> ["since 1917"; Trademark no.104,554]	Lynn Rubber Manufacturing Company [William C. Wheeler, president], 580 Washington St.	feet	
1919	<b>Cotec</b> [Trademark no.118,078]	Thomas E. Connor [The Cotec Co.] 253 Chatham St.	rectum	
1919	<b>Cotec Laxative Pills</b> [Trademark no.118,078]	Thomas E. Connor [The Cotec Co.] 253 Chatham St.	intestines+	
1919	<b>Crème Vegetal</b> [Federal Label no. 21,584]	Edward W. Burke [Vegetal Products Co., toilet goods], 2 Lewis St.	skin	
1919	<b>McBride's Arabian Healer</b>	James McBride, medicine manufacturer, 50 Ashland St.	animal [horse]	
1919	<b>MOSSEA</b> [Trademark no.116,995]	William S. Pickering, Mossea Remedy Co., 170 Liberty St.	insufficient information for identification	
1919	<b>SPRAYOLINE</b> ["since 1915"; Trademark no.117,398]	William S. Curtin, clerk 184 Lewis St.	sinuses	
1919*	<b>Standard Heave Remedy</b>	Standard Remedy Company, medicines, veterinary, 2 Depot Yard	animal [horse]	
1919*	<b>Standard Hog Cholera Remedy</b>	Standard Remedy Company, medicines, veterinary, 2 Depot Yard	animal [hog]	
1919	<b>Var-ne-sis Rub-On For Pain</b> [squeezable tube]	The VAR-NE-SIS Company [William A. Varney], 25 Hamilton Ave.	joints, muscles, nerves+	

**1920-1929**

1920	<b>Burrill's Must-a-rub</b> [ABM milk glass, label-only jar]; [Trademark no.138,779; registered 1921]	New England Laboratory Co. 34 Central Square	brain+, joints+, lungs, muscles, nerves+, sinuses+	Scarce
1920*	<b>Glycerine</b> [ABM clear glass, embossed bottle; white label]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., manufacturing chemists, "Crompton's Bay State Brand" 106 Ontario St.	insufficient information for identification	Infrequent
1920*	<b>Holbrook's Camphorated Oil</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only bottle]	Holbrook & Co., [S. Harding Holbrook, manufacturing chemist] 121 Eastern Ave.	skin+	Scarce
1920*	<b>Oxtone tablets</b>	Lemuel M. Brock & Co., medicines rear 14 Breed Square	blood, nerves	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1920-1929, continued)

1920*	<b>Ruby Bitters</b> [ABM clear glass; label-only barber bottle]	S. Rubin & Co. [Samuel Rubin, leather remnants], 35 Harbor St.	hair+	Rare
1920*	<b>Spirits of Camphor</b> [ABM clear glass; label-only bottle]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., manufacturing chemists, "Crompton's Bay State Brand" 106 Ontario St.	insufficient information for identification	
1921	<b>Citilin Benzoin Lotion</b> ["since 1920"; Trademark no.136,049]	Ernest J. Townsend, railroad trainman, 17 Madison St.	skin+	
1921	<b>Citilin Glycerin</b> ["since 1920"; Trademark no.136,049]	Ernest J. Townsend, railroad trainman, 17 Madison St.	skin+	
1921	<b>Citilin Mustard Ointment</b> ["since 1920"; Trademark no.136,049]	Ernest J. Townsend, railroad trainman, 17 Madison St.	flesh+	
1921	<b>Citilin Wild-Cherry Balsam</b> ["since 1920"; Trademark no.136,049]	Ernest J. Townsend, railroad trainman, 17 Madison St.	lungs+, throat+	
1921	<b>CliniX</b> ["since 1920"; Trademark no.133,520]	Campbell Electric Co. 17 Stewart St.	X-ray tables and parts	
1921	<b>General Tonic</b> [Federal Label no.147,019]	William S. Pickering, Mossea Remedy Co., 170 Liberty St.	insufficient information for identification	
1921	<b>Urasal</b> [ABM, brown glass; label-only bottle]; [Federal Label no.138,973]	Frank W. Horner, Inc. 11 Liberty St.	blood, joints, muscles	Infrequent
1922	<b>HEPA-RADIUM</b> [Federal Label no.25,061]	Luis de Lasse [no street address yet located]	intestines, stomach	
1923	<b>ASMA RELEF</b> [Label no.26,226]	William H. Goodridge, dba Monroe Laboratory Co., Lynn, Mass., machinist, 133 Williams Ave.	lungs,sinuses, throat	
1923	<b>VITA-LIFE</b> ["since 1919"; Trademark no.184,378]	Percival W. Brain, dba The New Health Laboratories, 129 Munroe St.	insufficient information for identification	
1923	<b>Zipp</b>	Michael Gannino and Irving Volgel, dba Zipp Chemical Co. 47 Summer St.	brain, nerves	
1924	<b>Bambina Toupee Plaster</b> [printed clamshell-style box] [Federal Label no.27,849]	Harry B. Lombard, dba Bambina Co., 113 Munroe, room 227	hair	Rare
1924	<b>DR. DAM'S REMEDY</b> [Federal Label no.27,722]	Walter P. Webber, dba Dr. Dam's Remedy Co., 73 Harwood St.	lungs	
1924	<b>Grace Eleanor Brain</b> [line of products; Trademark no.199,743]	Percival W. Brain, dba The New Health Laboratories, 129 Munroe St.	blood; flesh; intestines+ reproductive system, skin, stomach+	
1925	<b>Allen's Anticongestol</b>	H. J. Allen Co., medicines 65 Whiting St.	lungs	

1 <sup>st</sup> Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1920-1929, continued)

1925	<b>Allen's Broncho Throat Tabs</b>	H. J. Allen Co., medicines 65 Whiting St.	lungs, throat	
1925	<b>Allen's Gastric Elixir</b>	H. J. Allen Co., medicines 65 Whiting St.	intestines, stomach	
1925	<b>Allen's Lung Healer</b>	H. J. Allen Co., medicines 65 Whiting St.	lungs	
1925	<b>Allen's Mulsicof</b> [ABM clear glass; label-only bottle]	H. J. Allen Co., medicines 65 Whiting St.	lungs, throat	Scarce
1925*	<b>Crompton Headache Powders</b> [envelopes in printed matchstick-style slide box]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., manufacturing chemists 106 Ontario St.	brain, nerves	Infrequent
1925*	<b>La Grippe Pills</b> [printed matchstick-style box]	Fred. I. Hopkins residence 2 Ingalls St.	lungs+	Infrequent
1925*	<b>Sunshine Ammonia</b> [ABM clear glass, label only bottle]	Charles Crompton & Sons Inc., manufacturing chemists 106 Ontario St.	household cleaning/ germ killing	Scarce
1925	<b>WAITT'S INDIAN REMEDY SALVE</b> [Federal Label no.29,590]	Waitt's Laboratory Co. [no street address found]	joints+, muscles+, skin+	
1925*	<b>Wonderful Ointment</b> [label-only tin]	Giuseppe Panettiere, barber 20 Central Av.	flesh, skin	Scarce
1926	<b>TRICALSOL (HORNER)</b> [Trademark no.237,122]	Frank W. Horner, Inc. 11 Liberty St.	insufficient information for identification	
1927	<b>Churchill's Emulsified Gum Syrup, Dr.</b> [ABM clear glass; label-only bottle]; ["since 1920"; Trademark no.243,163]	Masco Drug Inc., 52 Ford St.	lungs, throat+	Infrequent
1927	<b>Hay's Herb Compound, The Lydia O.</b> [Federal Label no. 32,,899]	Lydia Osmond Hay, dba Lydia O. Hay Medicine Co. 112 Exchange St.	insufficient information for identification	
1927	<b>Koff Kuro</b> [ABM clear glass; label-only bottle]	Masco Drug Inc., 52 Ford St.	lungs, throat+	Infrequent
1927	<b>Raphael's Vita Luxuriant</b> [Federal Label no. 31,865]	Angela J. Dagostino, dba, The Vita Laboratories residence 11 Safford St.	hair	
1928	<b>Joseph's Herb Medicine</b> [Federal Label no. 33,602]	Joseph Gianni, dba The Gianni Laboratories [no street address found]	lungs	
1928	<b>Schulte Beautex Cream, The A.</b> [Federal Label no. 34,125]	Aaron Schulte, dba The A. Sculte Laboratories, [Aaron Schulte, plumber], residence 15 Commercial St.	skin	
1929	<b>Guiseppe Guerriero's Erba Miracolosa</b> [Federal Label no.35,299]	Guiseppe Guerriero Medicine Co. [no street address found]	insufficient information for identification	

1st Year	Lynn Health Product	Maker/Proprietor Name and their Lynn Business Address	Intended Primary Impact Zone(s) of Health Benefit	Existing Examples
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(1920-1929, continued)

1929	<b>LAX-TON-IC FOR MEN</b> [Federal Label no.35,512]	The Laxton Medicine Co., Inc. 112 Exchange St.	insufficient information for identification	
1929	<b>LAX-TON-IC FOR WOMEN</b> [Federal Label no.35,513]	The Laxton Medicine Co., Inc. 112 Exchange St.	insufficient information for identification	
1929	<b>Liberty Compound for Men</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only bottle]; ["since 1928"; Trademark no.271,802]	Katherine T. Donovan, dba Liberty Medicine Co. 35 King's Beach Rd.	back, blood	Rare
1929	<b>Liberty Compound for Women</b> [ABM clear glass, label-only bottle]; ["since 1928"; Trademark no.271,803]	Katherine T. Donovan, dba Liberty Medicine Co. 35 King's Beach Rd.	blood, nerves, skin, uterus+	Rare
1929*	<b>Monahan's Blood Remedy</b>	Monahan's Pharmacy [Charles E. Monahan], 111 Western Ave.	blood	
1929*	<b>Monahan's Boil Salve</b>	Monahan's Pharmacy [Charles E. Monahan], 111 Western Ave.	flesh	
1929*	<b>Monahan's Caj-U-Mol-Ointment</b>	Monahan's Pharmacy [Charles E. Monahan], 111 Western Ave.	insufficient information for identification	
1929*	<b>Monahan's Digestive Cordial</b>	Monahan's Pharmacy [Charles E. Monahan], 111 Western Ave.	stomach	
1929*	<b>Monahan's Sun-Burn Ointment</b>	Monahan's Pharmacy [Charles E. Monahan], 111 Western Ave.	flesh	
1929	<b>WORM ENEMY</b> [Federal Label no.36,448]	Arthur M. Matrona and Vincenzina Matrona dba A. V. M. Laboratories 17 Rockland St.	intestines+, stomach+	

LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S

# BLOOD PURIFIER

Is far superior to any other known Remedy for the Cure of all Diseases  
arising from Impurities of the Blood, such as

Scrofula, Cancerous Humor, Erysipelas, Rheumatism, Ganker,  
Salt Rheum and Skin Diseases.

## IMPURE BLOOD CAN BE MADE RICH AND PURE.

There is no condition of the human system so uncertain or so deceptive as the condition of the blood. Other disease makes itself known by aches or appearance, but the blood courses on with no sign of irritation, carrying its poison to every nerve and fibre of the body. Suddenly comes the awakening; pains that were never thought of before, ulcers or eruptions where never a pimple existed, make you ask in wonder, if not in agony, the cause. This effect may come in various ways, but the cause is always impure blood. This impurity or blood poisoning produces *Rheumatism, Debility, Neuralgia, Scrofula, Mercurial or Syphilitic Ulcers, Fistula, Eruptions, Consumption, Scurvy, &c.*

## INDIGESTION AND BILIOUSNESS.

These two complaints are closely akin and generally exist together. *Dyspepsia, or Chronic Indigestion,* is more prevalent in this country than anywhere else on the face of the earth, the chief reason being that we eat with intemperate haste, and consequently do not, as a rule, properly masticate our food. The work that should be done by the dental mill we remit to the stomach; and, as it cannot accomplish the task, the *food-grist* is not properly ground up and applied, and the whole body—aye, every fibre and tissue of it—suffers. We need not here describe the pains and penalties of *Dyspepsia*. They are within the personal experience of two-thirds of the adult population of the United States. *Biliousness* is a somewhat indefinite term, but it means, in its common acceptation, an *unnatural determination of bile to the channels of circulation*. The yellow tinge of the skin and of the white of the eyes in bilious cases is caused by the undue presence of bile in the superficial blood-vessels.

A proper course of Lydia E. Pinkham's Blood Purifier, together with her celebrated Liver Pills, will purify the blood and drive off the bile, making you happy and pleasant, instead of grouty and disagreeable.

## LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S BLOOD PURIFIER

Is as great a success as her celebrated Vegetable Compound, and may be used with great benefit in all diseases caused by impurities of the blood. Do not class it with bitters of any kind. It is not a drink or an appetizer, but a *strictly medicinal preparation*. It is a powerful alterative, but a purely vegetable preparation, and may be taken without fear by any invalid. The dose is small and with good nutritious diet of any kind, avoiding highly seasoned or greasy food, you will be free from the tortures of rheumatism, clear of scrofulous sores or ulcers, and eradicate every taint, whether inherited or contracted. You will have a beautiful complexion and a soft, smooth skin, and rejoice in a healthy body and pure blood.

For sale by your Druggist, \$1.00 per bottle.

LIVER PILLS, 25 CENTS PER BOX.

PREPARED BY

The Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co.,

LYNN, MASS.

*Yours for Health  
Lydia E. Pinkham*

## Appendix B

### Lynn, Massachusetts, Trademarks for Proprietary Health Products

In the late nineteenth century, businesses placed a high value on the creation of a compelling, well-designed, and memorable trademark. It was the unfurled emblem of a company or product, flying proudly as if on an invisible flag, an instantly recognizable symbol to every viewer, far and near. If successful, it would last for years, decades, and even generations; if not, it was discarded as another forgotten contestant on the competitive battlefield of business.

As it turns out, this museum displays short-lived relics rather than enduring icons; only the image of Lydia E. Pinkham has lingered for well over a century, appearing on packaging for a product that has long since enjoyed its glory days. But in all of these trademarks can be seen and felt the pride, drive, and hope of their creators who must have spent considerable time and money to find just the right look to command attention and patronage for their products that they promoted for improvement of the human condition.

Two types of trademark images are presented here, in chronological order. The trademark images found registered with the United States Patent and Trademark Office are copied from that agency's trademark files and include the trademark registration number and the date of registration. Trademark-styled images that were not registered with the government were found in various forms of advertising matter; these are shown with a caption below the image identifying where they appeared. Sometimes the unregistered images were shown with the words TRADE MARK, but no record of such a product is found among the trademarks registered with the US Patent and Trademark Office; the images for *Soule's Eradicator*, *Alaska Compound Co.*, and *Dr. Lougee Vitalizing Compound* are examples.

TRADE-MARK.

G. B. THURSTON.

MEDICINAL PREPARATION.

No. 247.

Registered May 2, 1871.

*MRS THURSTONS*

SYRUP.

CELEBRATED



WORM

Witnesses.

George B. Thurston.

Frank Fuller.

by his Attorney.

Edw. Griffith

Fredrick Curtis.

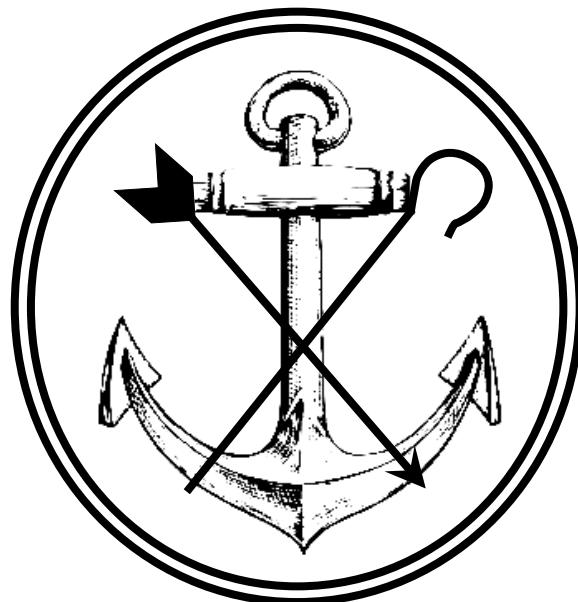
1871

TRADE-MARK.

W. D. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 913.

Registered July 16, 1872.



Mr. W. D. Chamberlain  
Byron Noyes

Wm D Chamberlain

(Facsimile of the original trademark at the USPTO,  
which is in poor, non-reproducible condition)

Major William D. Chamberlain, a Lynn grocer, was proprietor of *Chamberlain's Sure Cure for Cholera, Dysentery, and Diarrhoea* as early as 1870. A description has not yet been found that records the significance of the three design elements – an anchor superimposed by a saltire cross (as described in the trademark application) comprising an arrow and a shepard's crook – but they may have been intended to symbolize safety (anchor), reliability (crook), and quick and sure results (arrow).

**1872**

The image is a black and white woodcut-style illustration. It depicts a man with a beard and a mustache, wearing a wide-brimmed hat and a long coat, sitting in a small boat. He is holding a pipe in his right hand and a small object in his left hand. The background shows a calm sea under a clear sky.

Product of George Edward Clark, aka "Yankee Ned" (Lynn, MA)

From an advertisement in *The Lynn Record*, 17 May 1873.

1873

TRADE-MARK.

O. B. MANSELL.

MEDICINE.

No. 3,116.

Registered Nov. 1875.



*Witnesses.*

N. B. Lombard  
E. A. Hemmenway

Orin B. Mansell

**1875**

TRADE-MARK.

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**E. A. HALL.**

VERMIFUGE.

No. 3,556.

Registered April 4, 1876.

**2905**

**EDWIN A. HALL.**

**WITNESSED.**

*S. W. Piper  
J. P. Brown.*

*By Attorney.*

*R. H. Day*

Proprietor Edwin A. Hall teased the public with this product name, asking in his advertising, "What is 2905?" but existing documentation has not shown that the answer to the question was ever revealed in print.

**1876**

TRADE-MARK.

H. NORMAN.

Foot-Salve.

No. 5,221.

Registered Oct. 16, 1877.



(Facsimile of the original trademark at the USPTO,  
which is in poor, non-reproducible condition)

**1877**



Product of Benjamin Proctor, Apothecary (Lynn, MA). Image found in the *Lynn City Item*, 5 January 1878, but the medicine had been promoted by Proctor for several years prior.

**1878**

FEDERAL LABEL REGISTRATION.

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**Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound**

No. 536.

Registered February 15, 1876.



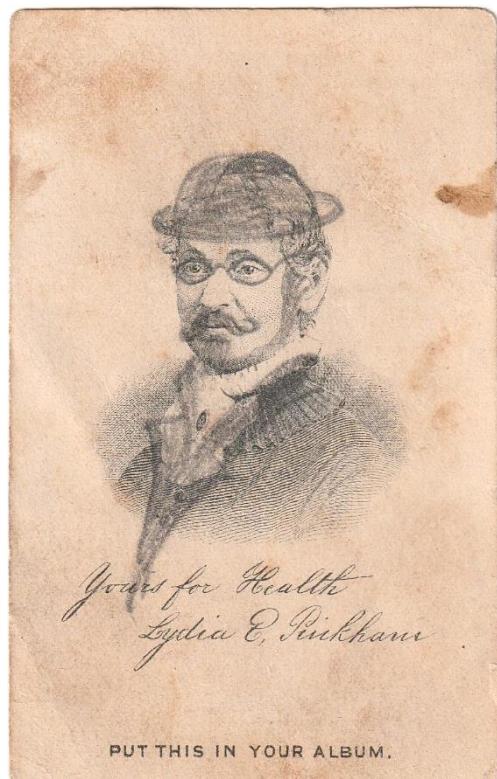
*Yours for Health  
Lydia E. Pinkham*

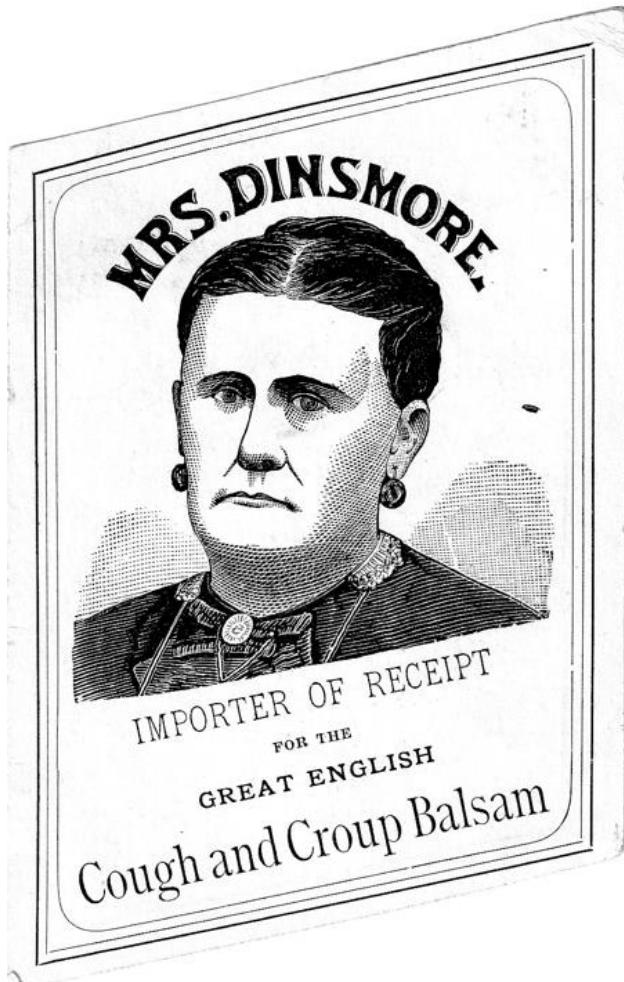
First Use of Portrait – December 1879

The image, motto, and signature were not part of the label registration (only the product name above the registration date was included in the original registration). The image first appeared in newspaper advertising in December 1879; the motto and signature appeared later.

**Next Page:** Four versions of the Lydia E. Pinkham trademark image on advertising trade cards. **Top Left:** original image; **Top Right:** second style, updated with motto and signature; **Bottom Left:** third style, updated with new hairstyle and fichu collar; **Bottom Right:** another copy of the second style, with humorous period graffiti, apparently drawn on by one of those who were tired of seeing the same image in print everywhere and for so many years .

**Subsequent Pages:** Several Lynn medicines mimicked the success of the Lydia Pinkham image by also featuring their female proprietors' faces for their trademark image.





Original illustration of Mrs. Hannah Dinsmore, appearing on an advertising trade card, ca.1880; the image is a realistic depiction of her as it appeared in a carte-de-visite family photograph.



Image from an advertising flyer with a revised and more marketable, but unrealistic depiction of Mrs. Dinsmore, ca. 1886.

**1880**

Use Mrs. Dillingham's  
**Magic Cough Remedy**

IT CURES

*Coughs, Colds, Sore Throat,  
Pneumonia, Mucous Dyspepsia,  
Catarrh of the Stomach and  
Diseases of the Lungs.*



MANUFACTURED BY  
**Mrs. J. Francenia Dillingham,**  
LYNN, - MASS.

From an advertisement in *The Holiday Greeting* (newspaper, Lynn, MA), December 1881.

**Mrs. C. A. Soule, of Lynn, Mass.**



—(TRADE MARK)—

*Use Soule's*  
**Infallible Moth, Tan**  
—AND—  
**Freckle Eradicator**

From an advertisement in *The Holiday Greeting* (newspaper, Lynn, MA), December 1881.

Despite the indication that it was trademarked, no record for *Soule's Eradicator* has been found in the list of federally registered trademarks.

**1881**

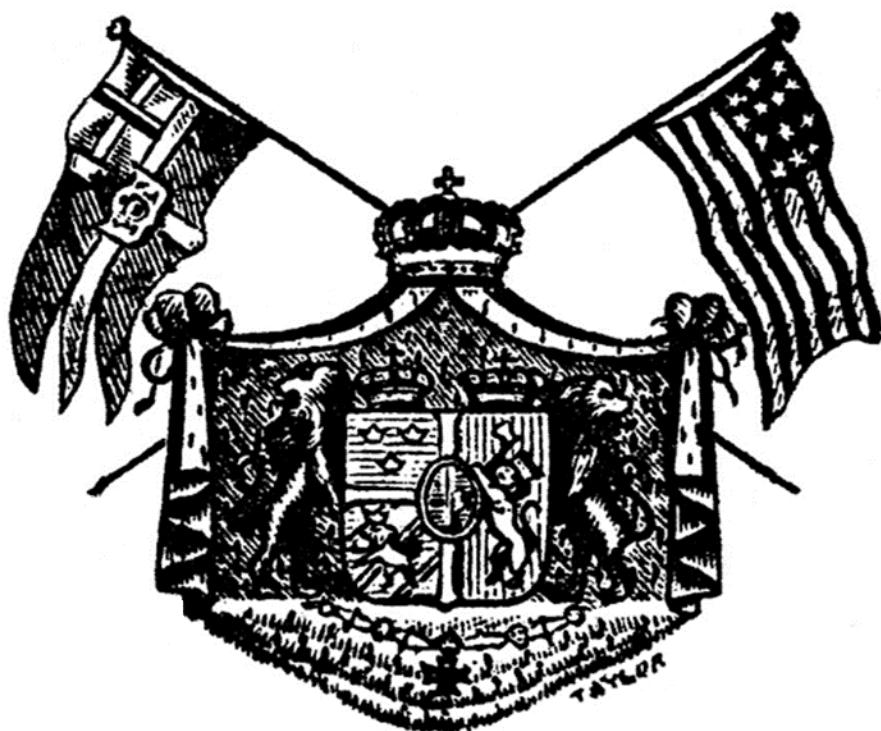
TRADE-MARK.

F. W. A. BERGENGREN

MEDICINAL PREPARATIONS.

No. 9,355.

Registered May 16, 1882.



Attest:

*F. L. Middleton  
Waterhouse*

*Frederick W. A. Bergengren*

*by E. S. Green*

*Hetz*

The products of Frederick Wilhelm Alexis Bergengren, formerly of Sweden, featured the flags of his native and adopted countries. He used this trademark to promote his entire line of medicines rather than for a specific medicine.



Above: original trademark design of the Alaska Compound Co., 1882. Subsequently the design was upgraded, colorized, and used not only by this Lynn proprietary medicine company, but also as a stock trade card image by several companies, including a furrier and an ice cream manufacturer.



**1882**

TRADE-MARK.

O. P. MACALASTER

A REMEDY FOR TOOTHACHE

No. 10,091.

Registered Mar. 6, 1883.

DR. MACALASTER'S  
O B T U N D E R  
~ AND ~  
MEDICATED COTTON.

A Sure Relief for Toothache.

For sale by all Druggists and dealers in Patent Medicines,  
and by the Manufacturer,

O. P. MACALASTER, D. D. S.  
LYNN, MASS.

For exposed nerves, use the instrument to cleanse the soft particles of food or decay from the cavity; then take on the point of the instrument a small piece of cotton from the top of the box, with it dip the Obtunder, and place it softly in the cavity, cover with a larger piece non-medicated cotton, wet in the medicated cotton, wet in the Obtunder; repeat this a few times, and your toothache will disappear.

The cotton in the top of the box is medicated, and should be used only for exposed nerves, and applied to the cavity only. For further instructions, read circular inside.

DIRECTIONS.



Witness.  
F. Bartholomew  
M. S. Gardner

O. P. Macalaster,  
T. A. L. G.  
Lifford, Mass.

(Rectangular trademark is a facsimile of the original at the USPTO,  
which is in poor, non-reproducible condition)

The rectangular trademark above appeared on the trademark registration document; the circular trademark appeared on the top lid of the box containing vials of the Obtunder product.



Bottle label, 1887. Image of Robert W. Lougee, creator of the compound, being crowned with a floral wreath by Lena Judkins, who believed she was cured by his medicine.

**1887**



"Compounded and sold by Mrs. Dr. C. A. Batchelder,  
62 Howard Street, Lynn."

From an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 25 July 1892.

TRADE-MARK.

EDWARD HEFFERNAN.

A REMEDY FOR COLDS AND THROAT AND LUNG TROUBLES.

No. 22,116.

Registered Dec. 6, 1892.



Attest  
Walter Donaldson  
F. L. Middleton

Proprietor  
Edward Heffernan  
By Elsie Spear  
Atty.

1892

TRADE-MARK.

CHARLES F. J. PETIT DE LANGLE.  
A TONIC.

No. 24,018.

Registered Jan. 9, 1894.



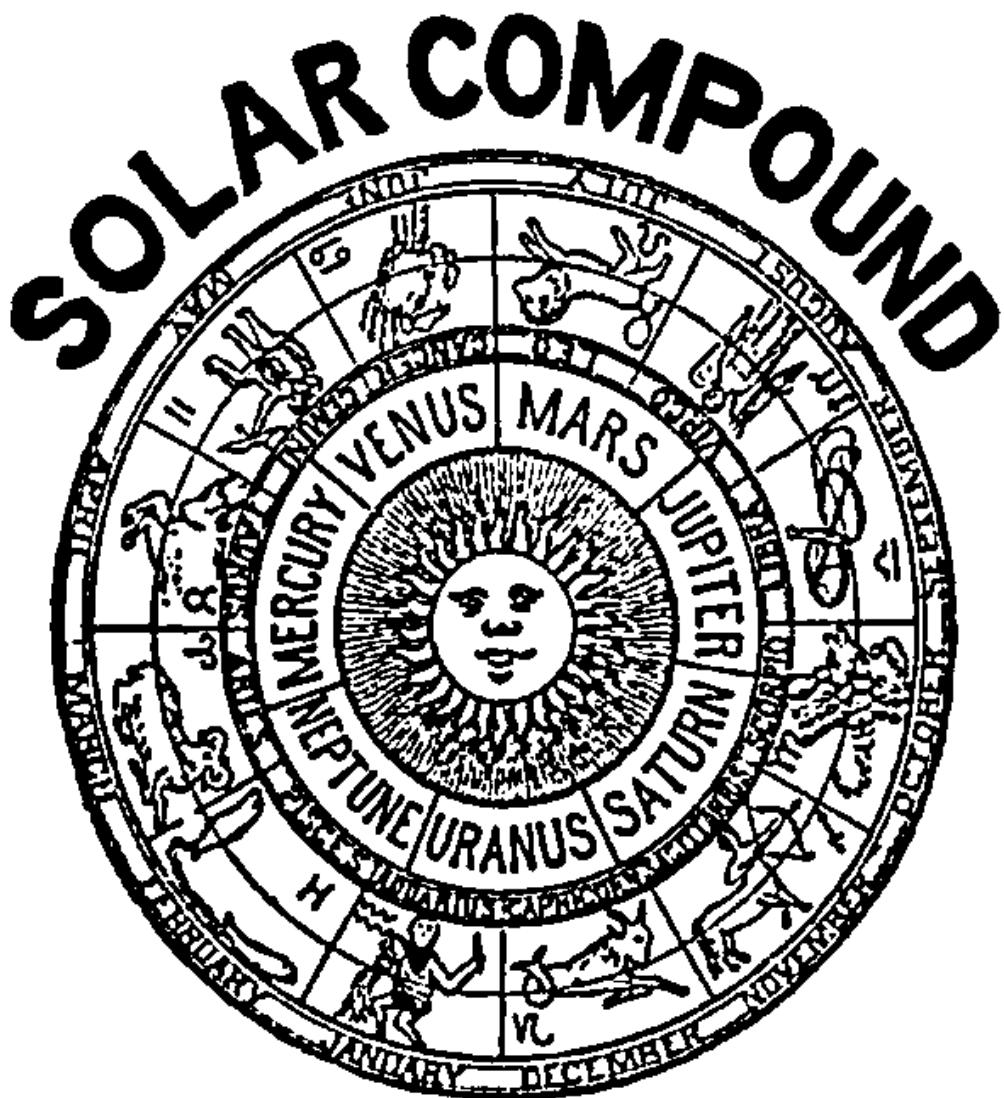
Witnesses:

Willard Stinton  
Harry A. Cook

Proprietor:

*C. F. J. Petit de Langle*

Product name was an abbreviation for *Parisian Aphrodisiac Tonic*. The man on bended knee is assumed to depict the product's creator, Charles F. J. Petit de Langle (note the enhanced detailing of the man's face compared to the plainer outline of the woman's face).



**NATURE'S GREAT REMEDY.**  
*The Only Planetary Medicine in Existence.*

SOLAR COMPOUND CO.,  
P. O. Box 467. LYNN, MASS.

From an advertisement in the *Spirit of the Age* (newspaper, Woodstock, VT), 19 October 1895.



**SOLD BY DRUGGISTS AND BY  
WILLIAM NEEDHAM, 24 Harvest St., Lynn.**

From an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 21 April 1897.



**“PALATABLE” STILL LITHIA is one of the best remedies for  
Rheumatism and diseases of the Bladder and Kidneys.**

From an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 10 June 1898. Manufactured and sold by N. W. Edson & Co., a Lynn groceries and provisions dealer, this distilled water product struggled for a commercial identity. In its first year it was identified as PALATABLE STILL LITHIA and PALATABLE DISTILLED WATER, but by June 1899, it was being referred to in the company's advertising as PUREOXIA.

**1898**



Trademark silk-screened on the inside of a packing crate for Cromptons' products.



Trademark silk-screened on the outside (front and back) of a packing crate for Cromptons' products.

From a packing crate for *Charles Crompton & Sons* products, ca.1898.

Unregistered trademark featuring a rampant lion and unicorn reminiscent of the royal coat of arms of the United Kingdom, conjoined upon a mortar (inscribed CC&S for Charles Crompton & Sons) in the center, from which is emerging an eagle, typically symbolic of the United States. Translation of the Latin motto is "Honesty and Purity." The trademark appears in a circular medallion which has been superimposed on the representation of a wax seal and ribbon, classic emblems of an official document.

**1898**

# KOLA-RAYS

**The Great Health Drink  
And Nerve Renovator.**

From an advertisement in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 11 June 1898.

Kola-Rays was a soda beverage available in bottles and as a fountain drink. It was formulated by the Crystal Spring Co., of Lynn, Mass., and used water from the Lover's Leap spring in Lynn. It was advertised as a temperance beverage and was one of several flavors of sodas produced by the company during the era when sodas were being promoted as both refreshing, flavorful beverages and health-giving tonics. Hence, in New England especially, the words "soda" and "tonic" are used interchangeably to describe such beverages.

Although the product typestyle chosen is attractive, it may not have been selected by the proprietor; the *Daily Evening Item* used the same font in setting the type for a number of different product ads.



**44 MARKET STREET.**

From advertisement for Flint's Original Cut-Rate Drug Store in *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn, MA), 23 May 1899. (Note kidney shape of background design.)

**1899**



The Springer Gold Cure was one of several addiction recovery programs that mimicked the widely popular Keeley Gold Cure. N. A. Springer operated his treatment facility in Lynn for almost two years, 1898-1899.

From an advertisement in *Geer's Hartford City Directory*, July 1899.



TRADE MARK

From a bottle label for *Family Balsam*, ca.1900.

This portrait of George B. Thurston with the words “TRADE MARK” appeared on the undated label of the turn-of-the-century Thurston’s *Family Balsam*. Earlier bottle labels for the company’s other medicines had no images, trademarked or otherwise. The image above also appeared on the company’s billheads for dates of 1898 and 1906, but without the trade mark designation and on an undated, late-century promotional brochure.

**1900**



From the periodical, *The Lynn Review*, June 1900

Manufactured since 1892 by the Bubier Laboratory Co., of Lynn, manufacturers of laxative salz, lithia, and rheumatic preparations. The bottled medicine was in powdered form, "unlike pills, absolutely no Griping or irritation of the intestines."

**1900**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, May 1908, Vol.134, p.758

This trademarked image was not listed with the product's name, but it was identified as "An Instep-Supporter or Arch-Prop" by The George G. London Manufacturing Company, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.20,010. Filed 2 June 1906.



From a company sales brochure, *Campbell X-Ray and High-Frequency Apparatus*, October 1911

While the trademark above was being used in the company's literature, a submitted application to the federal government has not yet been found. Campbell Electric went on to create and register several trademarks for its expanding lines of products; see for example, Surex (1914) and Clinix (1919-1920)



# ZAT-ZIT

Logo from the *Official Gazette of the United States*, January 1911, Vol.162, p.774

“ZAT-ZIT – The GREAT COUGH REMEDY” by Charles Crompton, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.52,086. Filed 3 October 1910. [Inset above: real photo postcard view of the delivery truck of Chas. Crompton & Sons, Manufacturing Chemists; postmarked 1910. The product name “ZAT-ZIT” is even embroidered into the crown of their caps.]



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, July 1913, Vol.192, p.506.

“Kankas – A Remedy for Piles” by Hovnan A. Hampoian, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.69,949. Registered 21 April 1913, filed 21 April 1913; claims use since 3 October 1910.

**1913**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, May 1914, Vol.202, p.621.

This trademarked image of Alphe D. M. Le Blanc was not listed with the product's name, but it was identified as "A Remedy for Catarrh and Asthma" by Jacob A. Le Blanc, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No. 76,902. Registered 24 March 1914; claims use since 7 March 1914.



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, August 1914, Vol.205, p.296.

“SureX – an X-Ray Apparatus” by Campbell Electric Company, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.79,511. Registered 2 July 1914; claims use since September 1912.

**1914**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, October 1914, Vol.207, p.910.

“A Remedy for Piles,” by Dombalagian & Nouskhajian, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.80,119.  
Filed 27 July 1914; claims use since 1 June 1912.



From a Burrill Tooth Powder booklet, *Burrill Jingles*, ca. 1915

Despite its identification as a trademark, The New England Laboratory Company of Lynn, Mass., actually registered this symbol in 1915 as a product label mark for Burrill's Tooth Powder (Federal Label Registration no. 18,503). It represents a version of the Burrill family coat of arms. In 1897, Burrill Laboratory Company, predecessor to the New England Laboratory Company, advertised another health product with the family name: Burrill's Celery-Caffein Headache and Nerve Powders.

**1915**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, August 1915, Vol.217, p.261.

This trademarked image was not listed with the product's name, but it was identified as "Medicines for the Correction of Dyspepsia, Kidney and Liver Troubles, for Stimulating the Heart and Stomach, and for Diseases Peculiar to Women" by John W. R. Laxton, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.82,563. Registered 21 April 1915, filed 13 November 1914; claims use since 9 October 1914.

**VAR-NE-SIS**



*W A. Varney*

From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, April 1916, Vol.225, p.349.

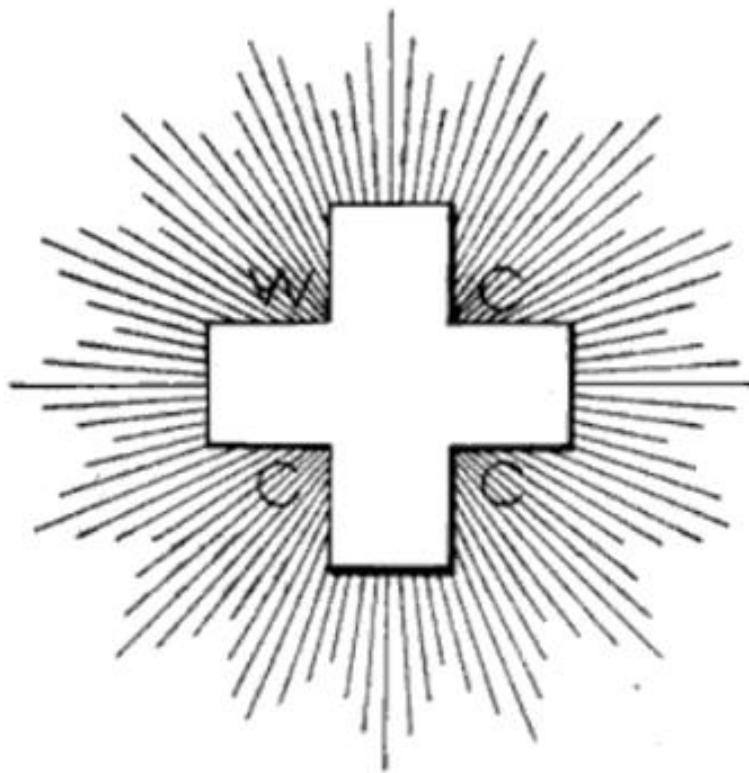
"VAR-NE-SIS" was named after its creator, William A. Varney of Lynn, Mass. The name was at first applied to a blood purifier, but legal pressures force a change of emphasis to the company's products being referred to as various versions of stomach and rheumatic remedies. Trademark No.92,095. Filed 12 January 1916; Claims use since 15 February 1901.

**1916**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, April 1917, Vol.237, p.1205.

"VENUSA" was apparently the name applied for a family of products described as "Toilet Preparations – viz., Hair-Tonic, Liquid Powder, Creams for the Skin, Powders for the Skin, and Tooth-Powder" by Wallace B. Coates, Jr., Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.90,255. Filed 1 November 1915; Claims use since November 1907.



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, August 1917, Vol.241, p.600.

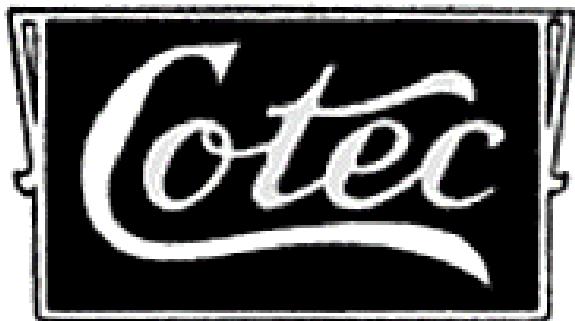
This trademarked image was not listed with the product's name, but it was identified as "An Insecticide and Deodorizer" by White Cross Chemical Company, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.96,482. Filed 10 July 1916; Claims use since 28 June 1915.



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, February 1918, Vol.247, p.223.

SansOdor – Foot-Powder. By Lynn Rubber Manufacturing Company, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.104,554. Registered 5 February 1918, filed 20 June 1917. Claims use since 30 April 1917.

**1918**



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*

Although apparently unrelated businesses and products, the three trademarks for Lynn products above have some interesting similarities to each other (and to the extremely successful Coca-Cola trademark) and were issued in fairly close succession.

Cotec Pile Ointment. By Thomas E. Connor, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.118,078. Registered 24 June 1919, filed 2 May 1919; Claims use since 22 April 1919.

Clinix X-Ray Tables and Parts. By Campbell Electric Co., Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.133,520. Registered 26 April 1921, filed 10 June 1920; Claims use since 9 February 1920.

Citilin Wild-Cherry Balsam; Rose-Water, Glycerin, and Benzoin Lotion; Mustard Ointment, Beauty-Cream, Vanishing Cream, Cold-Cream, and Toilet Waters. By Ernest J. Townsend, East Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.136,049. Registered 1 March 1921, filed 12 August 1920; Claims use since 1 January 1920.



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, April 1921, Vol.285, p.171.

"Must-a-rub," by New England Laboratory Co., Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.138,779. "A Mustard-Iodin Compound, a Counter-Irritant indicated for Treatment of Colds, Lung Congestion, Bronchitis, Croup, Pains, Sore Muscles, Pleurisy, Neuritis, Neuralgia, Rheumatism, Asthma, Headache, and Kindred Ailments." Filed 25 October 1920; claims use since 10 May 1920.



From a bottle label for *Allens Mulsicof*, 1925.

The photographic portrait is presumably of H. J. Allen of H. J. Allen Co., Druggists, Lynn, Mass. The product, was for coughs and colds. It was an emulsion but contained no cod liver oil. The bottle label explained that *Allens Mulsicof* was a new name for the product, established in June 1925.

**1925**

# DR. CHURCHILL'S EMULSIFIED GUM SYRUP



From the *Official Gazette of the United States*, March 1927, Vol.356, p.1012.

Dr. Churchill's Emulsified Gum Syrup – Medicine for the Relief of Coughs, Colds, Whooping cough, Asthmatic, Bronchial and Pulmonary Troubles, and Weak Lungs. By Masco Drug Corporation, Lynn, Mass. Trademark No.243,163. Registered 29 March 1927, filed 21 January 1927; claims use since 1 August 1920.

**1927**

TRADE-MARK.

**LIBERTY COMPOUND.**

MEDICINAL TONIC FOR USE AS A HEALTH BUILDER AND BLOOD PURIFIER.

No. 271,802, No. 271,803

Registered Feb. 12, 1929.



Liberty Compound for Men



Liberty Compound for Women

From the *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* (1929), Vol.379, p.217: Trademark No.271,802 (Liberty Compound for Men) and Trademark No. 271,803 (Liberty Compound for Women), "Katherine T. Donovan, doing business as Liberty Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass. Filed Aug. 31, 1928. ... For Medicinal Tonic for Use as a Health Builder and Blood Purifier. Claims use since Mar. 13, 1928." In 1924, Katherine T. Donovan, was doing business as Vanran Gum Co., Lynn, Mass. and registered a chewing gum called GOLLIWOG (Trademark No. 194,098) – the image was of the comic blackface character created by cartoonist and author Florence Kate Upton.

Between Trademark No.247 issued for Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup in 1871 and No.271,803 issued for Liberty Compound for Women in 1929, well over a quarter-million trademarks had been registered with the government over the 58-year span.

## **Lynn Proprietary Health Product Trademarks and Label Registrations**

without graphics or images in the  
*Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*

### **LABEL REGISTRATIONS**

#### **ASMA RELEF (1923)**

Registered 17 July 1923 by William H. Goodridge, dba Monroe Laboratory Company, Lynn, Mass., Label No.26,226 (for Asthma, Hay Fever, Bronchial and Catarrhal Medicine).

#### **CROW CORN CORER (1913)**

Registered 20 MAY 1913 by Leon C. Ellis, Lynn, Mass., Label No.17,029 (for a Corn Remedy).

#### **DR. DAM'S REMEDY (1924)**

Registered 12 August 1924, by Walter P. Webber, dba Dr. Dam's Remedy Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.27,722 (for Asthma Medicine).

#### **GUISEPPE GUERRIERO'S ERBA MIRACOLOSA (1929)**

Registered 12 February 1929, by Guiseppe Guerriero Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.35,299 (for Herb Medicine).

#### **HEPA-RADIUM (1922)**

Registered 3 October 1922 by Luis De Lassé, Lynn, Mass., Label No.25,061 (for Medicine for Stomach and Intestinal Troubles).

#### **LAX-TON-IC FOR MEN (1929)**

Registered 19 March 1929 by The Laxton Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.35,512 (for a Medicinal Preparation).

#### **LAX-TON-IC FOR WOMEN (1929)**

Registered 19 March 1929 by The Laxton Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.35,513 (for a Medicinal Preparation).

#### **LITCH'S HYGIENIC BATH (1908)**

Registered 4 February 1908 by Lemuel W. Litch, Lynn, Mass., Label No.14,031 (for Liniment).

#### **MALLDUNN ANTI-SOR-NES OIL (1918)**

Registered 19 November 1918, Malldunn Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.20,993 (for Liniment).

**ORIENTAL OINTMENT (1912)**

Registered 28 May 1912 by George E. P. Dalton, West Lynn, Mass., Label No.16,353 (for Ointment).

**The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scalp Healer and Vegetable Hair Restorer (1900)**

Registered 23 January 1900 by Mrs. E. V. Freiligh, Lynn, Mass., Label No.7,309 (for Hair Tonic).

**THE JAY WILLIAMS RHEUMATIC PLASTER (1902)**

Registered 25 March 1902 by James Williams, Lynn, Mass., Label No.9,042 (for Plasters).

**WAITT'S INDIAN REMEDY SALVE (1925)**

Registered 1 December 1925 by Waitt's Laboratory Co., Lynn, Mass., Label No.29,590 (for Liniment).

**WORM ENEMY (1929)**

Registered 15 October 1929 by Arthur M. Matrona and Vincenzina Matrona dba A.V.M. Laboratories, Lynn, Mass., Label No.36,448 (for Worm Medicine).

**TRADEMARKS** (capitalized as listed in the record)

**B O S T (1909)**

Filed 15 February 1909 by Goodwin & Barbour, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No. 40,558 (A Medicinal Preparation Compound from Herbs, Used as a Laxative, Tonic, and Blood Purifier.)

**Grace Eleanor Brain (1924)**

Filed 8 July 1924 by Percival W. Brain, dba The New Health Laboratories, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.199,743. (Beauty Clay, Face Powder for the Complexion, Tonic to Build Up the System and Tone Up the Blood, Fat Reducer, Face Cream for Cleansing and Beautifying the Skin, Cough Sirup, Laxative Tablets, Indigestion Remedy, and Douche, an Alkaline Antiseptic for Vaginal Use.) Claims use since 1 June 1920. [Note: the product name was written in cursive characters.]

**HERBINE (1918)**

Filed 5 April 1918 by Thomas E. Connor, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No. 110,004 (Preparation for Treatment and Relief of Piles.) Claims use since January 1904.

**LAX-PRE-PAR-E-TON (1916)**

Filed 26 June 1916 by John W. R. Laxton, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.96,150 (Medicines for Dyspepsia, Palpitation of the Heart, Weakness of the Generative Organs, General Systemic Debility, Kidney and Liver Troubles, Bowel Trouble, and as an aid in Eliminating the Rheums of the Tissue.) Claims use since 31 May 1916.

**Lynco (1913)**

Filed 20 May 1913 by Lynn Rubber Manufacturing Company, Trademark No.70,513 (Arch Supports to be Inserted in Shoes to Relieve Strain and Pressure Upon the Bones of the Feet.)

**MOSSEA (1919)**

Filed 28 March 1919 by William S. Pickering, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.116,995. (General Tonic.) Claims use since 31 September 1918.

**SAN CAP (1915)**

Filed 12 August 1915 by Robert W. Thomson, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.88,584 (A Remedy for Indigestion). [motto?: "EAT A PECK OF DIRT // SAN CAP"] Claims use since 1 June 1913.

**SPRAYOLINE (1919)**

Filed 12 April 1919 by William S. Curtin, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.117,398 (Medicine, and More Specifically Described as a Preparation with a Petroleum Base Containing Camphor, Menthol, Oils of Eucalyptus, Globules, Pinus, Pumilio, with Aromatics, Which Form a Healing Agent in All Forms of Catarrhal Affections and Diseases Affecting the Mucous Membranes of Nose and Throat.) Claims use since 26 July 1915.

**TRICALSOL (HORNER) (1926)**

Filed 11 September 1926 by Frank W. Horner Inc., Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.237,122 (Tricalsol Powder and Tablets). Claims use since 15 August 1926.

**Victor (1913)**

Filed 25 May 1913 by John W. Walsh, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.70,681 (A Remedy for Piles.) Claims use since 2 January 1913.

**VITA-LIFE (1923)**

Filed 13 August 1923 by Percival W. Brain, doing business as The New Health Laboratories, Lynn, Mass., Trademark No.184,378 (Tonic Tablets). Claims use since 8 March 1919.

## Appendix C

### Health Product Endorsements of Lynn Residents

Testimonials were considered very important to the manufacturer and the potential customer alike. Some were so impactful that the company whose products were being endorsed used those key quotes over and over again in its promotional literature. To the extent that they were real testimonials, they provide great insight into the endorsers' sufferings and their perception of benefits received.

What type of testimonials were of greatest value depended on the manufacturer; small Lynn medicine makers favored testimonials from their local customers. Sometimes such healers or health product companies included an endorsement quote in their advertising material by a Lynn resident that stated he or she had derived benefit from the product or service. An 1895 ad by James Castle read, "Dr. Castle does not publish testimonials from any mythical, far-away patients, or from persons so intangible and unreliable that they may be suspected of existing only on paper." Another in 1897 stated, "This is Lynn testimony and will stand investigation. If you doubt this and wish to investigate you haven't to go to some other state in the Union to prove it. It is not a long yarn published in Lynn newspapers about a resident of Kalamazoo, Mich. or Woonsocket, R.I.; it's about a resident of Lynn ...."

But for a national brand, like the Lydia E. Pinkham Co., testimonials from across the nation were critical to show the product's acceptance everywhere; in fact the Pinkham company avoided using Lynn-based testimonials almost completely. They made endorsements from faraway places feel more personal and neighborly by including etched portraits (and later, photographs) of many of the satisfied women who shared their testimonials.

On most occasions the testimonial cited the customer's name and a brief explanation of how that person benefited. In the table below, the personal testimonials of Lynn residents are listed by surname; business endorsements (such as a druggist indicating the product had brisk sales) and other general endorsements (such as, "a shoemaker in East Lynn said ...") have not been included. The list is organized alphabetically by the endorser's name.

Year (est*)	Lynn Endorser's Surname	Given Name	Lynn Residential Address	Health Product or Healer Endorsed	Lynn Product?	Primary Reason for Using the Product [plus further identifying details & other notable information]
1895	Abbott	Hiram R.	91 Church St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	always catching colds
1881	Adams	C. S.	not listed in testimonial	Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure	N	kidney disease, caused by taking cold [Notable: testimonial has a facsimile of Adams' signature]
1877	Alden	Sarah A.	13 Stewart St.	Dr. Phillips, Indian Root and Herb Doctor and Magnetic Physician	N	neuralgia in its worst form; ... kidney disease, trouble in my stomach and side ...
1894	Allen	E. A.	14 Shaw Court	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"a very obstinate and aggravated asthmatic and catarrhal trouble, from which I suffered constantly for over four years" [Notable: testimonial illustrated with Allen's bust portrait]

Year (est*)	Lynn Endorser's Surname	Given Name	Lynn Residential Address	Health Product or Healer Endorsed	Lynn Product?	Primary Reason for Using the Product [plus further identifying details & other notable information]
1870*	Alley	B. F. (Mr.)	not listed in testimonial	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	used for past ten years for worms in family [Notable: Alley was a foreman at Geo. F. Beede & Co.]
1895	Alley	C. W.	20 Alley St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	for 20 years suffered from bronchial catarrh [Notable: testimonial illustrated with Alley's bust portrait]
1898	Alley	G. W.	8 Douglas St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	dull aching across the loins
1853	Alley	John B.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. E. P. Eastman's Sick Headache Remedy	Y	sick headache since childhood
1892	Alley	Mary A. (Mrs.)	not listed in testimonial	Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound	Y	"womb trouble": misplacement, ulceration leucorrhea, etc. [Notable: "After using a few bottles ... I recovered entirely."]
1898	Atha	John	698 Boston St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	bad case of catarrh
1897	Atkins	Joseph	390 Washington St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"suffered untold torments from periodical headaches arising from catarrh of the stomach"
1862	Atkins	Lizzie	Tremont St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti- Bilious Remedy	Y	sick headache: "The Powders you gave me for Sick Headache were beautiful. They gave me immediate relief. I would not be without them for anything."
1858	Atwood	Samuel	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Greeley	N	removed a large tumor, without ether, from the head [Notable: Dr. Greeley from was New York City]
1898	Aylward	Mark	150 Munroe	Vito Remedies	N	rheumatism [Aylward was a shoemaker]
1892	Bador	Wm. H.	14 Sheldon St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	aggravated catarrh and laryngitis [Notable: testimonial illustrated with Bador's bust portrait]
1880	Bain	George W.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	catarrh, asthma, dyspepsia [Notable: "... have taken treatments from Eminent Physicians, which heretofore proved a failure." [Bain worked at Keene Bros. Shoe Factory]]
1854	Baker	D. C. (Mr.)	not listed in testimonial	Dr. E. P. Eastman's Sick Headache Remedy	Y	ten-year-old daughter afflicted with sick headache [Notable: D. C. Baker was serving as Lynn's third mayor when he wrote this testimonial, dated 6 August 1863.]
1896	Barnes	Samuel H.	not listed in testimonial	Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound	Y	bronchial and nasal catarrh [Barnes was listed as working at a paper hangings store]
1897	Batchelder	A. G. (Mr.)	34 Munroe St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	backache for over a year [Notable: Batchelder was a clerk at M.E. Tucker's auction house]
1886	Batchelder	George H.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Castle	Y	Kidney cure [Notable: Batchelder was an engineer at S. F. Crossman]
1856	Beckford	Peter D.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti- Bilious Remedy	N	entirely cured of piles and chilblains
1895	Bent	L. F. (Mrs.)	not listed in testimonial	Nervease	N	her pregnant patients had: "overtaxed nerves, wearied brains, aching heads" [Bent was superintendent of the Lynn Lying-In Hospital. Notable: "We cannot find words to half express its value to us in our hospital, where its virtue in curing headache has been ably demonstrated." ]

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1892	Berry	Geo. A.	25 Stewart St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	chronic catarrh [Notable: "I felt that if I didn't get some relief I would soon be a victim of the graveyard...."]
1898	Berry	G.L. (Mrs.)	4 Essex Pl.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe pains in the kidneys [Notable: "After thinking the matter over carefully I feel safe in saying that after six physicians of Lynn and Boston have examined and treated me for the past three years, and all agreed that I had diabetes, it must be more than an ordinary remedy that freed me, not alone cured me. ...."]
1897	Birmingham	Honora (Mrs.)	not listed in testimonial	Mexican King of Pain [Mexican Medicine Co.]	N	great sufferer from neuralgia of the face
1899	Blaisdell	G. C. (Mrs.)	53 Liberty St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney trouble for about two years
1880	Blaisdell	Henry J.	64 Jackson St.	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	nose tumor, chronic throat inflammation [Notable: "I had previously taken a treatment at the Massachusetts Hospital without success."]
1856	Blaney	Mary B.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Jesse S. Spear's medicines	N	tumor in bowels; rheumatism, contracted muscles of one limb, contracting it to a right angle [paralysis] [Notable: testimonial cosigned by husband, Philips Blaney]
1895	Bowers	Geo. F.	18 Nottingham St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	not stated [Bowers, a veteran, was a shoemaker]
1852	Boynton	Martha	Union St.	Dr. Porter's Anti- Scrofulous Panacea	Y	scrofulous tumors & open sores; headaches from infancy that occasionally made her lose sight, motion, speech; cure still working after two years [Notable: testimonial's accuracy sworn to by Rev. N. S. Chadwick and Rev. P. R. Russell.]
1897	Brackett	E. F. (Mr.)	20 Lloyd St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	doctor-diagnosed diabetes [Notable: Brackett was a shoecutter]
1880	Bradshaw	George L.	49 Blossom St.	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	monster tapeworm in wife, 95 feet long
1862	Breare	Thomas	Market St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy	Y	"my sister ... was suffering from a severe bilious attack, accompanied with vomiting and headache"
1912*	Breed	Mrs. Carrie E.	110 President St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	rheumatism of the joints
1895	Brewer	Edward	not listed	Solar Compound	Y	severe sufferer from bleeding piles and trouble with the stomach [Brewer worked in the livery stable business]
1895	Brown	E. L. (Mrs.)	230 Essex St.	Mrs. Hilton's Burn Salve	Y	excruciating pain from a swollen and inflamed toe joint
1893	Brown	William O. (Mrs.)	79 Essex St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"catarrh in a severe form for 18 years" [Notable: no illustration. "... At night, when others were sleeping, I often walked the streets struggling for breath. ...."]
1891	Buck	E. A. (Mrs.)	15 Tudor St.	Paine's Celery Compound	N	weak, worn out [heart palpitations, dizzy, faint]
1889	Bullock	W. F. (Mr.&Mrs.)	Mace Place	"Sweet Method" Dr. O. Preston Sweet	N	Their baby boy had curvature of the spine & infantile paralysis
1890	Bullock	Wm. F.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Sweet's Sanitarium for the Lame and Infirm (Dr. O. Preston Sweet)	N	his son suffered from curvature of the spine & infantile paralysis

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1892	Burns	E. J.	not listed in testimonial	Hill's Cholera Cure	N	stomach cramps, cholera infantum, diarrhoea [Notable: "I get it at J. M. Nelson's or Davis & Young's ..."]
1892	Burns	James	33 Harvard St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	N	cured of chronic catarrh [Notable: no relief under the care of several doctors and a trip to the hospital [ad contains image of James Burns]]
1855	Burrell	Theophilus	not listed in testimonial	Dr. True's Pain Destroying Compound	Y	rheumatism for sixty-four years
1897	Burrill	G. T.	27 [?] St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	back injury
1862	Burrill	Volancy (Mrs.)	Essex St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti- Bilious Remedy	Y	daily headache
1893	Bursley	George A.	12 Red Rock St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser.]
1897	Buttlee	J. B. (Mr.)	19 Curve St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidneys in bad condition from drinking poor water for six months [Buttlee was a gate tender for the B.R.H. & Lynn Railroad]
1866	Carroll	Capt.. Edward	[1 Union St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement.
1866	Caswell	Edwin B.	[1 Beach St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Caswell ran a boarding house.]
1859	Cates	B. F. (Mr.)	not listed in testimonial	McEckron's Liniment (veterinary medicine)	N	horse gall on back and shoulder [Notable: Cates was a hackman at Central Depot]
1912*	Chandler	Harry H.	13 Lyman St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	rheumatism ... "I could feel myself growing worse and worse, in spite of the treatments of three Lynn physicians. ... my right foot swollen to twice its natural size ... aching so that it seemed as if I had but two chances ahead of me - the cemetery or the insane asylum."
1892	Burns	James	33 Harvard St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	N	cured of chronic catarrh [Notable: no relief under the care of several doctors and a trip to the hospital [ad contains image of James Burns]]
1895	Chapman	Ella (Mrs.)	41 Fayette St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	asthma
1853	Chase	Mrs.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Holman's Natures Grand Restorative	Y	[condition before using the medicine not specified]
1895	Chase	N. B. (Mr.)	30 Green St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	throat always dry and parched, stomach "out of order" from catarrhal trouble
1897	Churchill	Freeman (Mrs.)	225 Essex St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney trouble
1895	Clark	Alex L.	45 Washington St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	cough caused by la grippe [Clark was an officer in the Lynn Police]
1882	Clark	John	not listed in testimonial	Excelsior Cough Balsam	Y	wife & daughter: severe cough
1897	Clarke	George M. (Mrs.)	552 Chestnut St.	Hood's Sarsaparilla	N	18-month-old son had scarlet fever [Notable: "He took in all three bottles and it gave him a good appetite. The blue tint left his skin and he is as strong as any body of his age."]
1897	Clewley	Joseph	47 Church St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	attacks of backache [Notable: Clewley was a bookkeeper for a die manufacturer.]

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1893	Clotman	Aamuel A.	28 Hudson St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	asthma [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser.]
1897	Clough	George H.	18 Bond St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	troubled with catarrh
1895	Coburn	J. H.	64 Bowler St.	Dr. A. P. Lighthill	Y	itching and piles for 10 years
1897	Cohen	Robert L.	28 Carnes St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	painful to walk [Cohen was a brakeman on the B&M Railroad]
1882	Colcord	George D.	not listed in testimonial	Alaska Catarrh Compound	Y	head colds [Notable: Colcord became Secretary of National Retail Druggists' Association.]
1893	Conant	Arthur L.	45 Harwood St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh of head, throat, and stomach for years
1888*	Conley	Edward	4 Acorn St.	German Rheumatic Remedy	Y	"suffered everything"; could not move in bed without help
1892	Cram	John H.	100 Grant St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	incipient consumption [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser.]
1895	Creighton	Geo. A.	142 Washington St.	Solar Compound	Y	humor
1896	Cushing	R. S.	48 Baltimore St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"my nose was always stopped up" [Cushing worked at a shoe manufactory]
1866	Davis	C. C. (Mr.)	[148 Broad St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Davis was the Central Depot station ticket agent.]
1882	Davis	E. W.	12 Astor Hill Ave.	Dr. Elizabeth J. French's electric appliances	N	poor health [Notable: "In your cranial diagnoses you discovered the conditions and pointed out the remedies."]
1881	Davis	Frank	not listed in testimonial	Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure	N	kidney disease, caused by taking cold [Note: contained facsimile of signature]
1866	Davis	Thomas	not listed in testimonial	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	[Davis was the editor of the Propellor.]
1897	Day	A. A. (Mrs.)	Palmer House, Union St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	four months earlier, wrenched knee while stepping from a street car
1895	Deshon	E. B.	418 Washington St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	not stated [Deshon was a veteran]
1897	Devitt	T. E. (Mr.)	12 Chestnut Ct.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	backache and painful retention of urine [Devitt, a veteran, was a "commercial traveler" [traveling salesman] and later a factory foreman.]
1896	Dodge	G. A.	38 Church St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"so sensitively nervous" [Dodge worked with the B7 R.B. Railway. Notable: "I was a shattered wreck. Was weak and run down and racked with neuralgic pains almost from head to foot. Sleep was impossible. My life was almost unbearable from the dread of some intangible fear. It always seemed to me as though something dreadful was about to occur - what, I did not know."]
1917	Dodge	Mrs. M.	Rockland St.	Var-ne-sis	Y	terrible case of rheumatism
1870	Doty	Joseph P.	334 Summer St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms implied]
1897	Dow	Edward	23 Light St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	catarrh of the head for a long time; "nose so stuffed up that I could not breathe easily"
1870	Downing	Geo. W. (Mrs.)	Shepard St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	used on her children for eight years for worms, colds, & croup [George Downing was a shoe manufacturer]

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1897	Dowse	J. F.	159 Chestnut St.	Dr. Castle	Y	entirely deaf in the right ear as the result of catarrh
1867	Driver	Rev. Thomas	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Poland's White Pine Compound	N	[condition before using the medicine not specified]
1882	Dunbar	Everett H.	not listed in testimonial	Alaska Catarrh Compound	Y	catarrh and headache
1894	Durocher	Edward	12 Rockland St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"a heavy, exhausting cough" [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser.]
1892	Eaton	James A.	15 Porter Court	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	chronic catarrh [Notable: "... Very shortly after I came here [to Lynn] I felt strong catarrhal symptoms .... I cannot describe to you the pain that I suffered within my head. It was simply frightful. My nose was stopped up so that I had to breathe through my mouth. I had spells of dizziness so severe that it was all i could do, sometimes, to keep from falling. ..." [illustrated]]
1899	Edgerly	A. H. (Miss)	274 Essex St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"During the Civil War I nursed patients suffering from every kind of contagious disease, but never contracted one myself. Handling and lifting heavy patients very likely strained my back, for occasionally it bothered me a great deal up to 10 years ago, when it became so weak and painful that I had to give up my profession."
1896	Eldridge	E. A.	23 Porter St.	Dr. Castle	Y	consumption [Eldridge was a church sexton]
1897	Elmer	A. F. (Mrs.)	25 Johnson St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"dreadful, aching pain across my kidneys"
1898	Emerson	Geo. R (Mrs.)	Maple St.	Vito Remedies	N	"... weak suffering from leucorrhoea, bearing down pains in the groins, urine frequently tinged with blood, no passage of the bowels for nine days, breathing offensive, nervous and sick headaches ... sleepless nights, was utterly unable to do any kind of work for the past three months, most of the time more dead than alive." [Notable: "I tried both local doctors and Boston doctors and healers, all to no account ...in one weeks time I feel almost well ..."]
1873	Emery	Benjamin F.	20 Mudge St.	Mrs. Croscup's Catarrh Bitters	Y	suffering from catarrh over twenty years
1893	England	Frederick J.	134 Summer St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	aggravated case of nasal catarrh [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser. "I took treatment from a number of local physicians, but they all failed to give me relief. I tried all kinds of patent medicines recommended as sure cures for catarrh, but soon found that I was throwing my money away."]
1880	Estes	E. F.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Marshall's Treatment	N	daughter's headaches [Notable: "after taking ten treatments of Dr. Marshall, Electric Physician, on Broad St."]
1895	Estes	Joseph E.	33 Strawberry Ave.	Solar Compound	Y	dropsical swelling in limbs and trouble with stomach, it being full of gastric juices

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1895	Farrington	Lucy E. (Mrs.)	183 Chestnut St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	eleven nasal polyps prevented her breathing through her nose and sense of smell
1898	Fitzgerald	William	92 Shepard St.	Vito Remedies	N	sufferer from rheumatism 24 years [Notable: "... in 30 minutes was for the first time in many years made to walk without the aid of his canes and pronounced himself free of pain, running through the crowds shouting for joy. Many of our best citizens flocked around Mr. Fitzgerald in amazement to see the miracle that Vito had performed."]
1899	Fitzgibbons	William	129 Adams St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"I could hardly hold out at my work until the day was over on account of a dull, aching pain across the loins. The secretions of the kidneys were excessive and of a high color. Sharp pains caught me in the back when stooping over or lifting." [Fitzgibbons was a laster at Jones's shoe factory]
1897	Flannagan	James	11 Prospect Ct.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney trouble, backache
1897	Fogg	D. C. (Mr.)	17 Hutchinson St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	sufferer from catarrh for about eight years
1917	Fogg	Mr. L. E.	156 Williams Ave.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	rheumatism and rheumatic neuritis on and off for 20 years and confined in the hospital 15 months. Rheumatism was in every joint of his body, his knees were stiff and drawn up, joints of his hands were swollen and stiff and he was unable to use a knife or fork. Doctors gave him morphine for the pain.
1899	Foss	F. U. (Mr.)	24 Union Ct.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe back ache [Foss worked at the Foss Novelty Company]
1894	Frazier	W.A.	17 Stephen Court	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"suffered for over ten years from neuralgia and lumbago complicated with catarrh [Frazier was a veteran and a retired merchant. Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1897	Freeman	Mrs.	265 Essex St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	continued backache, dizziness and headache, urinary difficulties
1895	Geddes	Maria (Mrs.)	18 Leavitt Place	James Castle, M.D.	Y	stomach would not digest food; much heartburn [Notable: "After being attended by doctors whose medicines did me no more good than so much water, I managed to reach Dr. Castle's office, although more dead than alive when I got there. I was so weak that I could not go up the stairs alone. The effort was so great that I really thought my last moment had come...."]
1899	Gerard	John	5 Acorn St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"I was trouble for over three years with backache and a distressing and annoying trouble with kidney secretions." [Gerard worked at Copeland & Co.'s shoe factory]
1898	Gilman	R. B. (Mrs.)	71 Superior St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	dizziness, headaches, vertigo
1846	Goodell	A. C.	not listed in testimonial	Kemp's Canker Wash	N	canker in the mouth and throat
1898	Goodridge	Charles H.	Munroe St.	Dr. Knight's Syrup of Tar and Wild Cherry	N	whooping cough in his 5-year-old daughter [Goodridge was a sign writer]

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1897	Goodridge	H. H.	23 Washington St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"When I joined the army we left with bright uniforms and perfect equipment and splendid health. ... on returning the day after Lee surrendered I was carried on a stretcher a very sick man. I contracted fevers and other diseases during the service, and my kidneys became much affected." [Goodridge was a foreman at Collins & Co.]
1896	Goodridge	H. S.	460 Summer St..	Dr. Castle	Y	purulent catarrh [Goodridge was a grocer]
1897	Goodridge	H. S. (Mrs.)	222 Washington St.	Doan's Ointment	N	tender feet
1866	Goodwin	Albert T.	[127 Union St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Goodwin was a last manufacturer.]
1882	Goodwin	James C.	not listed in testimonial	Cole's Milkweed Liniment	N	sprained ankle
1895	Goss	George	20 Farrar St.	Solar Compound No.7 (for rheumatism)	Y	muscular rheumatism [Notable: "... While I did not believe that it could be done, I concluded to try. I visited your place of business and gave you my age and date of birth and did not say a single word regarding my disease. You looked me up, as you claim, under the science of astrology, or more properly speaking, ASTRAL ASTRONOMY, and you told me that I was troubled with muscular rheumatism, pains in the head, weakness across the back and kidneys, and piles. That was absolutely correct as a diagnosis of my trouble at that time. ..."]
1867	Goss	John A. (Rev.)	[Silsbee St., in the church]	Mrs. Sargent's Renovator	N	[Rev. Goss was pastor of the Christian Church in Lynn.]
1896	Gould	Daniel	night engineer	Dr. Castle	Y	almost totally deaf - could not hear a fire whistle or thunder clap
1859	Gowen	John E. (Col.)	not listed in testimonial	T. Lewis & Co's Dysentery and Diarrhoea Elixir	Y	diarrhoea in the Crimea [Notable: Governor, High Admiral, Captain of the Port, and chief physician of the Michael Hospital all requested a fresh supply, according to Gowen]
1898	Grady	Thomas	145 Munroe, West Lynn	Vito Remedies	N	rheumatism for 7 years [Grady was a janitor. Notable: "Last night in Union square was another night of great excitement, when Thomas Grady [of West Lynn] seven years a sufferer of rheumatism, was carried to the Vito carriage and publicly treated by Vito's remedies, and in 20 minutes was for the first time in six years made to walk without the aid of crutches, and pronounced himself free of pain, running through the crowds shouting for joy. Many of our best citizens flocked around Mr. Grady in amazement to see the miracle that Vito had performed."]
1891	Green	Rufus F.	not listed in testimonial	Forrestall's Cough Cure	Y	[Notable: "popular Police Officer says it works like a charm"]

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1880	Griffin	Almira T.	Lexington St.	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	piles
1870	Gutterson	George W.	Neptune near Minot	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms implied]; [Gutterson was a stock fitter]
1888	Hadley	W. W.	not listed in testimonial	Peptonix	Y	a family member was "afflicted with dyspepsia or indigestion"
1870	Hall	John F.	27 Prospect	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms implied]
1897	Hamilton	Myra (Miss)	107 Park St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	intense pain on left side
1888*	Hammond	George	9 Tremont St.	German Rheumatic Remedy	Y	"I have had Rheumatism ever since I came out of the army ..."
1866	Hammond	James W.	[169 Chestnut St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Hammond was a clerk.]
1898	Hanley	Peter J.	67 Adams St.	Vito Remedies	N	rheumatism for 10 months; could not do any form of work; could not walk without canes [Hanley was a morocco dresser]
1892	Hare	C. B. (Mrs.)	133 Union St.	Dr. H. W. Jackson's Worm Powders	N	removes tapeworms [Notable: relieved of a tapeworm several feet long within seven hours by Dr. Jackson's daughter]
1895	Healey	Joseph	474 Chatham St.	Dr. A. P. Lighthill	Y	bleeding piles for 10 over years
1898	Hennessey	J. P. (Mrs.)	22 Perley St.	Dr. Knight's Syrup of Tar and Wild Cherry	N	14-month-old son had whooping cough
1832	Henshaw, Esq.	Daniel	not listed in testimonial	Jayne's Expectorant	N	"a very valuable Syrup, which we have lately used with good effect, in stopping a Cough and loosening and breaking up a COLD." [Henshaw was the editor of the Lynn Record newspaper]
1895	Hill	H. M.	76 Walnut St.	Dr. A. P. Lighthill	Y	for 8 years suffered from itching piles
1856	Hill	not listed in testimonial	not listed in testimonial	John W. Channing, The Great Cancer and Humor Doctor	N	cured of a cancer on the face
1866	Hilton	T[homas]. Jefferson	[90 Jefferson St.]	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Hilton was a trader.]
1894	Hilton	W. A.	52 New Park St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh extending to the ears, causing loss of hearing and roaring noises [Hilton, a veteran, was a carpenter and builder. Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1893	Hinds	Charles	18 Dana St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrhal trouble of the head and throat [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1912*	Holden	Mr. E. C.	3 James St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	rheumatism for thirty years
1899	Horn	George H.	1 Tremont St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"I was troubled with a miserable aching over my kidneys ..." [Horn was employed at Grover's shoe factory.]
1917	Horton	Gladys	15 Abbott St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	had rheumatism since 4 years old, "Varne-sis made me know the joy of living."
1856	Howard	Nancy	not listed in testimonial	John W. Channing, The Great Cancer and Humor Doctor	N	healed her cancer [Notable: Channing was formerly a shipwright.]
1897	Hoyt	I. F. (Mrs.)	14 Silsbee St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	suffered from rheumatism for 20 years and sciatica for the last 8 years
1893	Hunt	Nathaniel	21 Oxford St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]

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1906	Husson	Miss M. J.	278 Maple St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	little daughter had always been a pale, nervous child, with bad stomach trouble and very constipated
1896	Hutt	W. W.	21 Highland Ave.	Dr. Castle	Y	hemorrhages, dropsy, ulceration of bronchial tubes, and deafness
1899	Ireson	Mrs. Abbie A.	311 Maple St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"Kidney complaint caused me a great amount of misery, and my back ached so severely at times that I was in agony. .... A very distressing and annoying urinary difficulty also existed."
1906	James	Mrs. Hattie P.	16 Stephen St.	VAR-NE-SIS Blood Purifier	Y	years of gastric trouble; constant faint and dizzy spells, nausea; water brash, constipation, sleeplessness
1897	Jillson	S. C. (Mrs.)	23 Estes St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	rheumatism for 20 years [Jillson was the police department matron]
1895	Johnson	David N.	101 Newhall St.	Solar Compound	Y	debility
1839	Johnson	Mrs. Capt. Joseph	Nahant	Dr. William Evans' Chamomile Pills	N	tic douloureux [painful, involuntary facial twitching]; [Mrs. Johnson was the wife of Captain Joseph Johnson]
1865	Jones	John A.	[manager, eating house]	Hasheesh Candy	N	brain+, nerves+
1870*	Jones	Wm. H.	West Broadway	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	used nearly 30 years on 6 children [William H. Jones was a carpenter]
1897	Jones	W. S. (Mr.)	9 Smith St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe attack of kidney congestion [Jones was a shoe factory foreman.]
1887	Judkins	Mr. & Mrs. R. C.	677 Boston St.	Dr. Lougee's Vitalizing Compound	Y	" ... 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."
1880	Kank	Thos. F.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	headache, stomach derangement, constipation, pain in side, heart palpitation, weak back, general debility [Kank worked at Keene Bros. Shoe Factory]
1898	Keefe	M. (Mrs.)	109 Sagamore St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	suffered a great deal from kidneys for seven years
1895	Kelly	F. P.	62 High Rock St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	not stated [Kelly, a veteran, was the builder's association president]
1870	Kelly	F. P. (Mr.)	64 & 66 Market St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	his sons suffered from worms [Kelly sold furniture]
1862	Kelly	W[arren]	[87] Market St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy	Y	sick headache: "I have always before had to give up business and go home, having no relief till I could get sleep" [Notable: relief in 30 minutes; one hour perfectly well. Kelly had a variety store.]

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1898	Kemp	Eldridge	19 Nottingham St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"I contracted kidney disease while in Andersonville prison for nine months during the war." [Notable: "I got a box of Doan's Kidney Pills at Hart's drug store on Munroe street and they benefited me so much I was encouraged to continue the treatment until I had taken four boxes and was cured."]
1897	Killilea	Patrick	27 Sea St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	very bad back for two years [Killilea was a teamster]
1895	King	Thomas	244 Union St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	suffered from Hay Fever for the past 15 summers [King was a hairdresser. Notable: took the advice of his friend, Hy Robinson to go to James Castle]
1893	Knowles	Charles	18 Breed's Place	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh of the head, throat, and stomach for 8 years [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1897	Lakeman	Charles	23 Lowell St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	catarrh in head and throat for a long time
1870	Learned	William N.	not listed in testimonial	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms in family implied]; [Learned was a machine room foreman at H. H. Hollis & Co.]
1870	Leavitt	William E.	Marion St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	used for worms in family [Leavitt was a foreman]
1895	Lee	David	9 Washington St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	catarrh since his army days, 30 years earlier [Lee, a veteran, was an officer in the Lynn Police]
1897	Legere	David	7 Bellview Pl.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney trouble for 12 years since being attacked with la grippe
1895	Littlefield	W. H.	9 Sagamore St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	nose injury caused bone tumor
1893	Lock	Isaiah J. (Mrs.)	24 Webster St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	Growing worse for 7 years from a severe attack of typhoid fever. Most recently, attacks of pneumonia and the grip. [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1895	Locke	B. E.	173 New Chatham St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	wife was too weak to leave her room; "so nervous that she was in a tremble all the time and could neither eat nor sleep... She was thin and wasted almost to a shadow of her former self." Her heart fluttered and palpitated ... severe pain in her lungs, great deal of headache [Locke was a shoe machinery dealer]
1898	Locke	C. H. (Mrs.)	251 Summer St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	nose and head badly stuffed up, severe headaches, all caused by catarrh
1895	Logle	William	402 Western Ave.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	deeply seated catarrh: throat always full of phlegm; food lodging in tonsils; ringing in ears; deafness; back pain; dyspepsia; pain over eyes [Logle was in building and carpentry]
1894	Lord	B. P.	116 Hamilton Ave.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"an old obstinate chronic case of catarrh" [Lord was a Grand Army Veteran. Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1906	Lovett	Frank G.	516 Essex St.	Dr. Richards Dyspepsia Tablets	N	constipation, indigestion

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1912*	Lovett	James F.	11 Cook St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	ten-year-old daughter had a seemingly hopeless case of rheumatism. "As she did not grow any better and her case failed to respond to the treatment of various physicians, I finally took her to the Lynn Hospital where she was treated very kindly and given every attention from June 1 to August 1 1906. Then they sent me word that I had better take her home, that they could do nothing more for her, they thought that she never would be any better, stated in fact, that she could not live. She came home in a baby carriage, a pitiable sight."
1896	Low	Wesley	373 Chestnut St.	Dr. Castle	Y	consumption of throat [Notable: "He gained 18 pounds in one month with Dr. Castle's treatment."]
1895	Lufkin	G. A.	136 Beach St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	bronchitis and bronchial catarrh [Lufkin, a veteran, was a school custodian]
1839	Lummus	Charles	Lynn Hotel	Stomachic Elixir	Y	obstinate diarrhea [Lummus was editor and producer of the <i>Lynn Mirror</i> ]
1896	Lynch	Owen	140 Boston St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	afflicted similarly to Thos. O'Brien
1839	Lyscom	John	High St.	Lummus's Head Ache Lotion	Y	violent headaches [Lyscom was a dentist]
1895	Mackenzie	Alex	85 Silsbee St.	Solar Compound	Y	bilious flatulency [Notable: "I think that the method of cure that you use is the correct one, that of planetary action, and I took particular notice of the action of the medicine. ...."]
1893	Maguire	Alex	33 Lake Ave.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	asthma [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser. "On several occasions the smothering sensation was so great that I grew black in the face, and my friends, supposing I was dying, gathered around my bed to see me breathe the last."]
1870	Mansfield	James R.	not listed in testimonial	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms in family implied]; [Mansfield was a shoecutter at Pevear's]
1870*	Marble	J. F.	Munroe St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms in family implied]; [Marble was a leather cutter]
1856	Marsh	C. H.	422 Turnpike St.	Dr. Greene, Indian Doctor	N	scrofula of neck glands and body joints [Notable: from eBay listing of "Dr. Greene's Indianopathy, or Science of Indian Medicine" [Boston, Mass.] [on 1850's file card]]
1895	Marshall	J. Otis	111 Grant St.	Solar Compound	Y	nerves and stomach
1899	Mayo	Mr. Charles A.	12 Oakwood Ave.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	suffering from an attack of kidney complaint for a couple of years; followed recommendation of Capt. Hayes who lives on Stephen St. [Mayo was a janitor at three public schools.]
1892	McClellan	William	92 Federal St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	colds with congestion, sore throat, headaches [Notable: Was employed at Thomson-Houston Electrical Co.]
1897	McEhinney	Mr.	208 Essex St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"I had a continual dropping in my throat and attacks of vomiting in the morning" [McEhinney was a harness manufacturer]

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1897	McElman	Chas. (Mrs.)	24 Mudge St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney trouble for five or six years [Charles McElman was a stone mason and contractor]
1882	McFarlane	William H.	not listed in testimonial	Alaska Catarrh Compound	Y	daughter sore throat and nosebleed [effects of diphtheria]
1912*	McIntyre	Phillip S.	28 Collins St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	seven years suffered with the agonies of arthritis and sciatic rheumatism ... The people in the house with me were kept awake nights with my groans ... I was out of my head part of the time during these attacks. ... after taking fourteen bottles [of Var-ne-sis] I am well and strong. [McIntyre worked at a livery stable]
1892	McIver	Clarence	18 Brownville Ave., West Lynn	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrhal bronchitis and laryngitis [Notable: "... The catarrhal trouble showed itself after I got up from an attack of scarlet fever, growing worse every year .... I suffered continually from dull pains through the forehead, dizziness, hot and cold flashes all over my body, roaring noises in the ears that sounded like sawmills, and sharp pains in the chest. ... I raised quantities of mucous, which seemed to come right out of my lungs, and was frequently streaked with blood. I believe I was in consumption. I had taken all the patent medicines I could ever hear of without the least benefit. I was treated by a number of old-style doctors without getting any relief ... They used caustics and acids to burn the inside of my nose and throat out. ...."]
1893	McNeal	Lillian (Miss)	not listed in testimonial	Drs. Holbrook and Newcomb (chronic & nervous diseases), Rooms 4 & 11 Keith Block	Y	not stated [Notable: testimonial by parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. P. McNeal: "After many weeks of care and wakeful nights, with the best medical skill from the old school, and prominent specialists, was given up as incurable ... [she is] a living witness of the superiority of your knowledge of disease and medicine."]
1897	McPherson	Mary (Mrs.)	15 Brownville Ave.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"disordered kidneys"
1897	McPherson	Mary (Mrs.)	15 Brownville Ave.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"disordered kidneys"
1894	Merrill	James M.	64 Myrtle St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrhal trouble for several years [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1873	Merritt	E.	23 Mudge St.	Clovertine	Y	two-year-old suffered since birth with scrofula sores
1896	Merrow	Fred B.	66 Green St.	Dr. Castle	Y	hay fever [Merrow was a pattern maker]
1892	Miller	Richard M.	43 Chatham St.	Dr. E. Williams' Odontunder	Y	painless tooth extraction [Notable: nine teeth, four roots extracted]
1903	Mills	Mrs. John E.	36 Mulberry St.	Peruna	N	catarrh since ten years old. "At times my head troubled me so, that I was obligated to stay in a dark room. Nothing helped me, and my physician said I could never be cured. ... I can thank Peruna for the perfect health I now enjoy."

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1897	Mocher	Sarah L. (Mrs.)	30 Park St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	"catarrh very bad for years"
1895	Monnehan	Annie (Miss)	52 Munroe St.	Solar Compound	Y	dropsy
1894	Morgan	John J.	12 Duke St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	"a disagreeable head catarrh" [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1895	Moulton	C. S. (Mr.)	15 Beacon Hill Place	James Castle, M.D.	Y	suffered greatly after eating from bloating of stomach, vomiting of food and palpitations of heart
1891	Moulton	Lizzie E.	76 Maple St.	Dr. Jackson's Worm Powders	Y	removed 40-ft tapeworm [Notable: misdiagnosed by other doctors as consumption]
1859	Mower	A. E (Mr.).	not listed in testimonial	McEckron's Liniment (veterinary medicine)	N	horses: wounds, galls, old sores, sprains: Notable: Mower was a proprietor of City Stable]
1888*	Murphy	T.	18 May St.	German Rheumatic Remedy	Y	troubled with rheumatism for a number of years
1898	Murphy	T. G. (Mrs.)	127 1/2 Adams St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"I suffered with a complaint which is common among women and the cause of a great deal of misery. About that time trouble with my kidneys arose."
1893	Murray	Stella J. (Miss)	41 Rockaway St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1896	Nelson	Chas. B.	49 West Neptune St.	Dr. Castle	Y	catarrh of the bronchial tubes and stomach
1896	Nelson	little girl of Mrs.	29 Friend St.	Ko-Da [tonic by the Mexican Medicine Co.]	N	not stated [claimed to create appetite, restore weakened constitution, strengthen the nerves, etc.] [Notable: "... my mother says that Ko-Da is the best medicine she ever used. My mother was sick abed most 21 weeks, but she goes out doors now. I am taking Ko-Da too."]
1899	Nelson	Nelli M.	39 Friend St.	Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	rheumatism for 25 years
1866	Newhall	Asa T.	not listed in testimonial	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	[Newhall was a physician.]
1895	Newhall	C. S.	23 Atlantic St.	Solar Compound	Y	rheumatism
1894	Newhall	George T.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. A. P. Lighthill	N	son had been suffering with nasal catarrh [Notable: Newhall provided two endorsements, 1884 & 1894; in the latter, he stated, "I wish to add that in the interval since the above date to the present time, he has had no recurrence of that trouble - which fact I consider justifies the statement that the cure is a permanent one, to which I gladly testify and recommend all who may be afflicted with catarrh to lose no time in consulting you."]
1891	Newhall	W. F.	52 Market St.	Coleman's Cough & Lung Syrup	?	cured him of La Grippe
1894	Nichols	George F.	443 Chestnut St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrhal trouble for 10 years [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1917	Nicholson	T.	497 Summer St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	rheumatism
1896	North	H. H. (Mrs.)	90 Neptune St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	"tortured with kidney disease"
1895	Nuttall	Alice (Miss)	6 Waverly St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	catarrh of the eyes, blind for 10 months
1895	Nuttall	James	210 Essex St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	bronchial catarrh, complicated with rheumatism

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1896	O'Brien	Thos.	55 Laighton St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	"he was reduced to simply skin and bone with a hollow, hacking cough that was continuous day and night" [Notable: recovered; gained thirty-five pounds]
1883*	Osborne	E. W.	West Lynn; street address not listed	Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam	Y	"For years I have had a disease of the throat or a tickling disagreeable feeling causing me to leave the table several times during a meal."
1883	Osborne	J. W.	16 Whiting St.	Alaska Catarrh Compound	Y	catarrh of 8 years
1882	Osborne	John W.	not listed in testimonial	Excelsior Cough Balsam	Y	not stated
1892	Otis	Charles	10 Essex St.	Dr. E. Williams' Odontunder	Y	painless tooth extraction
1897	Paige	George C.	145 Fayette St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	terrible backache [Paige was a carpenter]
1891	Parrott	S. P.	not listed in testimonial	Hood's Sarsaparilla	Y	no appetite [Parrott was the driver of steamer No 5 in the Lynn Fire Department. Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1897	Parsons	Alex	29 Commercial St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	weakness and dull pain in small of the back, over the kidneys
1866	Patch	Edwin	not listed in testimonial	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Patch was a shoe manufacturer.]
1866	Patten	William A.	not listed in testimonial	Hutchinson's Hair Regenerator	Y	In a list of ten Lynn men who permitted the use of their name for the product's endorsement. [Patten ran a commission auction store.]
1892	Patterson	Emma E.	67 Silsbee St.	Dr. E. Williams' Odontunder	Y	painless tooth extraction [Notable: awful experience with gas used by another dentist]
1880	Peabody	Lewis S.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	heart disease, pain in side, rheumatic joint pain [Peabody worked at Tucker & Laurie's Shoe Manufactory]
1896	Pearson	James W.	not listed in testimonial	James Castle, M.D.	Y	"... sounds of the outer world grew less and more indistinct until my hearing was almost gone. It was lost [caused by decay of the eardrums] through catarrh, that insidious disease, which is rapidly consuming the sense of hearing of hundreds of my friends right here in Lynn." [Pearson was a railroad crossing attendant]
1899	Pension	Michael	40 May St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	backache for much of seven years and "kidney secretions ... were highly colored, and contained a heavy sediment."
1895	Peyton	Thomas (Mrs.)	5 Crosby St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney complaint for four or five years [Notable: "I even went to the Hospital, but I still suffered."]
1862	Phillips	C. S.	No. Common St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy	Y	had liver complaint for one year [said symptoms were: shortness of breath, a distressing feeling and trembling at the stomach]
1880	Phillips	Zacheus	5 Chatham St.	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	disease of kidneys, lame back, heart disease
1897	Phinney	S. E. (Mr.)	5 Lander St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	lame back from accident

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1896	Phipps	William F.	15 B St., near Quebec St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"For 15 years, I was troubled with a complication of diseases that puzzled all the doctors. [weak, out of breath, bad stomach, nasal congestion]
1897	Pickett	H. (Mrs.)	15 Morris St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe lameness of the back
1888*	Pierce	G. I.	2 High St.	German Rheumatic Remedy	Y	recommends to all suffering from rheumatism
1895	Pike	S. L. (Mrs.)	29 Pearl St.	Solar Compound No.5 (female complaints)	Y	female complaints
1890	Pinette	A. (Mrs.)	not listed in testimonial	BELL-CAP-SIC plaster	N	cures neuralgia at once
1896	Pinkham	Charles H.	[435 Western Ave.]	Gombault's Caustic Balsam	N	"I am the owner of a fast pacing horse, "Charlie P." Last fall when he was returned to me from the track, I thought he was of no further use, as his driver had allowed him to bang his knee to such an extent that it was swollen up as large as your two fists. I got a bottle of Gombault's Caustic Balsam and made two applications, which wholly removed the bunch, so that he is now in a fine condition; and I have enjoyed him in sleighing this winter ... Hereafter Caustic Balsam will always have a place in my stable."
1870	Pratt	Mary (Mrs.)	So. Common St.	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	[use for worms implied]
1895	Remick	D. H.	158 Market St.	Solar Compound No.7 (for rheumatism)	Y	rheumatism [Remick worked in the gent's furnishing goods business]
1892	Remick	F. J. (Mr.)	89 Myrtle St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	severe case of catarrh of the stomach [Notable: "When I ate anything it lay upon my stomach like lead, in an indigestible mass. I was constantly belching gas and wind and could taste food hours after I had eaten it. My constitution was fast breaking down; I lost nearly 20 pounds in weight, and the strain had ruined my nerves so that I could not sleep or rest, night or day. I had no energy or ambition for business or anything else, and I could scarcely drag myself about."]
1897	Ramsdell	Walter L.	37 Beacon Hill Ave.	Paine's Celery Compound	N	poor appetite, weak nerves, weariness "... the many duties of the Mayor's office having taxed my slight physical resources greatly." [Ramsdell was mayor of Lynn, 1897-1898]
1894	Reynolds	William W.	17 Webster St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1862	Rhodes	Hannah C.	Church St.	Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy	Y	"I was very bilious ..."
1839	Rice	Jesse	Village Hotel, Nahant	Lummus's Rheumatic Lotion	Y	rheumatism for two years [Rice was a tavernkeeper]
1870*	Robinson	Frank	not listed in testimonial	Mrs. Thurston's Worm Syrup	Y	used for past six years for worms in his family [Robinson was an engineer at Abbott & Breed]

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1895	Robinson	Henry	business: Almont St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	five years of Hay Fever [Robinson, a veteran, was a die maker. Also notable: recommended Castle to his friend, Thomas King]
1897	Roundey	J. W.	45 Green St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	suffered with kidney and back pain for 12 years
1917	Rounsville	Mrs. W. B.	11 Cook St.	VAR-NE-SIS	Y	was helpless
1898	Russell	D. (Mrs.)	64 New Chatham St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	backache and pains in kidneys
1892	Sanborn	Jennie E. (Miss)	25 Forest Hill Ave.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	incipient consumption [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser.]
1888	Sanborn	J. R.	not listed in testimonial	Peptonix	Y	dyspepsia
1895	Sargent	Charles S.	131 Central Ave.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	suffered 15 years with catarrh, complicated with nervous exhaustion
1881	Sawyer	H. A.	not listed in testimonial	Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure	N	kidney, liver complaints [Note: contained facsimile of signature]
1855	Sawyer	Leonard	not listed in testimonial	Dr. True's Pain Destroying Compound	Y	mother's erysipelas and rheumatism in the arm; bowel complaints and headaches
1895	Scott	Joseph W. (Mrs.)	453 Washington St.	Solar Compound	Y	rheumatism
1898	Secord	Henry A.	not listed in testimonial	Vito Remedies	N	"suffering from a complication of diseases of long standing"
1895	Seymour	C. D.	24 Miller Place	James Castle, M.D.	Y	catarrh of the nose, throat, and stomach
1896	Sharp	George	16 Ezra St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	consumption [Sharp was a morocco worker]
1897	Shepard	David	65 Kirtland St.	California Catarrh Cure	N	troubled with catarrh many years
1883*	Shillington	Thos.	West Lynn; street address not listed	Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam	Y	children suffered from croup
1881	Silver	Olivette	7 Waverly St.	Dr. Weeks' Dyspepsia Cure	Y	dyspepsia
1890	Simmons	S. E., Esqr.	25 Prospect St.	Dr. O. Preston Sweet	N	his daughter suffered from curvature of the spine
1891	Sloman	C. M. (Mrs.)	15 Tudor St.	Paine's Celery Compound	N	nervous trouble
1891	Sloman	daughter of Mrs.	15 Tudor St.	Paine's Celery Compound	N	weak, worn out [heart palpitations, dizzy, faint]
1882	Smith	A. F.	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Lighthill	N	catarrh [Notable: "which has baffled the skill of so many physicians."]
1882	Smith	F. M.	75 Newhall St.	Dr. Lighthill	N	wife's health
1906	Smith	Mrs. Rose	31 Buffum St.	Dr. Richards Dyspepsia Tablets	N	"I was truly in a wretched state, being unable for weeks at a time to retain food of any kind in my stomach. I had wasted away to a mere shadow and was racked with pain most of the time. ... "I hardly cared whether I lived or died. ..."
1881	Spear	H. S.	not listed in testimonial	Warner's Safe Kidney and Liver Cure	N	troubled for a long time with what I suppose was torpid liver, and I was generally run down and depressed [Note: contained facsimile of signature]
1897	Spinney	Charles A.	15 Buffum St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	rheumatism for years
1895	Still	W. H.	180 Chestnut St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	not stated [Still, a veteran, was a shoe worker]

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1883*	Stocker	H. F.	15 Central Ave.	Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam	Y	".. several cases of croup in my family ..."
1895	Sullivan	Thomas V. Jr.	29 Northern Avenue	James Castle, M.D.	Y	28 years catarrh was slowly undermining his health, spitting up yellowish matter, mixed with blood "rather nervous gloomy forebodings ... fear that something dreadful was about to happen, etc." [Sullivan, a veteran, was a T.-H. E. engineer. Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1895	Swain	Frank	11 Chase Avenue	James Castle, M.D.	Y	bronchial catarrh [Swain, a veteran, was a police officer]
1892	Tarbox	C. E. (Mrs.)	11 Crescent St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	chronic catarrh [Notable: "... I have doctored with some of the most eminent physicians both in this city and Boston and have paid out hundreds of dollars but never got anything like the relief I obtained from Drs. Pearson and Carroll's treatment. When I first began their treatment I was unable even to ride to their office, and to say the best I was in a very bad condition. The bronchitis was so bad that if coals of fire had been poured in my very mouth and throat there could not have been any more irritation. Years ago I was pronounced a consumptive by several doctors. One said I had Bright's disease. ... "]
1897	Taylor	E. B.	18 Alley St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe backache [Taylor was an agent for a shoe lasting co.]
1895	Tebbets	Henry L.	3 Suffolk Court	Dr. Lighthill	N	"I was one of the greatest sufferers from piles; they were so large, so numerous and so painful that life was a perfect misery ..."
1884	Thomas	Rufus	not listed in testimonial	Alaska Catarrh Compound	Y	catarrh
1895	Thompson	John	40 Woodlawn St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	five years of Hay Fever [Thompson, a veteran, was a shoe factory foreman. Notable: recommended Castle to his friend, Thomas King]
1895	Thompson	J. P. H. (Mrs.)	40 Woodlawn St.	Solar Compound	Y	rheumatism
1881	Thorndike	Clement	of L. A. May & Co. 127 Union St.	Dr. Lighthill	N	catarrh, throat irritation, hacking cough, bronchial tubes, leaving me a victim of consumption [Notable: "I consulted medicine men and used various remedies, but all efforts for relief utterly failed."]
1896	Thrasher	H. S.	233 Union St.	Dr. Castle	Y	"deafness, incessant cough, shortness of breath, and frothy expectoration" [Thrasher was a grocer and provision merchant]
1895	Tilton	Newton J. (Mrs.)	10 Circuit Ave.	Solar Compound	Y	rheumatism

Year (est*)	Lynn Endorser's Surname	Given Name	Lynn Residential Address	Health Product or Healer Endorsed	Lynn Product? [Y/N]	Primary Reason for Using the Product [plus further identifying details & other notable information]
1889	Tingley	Mrs. Huldah	not listed in testimonial	Onar Consumption Cure	Y	"A few years ago I took a sudden cold, and suddenly was completely prostrated. My family physician was consulted and promptly declared my disease to be consumption. ... I sank rapidly, until I was given up ... 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 [and prepared the compound]. ... in a short time was completely restored to health. ...."
1882	Travers	E. M.	Nahant St.	Excelsior Cough Balsam	Y	very severe cough and hoarseness
1897	Trayers	Frank H. (Mrs.)	26 Waverly St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidneys greatly troubled, severe backache
1896	Tremblay	Charles H.	30 Neptune St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	nasal and throat polyps
1899	Tully	John H.	25 Andrew St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	constant backache for years [Tully was janitor of the Father Mathew Hall]
1892	Varina	T. W.	14 Pearl St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	catarrh, polypi, asthma [Notable: Was employed at T. G. Plant, shoe manufacturer]
1895	Venn	George (Mrs.)	6 Waverly St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	10 months of blindness from catarrh
1897	Walsh	Margaret (Mrs.)	36 Elizabeth St.	Ko-Da [tonic by the Mexican Medicine Co.]	N	troubled with rheumatism for years
1884	Washburn	L. K.	not listed in testimonial	Digestine	Y	wife troubled with indigestion for six months
1895	Waycott	James	37 Ireson St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	"for two years, I was so deaf that I could not hear a thunder clap, now I can hear a watch tick. I could not hear a brass band, now I can hear a whisper ..." [Notable: Illustrated with bust portrait of endorser]
1883*	Wells	Herbert G.	2 Breed Square	Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam	Y	" ... believe that it saved the life of my child."
1879	Wentworth	Charles E.	4 Kirtland St.	Echo Grove Mineral Spring Water	Y	several years' struggle with general weakness, dyspepsia
1898	White	P. H. (Mrs.)	14 Ridgeway St..	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	an attack of la grippe several years ago had left kidneys badly affected
1898	White	Fred H (Mr.)	14 Ridgeway St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	kidney complaint and backache for three years [White was a shoemaker]
1880	Whitney	Ella M.	37 Pearl St.	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	weak, distressed stomach, pain in side
1898	Whittaker	Henry (Mrs.)	477 Essex St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	severe back ache
1897	Williamson	E. Mrs.	322 Summer St.	Dr. Frost's Rheumatism Cure	N	rheumatic pains of long standing
1899	Wilson	Josiah	84 Williams St.	Hill's Rheumatic Kidney and Dyspepsia Cure	N	a family visitor from Maine had a very severe attack of Rheumatism
1899	Wixon	M. A. (Mrs.)	34 Whittier St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	backache and other complications arising from the kidneys
1898	Wright	F. B. (Mrs.)	67 Pearl St.	Doan's Kidney Pills	N	daughter suffered from backache and headache

Year (est*)	Lynn Endorser's Surname	Given Name	Lynn Residential Address	Health Product or Healer Endorsed	Lynn Product?	Primary Reason for Using the Product [plus further identifying details & other notable information]
1892	Young	Charles	9 James St.	Drs. Pearson and Carroll	Y	chronic catarrh [Notable: illustrated with bust portrait of endorser with extremely large walrus moustache.]
1895	Young	Charles W.	5 High St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	catarrh [Notable: "... it was the best investment in my life that I took this treatment. The slight and painless operation you made on my nose gave me free breathing space and I have no trouble whatever.... I keep a little of your treatment by me and if the slightest symptom develops, I use the wash and that fixes it."]
1880	Young	John	not listed in testimonial	Dr. Stearns' remedies	N	catarrh, dyspepsia, affection of liver and kidneys [Young worked at Charles Buffum & Co. Notable: "Had taken treatment from several eminent physicians, without success."]
1895	Young	John W.	15 Johnson St.	James Castle, M.D.	Y	not stated [Young, a veteran, was a city bill poster. Notable: a daughter of Mrs. Hill, whom he "cured of a cancer on the face, after having been doctored without success by Dr. Spear."]
1898	Young	Thomas J.	not listed in testimonial	Vito Remedies	N	"I am a veteran of the civil war, and during service contracted malaria and rheumatism. My stomach was in bad condition, nearly everything I ate hurt me. I was so nervous I gave a start at the least noise. I could not sleep above two hours each night and was so lame I could not walk a step without crutches. My memory was fast failing me, and I was a physical wreck ..." [Notable: "... but, thank God, Vito's remedies have saved me. I have been using them less than two weeks, and I am now feeling stronger and tell my friends that I am well."]

## Appendix D

### Health in Lynn's Popular Culture

Since health is such an important part of happiness and life, it's no surprise to find it pondered and praised in all forms of artistic expression. Lynn's poets, songwriters, and inventors shared an ability to dream and apply their talents to paper. This appendix contains a selection of poetry, music, and patent drawings that each show great creativity by artist and inventor alike about the challenges to survive and thrive. While reviewing these works, it's easy to appreciate and empathize with the struggles experienced by others of the same, very mortal species.

- **Song (1843): “GO CALL THE DOCTOR, & BE QUICK”! or ANTI-CALOMEL**  
Sheet music dated 1843, sung by the Hutchinson Family in opposition to calomel, a composition of mercury, then in frequent use by physicians. [collection of the author]
- **Song (about 1845): HYDROPATHY; or the COLD-WATER CURE**  
Sheet music about 1845, sung by the Barker Family; written in praise of Edward A. Kittredge, water cure doctor of Lynn. Shown with a later cover of Barker Family sheet music. (The original copy of *Hydropathy*, in the collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society, has unfortunately disappeared; the cover showed the name of the song in decorative period fonts, embellished with a background of calligraphic swirls and flourishes, much like what appears above the beginning of the music in *Go Call The Doctor*, above.)
- **Poem (1890): *La Grippe***  
A poem published in Lynn's *Daily Evening Item* on 4 January 1890. It was written by Thomas F. Porter, an insurance and real estate agent, and is about the newly named epidemic illness that had settled in Lynn at that time. Each stanza points to how it impacted a different sex and age group. In this poem, Porter wasn't endorsing a medicine or healer to fight the illness; perhaps it was his way of recommending the purchase of life insurance! He lost his wife to pneumonia thirteen months after writing this poem.
- **Patent (1890): *Exercising Apparatus***  
Patent Date: 14 January 1890. During an era that had begun to focus on exercise, George S. Sanborn, a toolmaker by trade, invented this fascinating device to provide exercise in an entertaining way. A series of large springs, covered in a rubbery material fashioned to look human made a sparring dummy for boxing. The roam tethered to the belt ensured the dummy would not fall too far forward and the semi-circular iron railing similarly prevented it from falling too far to any other side. The range of motion apparently closely resembled the inflatable child's punching toys we know today.
- **Poem (1890): *Poem for the dedication of the Steamer Elihu Thomson***  
Appearing in the *Daily Evening Item* on 20 October 1890, this poem may not be about personal health, but it reflects the health of Lynn and the excitement of the poet about the city's modernization and growth because of electricity and Elihu Thomson.

- **Song (1890s-1920s): *The Lydia Pinkham Song***

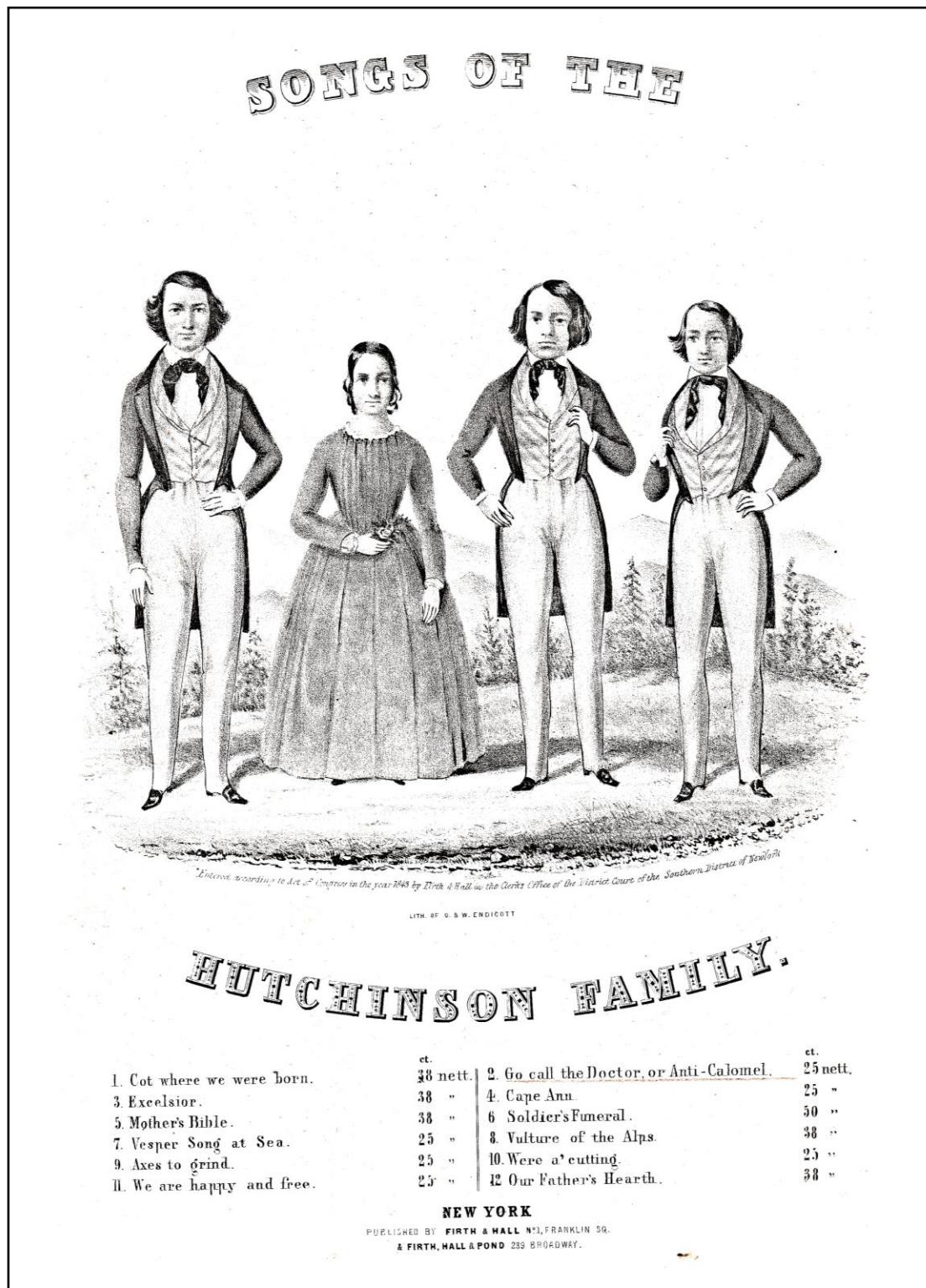
Starting probably in the 1890s and extending well into the twentieth century, Lydia Pinkham and her medicine were lambasted in song and other means. The open discussion about woman's health in newspapers and other media as well as the dramatic pitches of the Pinkham advertising fueled the teasing humor of college students, soldiers, and others who took a jab at the popular medicine and its creator. Lyrics were ad libbed and adapted to existing music. Some of the lyrics were inevitably recorded and archived in the Pinkham company files, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University.

- **Patent (1891): *Electric Hair-Brush***

Patent Date: 21 November 1891. While Thomas Edison, Nikolai Tesla, and Elihu Thomson were busy electrifying the world, Alexander Stanton was electrifying the hairbrush. He didn't focus on form like the popular, fancy, and completely ineffective Scott's Electric brushes, but on substance by making a hairbrush grow hair through a form of electricity. The brush apparently never got mass produced and sold but Stanton's dream was immortalized in his patent application.

- **Song (1914): *The Chiropractor March***

Sheet music written in 1914 by William T. Williams, in praise of newly arrived chiropractors in Lynn who cured him of life-long debilitating health challenges. [collection of the author]



Cover for "Go call the Doctor, or Anti-Calomel." 1843, Sung by the Hutchinson Family Singers. (Collection of the author.) [The sheet music follows a transcription of the lyrics.]

## “GO CALL THE DOCTOR, & BE QUICK”! or ANTI-CALOMEL

Sung at the Concerts of the Hutchinson Family

*Music composed by J. J. Hutchinson  
Respectfully Dedicated to Dr. W. Beach*

Sheet music published by Firth & Hall,  
1 Franklin Sq. & Firth, Hall & Pond,  
239 Broadway, New York, 1843

When Mr. A or B is sick  
Go call the docter [sic] and be quick  
The docter [sic] comes with much good will  
But ne'er forgets his  
The doctor comes with much good will  
But ne'er forgets his  
Physicians of the highest rank,  
To pay their fees would need a bank,  
Combine all wisdom art and skill  
Science and sense in  
Science and sense in  
Science and sense in  
Calomel  
Calomel  
Calomel  
Calomel.  
Calomel,  
Calomel,  
Calomel,  
Calomel.

He takes the patient by the hand,  
And compliments him as his friend,  
He sits awhile his pulse to feel,  
And then takes out his Calomel.

He then turns to the patients [sic] wife,  
Have you clean paper spoon and knife,  
I think your husband would do well,  
To take a dose of Calomel.

He then deals out the precious grain,  
This ma'am I'm sure will ease his pain,  
Once in three hours at toll of bell,  
Give him a dose of Calomel.

The man grows worse quite fast indeed,  
Go call the doctor ride with speed,  
The doctor comes, like post with mail,  
Doubling his dose of Calomel.

The man in death begins to groan,  
The fatal job for him is done,  
He dies alas, but sure to tell,  
A sacrifice to Calomel.

And when I must resign my breath,  
Pray let me die a natural death,  
And bid the world a long farewell,  
Without one dose of Calomel.

GO CALL THE DOCTOR, & BE QUICK,  
OR ANTI  
**Calomel**

Sung at the Concerts of the

**HUTCHINSON FAMILY,**

Music Composed by

**J.J. HUTCHINSON.**

AND

Respectfully dedicated to

**DR. W. BEACHE,**

NEW YORK.

Published by Firth & Hall 1 Franklin Sq. & FIRTH, HALL & POND 239 Broadway.



Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1843 by Firth & Hall in the Clerks Office of the Dist Court of the Southw<sup>n</sup> Dist of New York.

When M' A or B is sick Go  
 call the docter and be quick The docter comes with much goodwill But neer forgets his  
 The docter comes with much goodwill But neer forgets his  
 Calomel. 4.

206

The musical score consists of eight staves of music for voice and piano. The lyrics are integrated into the vocal line:

Physicians of the highest rank, To pay their fees would need a bank, Com  
bine all wisdom art and skill Science and sense in Science and sense in  
Science and sense in Cal-o-mel Cal-o-mel  
mel Cal-o-mel Cal-o-mel.

Calomel. 4.

206



3

He takes the patient by the hand,  
And compliments him as his friend,  
He sits awhile his pulse to feel,  
And then takes out his Calomel.

4

He then turns to the patients wife,  
Have you clean paper spoon and knife,  
I think your husband would do well,  
To take a dose of Calomel.

5

He then deals out the precious grain,  
This ma'am I'm sure will ease his pain,  
Once in three hours at toll of bell,  
Give him a dose of Calomel.

6

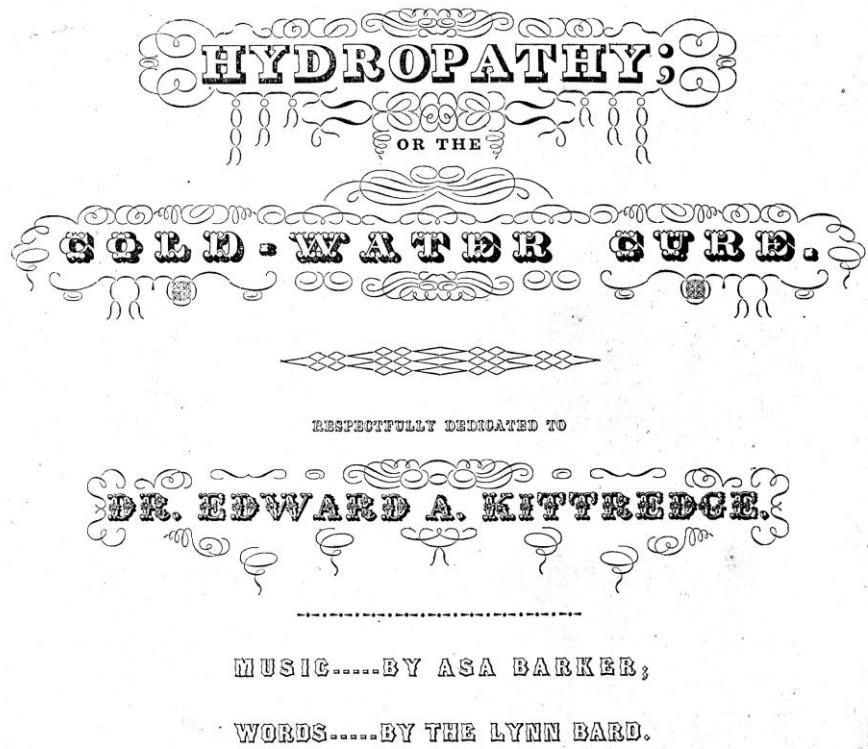
The man grows worse quite fast indeed,  
Go call the doctor ride with speed,  
The doctor comes, like post with mail,  
Doubling his dose of Calomel.

7

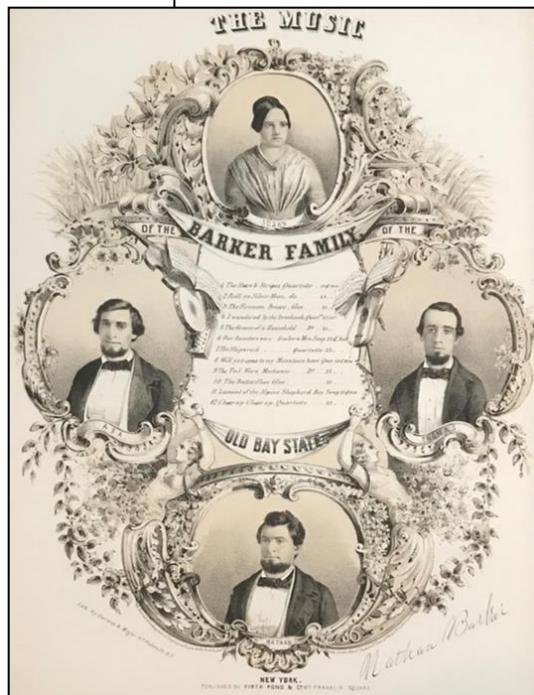
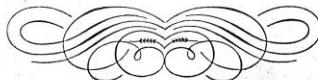
The man in death begins to groan,  
The fatal job for him is done,  
He dies alas, but sure to tell,  
A sacrifice to Calomel.

8

And when I must resign my breath,  
Pray let me die a natural death,  
And bid the world a long farewell,  
Without one dose of Calomel.



PRINTED BY C. & H. J. BUTTERFIELD, OVER THE CENTRAL DEPOT, LYNN.



## HYDROPATHY; or the COLD-WATER CURE.

Respectfully Dedicated To Dr. Edward A. Kittredge.

*Music by Asa Barker*

*Words by The Lynn Bard [Alonzo Lewis]*

Sheet music printed by C. & H. J. Butterfield,  
over the Central Depot, Lynn, about 1845.

Referring to Edward Kittredge by the familiar, friendly nicknames, “Dr. Ned” and “Dr. Kit,” Alonzo Lewis, the bathing enthusiast and devoted friend of Kittredge, wrote the words to “Hydropathy; or the Cold-Water Cure. Respectfully Dedicated to Dr. Edward Augustus Kittredge.” Nathan Barker of the Barker family of Lynn, a quartet better known for their music than for reform impulses, wrote the music. A profile illustration of the doctor at the bottom of the original sheet music lyrics appears here on the following page. (Note: On the preceding page, a later sheet music cover featuring illustrations of the Barker Family is inset over the lower left corner of the featured sheet music cover.)

The doctors all have been quite free,  
With lancets, pills, and mercury;  
But since we called on Doctor Ned,  
Our veins have not so freely bled.

*Chorus:*

Doctor Kit, he is the man;  
Cure you up he surely can:  
Water, cold and hot, he uses  
Curing fevers, pains, and bruises.

‘T would puzzle all the Dutch to tell  
How many tons of calomel,  
In modern times and days of old,  
Down men’s reluctant throats have rolled.

*Chorus*

Old Shakespere [sic] knew a thing or two,  
And wisely taught us what to do:  
“Throw physic to the dogs,” he said;  
And so has practiced Doctor Ned.

*Chorus*

Since Doctor Ned has found the way,  
Physicians may keep holiday;  
Their drugs upon the shelf are laid,  
And they must seek some other trade.

*Chorus*

O it is wonderful to tell,  
How fast the sick are getting well!  
They just are wrapt [sic] in a wet sheet;  
Presto – they're standing on their feet!

*Chorus*

Then let us hail the glorious time,  
When physic's empire shall decline;  
When all the ills of mortal clay  
By water shall be washed away.

*Chorus*

O let all those who would amend  
Hail water as their dearest friend;  
Keep clean without, and pure within;  
The form from filth, the soul from sin.

*Chorus*



## LA GRIPPE.

*Poem by Thomas F. Porter  
Lynn, January 1890*

Printed in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn)  
4 January 1890

1.

When you behold some maiden fair,  
Struggling to breathe the changing air,  
And see her with her red lips pout,  
Then pull her fine handkerchief out,  
And then the great ado she makes  
While coughing her whole being shakes,  
Make up your mind that the la grippe,  
Has got the maiden on the hip.

2.

When some fair youth, of goodly size,  
Runs water from both of his eyes,  
And he begins to choke and sneeze,  
While wheezes follow every wheeze,  
When all he drinks is hot sage tea,  
And groans "to be or not to be,"  
Make up your mind the new disease  
Will shortly bring him to his knees.

3.

When you behold a housewife true  
Feeling and looking awful blue,  
Of balsams and of hops in quest,  
While in her breast hot onions rest,  
Complaining of an aching head  
And almost wishing she were dead.  
Make up your mind that the la grippe  
Has not forgotten her this trip.

4.

When you behold a frugal man  
Drop out from life's great caravan,  
Where he has trudged for years for fame,  
Or to add wealth unto his name,  
When you see him writhe in his bed  
With hot bricks round his feet and head,  
Make up your mind that old La Grippe  
Has stopped awhile with him to sip.

5.

When you behold some lady old  
In twenty pairs of blankets rolled  
And drinking hot drinks by the quart  
The tyrant's awful aims to thwart,  
No doctor need be called to tell  
What you, my friend, know very well,  
La Grippe, with old and young so free,  
Has stopped to keep her company.

6.

When you behold an aged sire  
With feet like ice and head like fire,  
Of quinine pills in much of need,  
All bent up like a broken reed,  
And hear plain in his cat naps snore,  
Mocking the ocean's maddest roar,  
Make up your minds a grippe so bold,  
Has got on him a death-like hold.

## Exercising Apparatus

*Invention by George S. Sanborn*

[Transcription of selected portions of the patent awarded to George S. Sanborn in 1890 for his invention of exercise apparatus. The illustrations attached to the patent follow.]

### UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

GEORGE S. SANBORN, OF LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS, ASSIGNOR OF SEVEN-TWELFTHS TO JOSEPH A. FLEET AND EDWARD WILLIAMS, BOTH OF SAME PLACE.

#### EXERCISING APPARATUS.

SPECIFICATION FORMING PART OF Letters Patent No. 419,285, dated January 14, 1890.

Application filed September 16, 1889. Serial No. 324,045. (No model.)

*To all whom it may concern:*

Be it known that I, George S. Sanborn, a citizen of the United States, residing at Lynn, in the county of Essex and State of Massachusetts, have invented a new and useful Exercising Apparatus, of which the following is a specification.

My invention relates to improvements in exercising apparatus in which a ~~representation~~ representation of a human figure, constructed wholly or in part of resilient or elastic material, is struck by a fist and bent away from the blow a distance depending on the force thereof.

The object of my invention is to produce a more attractive exercising apparatus of this class and to afford an exercise similar to that of an actual boxing contest. I accomplish this object by the mechanism of which the accompanying drawing are an illustration.

[Eleven paragraphs follow that describe the action of the invention when used and the materials of its construction.]

GEORGE S. SANBORN.

Witness:

JOSEPH A. FLEET,  
BENJAMIN PHILLIPS.

(No Model.)

G. S. SANBORN.  
EXERCISING APPARATUS.

No. 419,285.

Patented Jan. 14, 1890.

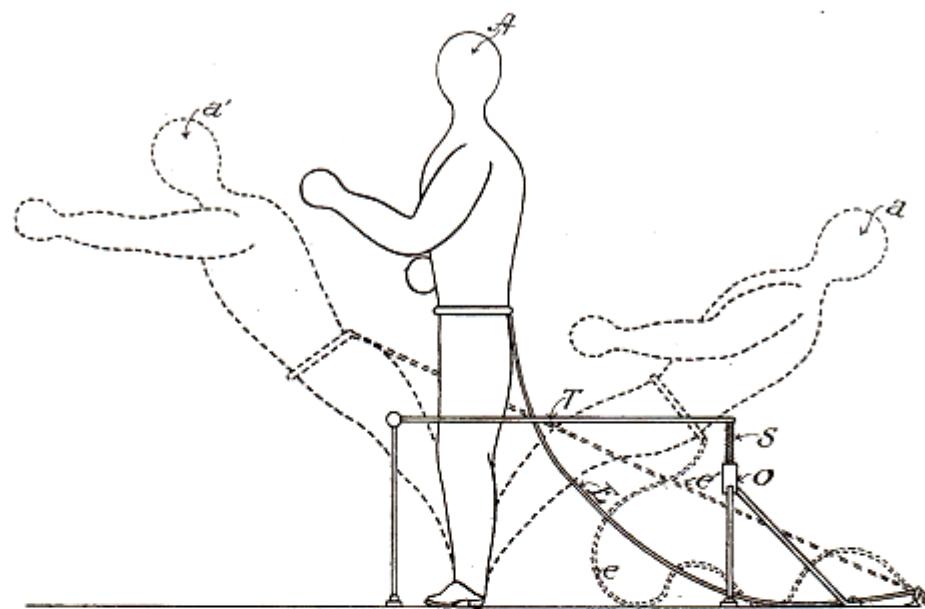


Fig. 1.

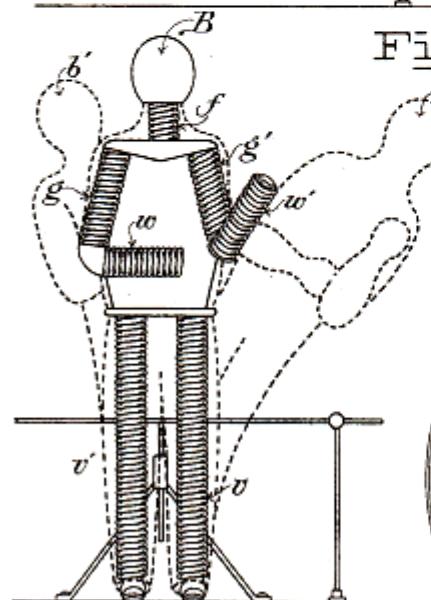


Fig. 2.

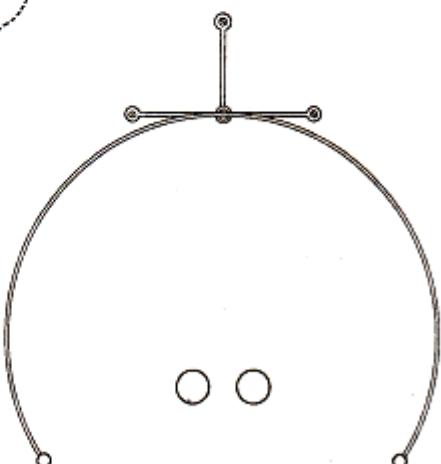


Fig. 3.

## Witnesses:

Walter S. Coffin,  
J. Frank Williams

## Inventor:

George S. Sanborn  
By his Attorneys  
G. N. and B. Phillips

## Poem for the dedication of the Steamer Elihu Thomson

*Poem by Rev. S. B. Stewart  
Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Lynn*

Printed in the *Daily Evening Item* (Lynn)  
20 October 1890

What ship is this comes steaming up the bay?  
Elihu Thomson's magic name she bears.  
Deft electrician, great Jupiter swears  
Shall yield her claim to rule both night and day.

She brings the coals that feed the electric fires,  
That flash along the labyrinth of wires.  
That pale the moon, put out the shining star,  
With arc and incandescent light the street,  
Supply with power the whizzing broomstick car,  
Bid horse and gas and steam boat quick retreat.

Grimy Vulcan, leaning out his smithy's door.  
Waits her coming round Nahant's lee shore;  
Waits his smouldering furnace to replenish,  
T.-H.'s giant motor to build and finish.

Briny Neptune left his dripping trident,  
Hoarsely hushes still the billows strident.  
Lo! There she's riding in, full steam and speed,  
Lynn's first steamship, owned by Sprague & Breed.

## The Lydia Pinkham Song

Sung to various music, such as "My Redeemer"  
 Lyrics selected from a long list in an undated, typed  
 transcript found in the files of the  
 Lydia Pinkham Company, Schlesinger Library,  
 Harvard University.

There's a face that haunts us ever  
 There are eyes our always meet  
 As we read the morning paper  
 As we walk the crowded street.

*Chorus:*

Oh we'll sing of Lydia Pinkham  
 And her love for the human race  
 How she sells her Vegetable Compound  
 And the papers publish her face.

Ah! She knows just how we suffer.  
 Hers is now a world-wide fame  
 But till death that face shall greet us.  
 Lydia Pinkham is her name.

*Chorus*

Mrs. Jones of Walla Walla,  
 Mrs. Smith of Kankakee,  
 Mrs. Cohen, Mrs. Murphy  
 Sing her praises lustily.

*Chorus*

Tell us, Lydia, of your secret  
 Of your miracles please tell  
 Why do all the sick and ailing  
 Take your brew and then get well?

*Chorus*

There's a baby in every bottle  
 Thus the old quotation ran  
 But we read in every text book  
 That you still will need a man.

*Chorus*

Lizzie Smith had tired feelings  
 Overwork reduced her weight  
 She began to take the Compound  
 Now she weighs six hundred and eight.

*Chorus*

Mary Jane was married ten years  
 But no children did appear  
 Then she took her Vegetable Compound;  
 Twins now come three times a year.

*Chorus*

Though you died and went to heaven  
 At the age of one hundred and eight  
 Now you sell your Vegetable Compound  
 All around the pearly gate.

*Chorus*

## Electric Hair-Brush

*Invention by Alexander Stanton*

[Transcription of selected portions of the patent awarded to Alexander Stanton in 1891 for his invention of a hairbrush that would turn gray hair black. The illustrations attached to the patent follow.]

### UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE.

ALEXANDER STANTON, OF LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS.

#### ELECTRIC HAIR-BRUSH.

SPECIFICATION forming part of Letters Patent No. 462,599, dated November 3, 1891.

Application filed August 3, 1891. Serial No. 401,488. (No model.)

*To all whom it may concern:*

Be it known that I, Alexander Stanton, a citizen of the United States of America, residing at Lynn, in the county of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have invented certain new and useful Improvements in Electric Brushes, of which the following is a specification.

My invention relates to that class of hair-brushes known as "electrical hair-brushes," in which a current of electricity is caused to act upon the scalp through the tufts or knots when the brush is in use.

My invention is an improvement in the details of construction of the electrical apparatus and the casing in which it is located and the connection with the tufts or knots. It is illustrated in the accompanying drawings, in which -

Figure 1 shows a central longitudinal and vertical section of the brush. Fig. 2 shows a plan view of the back of the brush with the casing removed.

In the drawings, A represents the brush-stock, which is of the ordinary form of the material, such as wood or

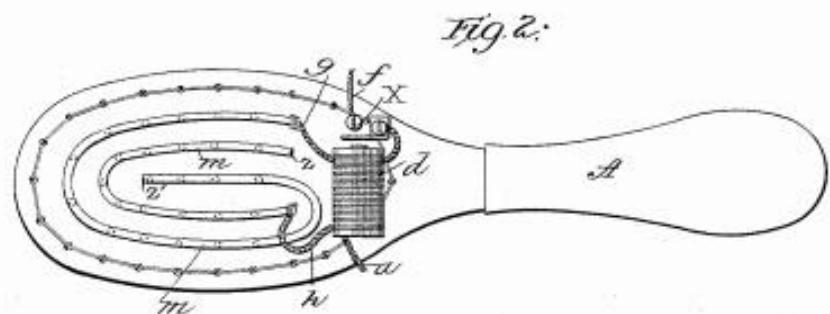
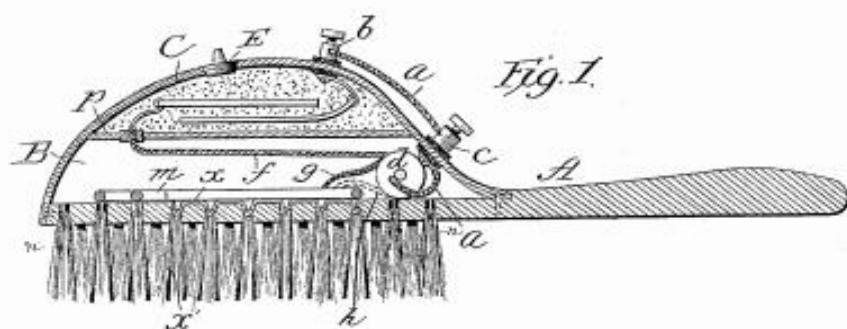
equivalent substance. In this are the knots, tufts, or bunches n, which are secured as shown in the figures. These are made of any suitable kind of fiber, which must be in whole or in part conductors of electricity. I prefer to use a vegetable fiber made of what is known as the "Columbia grass." With this I mix fine metallic wires, preferably of copper, (shown at x') which form electrical connection between the scalp and conductors, hereinafter explained, when the brush is in use. Upon the back of the stock is secured a casing, preferably of cast-iron. This is divided by a horizontal partition p. The upper compartment C is adapted to receive the battery, which is shown therein in position. It consists of two plates, one of copper and the other of zinc, each surrounded by the abestus packing, which is moistened by sulphuric acid. The casing is provided with a plug E, fitted in an opening through which the acid is introduced. ... [Four paragraphs follow that continue the materials and construction and the action of the invention.]

(No Model.)

A. STANTON.  
ELECTRIC HAIR BRUSH.

No. 462,599.

Patented Nov. 3, 1891.



Attest  
William Donaldson  
J. L. Middleton

Inventor  
Alexander Stanton  
By Ellis Spear  
N.Y.

## The Chiropractor March

*Music composed by W. T. Williams  
Dedicated to Doctors I. A. Witherell and  
S. Mendelssohn, D.O.D.C.,  
Chiropractors of Lynn, Mass.*

Sheet music published by W. T. Williams,  
162 Union Street, Lynn, Mass.,  
1914

Writing and dedicating a song ranks among the most creative and determined testimonials ever by a grateful patient in Lynn, Massachusetts. As W. T. Williams explained on the back cover, he had been afflicted with epilepsy, accompanied by convulsions, chronic constipation, and shattered nerves that made him “a menace to society and a dread to myself.”

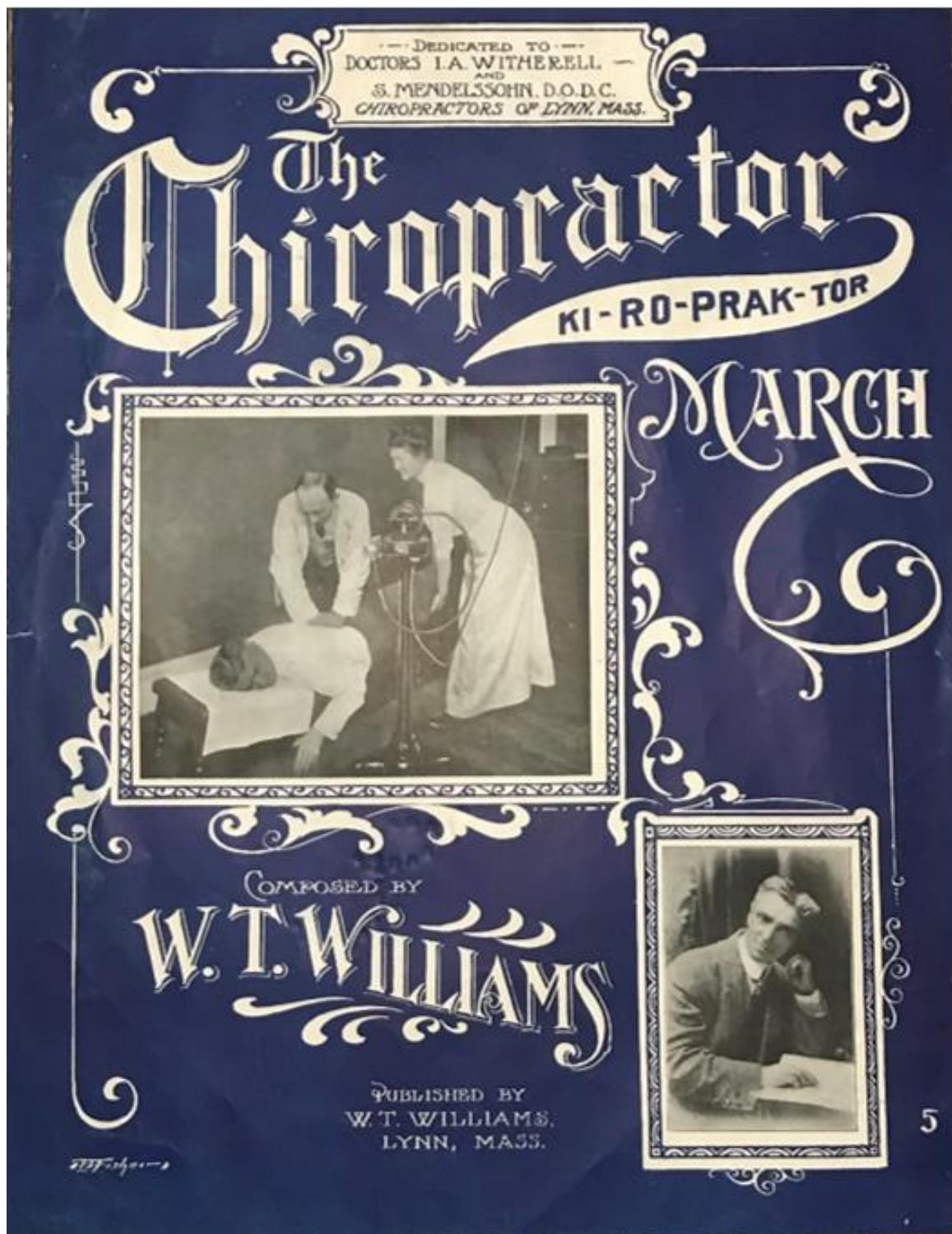
In his “frantic hunt for health,” he submitted to the use of various medicines and consulted with the best physicians and specialists, all for naught. Then Heaven blessed him and the City of Lynn with the arrival of two chiropractors, a professional partnership of a woman and man. They were able to cure him with their newly introduced skills and the ultimate result was his creation and dedication of this music to them.

Williams composed the music (not included here) but they were not accompanied by lyrics.

So new was the specialty to Lynn that Williams felt it was also necessary to teach the public how to pronounce the word chiropractor, its meaning, and a brief summary of what they did and did not do to help patients.

The cover shows composer Williams laying on the doctors’ bench, the patient in pain, at the end of his hope, being successfully manipulated by the two newest healers to arrive in Lynn; it was a story that had been told there repeatedly for almost three centuries.

The sheet music is in the collection of the author (Rapoza).



## A WORD BY THE COMPOSER.

I deem it right that a word of explanation be given here how I came to name this March,—“THE CHIROPRACTOR,”—as well as to analize, as it were, the meaning of the name.

Ever since childhood I have been afflicted with that terrible malady, known the world over as EPILEPSY. Frequently I had convulsions, and needless to state I became a menace to society and a dread to myself.

Added to this, Chronic Constipation troubled me greatly, and in consequence my nerves became shattered. The more Cathartics and Anodyne I used the more I aggravated my condition of health.

The best physicians and specialists were sought and consulted by me and my name became identified with many of the best healing institutions in my frantic hunt for health.

Time stole on, however, and I seemed to grow from bad to worse, despairing of recovery.

It seemed though that I was bound for further misfortune. Insomnia took possession of me and night after night I would lay awake for hours at a time; often did I think that my mind would give way to the strain, when the good God so ruled it that two **Chiropractors** opened an office in our city of Lynn, Mass.

Hearing through interested friends, from time to time, of the wonderful cures performed by them, I again plucked up courage and ventured out with the hopes of being helped, and as a result, today, thank God, I am a different man; healthy, strong and happy; able to write, compose and sing my new compositions. Thus do I dedicate this MARCH to Doctors I. A. Witherell and S. Mendelsohn, the **Chiropractors** of Lynn, Mass.

The word Chiropractic,—“Ki-ro-prak-tik”—is a derivation of two Greek words,—meaning “Practice by hands.” These doctors use no drugs, surgery or herbs, but by mechanical manipulation with their hands, they adjust the spinal column, the muscles, the nerves, and stimulate the circulation. May the Almighty bless them and their hands, is the fervent prayer of

W. T. WILLIAMS, 162 Union Street, Lynn, Mass.  
Composer of

DEAR OLD KILLARNEY  
OUR FLAG  
ROCKABY LULLABY  
EILEEN, MY SWEETHEART

WHAT IS HOME WITHOUT A MOTHER  
THERE IS NO ONE LIKE THE OLD FOLKS  
AFTER ALL



IDA A. WITHERELL, D.O., D.C.



S. MENDELSSOHN, D.O., D.C.

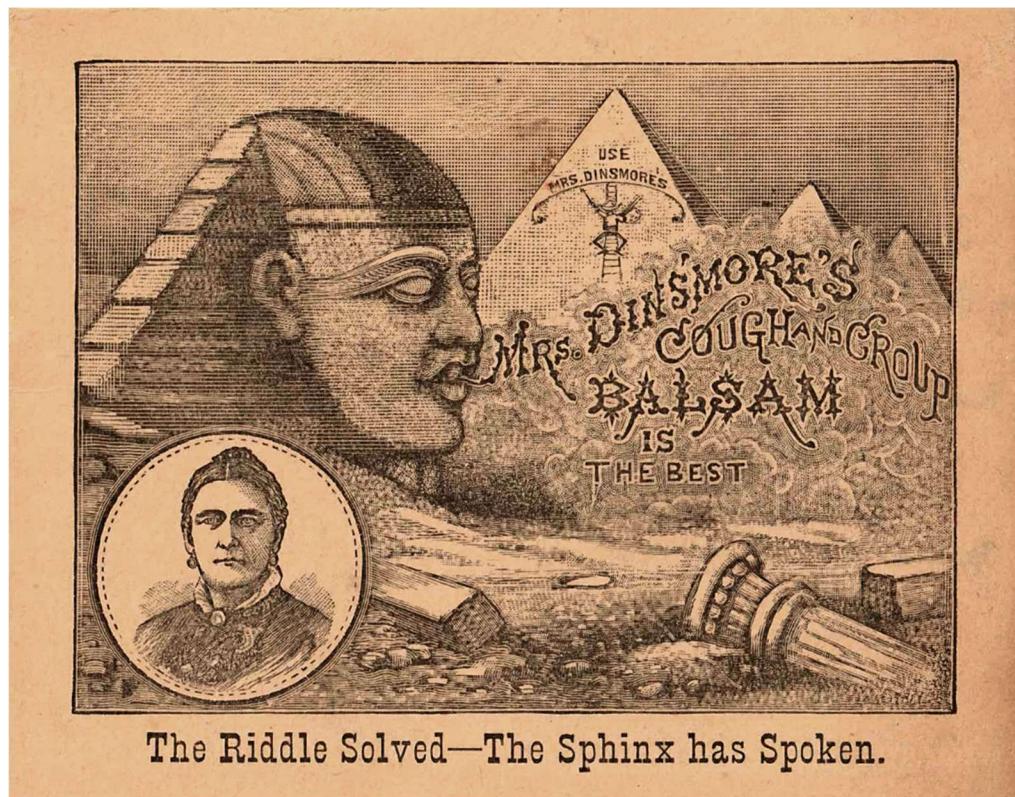
## Appendix E

### Mrs. Dinsmore's Jeweled Casket

By every measure, Lemuel Brock seemed to try everything he could to develop his medicine products into a very successful business. He chose a path different from those of the Pinkham Company, George B. Thurston, and Charles Crompton & Sons. He purchased the rights from the medicines' creators (most notably the Dinsmore's and Mrs. Soule) and focused most of his advertising money on trade cards and other paper advertising for consumers and shops. The result was a rich array of collectible ephemera and other advertising that enrich the history of the company much as it was intended to enrich the company's balance sheet.

Although Hannah Dinsmore's burial has not been located, the legacy of products and advertising with her name and face fill her allegorical casket with jewels of the Victorian era.

All examples are from the author's collection unless noted otherwise. Only one example per trade card series is shown of the 125 known Dinsmore cards; some of the most common Dinsmore series are not shown but are listed at the end. Brock's other brands, like Mrs. Soule's, are also not shown here.

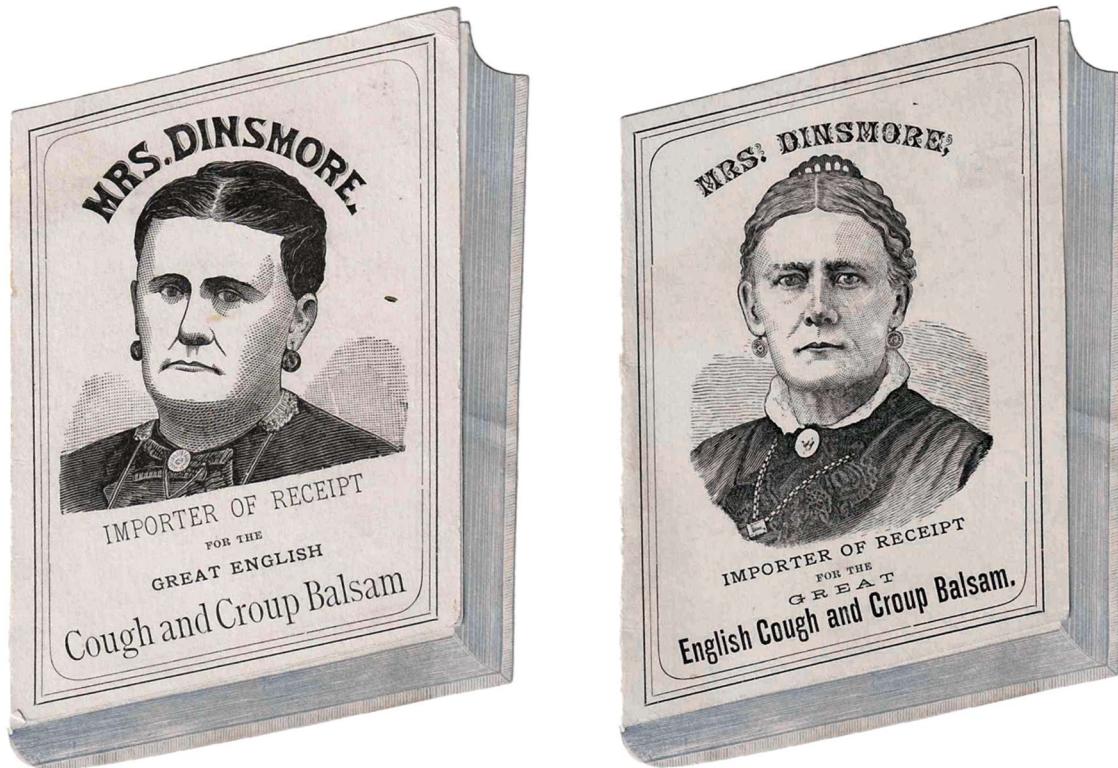


**Riddle of the Sphinx – Solved.** Egyptology was a popular fascination of Victorians, so having the Sphinx whisper the name of Mrs. Dinsmore's medicine as its sandy secret made this advertising trade card a true jewel from the Nile. This card appears to be a unique design, not part of a series. (Size: 4 x 5 inches.)



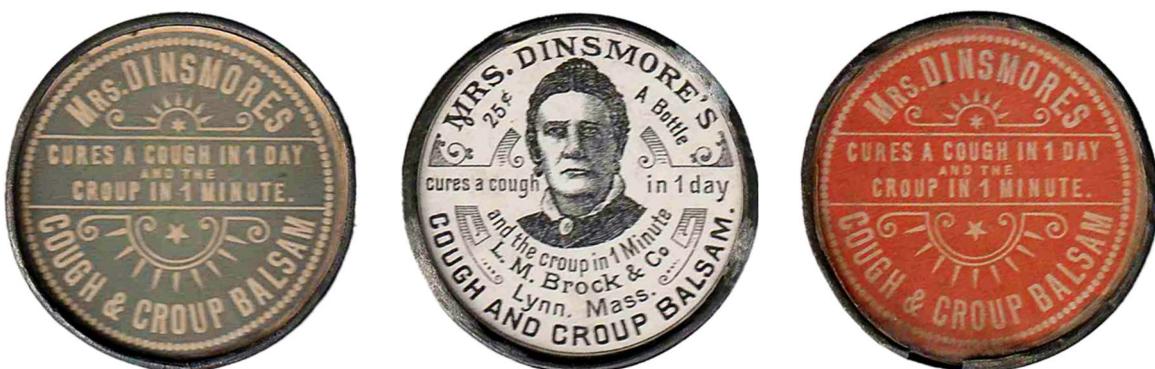
**Poised for Success.** *Carte de visite* of Alfred M. Dinsmore, his wife, Hannah, and their sons, Benjamin Franklin and Moses. Hannah died in April 1881. Her image in this picture was the basis for the first illustration used on a trade card that launched the product named after her.

Contrary to the handwritten identification on the lower border of this *carte de visite*, the image was taken in about 1870, given that Benjamin appears about 12 (born 1858) and Moses about 17 (born 1853). (Collection and courtesy of Thomas Dinsmore.)

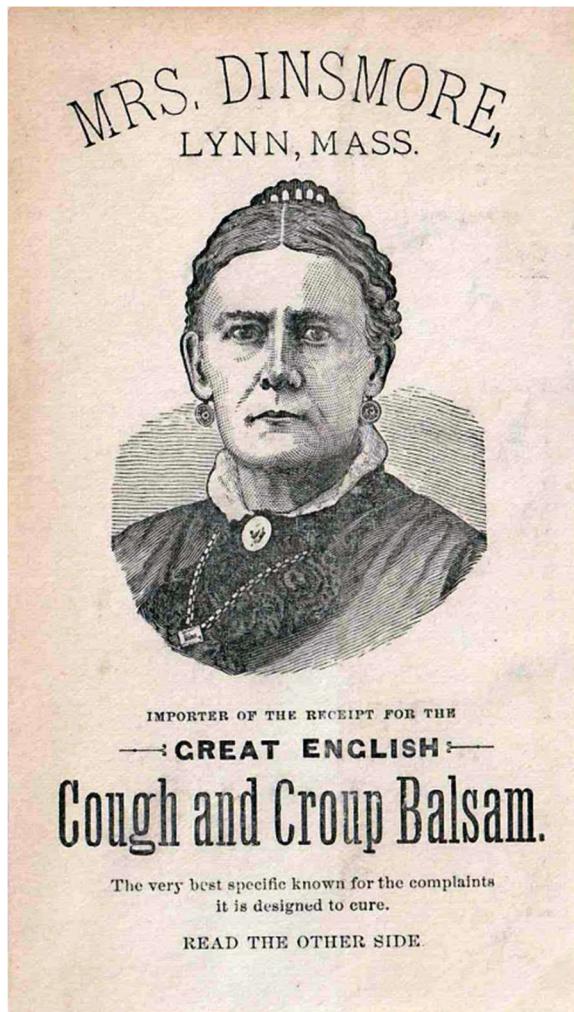
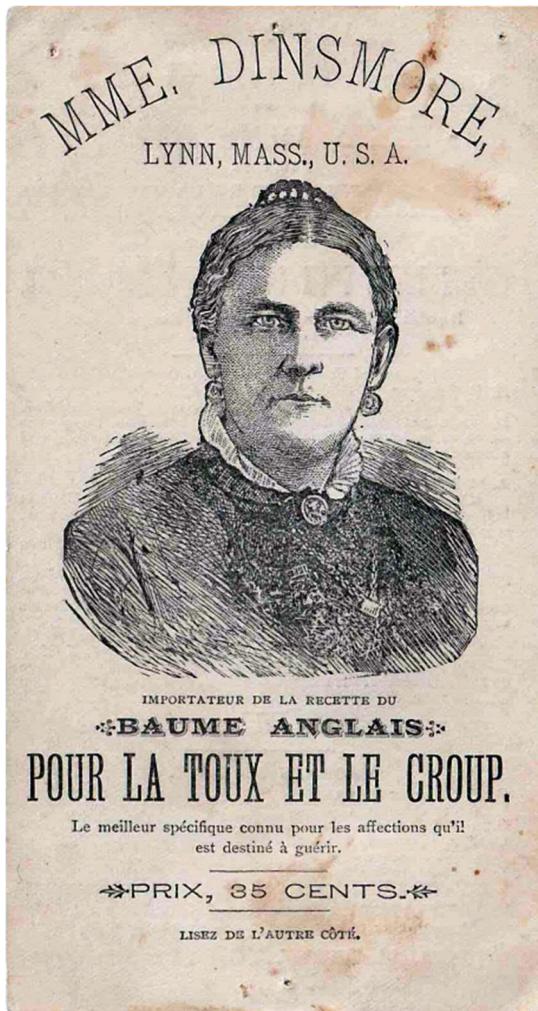


**Post Mortem Improvement.** The unusually shaped die-cut trade card (about 1880) on the left features the first and only illustration found thus far of Hannah Dinsmore that had been created solely on the basis of the family's *carte de visite* image back in about 1870. As the card on the right shows, the image on the same trade card was quickly modified and "beautified," into a more impressive, non-dowdy Mrs. Dinsmore, updated with hair comb and more fashionable neckline. In point of fact, the new Mrs. Dinsmore went from being "just another face" to an admirable stylistic reflection of Lynn's first lady of proprietary medicine, Lydia E. Pinkham. Over the years, her advertising image ended up having many face jobs, as will be seen in this appendix.

The cover of the card opens to reveal advertising inside; the pages, however, are illustration illusion. There is additional advertising on the back of the card. (Size of both: 4.25 x 4.125 inches.)

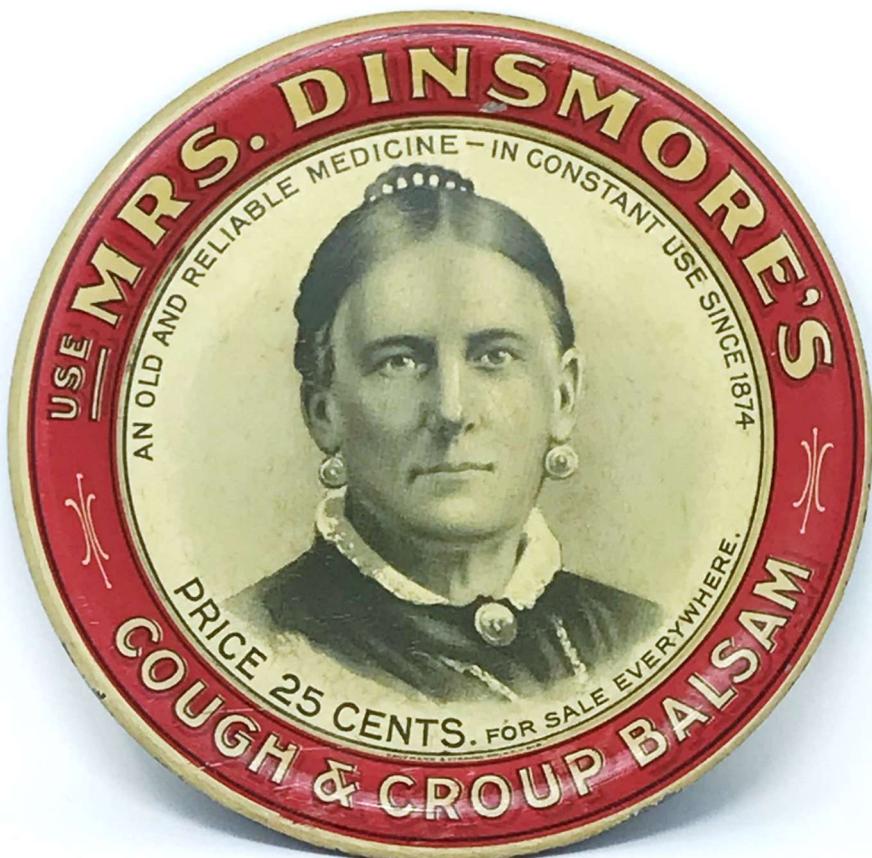


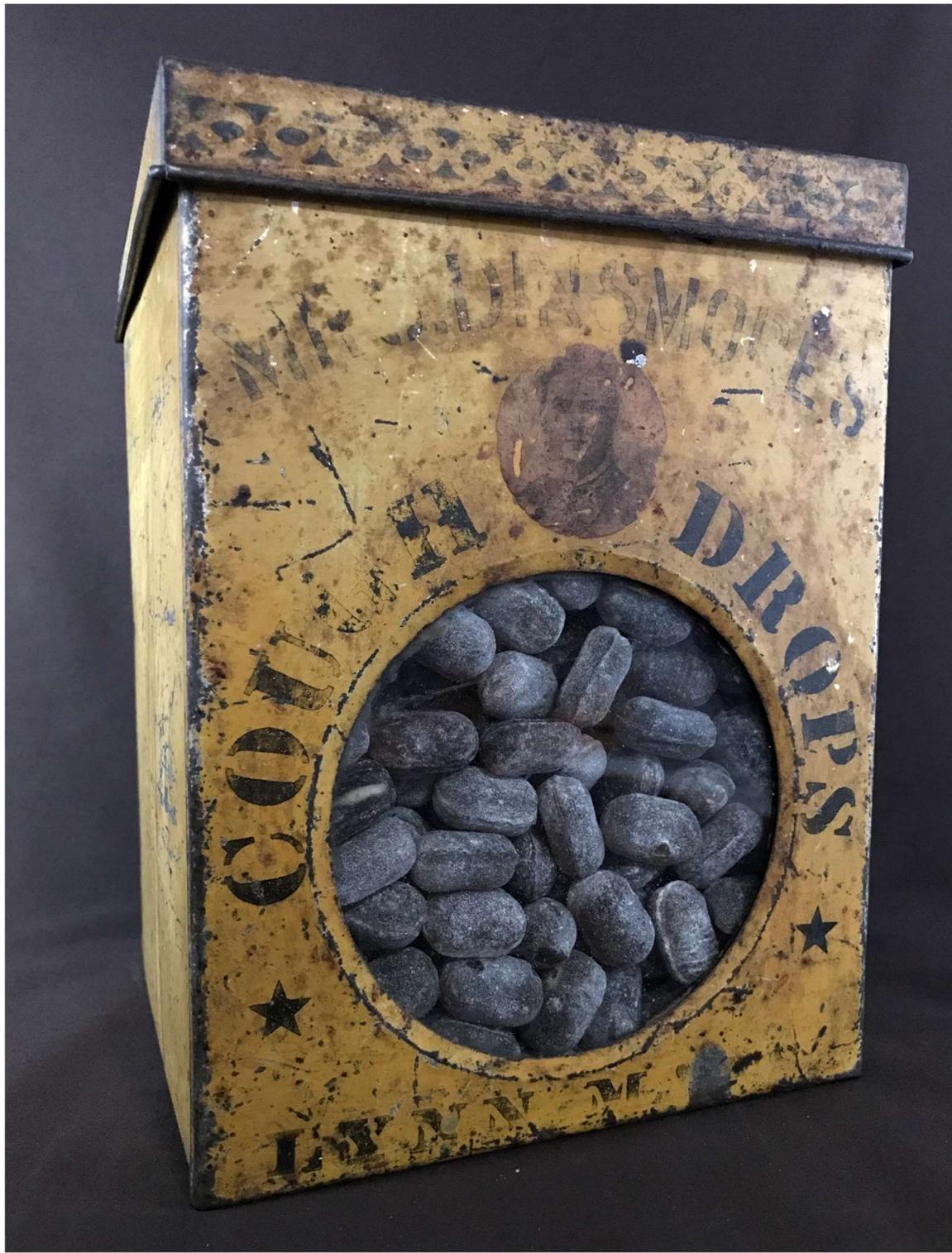
**Advertising Mirrors, about 1910.** Each of these advertising giveaways has a mirror on the other side, ensuring their utility would be justification for a woman to keep it in her purse and be reminded of the cough balsam each time she reached for it. The frame is made of white metal that easily becomes brittle over time, as seen especially in the red example on the right. (Size of all three mirrors: 1.875-inch diameter.)



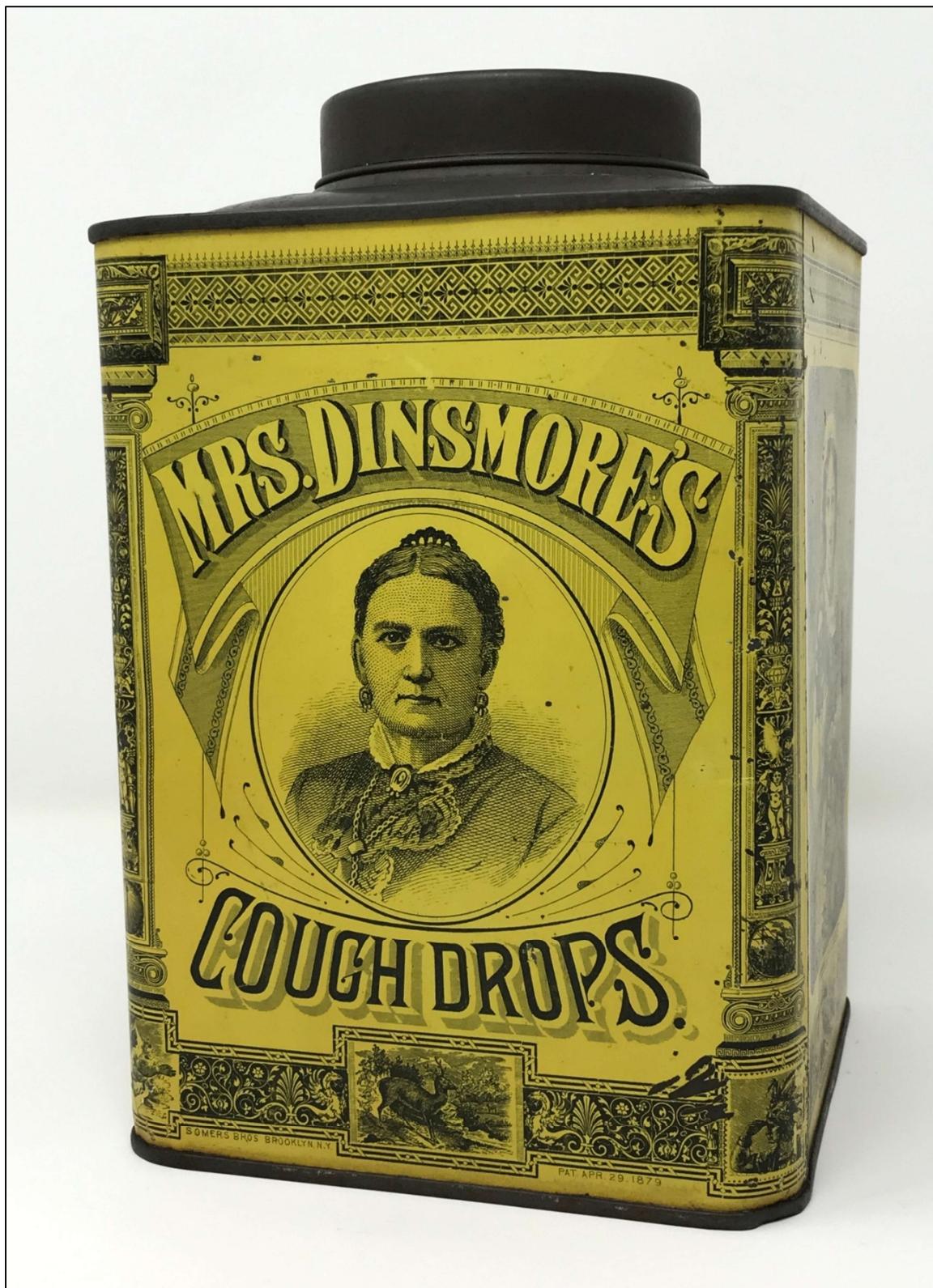
**Bilingual Icon.** Later trade cards for Mrs. Dinsmore were produced in French as well, in order to market the medicine in French-speaking Canada, as well as the large numbers of Quebecers who had migrated to New England. Another version of the English card features a slightly altered image of Mrs. Dinsmore. (Sizes): [French]: 5.94 x 3 inches; [English]: 5.25 x 3 inches.)

(following page): **Geometric Dinsmore**, featuring two widely different approaches to advertising. The image on the top is a round tin tip tray (4.375-.inch diameter) for use at soda counters, restaurants, etc., possibly as late as 1920. The image on the bottom is a very unusual die-cut, embossed and debossed trade card design to look like a piece of hardtack (about 1895). The connection to the balsam is obscure, but perhaps the implication was that *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam* was the standard of cough medicines, just like hardtack was the food standard for the troops during the Civil War. (Size: 3.9375 x 3.9375 inches.)





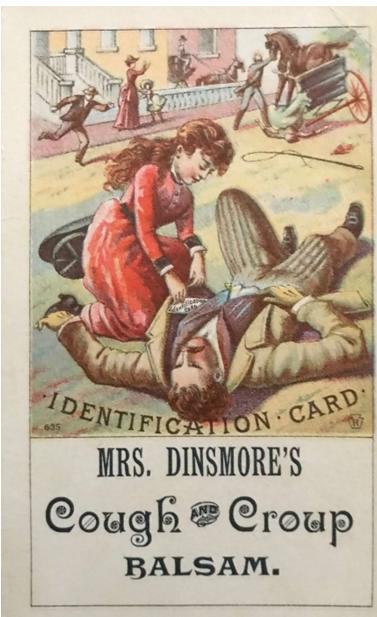
**Mrs. Dinsmore Prototype Cough Drop Tin, about 1882.** Even in its earliest stages, the brand identity was being set with the soft yellow color scheme. The lid shows stenciling designed to dress up the tin, and an image of Mrs. Dinsmore was also planned by cutting out and pasting on the graphic from some paper promotional material. A granddaughter of the owners remembered the cough drops were black and shaped like miniature versions of the Dinsmore balsam bottle. The only original contents that remain inside behind the glass window, however, is an accretion of black sticky residue, almost certainly the melted remains of Mrs. Dinsmore's black cough drops. Shown in the window are current sanded horehound cough drops. Dimensions in inches: 9 (h) x 6.5 (w) x 6.5 (d).



**Mrs. Dinsmore Production Tin, about 1884.** This finished production version of the tin was far more elaborate than they had originally dreamed of with their concept tin, but the image of Mrs. Dinsmore and the yellow tone are both still prominent – a perfect cough drop tin for any store counter. Dimensions in inches: 8 (h) x 5.125 (w) x 5.125 (d).



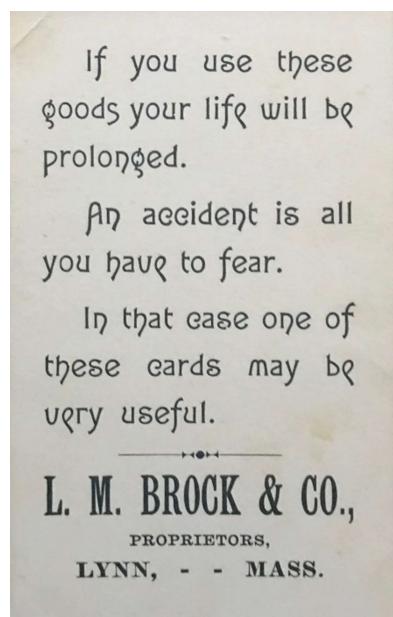
**Yellowed Timeline.** The featured bottles are in chronological sequence, left to right, from about 1875 when the medicine was still being made by the Dinsmore family (A. M. Dinsmore & Co., Prop's.), then when it was taken over by Lemuel Brock and underwent many bottle and label design changes over the ensuing forty-fifty years. The smallest is stamped in red "Free Sample." The second from the right (dated 1902) followed new government regulations, listing that it contained 13% alcohol and 1/5 grain of morphine sulphate – apparently a potent combination for stopping "the cough in one day and the croup in one minute." The bottle on the far right (the first version in a metal screwcap) is from about 1920; the alcohol content had been reduced to 6% and the morphine removed altogether, but every ingredient was being listed: chloroform, tartar emetic, balsam tolu, wild cherry, flaxseed, licorice, horehound, menthol, spruce gum, and flavored syrup. As the law's requirements for exposure of ingredients increased, the number of curative claims decreased.



**Identification Card** (folded card; front at left; back at right). As shown in the picture, the card found on the person of an accident victim would give some crucial personal advertising information to help the victim get the help they need, including their name, address, and emergency contact.

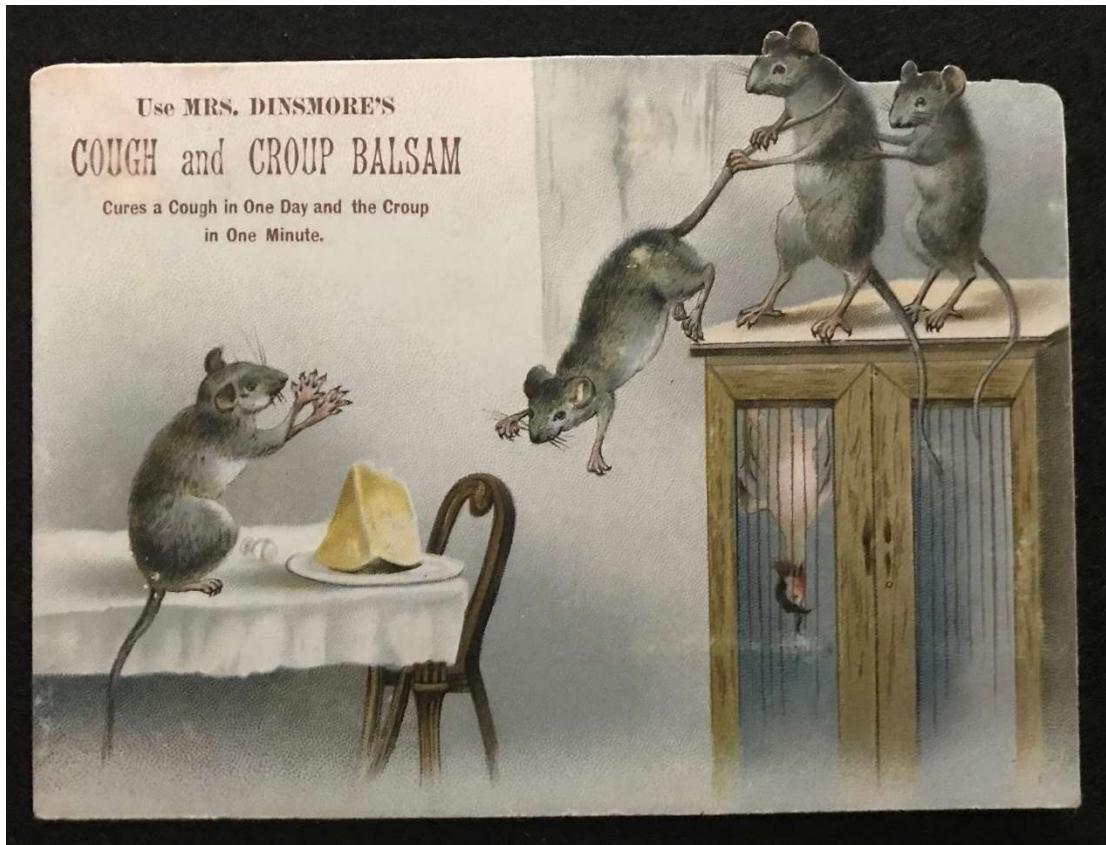
It also provided space for things the owner may want to remember, like their birth date and place, height, weight, various clothing sizes, bank book number, and the number on their pocket watch case.

A valuable card to keep in one's possession all the time that just happens to also advertise Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam; as the card says, "If you use these goods your life will be preserved." (Size: 4 x 2.5 inches.)

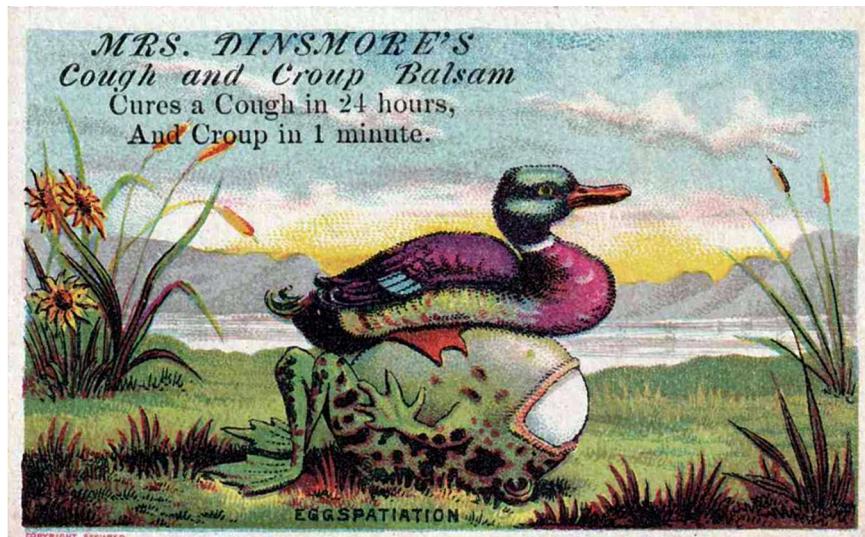




**Pigeon Series.** Dinsmore advertising most frequently included pictures of children, since they were the main candidates to need the cough and croup balsam. This card has a healthy young girl, but oddly, she is seen through a rustic window below a small band of pigeons. There is at least one more card in this pigeon series, which are oversized die-cut trade cards. (This card is photographed on top of a black felt background. Size: 6.75 x 4.375 inches.)



**Rat Heist.** Another unusual subject matter for Dinsmore products is this die-cut, oversized trade featuring rats busily doing in the house what they always did – find food. This anthropomorphic conspiracy might have been chosen simply because it has an element of humor dealing with the all too real problem of rats in the home. This is the only example seen in forty years by the author, but it is probably one in a series telling a story around this scene. (This card is photographed on top of a black felt background. Size: 3.75 x 5 inches.)



**Frog and Duck Series.** Colorful, humorous stock card series telling the story of a frog that swallows the duck's egg that later hatches into a duckling. In this scene, the duck is determined to continue brooding, even though the egg is in the frog. (Five-card series. Size: 2.4375 x 3.9375 inches.)

## **Advertising Trade Card examples on the following pages:**

### **Shadow Series**

The Brock Company used at least 12 subjects from the shadow card series, which showed an alter ego in the shadow of the main character. Brock also used 4 different arrangements of display type, creating 4 different looks for each card, for 48 total variations. Other Dinsmore shadow cards include: A Dreadful Bore; The Darwinian Theory; Oh! Gevus a Rest; A Girl of the Period; Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still; The Kiss on the Sly; The Old Fox; Scenes of Childhood; My Valentine; You'll Never Miss the Lager Till the Keg Runs Dry. (Stock cards; 4.375 x 2.6875 inches.)

### **Hanging Basket Series**

Placing an infant or toddler in a hanging plant basket seems patently dangerous, but Brock apparently gravitated to the novel theme involving their favorite subject, young children. (Stock cards; 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size: 4.125 x 2.75 inches.)

### **Horse Series**

Attractively drawn and colored trade cards of horses in pastoral settings. (Stock cards, 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size: 5.125 x 3.375 inches.)

### **Nursery Rhyme Series**

Children were likely to collect these nursery rhyme cards and glue them in their scrapbooks. The illustration provides the identity: Little Boy Blue, Itsy-Bitsy Spider, and featured here, Cinderella. The significance of a different species of plant sprig on one end of each card is probably steeped in Victorian lore about the meaning of plants: the relationship between holly ("foresight") and Little Boy Blue may be that in the rhyme he was being urged to sound his horn in warning because "The sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn." The significance of bayberry associated with Cinderella, however, requires some expertise in Victorian plant symbolism, which this author definitely does not have. (Stock cards; probably a 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size: 2.75 x 4.0625 inches.)

### **Season Series**

One full-color card for each labeled season. (Stock cards; 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size 4.5 x 2.7 inches.)

### **Toddler Series**

Each full-color card shows a toddler in some sort of mischief: pushing its head through the newspaper, crawling through a door, and allowing the cat to drink it's plate of milk. (Stock cards; probably a 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size 4.8125 x 3.4375 inches.)

### **Young Girl Series**

A very basic series featuring one young girl per card (one in red stocking cap and the one featured here holding a pug dog). (Full-color stock cards; probably a 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size 3.25 x 4.625 inches.)

### **Writing Slate Message Series**

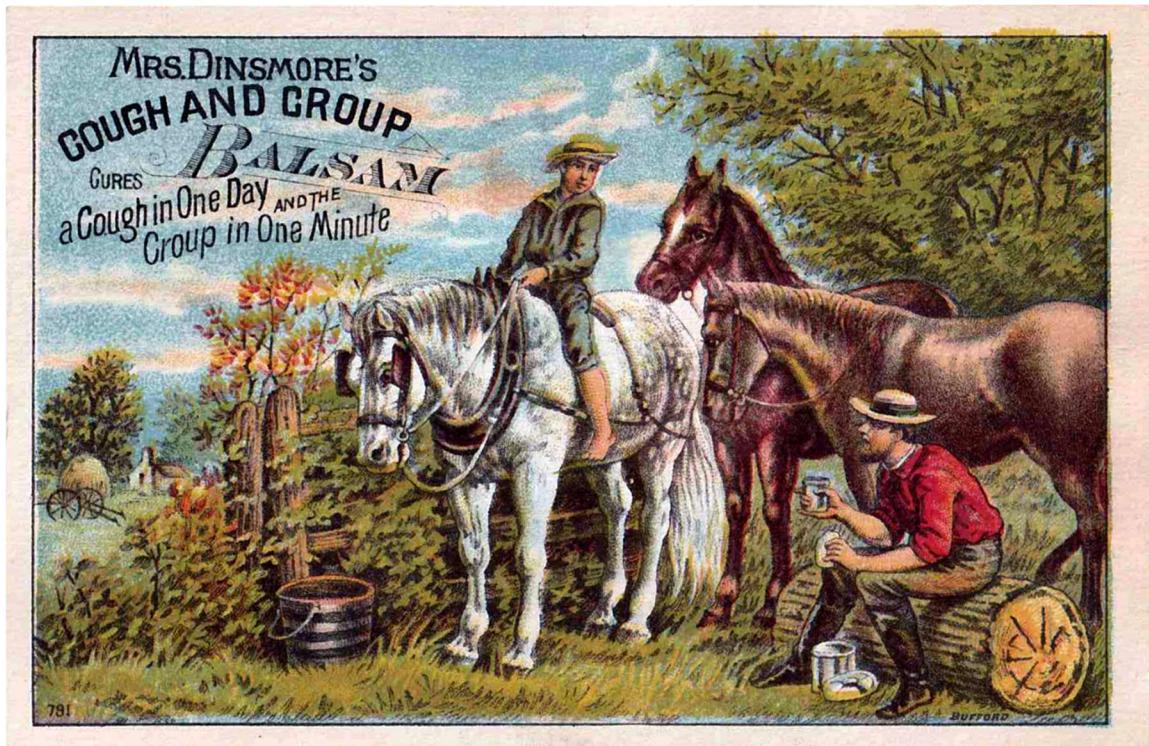
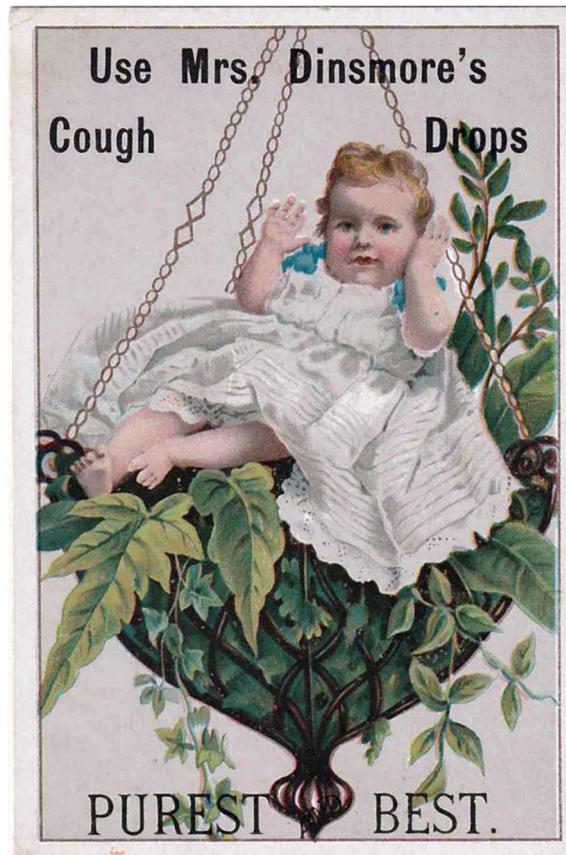
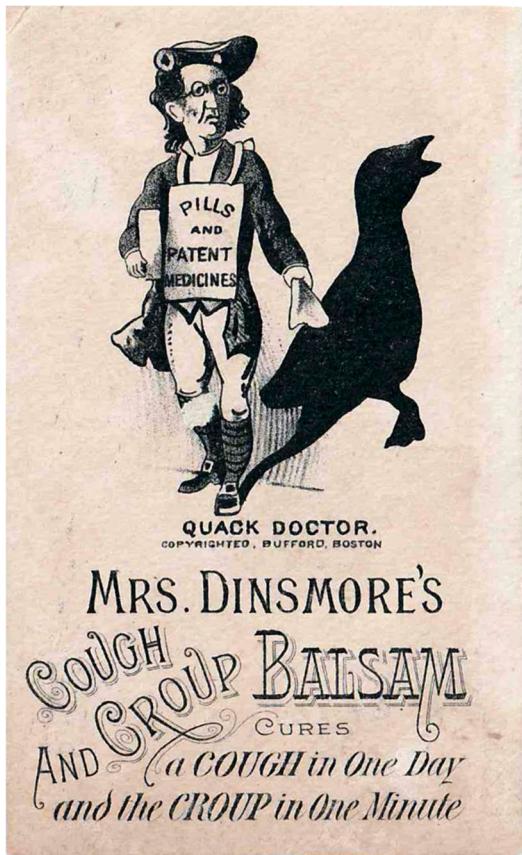
One card shows a girl, and the card here featured a boy) holding a writing slate with a message about Mrs. Dinsmore's product on it. (Stock cards; probably a 2-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size 6.625 x 4.125 inches.)

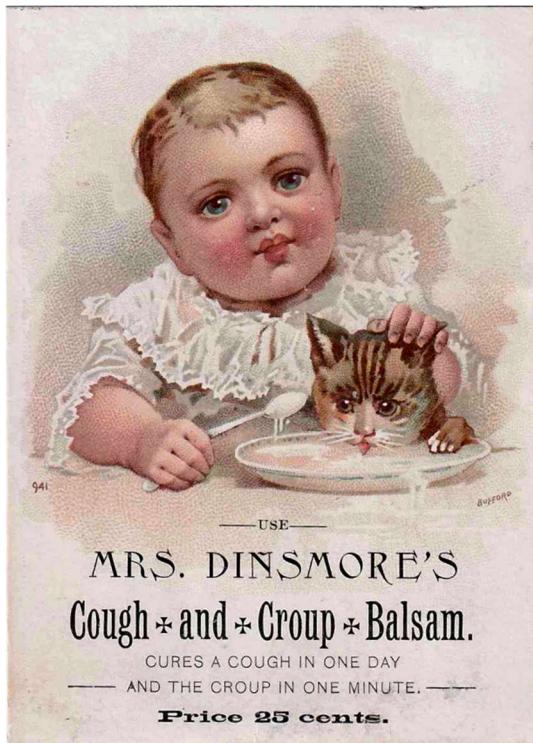
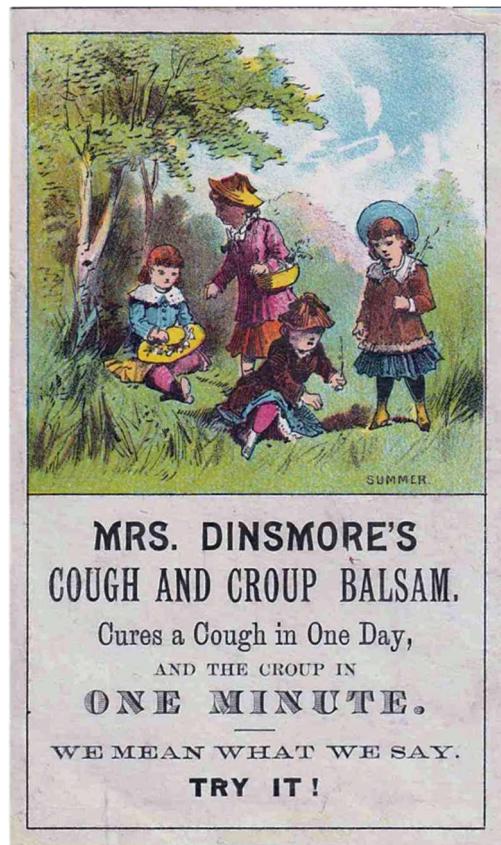
### **Telephone Trauma Series**

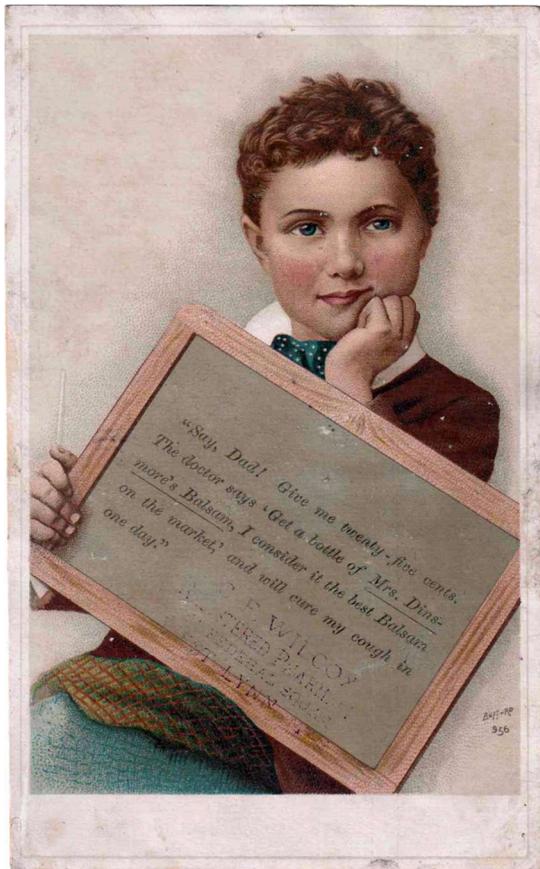
The telephone was still an invention of novelty and fascination, and in the hands of a cartoonist, the humor of unintended conversations provide were shared in this series. (Black & white stock cards; a 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising but since there were more cards in the popular overall series, Brock may have paid for two or four more that have not yet surfaced.) The other three known Dinsmore cards include a conversations between a man and a donkey (assumed to be an immigrant); an order for a cocktail being called into a temperance society; two cats fighting, but being assumed by a woman on the other end to be the sound of the devil. (Size 4.4375 x 2.6875 inches.)

### **Multi-Holiday Series**

Each card features an unusual scene that appears to broadly relate to multiple holidays. The featured card shows some sort of elf character carrying a Christmas stocking with an American flag to the bed of a sleeping toddler, preparing to awaken the child with a start by preparing to make a cymbal-wielding clown figure clang the cymbals together; a Christmas tree is in the background and to further encase the scene in confusing symbolism, a spray of blue and white flowers border the left side. (Stock cards; 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size 4.4375 x 2.6875 inches.)









**Playing Grown Up Series.** Hauntingly beautiful, this full-color, art-quality series features young girls dressed like an adult. (Stock cards; probably a 4-card series for Dinsmore advertising. Size: 6.625 x 4.3125 inches.)



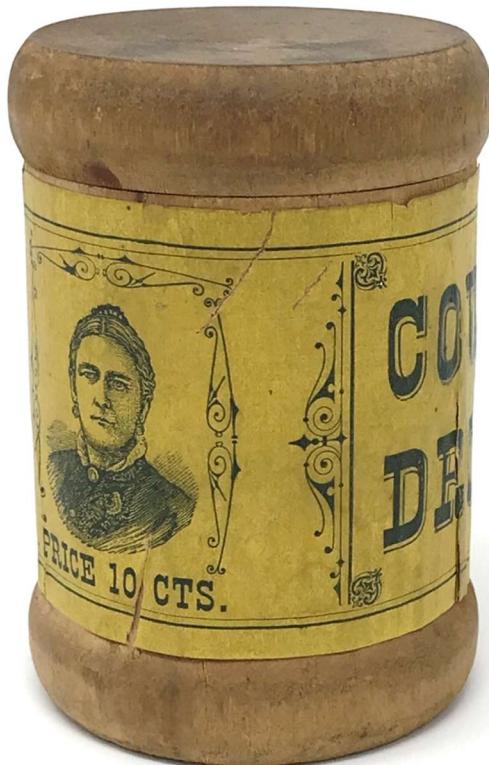
**Lynn Fire Alarms.** Booklet listing the location of all of Lynn's fire alarms. Multiple advertisers were solicited to advertise in order to defray the cost of the booklet. The L. M. Brock Company paid for the prime position on the cover, providing yet another public service, along with the "Identification Card." Two binding staples are showing rust oxidation. (Size: 5.875 x 3.75 inches.)



**1888 Calendar.** Beautiful artwork of an idealized, healthy baby playing with its harlequin doll. This example has a full pad of months for the year. It does not appear that the L.M. Brock Company produced a calendar for any other year. (Size: 8.625 x 4.9375 inches.)



**Wall of Fame.** Nothing was more reassuring – or convincing – than seeing the visual testimonials of children saved by the use of *Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough & Croup Balsam*. It was perhaps the most effective advertising piece the company had produced. (Custom-made card; not part of a series. Size: 6.625 x 4.3125 inches.)



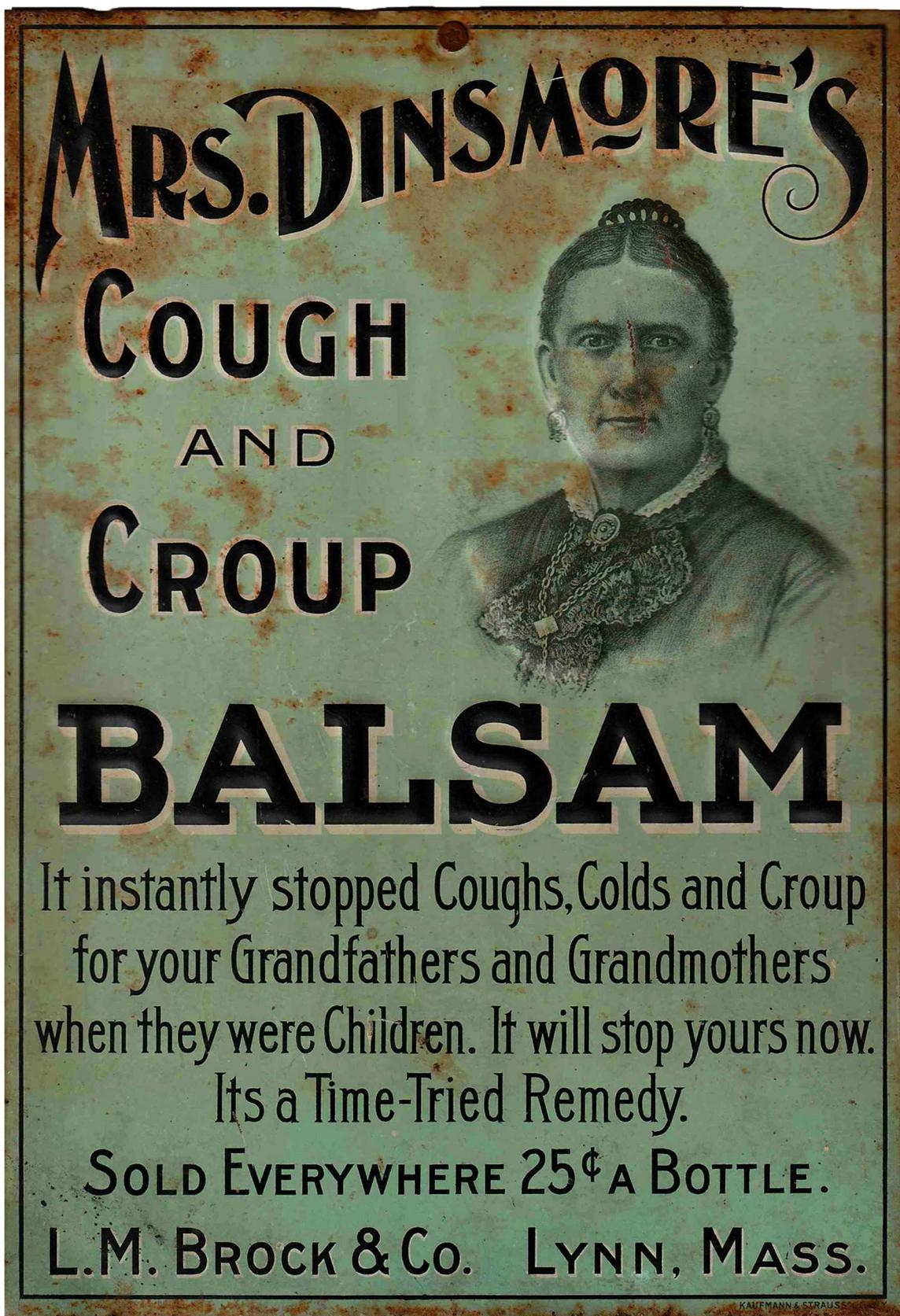
**Wooden Cylinder of Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough Drops.**

About 1885. The all-wood cylinder contained 10 cents worth of cough drops. The full label consists of three panels: "Mrs. Dinsmore's // COUGH DROPS. // [image of Mrs. Dinsmore] PRICE 10 CTS." The cover marries the cylinder snugly without any threading (height: 3.375 inches).



**Mrs. Dinsmore, RIP, returns to Canada.**

In about 1888, years after Alfred Dinsmore sold his rights to the manufacture and distribution of the balsam by his deceased wife's name, he continued the manufacture of some version of it in Canada under the name, *Sharp's Balsam of Horehound and Anise-Seed*, Connor & Dinsmore, Proprietors, Saint John, New Brunswick. Aqua, ABM 12-sided bottle with some bubbles and imperfections in manufacture. The entire label is duplicated on the back in French and the vertical separation in the label displays the embossing: SHARPS BALSAM (height: 5.625 inches).



**Stamped Tin Store Sign.** Embossed tin sign with tin kickstand attached on back (rivet head showing at top center). Rust oxidation visible throughout. About 1925. (Size: 9.75 x 6.75 inches)



**Children's Coloring Booklets containing advertising for Mrs. Dinsmore products, (1902).** Every time a child triumphantly showed a parent the painting they did in their book, mom or dad were reminded that Mrs. Dinsmore was ever-ready to help restore their little one back to health when necessary. Coloring books and Mrs. Dinsmore were synonymous with happiness. Three different children's coloring booklets are in the author's collection.

**Pictured above – (left:)** booklet front cover; **(center:)** one internal page, painted and drawn upon by a child; **(right:)** back cover with L. M. Brock & Co. advertising for Mrs. Dinsmore's Cough and Croup Balsam..

**Pictured below –** three internal pages: a page to color next to an advertisement for Mrs. Dinsmore's, then a foldout paint palette extended beyond the internal pages, ready for the child to daub with a wet paintbrush to activate the paint chip and color the pictures. At the very least, Mrs. Dinsmore could use a little color in her cheeks. (Closed size of each book: 5 x 3 inches.)



## **Mrs. Dinsmore trade card series not shown**

<b>Actresses</b>	One portrait per card (example: Anderson); black & white. (Series of at least 2 cards. Size: 4.4375 x 2.6875 inches.)
<b>Cats in the Snow</b>	Two cat's per card, playing in various snow scenes; full color. (Series of 4 cards. Size: 5 x 3.25 inches.)
<b>Gilt &amp; Embossed</b>	One silhouette portrait per card, all in gold-toned gilt and embossed. (Series of at least 2 cards. Size: 5.125 x 4.4375 inches.)
<b>Smiling Babies</b>	One baby face per card in front of a black circle; black & white. (Series of at least 12 cards. Size: 4.5 x 2.6875 inches.)
<b>Two Girls</b>	Two girls per card (holding fan; in bathing suits with towel); black & white. (Series of at least 2 cards. Size: 4.4375 x 2.6875 inches.)
<b>Rescue Dog</b>	Scenes of helping a little girl on the hillside; full color. Series of at least 2 cards. (Size 4.4375 x 2.6875 inches.)



**The L. M. Brock & Co. Laboratory at Breed's Square, about 1900.** Like the product line it made and sold, the building was painted yellow; the lettering was in red. According to his great-granddaughter, Virginia Jones, Lemuel Brock was the man in the straw hat standing at the top of the near stairwell. His wife and two daughters, along with their husbands and one grandbaby were also in the picture; they all pitched in to the business in various capacities (Collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society.)

## Appendix F

### **Lydia E. Pinkham Co. Booklets for U.S. Distribution**

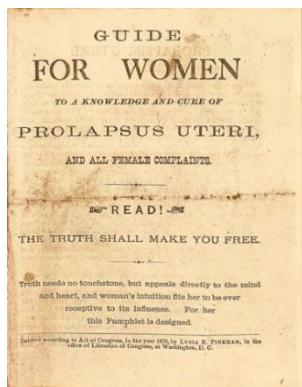
Booklets were a staple of the Lydia E. Pinkham Co. promotional strategy. Women around the world wrote confidential letters to Mrs. Pinkham about all sorts of life problems – physical, emotional, and intimate – taking comfort that they were sharing these intensely private fears and troubles with another woman who was sympathetic, knowledgeable, and wise. To their delight and relief, their personal letters to this treasured icon were answered and often accompanied by her newest booklet.

The booklets often reflected shifts in a woman's position within the culture at a given time. The alignment of Pinkham medicines with science curried to the well-read and teachable late-Victorian woman in *Facts With Proof* (1897) and *More Facts and More Proof* (1898); the emergence of the strong, active woman was clearly portrayed in *The New Woman* (1903), *Physical Culture* (1906), and *Home Exercises* (1919); and woman's patriotic duties during World War I were described in the star-spangled *War-Time Cook and Health Book* of 1918.

Each booklet was designed to be a compelling new read and almost all were organized with a formula of three elements. First, each edition's theme was crafted to entertain and educate, often with not-so-subtle messages woven in that Lydia E. Pinkham medicines were solutions to the reader's struggles, whatever they were. The second and most important element was the slew of testimonials from female sufferers all over the country. These helped the reader feel connected to a vast sisterhood that was sharing and empathizing with each other about the pains and struggles of being a woman. The booklets then usually concluded with offers for free personal gift items or more reading material. The massive distribution of the booklets implies that readers enjoyed the themed information and free offers, but as far as the company was concerned, the heart of each booklet was unquestionably the testimonials, voluntarily submitted by women from all points of the compass. They demonstrated and reassured, over and over again, that there was absolutely no medical problem of the female body, *especially* those affecting the reproductive system, that Lydia E. Pinkham medicines could not cure, if taken early and consistently enough. And if the medicine didn't seem to be fixing things, they could always write again to their trusted advisor for further guidance and also be reassured by the success of their sisters in the booklets.

Rarely did a testimonial get repeated in other editions; the more booklets women read, the bigger their sisterhood became. Throughout the entire run of the booklets, almost every testimonial was used just once, and while the testimonials of women came from every state and territory and even other countries, only one testimonial from Lynn appears in any of the booklets. The message was clear: Lydia Pinkham was bigger than Lynn – she was the answer for women everywhere.

The following pages chronologically list all known U.S. editions, with covers featured from the author's collection and other select collections. In addition to the 101 titles listed, note that there were also multiple editions of some titles. Foreign editions of some booklets were also made for Canada, Great Britain, France, Spain, and Denmark; a few examples of these appear at the end.

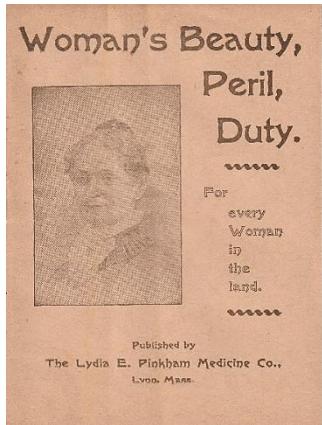


1877: Guide for Women

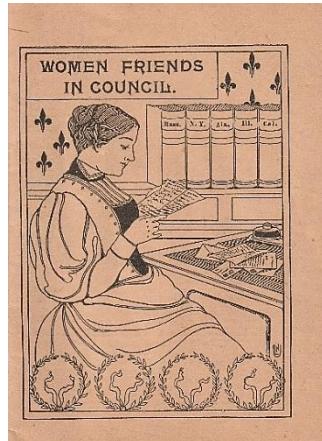
1893: Guide to Health for the Women of the Nation



1893: Guide to Health and Etiquette



1895: Woman's Beauty, Peril, Duty



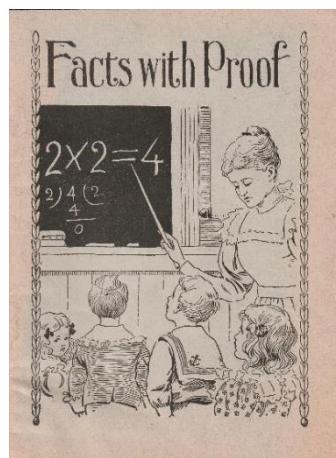
1895: Women Friends in Council



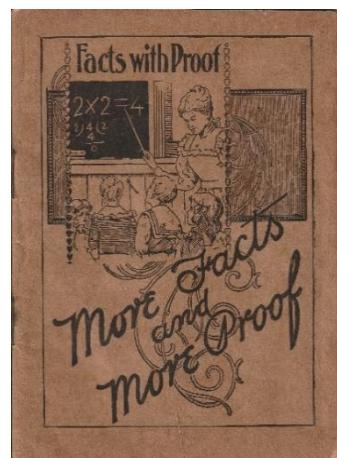
1895: Women's Triumph



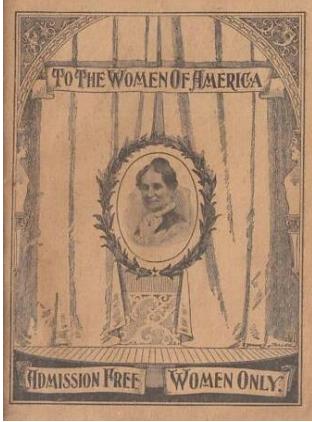
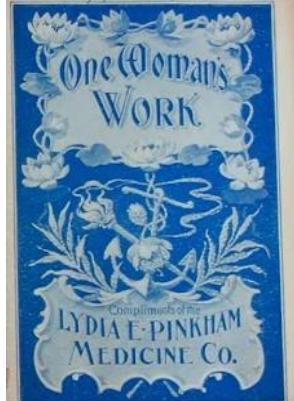
1896: No Wealth Like Good Health

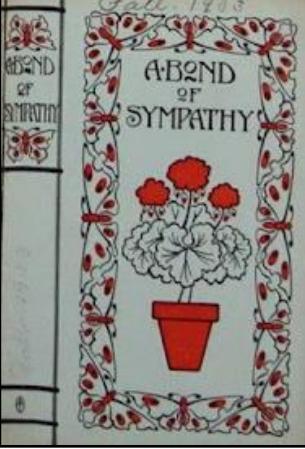
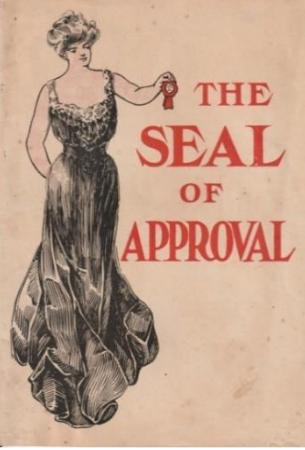


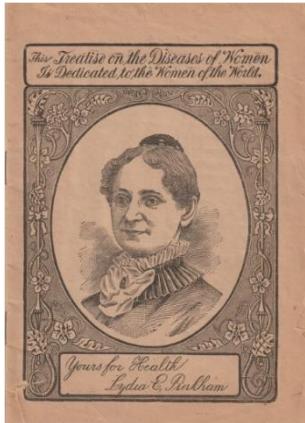
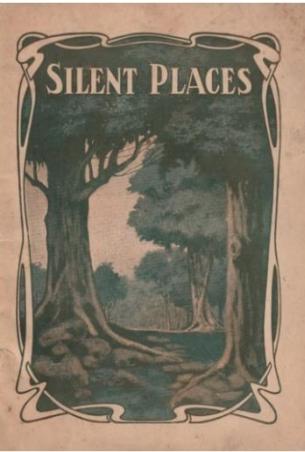
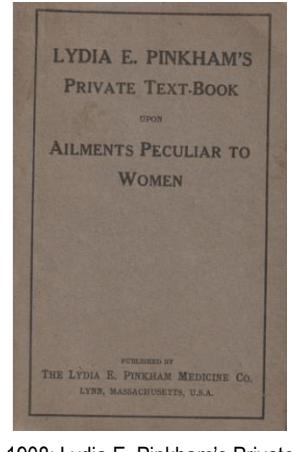
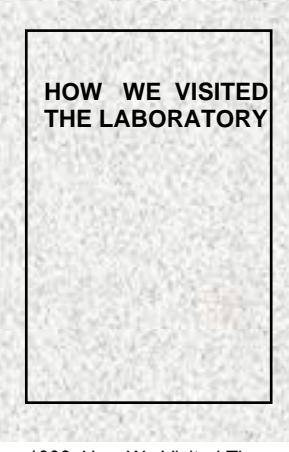
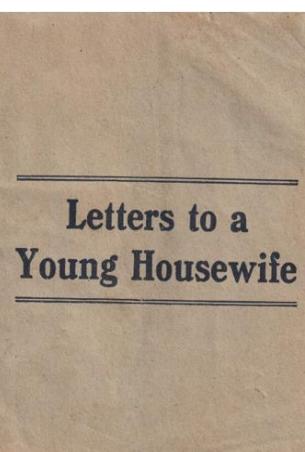
1897: Facts With Proof



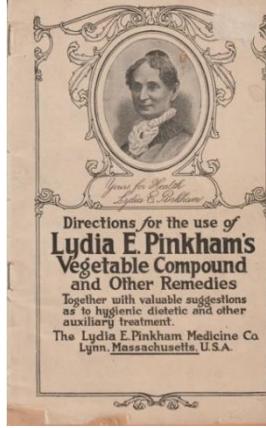
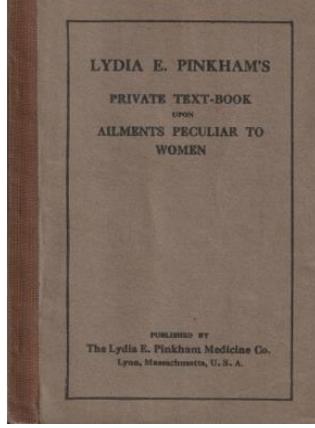
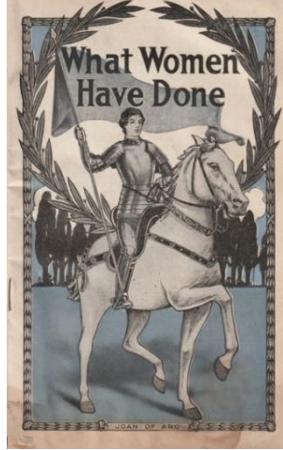
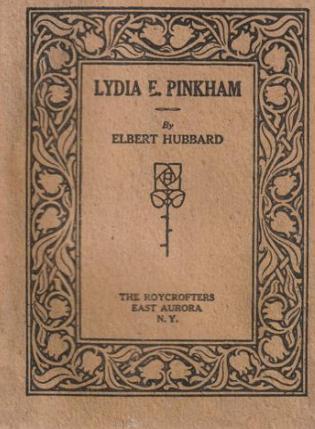
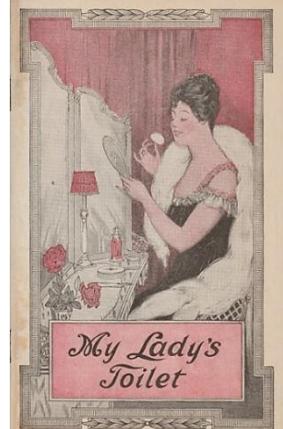
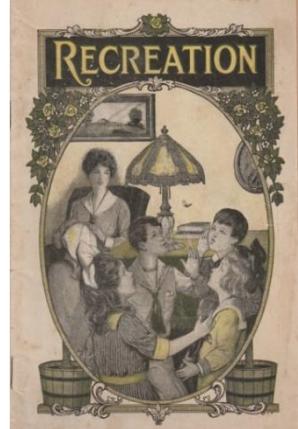
1898: More Facts and More Proof

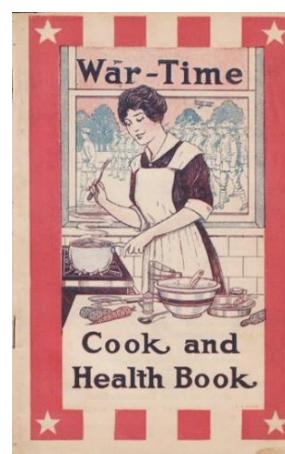
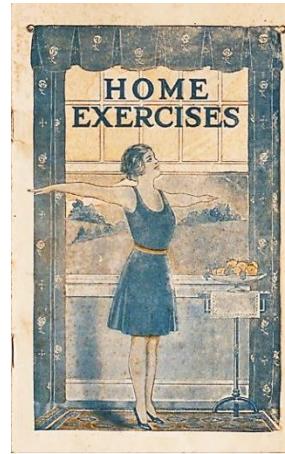
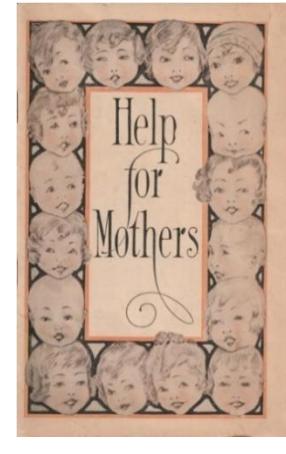
 <p>1899: To the Women of America</p>	 <p>1899-Fall: Yours for Health, Lydia E. Pinkham</p>	 <p>1900: Health, Vigor, Strength</p>
 <p>1900: Common Sense Talks With Women</p>	 <p>1900: One Woman's Work</p>	 <p>1901: Treatise on the Diseases of Women (bottle book)</p>
 <p>1901-Spring: Yours for Health</p>	 <p>1901-Fall: My Lady Beautiful</p>	 <p>1902-Fall: Listen to Reason</p>

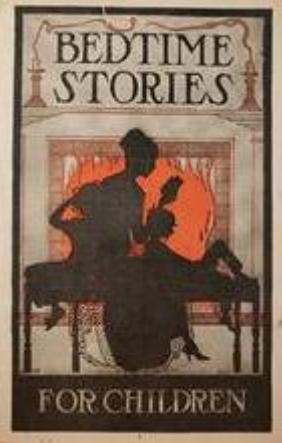
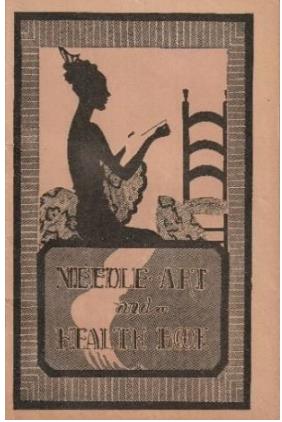
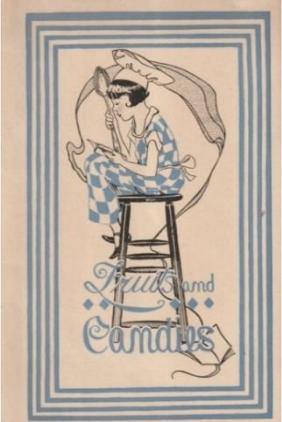
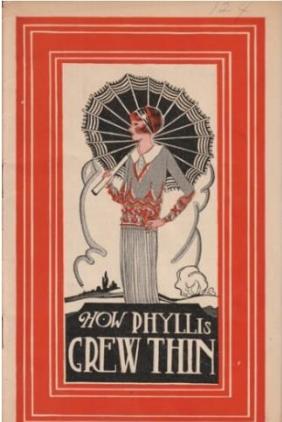
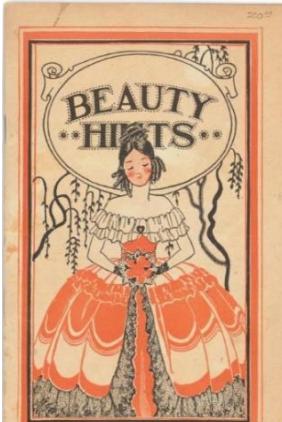
		
1903-Spring: The New Woman	1903-Fall: A Bond of Sympathy	1904-Spring: From Ocean to Ocean
		
1904-Fall: Women in History	1905-Spring: The Seal of Approval	1905: The Ages of Woman
		
1905-Fall: The Crown of Success	1906: Truth	1906-Fall: Physical Culture

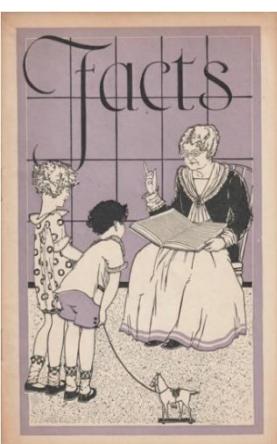
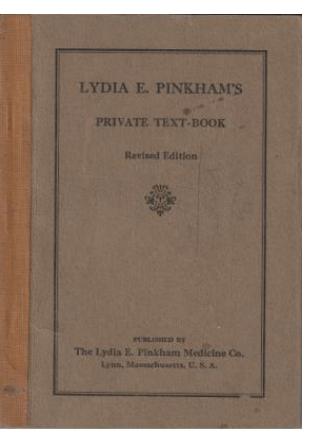
	 <p>A-LITTLE MAGAZINE-OF HELPS FOR THE SICK ROOM</p>	 <p>A-LITTLE MAGAZINE-OF HELPS FOR THE SICK ROOM</p>
	 <p>LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S PRIVATE TEXT-BOOK UPON AILMENTS PECULIAR TO WOMEN</p> <p>PUBLISHED BY THE LYDIA E. PINKHAM MEDICINE CO. LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.</p>	 <p>HOW WE VISITED THE LABORATORY</p>
 <p>Letters to a Young Housewife</p>	 <p>PURE BLOOD</p>	 <p>HELP for WOMEN</p>

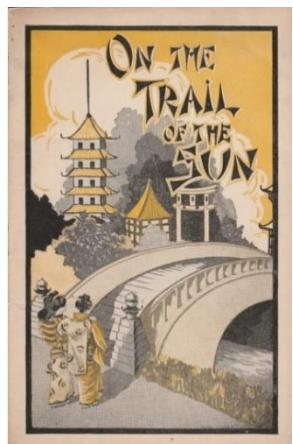
1911-Fall: Well Again!		1912-Spring: What Shall I Do?
1912-Fall: Wisdom for Women		1913: The Woman Who Knows
1914: Women's Letters	 1914: Every Cloud Has Its Silver Lining	 1914: Nature's Gift to Women

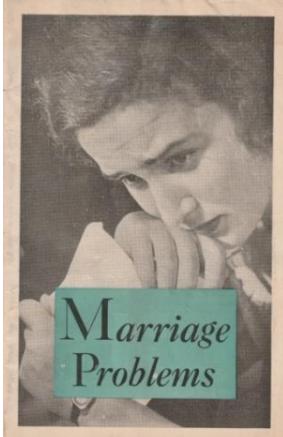
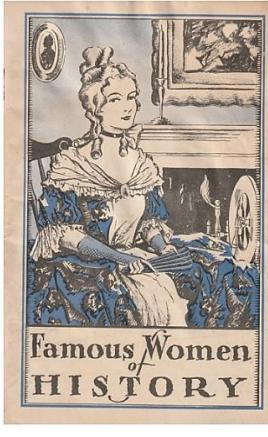
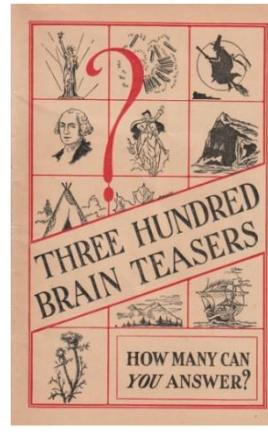
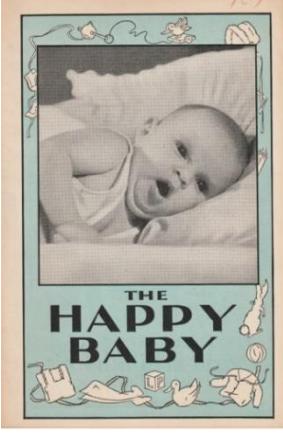
 <p>1915: Lydia E. Pinkham Laboratory</p>	 <p>1915: A Woman's Mirror</p>	 <p>1915: Directions for the Use of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable</p>
 <p>1915: Lydia E. Pinkham's Private Text Book (Massachusetts edition)</p>	 <p>1915: What Women Have Done</p>	 <p>1915: Lydia E. Pinkham</p>
 <p>1916: How to Feed The Baby</p>	 <p>1916: My Lady's Toilet</p>	 <p>1917: Recreation</p>

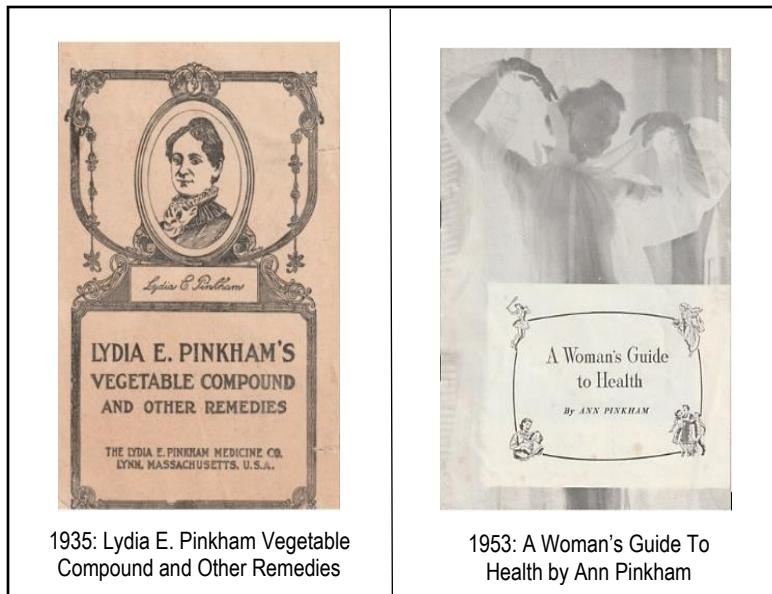
 <p>1917: Facts and Fancies</p>	 <p>1918: War-Time Cook and Health</p>	 <p>1918: Home Made</p>
 <p>1919: From Maine to California</p>	 <p>1919: Home Exercises</p>	 <p>1920: Sweets</p>
 <p>1921: Summer Time</p>	 <p>1921-Fall: Hints for Food and Health</p>	 <p>1922-Spring: Help for Mothers</p>

 <p><b>HOME DRESSMAKING</b></p>	 <p><b>ANCIENT LEGENDS</b></p>	 <p><b>Picnic Time</b></p>
 <p><i>Lydia E. Pinkham and her Great Granddaughter</i></p> <p><b>Health Hints</b></p>	 <p><i>Pinkham</i></p> <p><b>PIONEERS</b></p>	
 <p><b>Health and Beauty</b></p>	 <p><b>Facts</b></p>	 <p><b>LYDIA E. PINKHAM'S PRIVATE TEXT-BOOK</b></p> <p>Revised Edition</p> <p><small>PUBLISHED BY The Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Massachusetts, U. S. A.</small></p> <p>1927: Lydia E. Pinkham's Private Text Book, Revised</p>

 <p><b>Simplified Sewing</b></p>	 <p><b>OUR BABY</b></p>	 <p><b>Come into the KITCHEN</b></p>
 <p><b>ON THE TRAIL OF THE SUN</b></p>	 <p><b>Landmarks of New England</b></p>	 <p><b>FIRST +AID+</b></p>
 <p><b>The Story Your Mirror Tells</b></p>	 <p><b>How to be HAPPY</b></p>	 <p><b>Home Nursing</b></p>

 <p>Marriage Problems</p>	 <p>Famous Women HISTORY</p>	 <p>Stretching YOUR DOLLAR</p>
 <p>Our Wild Neighbors</p>	 <p>THREE HUNDRED BRAIN TEASERS</p> <p>HOW MANY CAN YOU ANSWER?</p>	 <p>FAVORITE RECIPES</p> <p>Save Time and Money</p>
 <p>THE HAPPY BABY</p>	 <p>Let's make a GARDEN</p>	 <p>Let's FIX UP THE HOUSE</p>



### Examples of Foreign Editions



Credits – Images courtesy of:

**Eclectibles.com** (1900: Health, Vigor, Strength; Common Sense Talks With Women; One Woman's Work; My Lady Beautiful; 1902-Fall: Listen To Reason; 1903-Spring: The New Woman; 1903-Fall: A Bond of Sympathy; 1910: Help for Women; 1919: From Maine to California)

**Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University** (1877: Guide for Women)

**Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto** (1915: A Woman's Mirror; 1925-Spring: Beauty Hints)

