PROMISING CURES

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

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

Volume 2: Mid-Century Choices

ANDREW V. RAPOZA

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Lynn, Massachusetts

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Sickness, Accidents, Science, and Quackery

Andrew V. Rapoza

First Edition, 2022

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

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Rapoza, Andrew V. (Andrew Vincent)

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

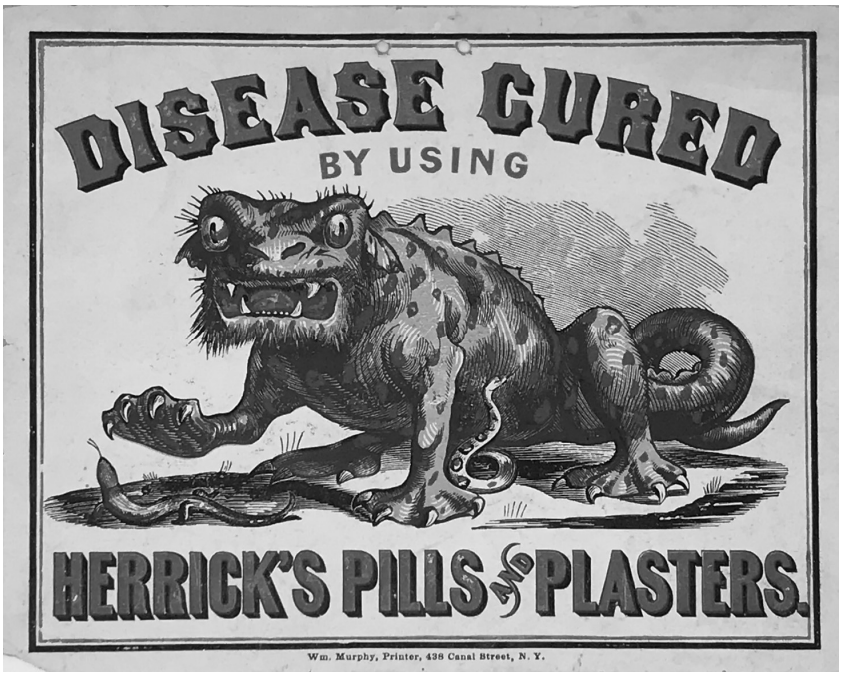
Library of Congress Control Number: 2022916689

ISBN-13: 9798849978154 Hardcover

ISBN-13: 9798352055069 Softcover

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

Volume 2: Mid-Century Choices



The *Promising Cures* Collection

Volume 1: Early-Century Questions

Volume 2: Mid-Century Choices

Volume 3: Deep-Century Promises

Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures

Table of Contents

Volume 2 – Mid-Century Choices

Chapter 5: 1840-1849 – *Rabid Dogma* 289

Shake Contents Well – 290; Flesh Wounds – 301; Add Water & Stir – 308; Medical Directions – 317; Bring to a Slow Boil – 326; Exit Doctor Death – 331; The Cure – 339; Gold Fever – 342; Symptoms of a City – 345; Chapter 5 Notes – 347

Chapter 6: 1850-1859 – *Labor Pains* 365

Breech Birth – 366; A Dammed Shame – 373; Medical Coverage – 380; Knock on Wood – 390; Nerves of Steel – 408; Civil War – 421; Chapter 6 Notes – 424

Chapter 7: 1860-1869 – *Reconstructive Surgery* 446

"Glory, Hallelujah!" – 447; "The Battle Cry of Freedom" – 458; "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" – 473; "When the Cruel War is Over" – 486; "Oh What's This World A Coming To?" – 497; Chapter 7 Notes – 505

Volume 2 Index 530

Casket of Graphic Remains

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

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

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

VOLUME 2 – MID-CENTURY CHOICES

Chapter 5: 1840-1849 – *Rabid Dogma*

Promising Cure of the 1840s: *Lummus's Aromatic Vegetable Bitters*, about 1843. 291

"The Cold Water Cure," 1843. 314

Chapter 6: 1850-1859 – *Labor Pains*

"Drop of Water Magnified," 1858. 379

Promising Cure of the 1850s: *Dr. E. P. Eastman's Yellow Dock Bitters*, about 1853. 387

The Spirit World Descends Upon Lynn, 1852. 404

Rethinking the Shoe, 1851. 413

West Lynn Drug Store, 1851. 420

W. R. Appleton, Photographic Rooms. 420

Chapter 7: 1860-1869 – *Reconstructive Surgery*

Bowman B. Breed in Union Tent, 1861. 456

Lynn Mementos of the 1860s. 466

Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti Bilious Remedy. 478

Promising Cure of the 1860s: Fairbanks' *Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases*, about 1869. 494

Close-up of label on inner lid. 494

Chapter 5: 1840-1849

Rabid Dogma

... if I can only regain my health I will not complain if it does not take too long and cost too much.

Letter written by Aurora Porter to her husband,
Oliver Porter, 22 August 1847

We have some very good physicians in Lynn though it seems they do not know every thing.

Editorial, "Hydropathy," *Freedom's Amulet*
Lynn, Mass., 6 December 1848

More than just doctor and patient, they were friends. They were both going to Boston, so he gave her a ride in his carriage. It was just a two-seater, a one-horse chaise, but they were friends and he was her doctor. Elmina Ruth Waldo, the wife of Reverend J. C. Waldo, was going to visit her parents and, since Edward Augustus Kittredge was also going to Boston, he invited her to ride with him. May in Massachusetts is wonderful for a ride in the country. Sitting back in the doctor's chaise gave this twenty-eight-year-old mother some well-earned rest from her two babies and household chores; her doctor, also twenty-eight, was just doing what doctors did, riding off once again, leaving his two little children at home with their mother.

Elmina spent the day in pleasant reunion at her parent's home, which surely included reporting some of the escapades of their two grandchildren and movements of the third one on the way: Elmina was about five months pregnant. Edward tended to his medical errands. Then the evening advanced and it was time to ride back to Lynn.

Darkness filled the sky, the horizon, the world all around, and the narrow space in between them. The nine miles between Boston and Lynn seemed to stretch further in the blackness of night than it had in the day. There were fewer homes in lamplight than in sunlight; fewer travelers on the road. They were quite alone. Relaxed friends became tense strangers. Doctor became monster. His dark, unexpected words and darker, uninvited touches mixed wildly with her "horror, disgust, grief, and even fainting." The craven lusts of the friend and doctor continued "with fiendish pertinacity and violence, which decency will not permit to be described."

The next day, Kittredge wrote an apology and acknowledgement of his culpability to Reverend and Mrs. Waldo. It was not enough. Still seething with horror and disgust, the Waldos informed Kittredge that they were going to make public his brazen, monstrous attack. The town found out what he had done. His wife knew what he had done. And in the midst of it all, the Kittredges lost and buried their children. Darkness was suffocating the doctor's future.

At first, Kittredge tried to rescue his reputation, "contradicting what he had most solemnly, in the name of God and Heaven, both to Mr. and Mrs. Waldo, sworn to be the truth." but upon threat of legal action, he publicly confessed before a justice of the peace, witnesses, and in the local paper, that Mrs. Waldo "was in no wise guilty." She never gave him "reason to suppose, either in *word* or *deed*" that his conduct towards her "would be acceptable, or tolerated."

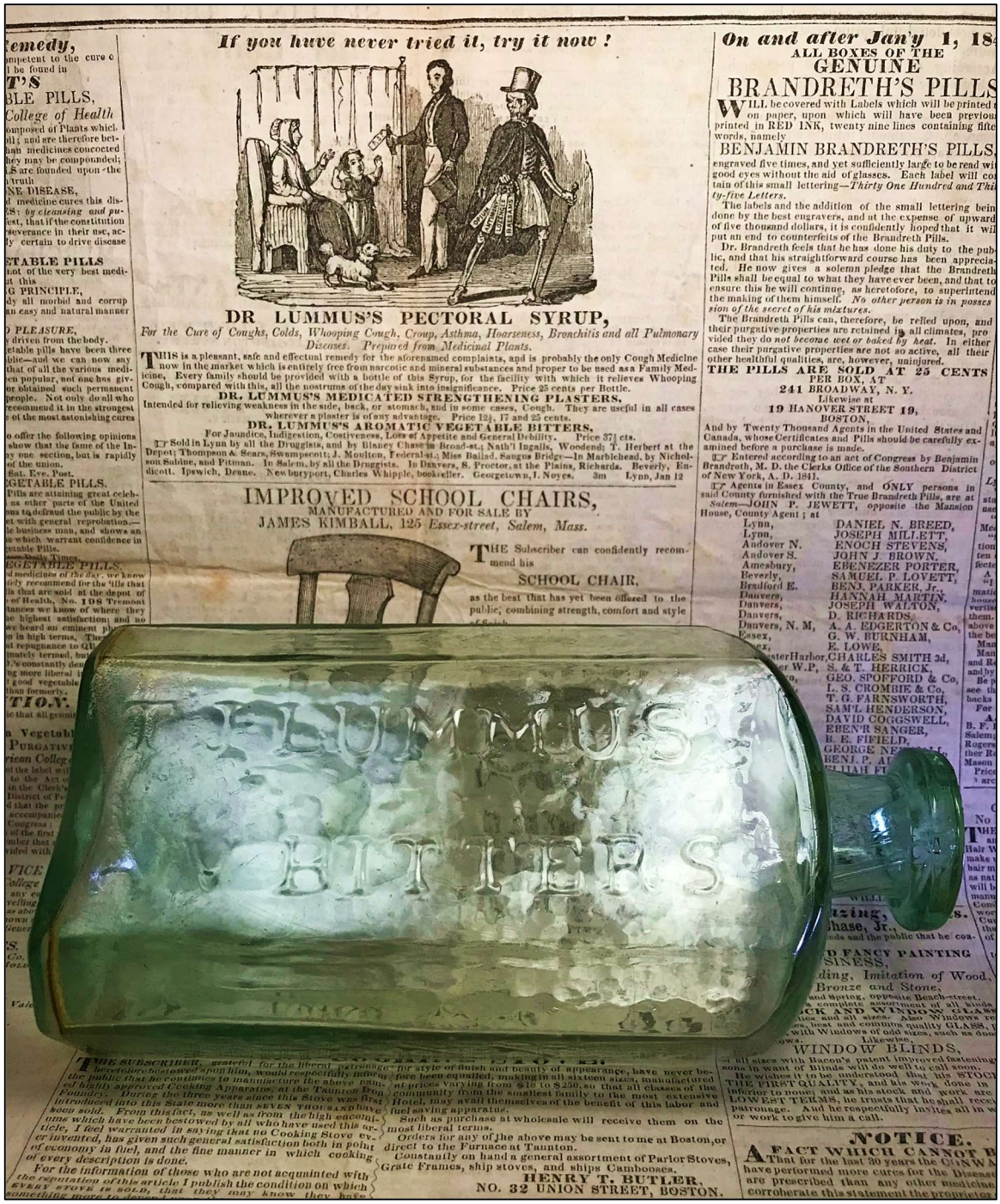
He had branded himself by his actions. A lecherous scoundrel. A liar. Diabolical. Irreverent. Unfaithful. He looked back at his salacious actions "with penitence and loathing." He realized that a "thousand false rumors" were already circulating about him. The sexual assault of a minister's angelic, pregnant wife should have finished the nascent career of Edward Augustus Kittredge. Within weeks the Waldos left town; within a decade Kittredge became the toast of Lynn.[1]

SHAKE CONTENTS WELL

Oppressor and victim – much of Lynn felt the weight of the former and the pain of the latter during the three decades before the Civil War. Social conflicts like the subservience of southern black slaves to white masters, women to men, laborer to employer, and drinker to alcohol had divided the town and country into factions that were often zealous and vocal and sometimes even angry and violent. All ends of the town knew that things couldn't stay as they were, but there was no unanimity as to what had to change or how. Reform was in the air and many tried to harness the energy for their own causes.

Reforms of all types continued to be directed at personal moral improvement and in a larger context, community improvement. Concern had been expressed that the town needed lectures on licentiousness because it was "more extensively prevalent, and more contaminating in its influences upon the morals and welfare of society than is generally supposed."[2] Fashion, especially women's artificial proportions, probably contributed to licentiousness and certainly to poor health. With the introduction of bustles, artificial mass was added to the female's posterior, providing an awkward counterbalance to the artificially swelled breasts and miniscule waist all forced into submission by the corset. "What would the ladies do," it was asked, "if they were *born* with such a camel's hump upon their backs, as some of them now make with the fashionable pad, called the *bustle* … [S]he would have it removed by the surgeons knife."[3]

While immorality and restrictive fashions caught the reformer's eye, they paled in comparison to more severe types of human bondage. Prison reform advocate Reverend Charles Spear spoke in Lynn in favor of better prisoner treatment and against capital punishment, thus stimulating the organization of a Lynn chapter of his Prisoner's Friend Society.[4] Lynn had long since forgotten the historical stain of its ancestors owning twenty-six slaves before becoming a state, but decades-long exposure to the horrors of southern slavery continued to be brought home by newspapers, lecturers, and the occasional rumors of runaways taking temporary refuge in Lynn or nearby, but the excitement and intensity of the abolition movement in the previous decade was difficult to sustain with the same intensity into the 1840s, especially without any clear, major victory against slavery.[5] Despite Lynn's massive petitions, Florida and Texas had been admitted to the Union as slave states and the District of Columbia still had slaves. Lynn abolitionists had spent a decade fighting an evil that was a thousand miles away; most of them had not even met a slave. At the end of 1839, after the tempest over the petition for black equality had calmed down, Eliza Boyce, a member of the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, wrote deflatedly, "It is indeed a dark hour with us. Were it not for a few individuals I believe the society would long before this have disbanded. … tis a spirit of indifference – an apathy – a long and deep slumber into which the members of our society have fallen."[6] And the coma lingered; in 1843 Aroline Chase, the marriage equality petition's organizer, moaned that the society was "dead." Some of its members had stopped making donations to the antislavery cause and others had "gone … on to every thing that is wild or visionary, and here we are a laughing stock to the people." The once proud organizer of the marriage equality petition was dazed and drained when she pondered how quickly the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society and the cause seemed to be falling apart. "We have failed in money & I fear in faith," she wrote to Abby Kelley. Her 'noble victory that the state marriage laws had finally gotten changed was "the only thing that I can put



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Promising Cure of the 1840s: *Lummus's Aromatic Vegetable Bitters*, about 1843. In 1831 Thomas Jefferson Lummus promoted his *Aromatic Stomach Bitters* as a preparation of dry herbs to be dropped into either water or alcohol, according to the user's preference. By 1838 he was offering the medicine pre-mixed in wine and renamed it *Aromatic Wine Bitters*. In 1842 the name was changed once again to the more socially acceptable *Aromatic Vegetable Bitters*. Heavily whittled aqua glass with open pontil; embossing: T. J. LUMMUS' / A. V. BITTERS .

The newspaper advertisement for Lummus's medicines depicted a sick family that had turned away Death (clothed as a doctor) because they had been rescued by the small bottle in the father's hand with a tag: "P.S.^{P}" (*Pectoral Syrup*). The postscript text restated the lessons learned from the picture: *Dr. Lummus's Pectoral Syrup* "all the nostrums of the day sink into insignificance." This 1843 advertisement also promotes *Dr. Lummus's Medicated Strengthening Plasters* and the bottle in this photograph, *Dr. Lummus's Aromatic Vegetable Bitters*. (Advertisement in the *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843. Bottle and newspaper are collection of the author.)

my finger on as having [been] done in the Anti Slavery cause." It was sad and ironic, she thought, that some "[who] have been members of the meeting of suffering [are] now ready to go into all kinds of things, *dancing parties* not excepted. When I see those things my heart grows sick. … I feel as though I stood alone ….[7]

There was, however, during the decades before the Civil War, a secretive core amid the Lynn abolitionists who had kept the faith and were actively participating in the very real drama of keeping escaped slaves on a trackless railroad that ran silently through Lynn. The unheralded guests were sometimes disguised in concealing clothes, like those of Quakers or women.[8] In the late 1850s, for example, Benjamin Percival, a candymaker and abolitionist in Lynn, had his son go to another home elsewhere in town to get a young black man dressed as an old woman in hoop skirts, hat, and veil. The son was to act as the old lady's escort and bring her safely to their home, where the escaping slave would hide in their cellar until he could continue his journey to Maine. The young escort had a difficult time keeping the "old woman" from being exposed and caught because the nervous escapee was taking strides far longer and faster than an honest-to-goodness old woman could do.[9] The same dutiful and brave son never forgot the unmistakable marks of slavery he witnessed on the back of one of the runaways that had been brought to his home:

> One day a tall negro stood in our low sitting room. He was selling photographs of his lacerated back. … Horror struck at the picture and my father cried: "But, my man your back can't look like this?" The negro answered, with a pleasant smile: "It looks fine now, suh, it is all healed up, but its jes like the picture, shuh enuff. Ef dey is no ladies roun I'd like to take off my shirt an show you, suh." He did so. Great incredible flaps of mangled flesh stretched in long furrows across the broad frame. As he bent and rose, all I could compare it to was the opening and shutting of a great accordion.[10]

It is highly likely that at least a third of Lynn's small black population had previously been slaves; in 1850 twenty-two of the town's sixty-three black and mulatto residents had been born in slave states. Stephen Freeman, a mulatto, and his wife Ann, a black, were originally from Virginia; their oldest two children were born in Louisiana and their youngest three were born in Massachusetts. Sharing the Lynn home of the Freemans were the Grimages, another black family of five; the husband was from Delaware and his wife was from Maryland.[11] Rounding out the list of tenants in the Grimage household were a sixteen-year-old Irish girl and Nancy Howard, a sixty-four-year-old black who had escaped from bondage in Maryland. Her recollections of life as a slave were as poignant as any that were heard or read by the abolitionists in Lynn:

> My idea of slavery is, that it is one of the blackest, the wickedest things that ever were in the world. When you tell them the truth, they whip you to make you lie. I have taken more lashes for this, than for any other thing, because I would not lie.
>
> One day I set the table, and forgot to put on the carving-fork--the knife was there. I went to the table to put on a plate. My master said,--"Where is the fork?" I told him "I forgot it." He says,--"You d--d black b--, I 'll forget you!"--at the same time hitting me on the head with the carving-knife. The blood spurted out,--you can see. [Here the woman removed her turban and showed a circular cicatrice denuded of hair, about an inch in diameter, on the top of her head.] My mistress took me into the kitchen and put on camphor, but she could not stop the bleeding. A doctor was sent for. He came, but asked no questions. I was frequently punished with raw hides,--was hit with tongs and poker and any thing. I used when I went out, to look up at the sky, and say, "Blessed Lord, oh, do take me out of this!" It seemed to me I could not bear another lick. I can't forget it. I sometimes dream that I am pursued, and when I wake, I am scared almost to death.[12]

Fleeing from Maryland to Lynn not only gave Nancy Howard her freedom, it probably saved her life. Back in 1837, a slave named Clarissa had been brought to Lynn from Georgia by

her owners and former Lynn residents, a Quaker couple named Collins. After a few months' stay, their initially liberal and open attitude towards townspeople, even abolitionists, speaking with Clarissa changed suddenly; early courtesies and freedoms given to her disappeared suddenly and harshly, with Mrs. Collins declaring "in a tone of slave-holding authority, 'Clarissa will go with me'" and later with the Collins' door being shut "violently" in the face of someone wanting to speak with Clarissa.[13] The Collins then just as abruptly took their slave back to Georgia without further explanation to anyone. Clarissa and her Lynn friends were all powerless to do anything about it.

After the Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850, fear was spread in a broadside by Lynn's Free Soil party that "the streets of Lynn [would] yet be the scenes of slave hunting and slave arrests."[14] Some of Lynn's abolitionists formed a secret society, patterned after the Boston Vigilance Committee, with the object of preventing the extradition of slaves and enabling them to escape to Canada. The society staged mock slave hunts, creating diversions and performing evasive maneuvers to keep runaway slaves from being captured. The drill included having eight or ten "stout fellows" seize and hold on to the slave hunter stand-in, then more actors in the roles of police and a crowd were put "on the wrong scent" by making a commotion with a black man who was "ferociously" hustled into a carriage that then drove off quickly. The "public" was actually witnessing a diversion using a free black as a decoy, while the real fugitive was secretly and quietly taken away in another carriage.[15] George W. Putnam was a member of the secret vigilance society and he was certain that many abolitionists in the town would have offered a "bloody resistance to any attempt to recapture any slave in Lynn," but Samuel Silsbee kept the slave hunters at bay with his wits instead of his blood.[16] It may have been the drill practice or simply his cool nerve that kept some real slave hunters just a pitchfork away from finding a runaway slave hidden in the pile of hay on his wagon. When they insisted he was hiding a slave in the haystack, Silsbee calmly invited them to unload the hay to their satisfaction, but that they would then have to restack the huge pile back on the wagon. The slave hunters left the haystack untouched and Silsbee kept the runaway on the road to freedom.[17] Nancy Howard wasn't sufficiently comforted by the abolitionists' ability to bluff slave hunters or protect her liberty. She had lived in Lynn for seven years but when the Fugitive Slave Law passed, she no longer felt safe even in Lynn, so fled further on to Canada.

Lynn had a heritage of former slaves who achieved some local notoriety. In the late eighteenth century there was a slave named Pompey who had been a tribal leader in Africa. Upon gaining his freedom he lived in Lynn's woods along the Saugus River. Lynn's first town history recounted, "For many years, the slaves in all the neighboring towns used to have a holiday allowed them once a year to visit King Pompey" and crown him with a headdress of flowers.[18] In 1828 a former slave named Flora died; it was said that she had reached her 113th year – more than a lifetime of adventures and tragedies to share. She had regaled listeners with stories of her African childhood among a tribe that hunted lions and large snakes, and of being caught by slavers because she was unwilling to leave her slower-footed mother behind in their village that her captors had set on fire.[19] But Lynn's best-known refugee from slavery was Frederick Douglass. He had escaped from slavery in Maryland, eventually making his way to New Bedford. When he arrived in Lynn in the early fall of 1841, he had already begun to become known among abolitionists for speaking in some of their meetings. Shortly after his arrival in Lynn, he spoke to a curious crowd that had gathered. For his Lynn audience to be listening to the speech of an escaped slave was a novelty to say the least; their curiosity became fascination as the young black man's trepidation became conviction. He told them early in his remarks, "I feel greatly embarrassed when I attempt to address an audience of white people. I am not used to speaking to them, and it makes me tremble when I do so, because I have always looked up to them with fear." Nonetheless, he moved forward, pointing out what made him different from his audience: more so than the color of his skin, it was the scars hidden under his clothes, "My friends," he

continued, "I have come to tell you something about slavery – what *I know* of it, as I have *felt* it. I have suffered under the lash without the power of resisting. Yes, my blood has sprung out as the lash embedded itself in my flesh."[20] While living in Lynn he wrote his autobiography, *The Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*. He became a close friend to many of the town's antislavery advocates, including the Hutchinson Family singers. The town had embraced the Hutchinsons, originally from New Hampshire, as they began their musical career while living in Lynn. They also operated a stove shop and a grocery store just a short distance down Union Street from Douglass. John Hutchinson remembered, "It was not long before we joined him in many meetings, he telling his story, while we emphasized it with song."[21]

The friendship of Douglass and the Hutchinsons demonstrated that goodwill and harmony could exist between the races, but sadly, interracial amalgamation or just co-existence was often the exception rather than the rule. On several occasions from 1839 through 1841, altercations occurred over where blacks sat in the railroad cars. An early instance might have appeared comical if it were not fraught with racial tension. On Independence Day in 1839, the train was overloaded with crowds of white passengers going to Boston for festivities, except for one car that held "a solitary colored passenger, whose skin had frightened away the *delicate* whites."[22] Later that same year, William Ford, probably an escaped slave (originally from Virginia but in 1850 a Lynn laborer, husband, and father of two), "quietly and peaceably took his seat" in one of the railroad cars bound for Boston.[23] A *Lynn Record* article titled, "Shameful outrage!! – Brutal assault!! Christianity versus Barbarism," recounted his expulsion from the train because of his color. Railway workers "violently seized him, dragged him from the car and to cap the climax of their savage treatment, kicked him after he was out," after which the train left him behind. When the next train arrived at the depot, he again took a seat for which he had paid full price, but yet again wasn't allowed to stay on the train. Incensed at the injustice, prejudice, and violence hurled at Ford, the *Lynn Record* described the act of racism in the terms of a loathsome disease, "… a severe Paroxysm of the "Color-Phobia:" – this disorder frequently attacks people without any premonitory symptoms; the color no sooner being presented to the view than the victim is instantly seized with foaming and raging in the most violent manner, and remains in this rabid state until the cause is entirely removed…."[24]

In late September 1841, the *Lynn Record* reported that there had been another outrage committed against a black passenger on the Eastern Railroad. Frederick Douglass was that passenger, but he was such a new face in Lynn, he had to be described to the readership as "a well-looking, well behaved young man, slightly colored, by the name of Douglas."[25] The pleasant-sounding fellow was nonetheless thrown off the train in Lynn, but he had expected to be because he refused to sit in the 'Jim Crow' car ("a mean, dirty and uncomfortable car set apart for colored travelers"), even though he "sometimes was soundly beaten by conductor and brakeman" for not taking the injustice sitting down. James N. Buffum, a staunch Lynn abolitionist and close friend of Douglass, complained that the railroad "often allowed dogs and monkeys to ride in first-class cars, and yet excluded a man like Frederick Douglas!"[26] Douglass wrote in his memoirs that he upset passive blacks and prejudiced whites alike by choosing to sit in one of the cars off-limits to blacks, "being determined to fight the spirit of slavery wherever I might find it, I resolved to avoid this [Jim Crow] car…."[27] He was dragged out of his seat earlier in the same month, when he and a white friend sat together in a white car. Then near the end of the same month, he again purposely bypassed the black car and sat in the white car. When Douglass refused the conductor's warning to leave the white's car, railroad men were ordered to remove him. "They attempted to obey with an air which plainly told me they relished the job" and, the newspaper corroborated, "dragged him out by brute force."[28] Douglass tenaciously held fast to his seat so that in the process of removing him from the train, he with his grip of his seat and they were their pulling, succeeded in tearing his seat out of the floor.[29] In the newspaper debates that followed, the

railroad superintendent said the railroad was "neither a religious nor reformatory body" and that the railroad should not be expected to be better than churches that had segregated "negro pews."[30]

Just days after Douglass and his train seat were deposited on the ground outside the train, a woman, "slightly colored, of good appearance," who had frequently passed in the cars with white people, was seized along with her small child and put off the train, and another man "slightly colored," suffered the same unjust indignity.[31] White friends and antislavery advocates harangued the Eastern Railroad Company in the press and the meeting halls, passing resolutions and vowing to use all means in their power to stop the proliferating persecution of blacks.[32] Threats were made to boycott the Eastern Railroad line and, conversely, the railroad ordered trains not to stop in Lynn when Douglass was known to be there.[33] Time would tell that the war of white versus white over black had really just begun.

Sympathetic citizens followed each newspaper installment as the fate of the Amistad slaves was adjudicated in Connecticut. Those that could spare twenty-five cents could go to Lynn's Liberty Hall to view the Amistad Africans as an exhibition of surreal figurines, "the form of each face, embracing every wrinkle, &c…."[34] During the decade Lynners got to attend speeches by abolitionist ministers Wendell Phillips, *Herald of Freedom* editor Nathaniel Rogers, and other stars in the antislavery firmament.[35] Such renowned abolitionists as Garrison, Thompson and John Brown, and the well-known former slaves, Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, were also guests in at least the Percival's home and probably at those of some other friends of abolition.[36] Anti-slavery indignation was ignited into action by such persuasive speakers; several antislavery societies were formed in Lynn in the previous decade and their impact was often felt throughout the town. The Lynn Anti-Slavery Society had resolved in 1838 to hold lectures in each church meetinghouse in town. When certain ministers refused them use of their church buildings, some of the abolition-minded parishioners left their churches. These "Come-Outers" as they became known, had literally come outside to participate in open-air meetings that were held as close to the defiant meetinghouse as possible, thus making the outdoor meetings both antislavery lectures and protests against unsympathetic ministers.[37]

Some Lynn women felt drawn to the slavery issue, not only because of the moral outrage of one man owning another, but by the parallel to their own second-class status. They were not able to own property, vote, or cross over the barrier of delicacy that prohibited "ladies" from speaking in public gatherings or taking certain occupations, like being a physician. Nonetheless, the slow fever of reform infected women as they tried to break their own binding chords along with the slave's chains. The famous Grimké sisters had spoken at the annual meeting of Lynn's Female Anti-Slavery Society, much to the consternation of Reverend Parsons Cooke. The minister had made his mark in history as Lynn's anti-reform curmudgeon, turning to the Bible to prove that women were meant to be seen and not heard. He quoted the Apostle Paul who said, "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."[38] Under the pseudonym "Alpha," a Lynn woman wrote a rebuttal to Reverend Cooke's subjugation of her sex, claiming that the ancient apostle wasn't trying to teach women of the 1830s their roles regarding reform causes and moreover, she argued, Paul wasn't talking to single women, just the married ones whose husband could speak for the two of them.[39]

The cat was already out of the bag. The zeal and determination of the young and apparently single Alpha was just another manifestation of a goodly number of Lynn women who, throughout the decade, petitioned, spoke out, and raised funds for their social agendas. The Grimké sisters had spoken to mixed audiences in Lynn, which encouraged Abby Kelley, a Lynn schoolteacher, Quaker, and corresponding secretary of Lynn's Female Anti-Slavery Society, to speak out about slavery. It wasn't long after her introduction at the podium that she became infamous to many by speaking in gatherings of both sexes about abolition, which she did "most *manfully*, though with great modesty and dignity."[40] About 1839 the originally all-male Lynn Anti-Slavery Society (which had formed almost a decade earlier) had admitted women; the society's roster of 284

members lists 15 women among the last 24 members.[41] By 1841 it contained an even more radical mix of male and female officers (including the ladies petition organizer, Aroline Chase).[42] In that year, Lynn's Methodist minister had also refused to read announcements about Abby Kelley's use of their meetinghouse to "plead the cause of 3,000,000 of our enslaved brethren and sisters, who cannot plead for themselves"; it is not clear whether he was refusing to allow an antislavery lecture, a female to do the lecturing, or both. But the Universalists and Christian Societies welcomed her to their buildings and they were thanked "on behalf of the crushed and bleeding slave."[43]

The pugnacious Parsons Cooke discoursed against the abolitionists' goal of freedom for slaves, preferring instead to see them sent back to Africa.[44] Quakers were opposed to slavery and one of the principal groups responsible for bravely supporting the Underground Railroad, but while slavery existed, Lynn's largely Quaker shoe manufacturers were big suppliers of cheap shoes for southern slaves.[45] While the Quakers were sorting out this ethical dilemma, shoemaking employees were often less concerned about southern slavery than with their own situations. They complained about their bosses' privileged lifestyles, accumulated at the expense of their labor, health, and just rewards. They imagined the economic abuses they experienced to be akin to southern slavery, but more so, since plantation owners saw to their slaves' basic needs of food and clothing, while the Lynn shoemakers had to fend for themselves.[46]

Over 1,600 residents of Lynn are listed in the limited surviving membership rolls and petitions for such reform movements as antislavery, temperance, prison conditions, and Fourierism. The vast majority of these citizens participated in just one or two causes; time, energy, and funds prevented all but a few extremely passionate, driven individuals to participate in multiple reforms. Less than a dozen (William Bassett, James P. Boyce, Isaiah Breed, William Brown, Oliver Porter, Christopher Robinson, and Israel, Jonathan, and James N. Buffum) were involved with more than two reform movements.[47] Some of Lynn's most ardent abolitionists felt that enthusiasm for the movement had been on the decline through most of 1841; William Bassett wrote, "a torpor and indifference has pervaded our ranks."[48] When some statewide antislavery meeting speakers created a new spark of enthusiasm, the stalwarts wanted to fan those embers into a roaring blaze. Basset kindled, "a part of Essex Co. is in a wholesame state of agitation, and it is highly important that advantage should be taken of this state of things, and … if possible, be redoubled."[49]

The principal organization arranging for speakers to address Lynn was the Lynn Lyceum; it had been organized back in late 1828, and when Lyceum Hall was constructed with a grand thousand-seat auditorium in 1841, they continued their dozen-year tradition of booking whatever interesting, thought-provoking and uplifting speakers and entertainers might fill the house: temperance advocates, abolitionists, musicians, singers, the peculiar Mormons, and other theologians and healers who each promised their own version of salvation. But when the abolitionists of Lynn tried to book Charles Lenox Remond, a free black from Salem, as a speaker through the Lynn Lyceum, he was denied the opportunity to speak – just as the abolitionists had expected and hoped. They seceded (as they put it) from the Lyceum association and immediately organized their own speakers' bureau, which they called the Freeman's Institute. It was an agitator's dream come true – bold, impetuous, and calculated to be controversial. It was established in February 1842 with the brash motto, "No concealment – no compromise," and the constitutional proviso that "No person shall be considered disqualified to lecture before this Institute on account of complexion, sex, or religious opinion."[50] The organization had started off with a strong slate of activists in antislavery, religion, labor, and temperance for its inaugural programs, including William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Jewett, Orestes A. Brownson, *and* Charles Lenox Remond.[51] The Institute was delighted when their first course of lectures had presold 900 tickets.[52] It came as no surprise to anyone that perpetual reformers and

occasional firebrands William Bassett and James P. Boyce were made the Institute's first president and vice president, respectively.[53]

Just eleven months after its creation, the activist institute evolved itself into an even more socially radical organization by providing equal access and opportunity for all. A meeting was convened on the evening of 18 January 1843 to reorganize the Freeman's Institute. The principal cast of reorganizers belonged to the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society, which had been composed of both sexes for several years. They interrupted their discussion on the Freeman's Institute to conduct some business for the antislavery society and then resumed their efforts on the institute. This overlapping of the two meetings was also the reason that the Institute's organizers were able to make Frederick Douglass the president pro-tem of the newly constituted Freeman's Institute for that one meeting: he was already in attendance for the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society meeting.[54] William Bassett again served as president of the reorganized institute, but women were now found among its officers and in its constitution. Lydia Estes, a daughter in the thriving abolitionist family and a member of the once all-male Lynn Anti-Slavery Society, served as secretary and Maria F. Barker as one of its curators. The constitution of the updated institute was quite purposely changed from "No person shall be considered disqualified to *lecture* before this Institute on account of complexion, sex, or religious opinion" to "No person shall be excluded from *full participation* in *any* of the operations of this Society on account of sex, complexion or religious or political opinions."[55]

Debate was added to the institute's lecture format, becoming a stimulating sequel to the lectures. The friendly combat of debate mixed with the eloquence of erudite speakers promised exciting meetings on the myriad of social issues. Topics covered the gamut of hair triggers of the day, from the biological (the merits of a strictly vegetable diet and also a topic presaging Darwin by almost two decades, "Is there conclusive proof that the whole human race has descended from a common origin?"), the philosophical ("Has labor-saving machinery been beneficial to the human race?" and "Is the individual under any obligation to sustain the institution of the States or may he at pleasure withdraw from it?"), the sexual ("Is it the rightful prerogative of man to exercise control over woman?" and "Ought the right of suffrage to be extended to woman?"), the criminal ("Could Society exist and flourish if all punishment were abolished?"), to the religious ("Has the institution of the Clergy been beneficial to mankind?).[56]

The social status of the membership ran the full range of the town: shoe manufacturers, doctors (including an itinerant), an accountant, tailors, painters, carpenters, laborers, and cordwainers. It was something of a family affair; the institute's membership comprised several sets of siblings, in-laws, and spouses. The ages of its members ranged from seventeen to fifty-six, but it was predominantly composed of young adults; the average age of its membership in 1843 was thirty for males and twenty-eight for females. A much larger percentage of the female membership was single (57% female versus 36% male). This could mean that more of the females were interested in the open debate of hot topics, but while sixteen single females were members, only three married women joined without their husbands. Possibly some of the single females had high hopes for meeting a potential spouse at the institute's meetings.[57] The opportunity that gatherings under the reform banner held for interaction between single members of the sexes wasn't lost on the *Lynn Record*, which reported suggestively, "The Antislavery Fair in this town will be held to-day and to-morrow. It will not fail to be a brilliant exhibition as usual, and we hope the bachelors young and old will give their attendance."[58] The marital hopes of the single males may have been the same as the females: 20% of the singles (eleven males and seven females) who joined the Freeman's Institute were married within five years and two weddings occurred where both the husband and wife had been single members of the institute, the first of which was, on 8 September 1843, the marriage of recent widower Isaac Pinkham to the institute's secretary, Lydia Estes.[59]

As had happened with the antislavery cause, the temperance crusade had escalated as it entered the 1840s because that war also had not been won. The "fifteen-gallon" law of 1838 (designed to curb the massive sales of liquor by the pint, quart, and gallon) leaked like a sieve and was repealed in 1840, the same year that Whig candidate William Henry Harrison ran for president. The Whigs had built a campaign around Harrison's reputation as an Indian fighter (made famous by the battle at Tippecanoe Creek) and a hero of the common people. He was looking to dethrone the aristocratic President Martin Van Buren. Harrison's campaign was symbolized by the log cabin and hard cider (originally used in satirical jest by an opposition newspaper but turned around by the Whigs to the advantage of their candidate) – symbols of the common man building his future on the American frontier. On July 4th, bolstered by $250 worth of bar drinks at the Lynn Hotel, supporters of "Old Tippecanoe" marched in Lynn, "with hard cider kegs on poles and all sorts of ridiculous banners and badges." A temperance advocate reporting the spectacle asked, "Who ... but felt mortified that our respectable town should be thus disgraced and dishonored?"[60]

The temperance cause had been serviced since 1826 by the 550-member Lynn Temperance Society, which was "composed in a great measure [by 1836] of elderly persons."[61] The growing problem of intemperance stimulated the creation of more groups, adding numbers and youth to the temperance army. The Lynn Young Men's Temperance Society was formed in 1833 and comprised 350 members.[62] More young men joined the Washingtonian and High Rock Divisions of the Sons of Temperance, and children were guided into the Cadets of Temperance.[63] True to the meaning of temperance, some of the efforts only asked pledgers to exercise restraint and moderation in the use of alcohol, but others had become convinced that the only solution was total abstinence; thus, the Union Temperance Society, organized in 1835 with 160 members, forbade the use of all intoxicating drinks, including the lower alcohol content drinks like wine, cider, and beer that more relaxed groups condoned.[64] One thousand and seventy-seven people signed the pledge of Lynn's Washington Total Abstinence Society in 1843, setting the new count for the organization at 2,967.[65] The population of Lynn in 1840 was 9,367 residents; thus the membership of the Washington Total Abstinence Society was almost a third of the town, but only 500 (just 17 percent of the society) were male heads of families.[66] The Ladies Temperance Society probably provided an extra measure of sisterhood and self-determination to women who felt that men were a big part of the problem and a small part of the solution.[67]

R. K. Merriam adapted his Railroad House hotel into a "temperance house" in 1841, as did the Sagamore House, where even its sign was changed, apparently removing some elements that promised hard drink inside.[68] The Lynn Artillery voted to ban alcohol from its armory and parades.[69] A Cold Water Army of children paraded on July 4th 1841 and again in August 1843, "when it proceeded through our principal streets, the procession numbered twelve or fifteen hundred. Preceded by a band of music and with banners gaily fluttering in the breeze – their joyous hearts overflowing with merriment and pouring themselves out in strains little less pure than those which angels sing …."[70] So, too, did the Hutchinsons sing of temperance reform, selecting their brother Jesse's popular song, "King Alcohol," for a massive temperance rally in Salem.[71] Temperance advocates exulted in every victory, "Lynn is nearly purified from the corrupting influence of alcohol; and both reformers and reformed determined to go ahead till no place shall be found within the borders of Lynn, where poisonous liquor can be bought."[72]

The decade began and ended with hopeful temperance newspaper ventures. In 1842 the *Essex County Washingtonian* was started in Lynn, with the former Lynn minister, David H. Barlow, as it's editor. In January 1849 the *Lynn Dew Drop*, was established by the Young Men's Temperance Union, which itself had been created only eight months earlier. This group of young reformers promised they would "not drink any intoxicating liquors, *except as a medicine*."[73] Their paper invited other young men of Lynn "who make a practice of occasionally tasting the liquid fire… to leave those dens of dissipation which infest our town [and] come forward and sign the

pledge ….”[74] Other businesses tried to support the reform as long as they could still turn a profit, which was the tricky part. In 1841 Thomas J. Marsh tried to maintain the Lynn Hotel as a temperance hotel and it was so listed in the 1842 edition of *The Temperance Almanac of the Massachusetts Temperance Union*. The volume must have been printed before the year got underway. The hotel’s owner complained there wasn’t enough patronage while dry, so he brought liquor back to the hotel. By February 1842 temperance advocates growled that he had already “returned like the dog to his vomit.”[75]

Barlow, the new temperance newspaper editor, secretly sympathized with the irresistible compulsion to take another drink, puff, or swallow; although he had been a Lynn minister from 1829-1833 and now a temperance leader, he himself had long been caught in the addict’s trap. Over the nine years between leaving and returning to Lynn, his increased use of liquor had caused him to have physical side-effects and loss of bodily strength and mental sharpness to think or write, so he decided to use laudanum instead of alcohol. At first he felt the euphoria of “serenity and peace and quiet bliss,” but then crashed into total prostration, the depth of depression … (and) infantile feebleness”; he would dose again to return to the euphoric Paradise and thus was chained to the habit of opium. “But worse even than this followed,” he later wrote, “It was not very long before the opium nearly lost its power to excite and enliven, though it still kept an inexorable clutch on every fibre of my frame, and I was compelled to take it daily to keep the very current of life flowing.” He needed more “vigor” than the opium alone would give, so he again added coffee, strong tea, and tobacco smoking, wine, and brandy, and all in excessive quantities.[76] His life had been shattered by his addictions, consequently miserable health, financial misfortune, and the attendant regret, shame, and remorse it all brought. His reminiscences told of repeated efforts to abstain from the stimulants and the inevitable relapses, snapping back to addictive behaviors. His pain drove him to accept the prescriptions given by two physicians for morphine. “I knew that morphine was a preparation of opium, but supposing it a preparation leaving out the stimulating and retaining only the sedative properties of the drug, I imagined it less dangerous than crude opium. … On attempting then to lay it aside I found the habit of stimulating again fastened upon me. Once more I found myself (a) slave to opium …”[77] Overwhelmed, defeated, and helpless, he admitted himself to a hospital for the insane where he stayed 13 weeks, but the hoped-for treatment and cure of his addiction there did not happen:

> I was locked into the lunatic ward and at first even had a maniac for a room-mate. Being, from the total abandonment of stimulus [drugs], in a state of intense nervous excitement, I was for several days, especially during nights, kept on the very verge of frenzy by the mutterings and gibberings, the howlings and horrid [cursing] of the mad creatures, my neighbors.”[78]

While there, he was also attacked by fever and ague, “which kept me burning and freezing, shaking and aching, for several weeks, and reduced me to such a degree of feebleness that I kept my bed most of the time. Thus I left the institution more shattered physically than when I entered.”[79]

A few years after this institutionalization he found his way back to Lynn, where he had been esteemed almost a decade earlier, and became editor of its new temperance newspaper; but old glory wavered under the burden of his secret addictions. He continued to use morphine, “first occasionally and at last habitually.”[80] The thrust of the *Essex County Washingtonian* was decidedly anti-alcohol, so perhaps he felt his morphine use kept his liquor craving under control and his editorial mission legitimized, but some six months into his return to Lynn he had another bout of intoxication from brandy and he later wrote, “I was perplexed as to what I ought to do under the circumstances, but by the advice of two Washingtonians, one of them the general agent of my paper, I still continued at my post of editor.” [81] Although his life was a mess, there were those who would help keep his secrets hidden.

The monster of liquor and the army of temperance did battle throughout the decade, with each winning and losing some battles, and as demonstrated by Barlow, the enemy was sometimes themselves. The *Lynn Forum* complained in 1846 that while the exhibition of a traveling menagerie was well attended, a meeting of 1,000 children enrolled in a juvenile cold-water army wasn't. The article chastised the guilty parents, "which ought you to feel the deepest interest, a caravan of animals or your own children?"[82] In 1848 E. J. Howe wrote to friends in Rowley about liquid sins in Lynn,

> I was invited to attend a fish mess a short time ago, and as most of our crew were going, I concluded to go. We … fished from the rocks until we had enough for a meal then fried and eat them with other things on the shore. Thus far everything was well enough, but there was a *Hotel* near by and some of them went and got some brandy. After this many of them became noisey and indecent. I made an excuse to get away and left them alone in their glory. What they did or how they got home I know not nor care. This I do know I shall be more careful in future whom I go with.
>
> I went to hear the Christian minister preach the other Sunday: he said "I defy any one to produce a town of this size where so much rowdyism and recklessness prevails among the young as in Lynn." From the reports I hear almost daily I am inclined to think the above assertion is nearly true. It is indeed a sad prospect when most of the young men spend their money and evenings in Rum Holes, Bowling Saloons, Billiard Rooms and in places sunk still lower in vice. Some reason that the young should be allowed to "sow their wild oats" and after that they may become steady. That they may there is a possibility but that they *will* there is but slight probability.[83]

Alcohol enslaved the individual and all those in the household and workplace of the drunkard. The evil consequences of the fermented demons were invariably identified as indolence, vice, immorality, pauperism, often violence and crime, and ultimately the alcohol-saturated corpse, frozen in a fetal curl on a wintry roadside or hanging limply from a tree hidden deep in the woods. Shoe manufacturers and town leaders chastised the drunkards and liquor sellers about their impact on the family, the community, and productivity; in short, alcohol victimized far more than the drinker. The temperance crusade wasn't undertaken to remedy the afflictions alcohol brought to the liver, kidneys, and other internal organs, but to redeem the besotted soul from alcohol, and to safeguard the family and community who suffered with every gulp of the drunkard.

As with temperance and other reforms, the apparent victory over secret societies had a setback: the Masons felt safe to reappear from their self-imposed exile and other secret fraternal orders were also forming, much to the consternation of reformers like Henry Clapp Jr., who sounded a warning in 1846 about the recrudescence of the once-vanquished dragon:

> I notice that Masonry – for some time considered obsolete – is hurrying out of its grave, wiping the mould from its gaudy dress, – and commencing a new existence under the favor and patronage of Odd Fellowship. … Odd Fellowship is "young yet" (in this country) and has thus far shown chiefly its bright side. But the time is not far distant, when it will bear fruit as bitter and poisonous as that of Masonry in the palmiest days of its corruption. Our … "courts of justice," our churches, our academies of learning, our social and business relations, – all will "eat of the tree, and be fearfully corrupted by this organized secrecy. … Proscribing the weak and the sick, – despising the colored man, whatever his condition, – uniting with grog-sellers, slave-traders, and their abettors, – "loving darkness rather than light," – it contains all the elements of the most subtle, and therefore most dangerous iniquity, and ought to be watched.[84]

But Clapp's warning was too little, too late. The Mount Carmel Lodge had regained their charter on 11 June 1845 and by 18 January 1847 (or the year 5847 by Masonic counting) they

were comfortable enough with their retrenchment to have their annual installation of officers a public spectacle with all its pomp and circumstance:

> The lodge Met for the purpose of Installing Its Officers, By The Officers Of The Grand Lodge, Tickets of Invitation having been Given out for a Publick Installation – the lodge Met according To notice at 6 O'Ck – at ½ past 6 O'Ck, the hall being Filled with Laydes & Gentleman, The Officers and members Of the lodge forward in the anti Room and led by the Marshal Took their Seats in The lodge, After witch the Grand Officers Came in and were Introdouced in due forme, after appropriate Singing and other Excercisis The Officers Elect then came Forward and were Installed into their Respective Chairs – After witch Brother Bartlett then rose and addressed The Audience in a very appropriate and Impressive Speech, witch was well Received – The Meeting Then broke up with Countinances full of Expression, That they had Enjoyed a Rich Treat.[85]

Anti-Masonic anger had had its day in Lynn, but it was a new day and the dark crust of sinister ceremonies had been polished into sparkling entertainment.

Despite the setbacks and disappointments, Lynn reformers continued to stand on the stump, at the podium, and behind the pulpit, sounding the voice of warning, and sharing their vision of a better world through their words and actions. Lynn did more than shake in the tremors of the antebellum reform years – it was one of the epicenters of commotion. Observers wondered how this came to pass, "Old Essex [County] is rightly considered the headquarters of Temperance principles in this state and *Lynn* the headquarters of Essex County, and the most distinguished for Temperance and other reform measures of any town in the United States. How came this about?"[86] Decades later, singer John Hutchinson reviewed the career of his famous family troupe of singing reformers, explaining that they, too, had shared the stage with the great movers and shakers, "We were ... constantly in association with the progressive, radical element which had so much to do with shaping the thought of New England...." [87]

One reason for this mutual attraction of the town to reform movements and reformers to the town was that for two centuries Lynn little of the demands and discord that existed in other places that had a multi-tiered class structure. A laboring community of shoemakers, tanners, farmers, and fishermen had little need or opportunity for a hierarchy of wealthy merchants, bankers, and overlords as was found in neighboring Salem, Marblehead, and Boston. The sense of community had developed in Lynn without a corresponding sense of social structure. But the first half of the nineteenth century had brought growth, larger markets, money, investors, and employers to Lynn and the tiny world of the ten-footer was buckling to the pressures of a bigger world. Lives shared making the same products, earning the same wages, and having the same experiences chafed against the growth of class distinctions, establishing Lynn as an especially combustible community for reform sentiment. Had change and growth not irritated centuries of communal existence, reform would have been a warm ember rather than a blazing torch.

FLESH WOUNDS

As the town stretched, grew, and conflicted, more outlets were opened to cater to the flow of ideas and debate. Lecture halls, reading rooms, debate clubs, and societies for learning were created. In June 1841, the renowned phrenologist brothers, Orson Squire Fowler and Lorenzo Niles Fowler, delivered lectures at one of the largest available rooms in Lynn – the town hall – and performed individual readings at the Lynn Hotel and the Railroad House. If they had appeared in town later in the year, they could have rented a bigger hall.[88] The Lyceum Hall had been built in late 1841 on the former property of Aaron Lummus. Like Lummus's building, the Lyceum had two stories, with the meeting hall on the second level and two shop spaces on the first floor. T. N. Breed ran his auctioneering business from one of those stalls, offering everything

from "a shoemaker's tack to a steam engine," while Thomas Lummus was next door, selling "all the sweet things he can to make folks sick, and thus creates a demand for his famous Cough Syrup, Strengthening Plasters, Bitters, and all such stuff…. and will, if required, throw in advice either medical or religious."[89] There were also a couple of rooms in the basement. The smaller room was used as a girls' academy and later as the meeting room and museum of the Natural History Society. The larger room was utilized as a debating theater by one group and also served the dual inclement weather purposes of training facility for the town's militia and Sunday meeting hall for the self-exiled Come-Outers.[90]

Like other meeting halls and meetinghouses throughout the region, Lyceum Hall got plenty of use from visiting entertainment of all types, especially by reform lecturers and musicians. The Hutchinson Family Singers were a special combination of the two, blending the message of reform into their music. Judson, John, and Asa Hutchinson, three brothers from a large family of eighteen in Milford, New Hampshire, had come to Lynn in 1840 to seek their fortune. Their older brother Jesse was already living in Lynn, trying his hand at business with a stove, tin, and hardware shop. Judson and John set up a small grocery store next to their brother's shop and Asa worked with Jesse, but the brothers hoped to parlay their love of music and performance into careers. The four brothers gave their first concert in Lynn on 13 February 1841 at Sagamore Hall, but Jesse wasn't willing to give up his day job, so he remained in Lynn while Asa, John, and Judson continued to perform as a trio in small rural towns near the family homestead in Milford, New Hampshire.[91] Early success was modest as they worked out their harmonies, song selection, and performance routines, which included playing instruments and at least initially, injecting entertaining novelty into their act. One such performance, their second in Lynn, was held at the new Lyceum Hall in January 1842. This program occurred before they formed their famous quartet with their little sister, before they committed to being known as antislavery singers, before they had changed their group's name from the Aeolian Vocalists to the Hutchinson Family Singers, and even before they had focused on their signature harmonies. In this early performance they were "loudly cheered" for their singing and they played violins and cellos *with their feet*, to everyone's astonishment and pleasure. The performance of another instrumental group at the Lyceum in the same week was "thinly attended."[92] The nimble Hutchinson brothers had apparently won a sort of battle of the bands – and Lynners' hearts, who adopted them as "Lynn's own." Nonetheless, the brothers had the wisdom to cover their toes and instead add their twelve-year-old sister Abby to their group. She had a wonderful singing voice beyond her years. Jesse also made significant contributions to the group's success by writing excellent and socially conscious lyrics for several of the group's songs and by acting as its manager. For the rest of the decade, John, Judson, Abby, and Asa Hutchinson sang together, becoming nationally famous for their songs that demanded an end to slavery, prayed for an end to drinking, pleaded for relief of the poor, and joked about romance, politics, and fashion.

In the same way that these social reforms were escalations of their origins in earlier decades, so too was medicine continuing to evolve under reformers' colors. The heroic methods and doses of conventional medicine were constantly challenged by systems focusing on botanicals, steam, dietary reform, and animal magnetism. Additionally, the myriad of commercial medicines defied the systems and each other with claims of preeminence and sovereignty in their ability to cure. The epithet of "quackery" was used by all camps to describe any medicine or system not consistent with and acceptable to their own.

Not surprisingly, the public was confused by the many choices with no clear answers. John Hutchinson wasn't sure whether it was God, his father, his doctor, or his watcher who lifted him out of his sickbed in 1841 and concluded, "the spirits of the air may decide." He had been on an exhausting road trip for weeks, eating improperly, and then making the long slow return trip over the miasmatic marshes between Boston and Lynn. He arrived incapacitated with a severe cold and fever. "This was a season of misfortune," John later wrote, "and having passed through the

whooping cough, measles and bilious fever, I began to think that I was a sinner above all others." His concerned father came down from Milford, New Hampshire to pray over his son. A "proficient and expert" physician also attended the sick singer, and Warwick Palfrey served as his faithful watcher, nursing him for three weeks. Palfrey was a cordwainer who later in life became an auctioneer – certainly not the standard resume of someone with medical pretensions. Nonetheless, Hutchinson recovered fully from his misery and remembered Palfrey warmly in his autobiography.[93]

Like John Hutchinson, Hannah M. Key reached out in panicky desperation, uncertain of what it would take to cure her critically ill husband and even more leery of the healing services he received. In March of 1846, Hannah's husband William, a cordwainer, was extremely sick with "Lung fever … which prevails here widely now" and "there was not many that saw him [who] thought that he would live."[94] Beside herself with worry about her husband's condition, Hannah reached out for the nearest healer at hand – the doctor that happened to be treating her neighbor, Mrs. Dickason, on the next floor down in the same house.

This doctor turned out to be James Munroe Nye, a physician who had been in Lynn for five years. Having lost his father when he was an infant, James may have been influenced or inspired by his grandfather, Samuel Nye, an old battlefield sawbones who had provided surgical services to the Continental troops during the Revolutionary War.[95] Immediately after his 1841 graduation from Dartmouth College, James came to Lynn where his older brother Joseph lived on North Common Street. The Keys lived just a few blocks away on North Federal Street.[96]

Everything in Nye's later life pointed to his faithful adherence to conventional medicine. He was a member of the Lynn Medical Society and vice president of the Essex South District Medical Society, the northeastern Massachusetts regional branch of the Massachusetts Medical Society.[97] But nothing could characterize his medical philosophy better than the services he provided to William Key. With the doctor's course of treatment fresh in her mind, a mortified Hannah Key recalled in a letter to her sister what her dear husband's body was subjected to in order to be cured:

> … [H]e was taken with a keen pain in his right side, in the first place. I was ordered [by Nye] to put on a smart mustard seed poultice which drawed his side all to a blister but did not remove the pain, the next day the doctor came and bled him which eased his head and side for a short time though in addition to bleeding I had to put an [ounce] of fly drawing plaster right over where I had put the poultice which drawed a horrid blister which dried up in a day or two and then I had to on with another neither of which removed the pain but for a short time, till at length it had got seated on his lungs…. [98]

To Hannah, the doctor's treatments so far had produced nothing more than enormous blisters on her husband and terror in her. He seemed to grow sicker and Hannah was afraid that Nye "would let him die and so I sent for Gool to come with him…." Abraham Gould, to whom Hannah was referring, was another Lynn physician who lived just a few blocks away from the Keys, on the opposite side from Nye. Also a Dartmouth College graduate, he was twelve years Nye's senior which advantage also translated into more experience and exposure to Lynn's residents. He was remembered as a popular physician due to his professional knowledge and skill and he was consequently often called upon for consultations.[99] Hannah Key lacked confidence in Nye, so called for Gould, "but Gool was out of town and so [Nye] brought another Doctor" who stayed all afternoon; nonetheless, Nye remained William's principal physician in this episode and continued his course of treatment:

> Nie came in the morning and cupped his side, perhaps you will not know what cupping is and so I will tell you, he lit a lamp and had it sit by the side of him and would cut places in his side and then light a piece of paper and threw into a tumbler and when it was all of a blaze put it on over where he had cut it and mind you this

> was where I had had all of these blisters, well this would suck until it had sucked two or three spoonsfull of blood. and he kept cutting and reheating the tumbler of flameing paper until he had drawn out more than a half [pint] of blood and then left me to put on another fresh [ounce] drawing of plaster right over this. I hardly know how I got through it myself as strong as my nerves are.[100]

Watching and assisting in the treatments was a stressful, harrowing time for Hannah, but she found some inner strength and stoic resolve to save her husband:

> I reckon I bellowed a little but do it [apply the plaster] & mostly well. I had just cleaverly got the blister on when back [Nye] came with the other doctor and they off with the blister and on with a dozen or more leaches, and this doctor stayed and tended them keep stripping them and putting on new as long as they would draw and then kept the blood running by applying warm wet cloths as long as it would run and when it would not make it run any longer I had to on with the blister again, I will tell you it wanted the heart of a stone to dress it, I had to keep it on ten or eleven hours at a time, once I got the doctor to open the blister he took the shears and cut the skin about all off of it.… I have taken the whole care of him with the exception of one night [during which she apparently resorted to a watcher so that she could rest] and then should have been better off if I had been alone, Gool came Friday and approved of what had been done. [101]

Hannah was horrified and mystified by all that she had seen done to her husband, so it was important for her to get Gould's approval of the course of treatment. She confessed to her sister that as extreme as the measures appeared, she simply had no idea what else to do, "… the manner of doctoring … seemed to me rather much though I do not know as his life could have been saved any other way."[102] She was relieved to see her husband's progress within just five days after the treatments and she seemed to feel somewhat vindicated. No matter how much medical punishment she allowed her husband's body to receive, the death of their neighbor and her husband's co-worker proved it could have been much worse: "William is so that he sets up a number of hours in a day now. … [O]ld Mr Alley that lived in the next house whose shop William worked in was taken with the Lung fever the night before William was [and] in the morning is dead and buried."[103]

James Nye's treatments appeared to be necessary and effective, but Hannah had not been converted to the expense and gruesomeness of doctors' treatments for every problem that came up. Her first choice was to see if a problem would just go away: "I am a little lame have a great deal of cramps in one of my legs which is rather purple, felt something of it before [William] was sick but hope it will soon wane away."[104]

William and Hannah Key's experiences with conventional medicine were just the type of "heroic" measures that medical reformers railed against. The Hutchinsons, Lynn's singing reformers, had a medical reform song in their repertoire that was very popular with audiences everywhere. It was known by the titles, "Go Call the Doctor and be Quick," "Calomel," and "The Anti-Calomel Song," referring to chloride of mercury, one of the staple drugs of conventional physicians.

> Physicians of the highest rank
> To pay their fees would need a bank
> Combine all wisdom art and skill,
> Science and sense in … 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.[105]

Another medical reformer joined in chorus, "O the lamentable want of science that dictates the use of that noxious drug calomel … gentlemen, it is a disgraceful reproach to the profession of medicine; it is quackery – horrid, unwarranted, murderous quackery!"[106]

All of the alternative medicine choices validated their existence in part by pointing to the ineffectiveness and dangers of regular medicine. Calomel was one of the popular whipping-posts, but there were many others. John R. Patten listed several in an ad promoting the advantages of his Thomsonian infirmary: "… the bones are not rotted with calomel; the skin is not ulcerated with blisters; the brain and nerves are not deadened by narcotics, nor the body wasted away by depriving it of its only nourishment – the blood…."[107] Yet the conventional doctors had many patients and at least as much success as any of the alternatives. In 1841 Doctor Nye's success in a surgical procedure was reported in the local paper. He performed an operation for strabismus (crossed eyes) "upon a gentleman named Tarbox, with perfect success. The eye, having been turned in very much, – has been comparatively of no use for thirty years. It instantly resumed a natural position, and no appearance of the deformity now remains."[108] An amputation performed by Edward Kittredge also caught the attention of the newspapers, as did the debate over whether the patient swore "while undergoing the severe torture." In that episode, an Irish railroad worker had the misfortune of falling off an embankment and breaking his leg less than ten years before the use of anesthesia in surgery. Kittredge amputated the foot and probably part of the leg of the wide awake, terrified laborer. One observer defended the pitiful victim's honor, insisting that during the excruciating ordeal "not a word escaped [the worker's] lips … that was unbecoming a man and a christian."[109] Piety and composure must have been difficult to maintain when a crowd of men held you down as the doctor sawed off your leg.

Henry G. Wright faced his surgical ordeal with stoic calm. He had come to the United States with grand plans to live in a utopian community, where even the animals wouldn't be "enslaved" by fence or harness.[110] He would wear shoes made of canvas instead of animal leather, and clothing made of home-spun linen instead of slave-grown cotton. He would be able to refine his vegetarianism to the degree that he would selectively eat only vegetables like corn and asparagus, that grew up towards the sun, rather than root vegetables like carrots that wallowed in the ground among the fertilizer and worms.[111] But something had become wrong inside – under his right scapula. In just months, the pain and discomfort intensified from what was believed to be a scrofulous tumor.[112] He tried to maintain his lifestyle that included producing a health reform newspaper in partnership with Mary S. Gove and becoming her lover as well. They lived at her parents' (William and Rebecca Neal) small home in Lynn. When the self-healing regimen of fresh air, exercise, vegetarian diet, and hydropathic baths failed to cure and the agony and sleepless nights became too much to bear, Henry decided to try the last option left – surgery. When the morning came for the surgery, Henry was "dressed as carefully as usual, his hair brushed into the same rich curls …" For two hours before the surgeon's arrival at the Neal home, Henry wrote letters to friends back home in England, advising them about his condition and putting personal affairs in order, whether "for life or death." The surgeon arrived at the appointed time, accompanied by two assistants and Mary's father's physician. Mary Gove related the surgery in her autobiography:

> They went into the bed-room, and made an examination, and then came into the parlor, leaving [Henry] to make some arrangements. I felt obliged to ask the probable result of the operation. The surgeon said, "It may save him for a little; however, his fate is sure. It is death at no distant day. …
>
> "Where will you operate?" said I.

> "Here, madam."
>
> "Can I be present?"
>
> "If you have nerves for it," said the surgeon. "We will prepare the patient, and then call you."
>
> I went out, feeling greater calmness than I hoped, and soon one of the assistants came for me.
>
> [Henry] had requested to be left entirely free [of restraints during surgery]. He was sitting on a common chair. The shoulder was bare for the knife. He looked pleasantly towards me, and beckoned me to his side. He put his arms about me, and rested his face on my bosom, and the work begun. He fainted at the first cutting; but I held him firmly, and the whole was finished before his breath and consciousness returned. In twenty minutes he was lying quietly in bed, with a prospect that his life might be considerably prolonged.[113]

Patients and their loved ones were not alone in worrying about the prospect of surgery and dangerous medicines or, like Hannah Keys, over the spectacle of blistering, bleeding, and leeching. Many doctors of the period, even from within the regular medical society fraternity, had concerns about both the extremes of the treatment options and the ineffectiveness of the results that often followed. Edward Augustus Kittredge was a prime example of this professional anxiety.

The Kittredge family name was synonymous with healing in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Edward joked that the Kittredges were "doctors by inheritance," but it was almost true.[114] Six generations of his paternal line were doctors. The patriarch of the dynasty was John Kittredge, a British ship captain interested in surgery. He practiced on animals, breaking their limbs and resetting them. When he extended his efforts to humans (resetting limbs, not breaking them), he ran afoul of the law that forbid such practice without a license, so he fled to Billerica, Massachusetts in 1660.[115] His medical progeny then spread across New England like locusts in Egypt. And thus did John the self-made surgeon begat John the doctor, who begat John, another doctor, who begat several doctors, one of whom was Joseph, who begat Jacob the doctor, who begat eight sons, five of which became doctors, one of whom was Benjamin, the father of Edward.[116] And thus did Edward begin to learn in all the ways of his ancestors. Helping his mother produce worm powders out of calomel were among his earliest childhood recollections. He later reminisced, "… many's the pound, of compound, I have pounded…."[117]

His father died when he was eleven, so it was decided that he should go to live with his Uncle Asaph Kittredge at Paris, Maine. The three-hundred-pound chain-smoking doctor was cheerful and sociable and willing to teach his nephew the Kittredge flair for medicine.[118] A precocious student, Edward started imagining he was ready to be a doctor after only three months of study under his uncle. In the footsteps of his forefathers, he first practiced his skills on animals, pulling teeth from sheep ("dead or alive") and then on humans who were either exceedingly gullible or desperate enough to believe that this teenager was a "most experienced dentist." At age fourteen he sailed on the brig Susan, which gave him further opportunity to practice skills he barely understood, like bleeding the cook and giving calomel to the ship's mate. The pills made the mate's tongue painfully swollen and distended, and caused his mouth to continuously salivate like an overheated dog. The miserable mate could barely swallow even liquids for more than a week. "Oh, didn't the critter swear!" Kittredge remembered, "He called me everything … and politely insinuated that my mother was of the canine species!"[119]

After his uncle's tutelage, Edward matriculated at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. The college's anatomical and surgical collection unnerved the aspiring medical student,

> I never shall forget the impression made upon me by the array of bottles filled with "specimens" of diseased humanity, aligators, lizards, "snakes, toads, and dung worms," deformed babies, half-grown monkeys, enormous tumors and

> malformations of every name and nature, that greeted my sight on entering the Anatomical and Surgical Museum of [Bowdoin] College.
>
> I was young then, and I instinctively shuddered at these horrid after-death appearances. I could not help feeling … that I might one day, by some mishap, be bottled up in part for the good of science, and the idea of becoming a "specimen," even for so laudable an object, was somehow indescribably horrible.[120]

After the required three years of study, Kittredge graduated from Bowdoin in 1831 with his medical degree. In January 1832 he married Susan Smith from Paris, Maine, whom he probably met while living and apprenticing with his Uncle Asaph.[121] They moved briefly to Dover, Vermont, where their first child was born, then to Lynn. Their transition to Lynn was initially bumpy, with Edward setting up his office and residence in several locations before finding one best suited to his professional and family needs at the corner of Baltimore and Atlantic streets.[122]

Edward had been taught in the ways of conventional medicine and became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1838.[123] He made and sold his own medicines, including pulmonic drops, bitters, liniment, a humor wash for removal of pimples and sores, and pills for every purpose, including headaches, bowel complaints, bad blood, and sour stomach.[124] Early in his professional years he added what he called the "hunger cure" to his treatment arsenal. The therapy involved fasting for extraordinarily long stretches of time, "until the tongue becomes clean, and the mouth tastes properly." This often meant his patients went without food (except water) for several weeks. One of his most famous hunger cure patients was Abby Hutchinson of the singing family; she wasn't allowed to eat for three weeks, but supposedly gained three pounds.[125]

Kittredge became well accepted as a healer, being regarded by some of his contemporaries as "the most skillful old school physician in Lynn" with "a flourishing practice."[126] In one instance, Alonzo Lewis, the town poet and historian, cut his knee with a hatchet, causing a "wet cold" to develop there. He consequently sought out Kittredge for some "juice" – his liniment of skunk cabbage and peppermint – to reduce the swelling and "enliven the nerve."[127] In 1838 and 1839, the Trefethen and Blanchard families each bestowed as given names, "Edward Augustus Kittredge," upon a newborn son, apparently in honor of the doctor.[128] These accomplishments and honors could easily have been rendered worthless when Kittredge attacked Elmina Waldo in 1838. The assault may have had some negative impact on his reputation; he had considered leaving town, but changed his mind, announcing in 1842 his plan to remain in Lynn.[129] It remains a mystery as to just how the community was able to forgive and forget the loathsome episode. Perhaps it didn't weigh heavily enough to them when put on the scale opposite the valued services and skills he provided the town. Perhaps it was dismissed as just that – an episode – and the attacker's guilt had intervened or the victim's defensive adrenalin had vanquished him before the assault ended in rape. A lifetime of descriptions of the doctor drew a picture of a quirky, eccentric, and unpredictable man. His kindness towards patients was mentioned a few times and his sense of humor quite often, but his hallmark was untamed impulsiveness. That black night may have darkened his soul, but it had not stained his reputation.

"Did you ever see [Kittredge] … If you have, can [you] help laughing this moment at the recollection of him…."[130] If a surviving line illustration of the physician did any justice to his appearance, he was a rather homely man, with a long nose that was proportionate only to his long hair. The drawing was in profile, likely to hide his cleft palate. His unorthodox appearance and personality were consistent with his upbringing. His father, Benjamin Kittredge, wasn't a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society "and some people called him a quack," remembered a contemporary historian, "but an old and eminent physician once said to me, 'there is a good deal of quackery among the best of us.' If Dr. K. was a quack, he somehow or other contrived to cure people whom other physicians failed to cure." Father Benjamin was also remembered to have had a "rough exterior," under which purred a "kind and benevolent disposition."[131]

Encouraged by values attained in his upbringing and strengthened by his own convictions, Edward Augustus Kittredge had adopted several reforms of the age, such as antislavery and the Graham diet.[132] His biggest need for change came with his own profession: he had grown frustrated with conventional medicine. "[I]t failed in the hour of my greatest need. When the anxious mother and the fond father were looking up to me with confidence in my boasted instrumentalities, I found that they failed me, and I became disgusted with them. Just when I need their assistance most it was least likely to appear."[133] Kittredge lost hope in any part of the conventional arsenal, including calomel,

> I do not charge against medicine that it won't do anything. *It does too much*. For instance, calomel – and I don't instance this drug because it is a popular bugbear, but because it is one of the most potent medicines in the allopathic school. It is almost sure to operate upon the liver, and will remove obstructions there quicker, than any article in the world; but it produces a disease ten times worse; making the old adage true, that the remedy is worse than the disease.[134]

Edward and Susan Kittredge had lost two of their first three babies at eight months and fifteen months old. When Henry, their next boy, became dangerously ill with the measles at about twenty-four months, mother and doctor-father were thrown into a panic.[135] The measles had refused to erupt. Kittredge and "his brother physicians did all that they could think of – fruitlessly."[136] The failed remedies were conventional procedures to bring the measles to the surface: bleeding, blistering, and stimulant drugs.[137] "Spurred by a father's love," Kittredge decided to try cold water. He had been reading about how a Silesian named Vincenz Priessnitz had claimed that it was possible to bathe oneself back to health with cold water.[138] Desperate with the prospect of his son's imminent death (that was expected to occur within three hours), Kittredge ran to a pump, "wet a sheet, wrung it out, spread it, took his child from the warm blankets, and laid him down upon it; a convulsive shudder and the paleness of death ensued – but he wrapped him up, first in the sheet, then in the blankets – took him in his arms and sat down…."[139] When the child was unwrapped fifteen minutes later, the measles had "come out" and the boy recovered rapidly.[140] Conventional medicine had failed. Water had succeeded. His son was alive. The impulsive Kittredge immediately abandoned fifteen years of conventional medical experience, training, and education and packed off for Europe to learn how to become a hydropathist – a water cure doctor.

ADD WATER & STIR

As one whose "eccentricities of character distinguished him from all others of his time," it probably seemed eminently sensible that Kittredge would rush across the ocean, Quixote-like, on a personal crusade. Alonzo Lewis mused in verse, "But who'd take a ride / O'er the Atlantic wide, / Just to learn how to bathe in the ocean!"[141]

Bathing was a concept almost as old as recorded history, but its practice was neither widespread nor frequent, even in the first half of the nineteenth century. Alonzo Lewis found it difficult "to imagine a purely moral man who is not cleanly," but, he complained, "There are many people in Lynn … who never washed themselves all over in their lives, and who would as soon think of taking a journey through the air in a balloon, as of going under water."[142] Charles Lummus had certainly found Lewis's estimation to be true. In 1827 Lummus had been playing a game of whist with "an intimate friend" who seemed to have a serious dislike of bathing. "[W]ith a countenance more in sorrow than in anger," Lummus told his filthy friend, "My dear fellow, if dirt were trumps, what a *hand* you would have."[143] In that same year, Edward Lummus tried to sell bathing tubs along with medicines and other benefits to health.[144] A warm bath felt soothing, but a cold one was more economical, not requiring firewood or a stove to make the water warm.

In 1832, encouragement was offered for the construction of shower baths in Lynn homes and bathing apparatus in all public houses, but by 1836 it was noted "as something very remarkable, that in a town containing ten thousand inhabitants there should be no baths, excepting those connected with the hotels at Nahant and the Mineral Spring, which are too remote for common use."[145] An article in *The Star*, a new Lynn newspaper, went on to plead the cause of bathing:

> Some folks seem to think that if they can have a pint bowl full of water to wash their face and hands once a day, they are clean! Such a practice is neither clean, decent, nor healthy. The human system needs frequent and copious ablution, and as our town is surrounded and filled with 'oceans, seas, rivers and lakes,' there is no excuse for this neglect."[146]

In 1839, James N. Buffum, a very good friend of Kittredge and fellow antislavery reformer, constructed an extension to his lumber and box making shop to be used as public baths. Citing reasons of hygiene and luxury, Buffum's new business notices encouraged men and women to come and take cold or warm baths at his new establishment. Water was drawn from "a supply of soft water from one of the best springs in town."[147] The bath was open every day for men except Wednesdays when it was reserved for women with a female in attendance.[148] But by 1841, the popularity of baths had not extended beyond Buffum's facilities except for at the resort hotels patronized by the wealthy out-of-town visitors. Even among the hotels and public houses, six establishments still had no baths available for their guests.[149]

Kittredge arrived in England about 12 November 1845 and left for France and Germany on the eighteenth, accompanied by his friend, James N. Buffum. They returned to England at least by early January 1846 and left for the U.S. on 2 February.[150] Kittredge was on his European expedition for only two and a half months, during which time he explored hydropathic establishments in England and made a pilgrimage to Gräfenburg, Germany, Silesian home of the water cure and its founder, Vincenz Priessnitz.[151] A scant twelve weeks wasn't a long time to learn about the cure, but for the impetuous healer, the epiphany he sought didn't need to take long. Water made so much sense when Kittredge thought about it. It had its biblical roots, with John baptizing in water to cleanse the faithful of their sins. It was the alternative to alcohol and the banner for children's cold-water armies. Fire brigades used it to put out fires. It was the new science, proven by scriptures and common sense. To the reform-minded, the snake of Aesculapius had finally shed its old skin and wrapped itself around the new standard of truth. Exercise, pure air, and the plain, Graham-type diet rounded out the basic water cure regimen.

Kittredge embraced these new truths like long-absent friends. He had contracted severe rheumatism while on his water-cure pilgrimage and in eight days of treatment he underwent seven cold wet sheets (a principle element of the water cure where the patient was wrapped mummy-like in wet sheets, covering all but the face), twenty-one washdowns, a large number of sitz-baths (sitting in four inches of cold water at twenty-minute intervals), one dripping sheet (a sheet dipped into cold water and thrown over the shoulders, the patient being rubbed thereafter for five minutes with coarse, dry towels), one vapor bath (a Thomsonian-style steaming), one plunge bath (consisting of a dive into a cistern of cold water which is constantly fresh from a spring), one seating blanket, and one douche (a stream of cold water dropping on the patient from above). He arose from his personal baptism by water cure, born again. "When I came here I couldn't walk with any comfort," reported Kittredge; "yesterday I walked ten miles and could have walked five more with ease."[152]

Water gave Kittredge a fresh start – a cleansing for the man who had lost respect; the father who had lost children; the doctor who had lost patients. It also aligned him perfectly with the town's many temperance advocates, the young and old soldiers of the cold-water army, who urged for the use of water as the only liquid for the body. Upon his return to Lynn, he immediately began renovating the ell in his Baltimore street home into a water cure establishment – a sort of Bethesda, the *Lynn Pioneer* called it.[153] The parlor walls had been covered in a mural

of scenes from "Lady of the Lake," done in brown. In that room he hosted "health dances … simple, informal gatherings of congenial people for the purpose of healthful exercise and pleasure." Many of his guests were "brilliant and cultivated people of the progressive order, for Dr. Kittredge was in heart-felt sympathy with the antislavery movement and other reforms…."[154] The entrance to his new home office was decorated with the jawbones of a whale (perhaps Kittredge was reusing the same set that Burchsted had used for his arch almost a century before), making something of a Gothic arch in front of the first Gothic house to be built in Lynn (which came to be known as "Gothic Cottage").[155] What more fitting object to mark a doctor's office than bones and what more fitting symbol of the water cure than a creature from the ocean depths? Like the biblical Jonah, those who entered through the jaws of the whale hoped to be delivered from them with their lives and hopes restored.

Just two years earlier, there were no hydropathic establishments in the United States. When the first water cure patient walked under Kittredge's whalebone arch, the next nearest facilities were in Brattleboro, Vermont, and Northampton, Massachusetts, both at least two days ride from Lynn.[156] Kittredge had to promote, educate, and prove his radical new system to a bewildered if not skeptical town. They knew almost nothing about the cure, had demonstrated an aversion to baths, and understood this doctor to be strange and unpredictable. Kittredge had his work cut out for him.

Upon relaunching his Lynn practice, one of Kittredge's first cases using the new hydropathic principles was a severe inflammation of the kidneys. Conventional doctors, he said, would try to subdue and reduce the inflammation with bleeding then digitalis, but now he was able to reduce it simply with cold water. He claimed that he "hadn't the least idea" the water cure "would turn out to be the complete substitute" for conventional medicine, but it turned out to be just that for him. "I had my old medicines in my pocket, not dreaming that I could go through entirely without them," but in just fifteen minutes he saw dramatic improvements in his patient. "I realized, for the first time in my life, that simple water would put out the fire. I wanted to hide my diminished head. Why, it will put out fire in inflammation as well as in a barn."[157]

Kittredge gained a respectable patronage in Lynn at his new water cure. He mentioned several Lynn patients in articles he wrote whom he said were cured or relieved by his efforts. He encouraged readers to contact Lynn shoe workers Gideon Phillips and Homer Frye, or George W. Mudge, a dry goods storekeeper, to see if what he said about the curative powers of water wasn't true.[158] The reform-minded Reverend Philemon R. Russell, minister of the First Christian Chapel who had let Angelina Grimké use his pulpit to stir up Lynn about the antislavery cause, had also become a convert to the water cure. Like many of their friends and neighbors, the Russell family had experienced the tragic loss of babies and a parent. Philemon's first wife died at just thirty-one years old and was shortly followed by a four-month-old daughter. A few years after his second marriage, Philemon lost a fifteen-month-old daughter.[159] So when he saw his second wife suffering from "nervous debility" for two years, he brought her to some of the "most distinguished physicians of Boston," but they were not able to do much. "[A]s a last resort" he got her to go to Kittredge and "in three months her health was quite recovered."[160]

Another of Kittredge's early Lynn water cure experiences involved William A. Fraser, a cordwainer who had "contracted a violent cold, which caused inflammation of the chest and prostration of [his] digestive organs."[161] He tried Thomsonian measures and when these failed, he resorted to one of Lynn's conventional medical fraternity, but recovery seemed to slip further away:

> I resorted to sweating, emetics, pills &c., and not succeeding, I called in a respectable physician, who did all he could to remove the disease. In vain were all the medicines taken – in vain were all the efforts used to restore me to health. Dyspepsia and all its horrors were upon me, and my sufferings were intense. I could not rest day or night; all was dark and gloomy – life seemed a burden. My stomach

> would reject almost anything I would eat, and that which remained created pain and distress. I could not sit long enough to read a short paragraph in a paper, without feeling great pain.[162]

Fraser then turned to Kittredge, freshly returned from his water cure tour of Europe. Kittredge promised that he could restore Fraser's health with the aid of water.

> He ordered, in the first place, a discharge of all my former agents; which order I immediately complied with by throwing away about fifty pills and various other drugs and medicines. I must give up the use of tea and coffee, tobacco … and all stimulating substances. I must take a 'wet sheet' every morning – wear a 'wet jacket' and use the 'sitz-bath' … twice a day, with all the exercise I might feel disposed to take. I followed his instructions to the letter, and in a fortnight I felt like a new man. It seemed as though a heavy burden was removed from me, and life appeared new and beautiful again. So great was my joy that I would run, jump, skip, and hop like a young buck. I was continually speaking and singing of the virtues of cold water.[163]

Convinced that water was the answer to illness, Kittredge's conversion to the water cure was complete. He replaced all use of drugs, blisters, and leeches with cold water. Noting Kittredge's introduction of the water cure in Lynn, one of the era's leading antislavery exponents, Nathaniel Rogers, congratulated the town for simply having Kittredge in their midst and predicted that he would do wonders for them with water.[164] It would prove difficult to hold this zealous hydropathist within one town's borders. With his boundless energy and impulses channeled into hydropathy, he was ready to be its tireless apostle among suffering humanity everywhere. There wasn't enough water in Lynn, Kittredge said, for him to soak his growing clientele, so within a year of his return to town, he had taken half ownership in a new water-cure establishment in Waterford, Maine, and some of his Lynn flock followed him there.[165]

Trudging off to the wilds of Maine was probably not too much of a sacrifice for the Kittredges. Waterford was only fifteen miles away from Susan Kittredge's hometown and family and Edward's Uncle Asaph; besides, they kept ownership of their Gothic Cottage in Lynn while Edward Augustus worked at his grand experiment in the backwoods. The facilities were ideally situated near cold spring water, at the foot of heavily forested hills and near the shores of a beautiful lake. The Waterford Water Cure was an oasis of clean air, cold water, and peaceful living.

The new establishment opened around the first of May in 1847.[166] Its first bout of patients numbered around two dozen. Some of these were what Kittredge referred to as the "Massa[chusetts] Chapter Delegation Lynn Division" – his Lynn patients who had followed him up to his new water cure facility. A few were "very sick and others not very well, but with the exception of some grumbling all are pretty happy."[167] Those words were written by one of that Lynn contingent, Aurora Porter. "Of a scrofulous habit and consequent delicate constitution, [Aurora] never enjoyed but a moderate share of health"; she suffered from a large red eruption on her abdomen that constantly exuded a discharge the color of old blood and "caused much severe pain."[168] She feared that it was cancer and was willing to make the long trip and endure extended isolation from her family and friends in order to be cured by Edward Augustus Kittredge and his water treatments.

Aurora and her husband Oliver lived on Silsbee Street, just a few blocks from Kittredge's Gothic Cottage. They were parents of four children, ages thirteen, ten, eight, and three years. Oliver ran his English and West India Goods store at the corner of Union and Silsbee streets. He was one of the many in Lynn with a reformer's soul, serving as an officer in Lynn's Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society and as treasurer of the Lynn Prisoner's Friend Society.[169] He was also temperate, choosing to stop selling liquor at his Maine store back in 1829.[170] Aurora embraced a reformer's spirit as well; she joined the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1837 and in 1840 she and Oliver were the only married couple to attend the Universalist Anti-Slavery

Convention held in Lynn.[171] The reform-minded Porters were indeed ready to try the newest health reform; Oliver encouraged Aurora to give the water cure a try. Although they discussed the expense of the Waterford enrollment and Aurora worried about what her in-laws would think of the extravagance, they were mutually committed to making the necessary sacrifices.[172] As she embarked on her cure, Aurora commented, "… if I can only regain my health I will not complain if it does not take too long and cost too much."[173]

For Oliver, originally from Rye, New Hampshire, and Aurora, from Strong, Maine, relocating to Lynn had become a family affair. Oliver's sister Elvira, her husband, the physician Charles M. Weeks, and their two children lived on Newhall Street. Aurora's sister Relief and her husband Caleb Long, a currier and leather dealer, lived on Market Street with their two children. Cyrus Stinson, also Aurora's sibling, and his wife Susan boarded with Oliver and Aurora in the Waterford year, during which time he worked at Oliver's store. Ezekiel Porter Eastman, another doctor and member of the clan from Strong, also relocated to Lynn in the spring of 1846 with his wife Mary and their son, living just a few doors down the street from Charles and Elvira Weeks.[174] Although Ezekiel's middle name suggests a relationship to Oliver, he was actually first cousin to Aurora through her mother. All five of these families, along with Edward Kittredge, lived in close proximity to each other, within a mile radius of the town's central business district.[175] Aurora's correspondence with Oliver frequently mentioned and inquired about their extended family members in Lynn – she missed them all. Just a few days after her arrival at the water cure, she wrote tenderly to her husband, "I am not entirely free from home-sickness, but what is worse I fear wet sheets and bandages will not effect a cure of that disease. The only remedy I know of is frequent accounts from home of your safety and health."[176]

Relief and Aurora were close in sickness and in health; they traveled together to Waterford and were roommates at the spa. Relief's difficulties, weakness and exhaustion, do not seem to have been as ominous as Aurora's.[177] While she probably had a genuine fear that she was at the threshold of some dangerous disease, Waterford seemed to also appeal to her as a getaway and spa as much as it did a medical facility, plus she and Aurora would keep each other company.

Aurora had mixed feelings about going to Kittredge's Waterford water cure. She needed only to touch or look at her abdomen to be reminded she wasn't well. In his first letter to his wife, Oliver reviewed some key advantages to the Waterford location that they had surely weighed into their earlier discussions about whether she should go:

> We shall feel interested to hear from you often – and to know of your success – the effect of quiet, freedom from care, diet, outdoor exercise and the various water applications, as well as society, upon the mind, without the toil and fatigue of the body. All of these I trust will produce the desired happy effect. Tis not water alone that restores.[178]

Indeed, being located amid the wild woods of Maine, at the edge of a pristine lake, was an important part of the restorative regimen of Kittredge's water cure experience. Aurora told Oliver several times of her efforts to take walks and benefit from the fresh air, as did another female patron who wrote to a friend, "… with my utmost zeal [I] urge you to come to this paradise of woods, lakes, and hills – We can take delightful rambles together …. I do not get so easily fatigued by walking, as when I first came, and every day walk from two to three miles at different times."[179]

Aurora was committed to giving hydropathy a full opportunity to cure her, but she regretted that the effort had to be undertaken far away from her husband and children. She dearly wanted to be home; six weeks after her arrival in Waterford, her homesickness had not improved: "I am as well contented here as can be in such an unfinished place & away from my husband, children & home & know that an inexperienced girl [a domestic servant] is at the head of affairs at home & that winter is coming on and many things will be needed to make them comfortable."[180]

Oliver did what he could to reassure his wife that she didn't need to worry about home, "We shall have enough to eat, drink and to wear and I think on the whole, shall get along very well."[181] He knew his wife's case was serious and assured her he would do everything necessary on the homefront to support her recovery: "I am aware that for a thorough cure *at Waterford* you will have to remain there one year at least…. But you must not let the desire to be at home prevail against your true interest. On my part I shall endeavor to manage here as well as in my power and shall not hurry you home on account of expense."[182] In addition to being supportive and reassuring, Oliver maintained a buoyant attitude for his wife's sake. He nicknamed the Waterford water cure "Hydroville," which amused not only Aurora, but also Kittredge and his business partner in the venture, Calvin Farrar.[183]

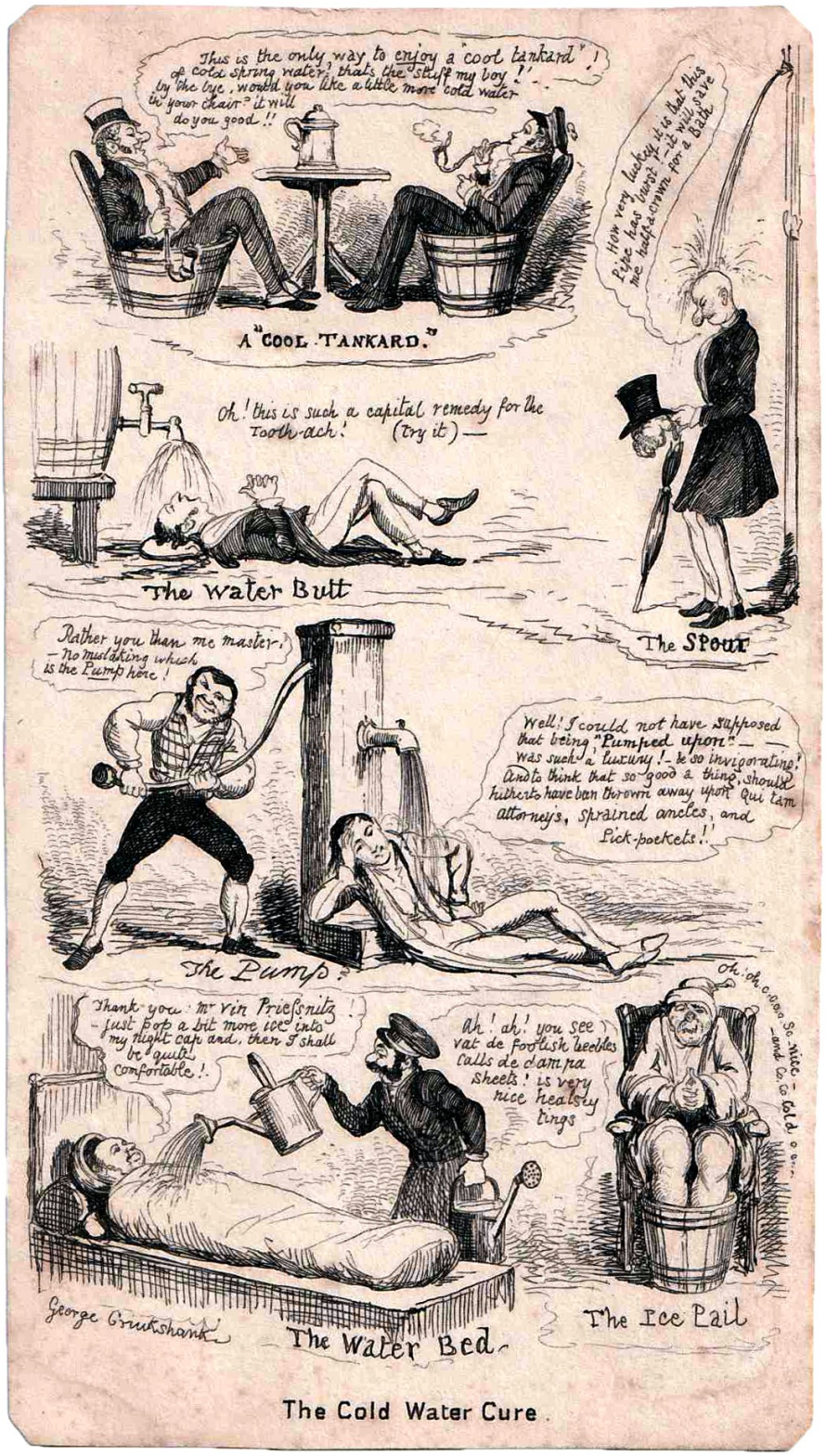
Kittredge was excited about the opening of his venture. A dance was held a few nights after Aurora and Relief arrived, probably one of several welcoming soirees. Shortly after the dance, Kittredge wrote to his good friend Oliver Porter, "Your interesting & *to you* lovely wife arrived," subtly reassuring Porter that his wife would be safe even though she was many miles from her husband and very close to the doctor.[184] In the same letter, however, Kittredge teased Aurora's absent husband, letting him know that she participated in the "merry dance" and had a great time, while "all the beaus" vied to gain the attention of the Lynn ladies who had arrived. Excitement, enthusiasm, and anticipation effervesced among the doctor, staff, and inaugural rounds of patients. Just before Aurora and Relief arrived, another patient wrote zealously about the water cure to her friend, "I expect to go home quite pledged to its extension and development, and shall want to be packing all the ailing ones in wet sheets." The hydropathic neophyte then implored her male friend to come to Waterford for himself, "… if you are still troubled with the inflammation about your head, you may find it good to consult Dr K. and make some application of Hydropathy. … I wish you could thoroughly try the Cold Water System dear Henry, for I believe tis just what you need."[185]

Kittredge also implored Oliver to come up to the cure as well because he also needed medical attention (Oliver's problem seems to have involved digestion). He understood that Oliver had a store to run, a family to feed, and a house to maintain so that his wife could be at Waterford. Consequently, he gave Oliver hydropathic instructions to execute on his own. These included making thin flat wafers of just graham flour and water an having "one and one *only* which you will eat for breakfast and supper & two for dinner – with a little cold water & *no other drink*." Additionally, the sitz bath was prescribed twice a day and a cold wet bandage was to be worn over the bowels at all times. Kittredge ended his instructions as a friend and doctor who knew Oliver well, "*Now remember* – This is not 'child's play.' Your case is serious & demands attention – do this *religiously* and I will *ensure* you a cure…."[186]

Edward, Aurora, and Oliver had all acknowledged that patience and faithful adherence to the doctor's instructions were critical to a cure, but like Hannah Key had found out, these personal strengths were sometimes in short supply.

Oliver supported and encouraged his wife's participation in the full water-cure regimen but he was much less enthusiastic regarding the doctor's instructions for himself. "I don't say I shall adopt it rigidly," he wrote to Aurora, "but do as well as I can, and as you will do, report progress."[187] True to his promise, he reported back three days later and, true to his prediction, he wasn't the perfect patient. He did all that Kittredge advised in water treatments, but "The hardest of all is to come down to the wafers & water. I bought some cold-water Graham crackers which I make my chief living, but can't help tasting some of the good things on the table…. The Doctor must not calculate too strongly on me as a patient."[188]

Aurora embarked on her regimen of diet, exercise, and water treatments in strong spirits, though the flesh was weak. She wrote to Oliver about the confining experience of the wet sheet treatment that she and Relief underwent each day. This treatment wrapped the body, including the arms, in a cold saturated sheet, immobilizing all muscles up to the neck. In this state of



***"The Cold Water Cure,"* 1843**. Drawn as a humorous, satirical review of hydropathic treatments. Illustrations by popular caricaturist George Cruikshank. Vincenz Priessnitz, the Silesian developer of hydropathic methods, is depicted holding a watering can over the patient in the bottom image. (Collection of the author.)

mummification, the women were powerless to stop a kitten from jumping on top of them purring and clawing at the fabric. Repeated shouts for help finally rousted attendants from another building.[189] Cat on the prowl notwithstanding, Aurora grew so used to the wet sheet that she looked forward to it as a good time to nap.

Aurora found the doctor's behavior from the very start of Waterford to be quintessentially Kittredge – unpredictable:

> He is the same as ever, sometimes so good you hardly know what you think of him & then all 'off the hooks' as the saying is, but he is governed entirely by impulse & that is all one must think of. He is always kind to us, though, but you know him, and he has as much to try his patience here. I should not be surprised if he sometime returned to Lynn.[190]

It was an insightful prediction given that she had observed the doctor at work in Waterford for only four days.

Patience ran shorter and the desire for speedy cures grew. Aurora's letters began to express her dissatisfaction with Kittredge's efforts. She felt neglected because it seemed that Kittredge had spent so little time on her case. Oliver tried to reason with her that it wasn't "necessary or customary in such Establishments" for the doctor to give much attention to the patient because changes in the physician's prescribed water treatment plan didn't need to change any more frequently than the patient's condition, which changed for the better or worse, slowly.[191] Aurora was not assuaged,

> I am well aware of the danger of expecting too much attention from the Dr. …. However, I can see no danger of *his* being injured by being too much on close attention to *his* patients. A person who is sick, or one who *thinks* they are sick enough to leave business & home & to incur the expense & annoyance of such an establishment certainly feels entitled to something more than a casual how do you do? From the Attending Physician. That *he* has trials I also admit. Still a little politeness & interest manifested towards all, without being a very heavy tax upon him would make all right.[192]

Aurora also found plenty to complain about with the conditions at the cure. Barely two weeks after her arrival, she was secreting notes to her husband like a prisoner from a jail:

> I want you all [the extended family back in Lynn that heard the news from Oliver] to be very careful not to repeat to them while they are there [the Kittredges were expected to visit Lynn] anything that has been written about matters here to you. It will do no good, and I defy a Saint to live here & not feel somewhat 'tried,' especially if they have occasion to go into the kitchen ever. The knives and forks are cleaned about once a week, their dishes *feel* as though they were washed in thin porridge much of the time & they have any *quantity* of flies in the kitchen and *elsewhere*. I think it an imposition on the public to open an Institution of this kind and compel people who are obliged to resort hither as a means of preserving life, to eat so much dirt…. *my stomach* is none of the strongest & I am not the only one who sees these things….[193]

A month later, the food had not improved, "My appetite is excellent. If it was not I should starve here with so much dirt. It is a question whether dirt is really hydropathic, for they pretend that nothing that is not hydropathic is allowed on the tables."[194] Aurora's resolve to live, eat, and breathe the Waterford hydropathic cure began to crumble, "*If you … send me anything eatable don't let the Dr or C*[alvin Farrar] *know it*. I should never hear the last of it. We have no fruit at all, no corn, beets, turnips, squash, or anything of the kind, but we shall live I suppose."[195]

Not surprisingly, Relief and many other patients at the spa came down with serious cases of diarrhea. Aurora suffered from a stomach and intestinal complaint (perhaps diarrhea) at the same

time. She was alarmed that her case might worsen and produce mortification (the death of tissue or organs, shutting down the affected bodily functions). Kittredge had his answer to the run of diarrhea occurring in his establishment: it was, of course, the water cure. He did not allow Relief to eat or drink anything besides water. Her water treatment plan involved sitz baths and cold-water enemas. Relief's case came to a fever crisis. She had been complaining that the water was making her sicker; to be sure, she was becoming sick of water. The doctor insisted that her case was manageable with water and his attentiveness and kindness towards her during the crisis calmed her sufficiently that she was "nearly done threatening to take medicine," which would have been the same as declaring the water cure and doctor had failed.[196] Just like John Hutchinson and Hannah Key, Aurora wasn't sure what really had cleared up her stomach and intestinal problems, "Whether it was the Water treatment, dieting, or brandy – or nature's own effort independently of them all did the thing, am unable to decide."[197]

Back in Lynn, the husbands were confused, alarmed, and upset. Oliver began to doubt the whole enterprise,

> Mr. Long and I are at a loss to understand how it is that the Bowel complaints & colds which you are having there are prevalent. How is this? *Can it be that the water is in fault?* How can you take cold, when you are bracing up with cold water against it, all the time, besides, keeping your blood in good circulation, by exercise, and your System free from oppressions & obstructions by your plain living. Why, I have heard of no colds or bowel complaints in Lynn (or rarely) this summer. Doct. Eastman says *it is alarmingly healthy here just now*.[198]

The satisfaction and anticipation Kittredge had felt during the welcoming social crumbled quickly under the onslaught of frustrating questions and impatient complaints by his guests. Just ten days after her arrival, Aurora was telling her husband, "[Kittredge] is in a fret constantly with some one of the patients who has made complaint of neglect or who wishes to take some bath that he does not think them prepared for – he said it is doubting his skill & ability to manage their cure."[199] Oliver had half-teased and half-suggested that Aurora's purpose at Waterford wasn't just to regain her health, but to learn the tricks of the trade so that they wouldn't need doctors thereafter: "You can, after leaving Waterford … do considerable here, especially after learning ['stealing' is written above the word 'learning'] the trade."[200] A month and a half later, Aurora reported, "They have not had one cure yet …. I have not mentioned this to have any bearing on my case, only as a piece of information," but her later comments showed that she was indeed frustrated and concerned about her lack of definitive progress.[201]

Just as Oliver had previously suggested to his wife, some patients began to leave early, incurring the ire of management: "It makes both Kit and Farrar *mad* to have patients come here & get well under way & then go home saying they can apply the baths as well at home, save the expense & have the oversight of the family.[202] When Kittredge made a visit back to Lynn, he told Oliver that he was going to keep Aurora at the water-cure for six or seven months. Although Oliver had told Aurora three weeks earlier that he expected she would need to be at Waterford for a year, *his* patience had also grown thin: "He evidently wants to keep his patients as long as he possibly can, and it is difficult to know how much confidence to place in him."[203]

The water cure establishment gave Aurora the opportunity to participate in a support network of other patients. She explained to Oliver, "… it is so much easier & pleasanter to be where others are going through the same routine of baths, walks, hopes & fears, and each feels an interest and sympathy for the others that those not directly engaged in the same cannot feel."[204] When it came to sharing their fears, Aurora bared her abdominal alien to some sister sufferers. She continually updated Oliver on what her new friends were seeing in person, "I have quite an eruption out on my bowels & the sore looks badly [and] is pretty tender…. I think the water treatment agrees with me & that I am improving generally – but what to think in respect to this sore I am at a loss to determine."[205] Three days later she wrote, "My sore … for a day or two …

felt a little sorer than before, it looked a little darker, or purple today. I think it is not quite as large as it has been, though not essentially changed. I will try to be thankful if it ever heals up and I feel pretty well again." But then Aurora, after six weeks at the water cure and sounding very much the fatalist or perhaps realist, concluded, "Do not expect ever to feel *well*."[206] In four more weeks she reported to Oliver,

> I have had slight eruptions on my bowels four or five times since I came, which would remain three or four days and then gradually disappear. It sometimes looked like the measles, red and very thick just *under* the skin. The sore is much as usual only *sorer*. The wet bandages I wear constantly are stained a dark color or light mahogany, some distance round the spot, that discharges constantly though slowly. It seems to me there *must* be some change in this before long. At times I cannot help feeling very uneasy about it.[207]

There were a few female attendants assisting Kittredge with the female patients. Even though Kittredge was the doctor, propriety dictated that the bathing treatments – probably all of them – be conducted by the attendants without him being present. Kittredge heard from his wife who heard from other female patients who were shown by Aurora the appearance of her abdominal abnormality. From this description three times removed from the source, he concluded that it wasn't cancer because he believed cancer only occurred on a gland, but he asked Relief to try to "*contrive some way when* [Aurora] *was in bed or taking* [her] *bath*" for him to get a glimpse of it. Relief immediately revealed the confidence to Aurora, who related it to her husband in a letter.[208] A beleaguered Aurora told her husband that the doctor said, "if I was going to leave before I was cured … he would have no more to do with *me*. He wants me … to go home when I have left without any fear of cancers & Scrofula tumors before my eyes…."[209] Five weeks later, Aurora could wait no longer. Relief had already gone back to Lynn two weeks earlier and immediately began eating all the things that had been forbidden her in Waterford. She wrote to Aurora, "I was in the kitchen this morning making a pudding for dinner (Oh, what a pleasure to cook or help cook your own dinner)…. I take *solid* comfort eating, but don't tell Dr. K. I expect it is killing me."[210] Relief's husband told Oliver, "… she eats all before her and that he thinks of boarding her out [paying for her to eat somewhere else so there would be something left in their house].[211] Telling her sister how she had continued to take the sitz bath and exercise (taking walks), Relief urged Aurora to come home and continue her cure on her own. Aurora wrote to her husband once more for his advice,

> … [I]f you think it unnecessary to remain *here* any longer, I am ready to leave when *you* think best, Dr. K. and Mr. F. to the contrary notwithstanding. All I wish to do is *right* and what *I ought* to do … if you will think I am pursuing the wrong course, or staying down here at great expense when I could do pretty well at home for nothing, almost, I will run right home & be just as good as I can when I get there. [212]

Oliver told her to come home; she had been at Kittredge's water cure for three months. Others of the Massachusetts Chapter Delegation, Lynn Division, followed in her wake: Kittredge and his family came home, too.

MEDICAL DIRECTIONS

Aurora knew that the doctor and his wife had their fill of "down East" and the cold-water institution at least a few weeks before they ultimately returned.[213] While running the Waterford facility, Kittredge still had to make trips back to Lynn because there were "patients now who demand his constant attention."[214] When Aurora was making final plans for her return to Lynn, she noted that the Kittredges were "making arrangements to remove his effects to Lynn immediately or as soon as is practicable," and she thought that was fitting and just fine,

> … [S]o you see we are to have him or them for neighbors again which will be very pleasant & agreeable for he seems to be a part of Lynn, somehow a 'fixture' as Mrs. [Kittredge] once expressed it, & ought not to expect to stay long away from his place & sphere. Many I doubt not will approve and rejoice in his return & some may feel quite differently about the matter, the Drs particularly.[215]

The Porters and the Kittredges had undertaken the grand experiment together and, while there had been tense moments and frustration between Edward and Aurora, their friendship resumed in Lynn right where it had left off. In November, the Kittredges invited the Porters to their Gothic Cottage for Thanksgiving dinner; the invitation made no mention, however, of whether the ravenous Relief was also welcome to the feast.

Aurora had desperately wanted to get better. She spent a quarter of a year many miles away from her husband, children, and extended family to do so. She had endured extremes in treatment and hardships in diet. In spite of her efforts and sacrifices, little had changed. Just before leaving Waterford she told Oliver, "My own health is as usual. I am disappointed that this trouble of mine is not materially & essentially better before I returned home, but I cannot say that it is … The Dr. thinks it better although sorer … but [this] is strange reasoning to me."[216]

Somehow, Edward Augustus Kittredge was able to return to Lynn in a blaze of glory. Fans and friends couldn't seem to use enough superlatives to describe the man and his water-cure practice. One tribute read, "Spent several days very happily with Dr. Kittredge, so justly celebrated for skill, energy, and oddity, as were his forefathers."[217] Lynn's *Freedom's Amulet* told its readers, "The triumphant success … of Dr. Kittredge, is fast removing every doubt, even in the minds of his opponents. He is a much greater and much better man even than he has generally been esteemed, and is fast building for himself a monument of fame in the gratitude of the suffering thousands whom he has permanently relieved."[218] The "great success" Lynn was experiencing with the water cure was even being noted in a newspaper in faraway Natchez, Mississippi.[219] It probably came as little surprise to anyone that a song was written to praise their resident water cure celebrity. 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, another quartet (better known for their music than reform impulses) based in Lynn, wrote the music. The line drawing profile of the doctor appears on the sheet music below the seven stanzas.

> 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.
>
> ……
>
> O it is wonderful to tell,
> How fast the sick are getting well!
> They just are wrapt in a wet sheet;
> Presto – they're standing on their feet!
>
> *Chorus* [220]

While Kittredge's enthusiastic friends and followers chimed in on the happy, hearty chorus, Aurora Porter had relapsed. More desperate than ever, she had returned to the Waterford Water

Cure in the late summer of 1848. Under the direction of a different doctor, she resumed the routine, diet, and hope of a water cure. When October of that year rolled around, her patience did not waver, "… the [fall] season you know is the best for the water cure treatment, and I do not want to be obliged to go into wet or dripping sheets, when I get home. I want when I leave the *hospital* to leave these *plagues* behind."[221] After a year of fighting her difficult illness with the intense hydropathic regimen, the plagues she wanted to leave behind were probably both the illness *and* the cure.

Oliver and the children moved up to Waterford later in the fall to be with Aurora. The reunion would be their last; Aurora died at Waterford on 29 January 1849.[222]

Despite the strong support and admiration from Lynn, Kittredge's return lasted less than two years. Boston beckoned this time; the biggest and busiest city in New England was bereft of a hydropathist. From the busy hub city, Kittredge could take care of chronic cases and walk-ins, and launch on lecture junkets to any point on the compass. One of his adoring chroniclers acknowledged that his "sulky with a top" had been replaced: "… the 'iron horse' flying in and out of Boston in every direction and at every hour is 'amazing handy' for doctors, as well as other folks."[223] All of eastern New England became ready audiences for his lectures on the water cure. He offered courses of eight or nine lectures to make a thorough presentation of the gospel of water.[224]

Kittredge also became a prolific writer, although he limited his efforts to articles and serial installments in newspapers and hydropathic periodicals like *The Water-Cure Journal*. He had a passing thought of writing an encyclopedia of water cure, but the quick, short article format fit his personality better. He wrote serious, educational water cure doctrine under his own name and let his saucy, humorous alter ego vent under the pseudonym, "Noggs."[225] In all of his writings, he kept his lessons simple and the doctrine basic. "Two-thirds of all we eat, is waste matter," he wrote in one such article, "and God has designed that the most of it should be thrown off through the pores of the skin. Now, if this be true, what must be the result if these ten thousand little doors be shut … as they are in those instances where the custom of bathing is not protracted."[226] He counseled rum drinkers to replace their rum with water from the fountain and "not to mind the insects" that invariably occupied the liquid.[227] He also assured those accustomed to conventional therapy that "the simple wet sheet, properly applied is better, ten thousand times better … than any kind of blood-letting ever invented…."[228]

Kittredge continued his rise as one of the shining stars in the water cure. He was elected to serve as a founding director of the newly formed American Hydropathic Society in 1849 and in 1851 he became one of its two vice presidents.[229] He was beatified as the "Priessnitz of America" by one gushing water cure enthusiast and as "the strongest genius of which the 'Universal Yankee Nation,' can boast." by another.[230] The love and devotion to Kittredge had not changed since John Hutchinson watched his friend leave for Germany to learn the water cure and later wrote in his journal, "God bless every hair on his head…."[231]

Whether or not some actual success with patients fanned the flames of the doctor's reputation, his popularity emboldened him. He went after the conventional medical profession with unrestrained vehemence and vigor. He often belittled their methods and philosophy by simply dismissing them as "nonsense." He contended that they had "usurped the place of Nature" with their use of powerful drugs that only disguised, relocated, and aggravated illness.[232] "[T]hey must know that it is wrong, wickedly wrong," Kittredge wrote as Noggs, "to give these terrible poisons, under the vain pretense of curing a man."[233] The outspoken water cure champion was absolutely convinced that the conventional system was "a complete failure … destined to be succeeded by the hydropathic."[234] He reasoned that conventional doctors wouldn't admit the failure of their system because they would lose their jobs to laymen and women who had learned to cure themselves and their families with water. This may be another reason that Kittredge did not manage any water cure establishment for very long, preferring, it would seem, to gain income

from lecturing and writing: he felt that the ultimate success of the water cure would eliminate the need for full-time professional physicians of *any* type.[235] To this end, he wrote a few articles on self-treatment, encouraging laymen to learn the water cure for themselves and their families. He challenged them to "have a proper knowledge" of anatomy, physiology and the like by getting "all the books you can find on the subject, read and ponder, select the good and leave the rest."[236]

His exuberance and wit combined in a memorable repartee with the famous Boston doctor, Oliver Wendell Holmes. In many of his lyceum lectures, Holmes disparaged homeopathy, hydropathy and other popular healing notions of the day. His comments on hydropathy included the observation that back in the days of Noah, the Flood was "the first grand experiment of the Water-Cure, but … it killed, according to all accounts, more than it cured." Following Holmes at the lectern after this barb had been volleyed, Kittredge responded that even in the case of the Flood, "the 'Water Cure' saved all that were worth saving, and that's all we could ask of any cure."[237]

It came as no surprise or concern to Kittredge that his irreverent attacks on regular medicine made him unpopular with fellow members of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He seemed even proud of being referred to by some as a quack, as had been his father, and as the "long-haired renegade" by others.[238] Kittredge was always ready for a fight between conventional medicine and hydropathy, "The war is inevitable, and I for one say, let it come."[239]

There would be skirmishes, but no war. As with Thomsonianism and Grahamism before it, hydropathy was diluted into other types of medical practice. Conventional doctors and homeopathic physicians adopted baths into their regimens for various purposes. As Kittredge had predicted, many laymen also practiced water treatment at home rather than spend the time or money going to a distant resort. The ill and their caregivers also wanted to see some dramatic and speedy results from any treatments used, but besides the biblical pools of Bethesda, water did not produce many miracles. A case in point was "Mr. R." of Lynn, one of Kittredge's star patients. He had recovered completely under Kittredge's care and zealously spread the word to hundreds of friends and townspeople that the water cure was all that was needed for medicine, but later, to Kittredge's great frustration, he went back to dosing himself with medicine. Stunned and confused at his patient's reversal, Kittredge lamented, "What does it mean?"[240] Indeed, most people tried several alternatives, precisely because no one choice seemed to work all the time. One water cure facility reported that of 589 patients, 414 had previously taken calomel, 504 opium, 544 various patent medicines, and 216 had used homeopathic medicines; there were even 45 who had swallowed arsenic and 24 strychnine.[241] Before Reverend Philemon Russell became a disciple of the water cure, he had publicly endorsed *Trufant's Compound*, a patent medicine for skin conditions.[242]

Medicine in the 1840s was a confusing mixture of options with each trying to promote and prove themselves, denigrate rival notions, and steal better ideas for their own. In this respect, it was more marketing and politics than science. Everyone kept an eye on conventional medicine – the old school that had existed for many centuries largely unchanged. It organized on a nation-wide basis in 1847 as the American Medical Association and in 1851 a hydropathist friend of Noggs noted with sarcasm and probably some concern that the AMA was meeting for the third time, "Has thee heard anything conclusive from the great 'Medical Convention?' I can't learn as they have done anything particularly astonishing, except appoint committees, and eat dinners."[243] Actually, the AMA focused on organizing itself and setting standards for medical education because schools were cropping up everywhere to produce doctors, but with no standards for qualification. The AMA's early years were not characterized by monolithic unity. Internal disputes and external attacks kept the new organization from becoming the clearly dominant medical power in antebellum America.

Internal discord aside, many regular physicians still firmly supported the conventional methods and proudly banded together with their fellow medical society members. Isaac Francis

Galloupe, one of Lynn's newest physicians, assumed the AMA posture, complaining that the country's medical schools were turning out more doctors than were needed and that many of those graduates turned to dishonorable occupations, including "nearly all the homeopathists, hydropathists, consumption doctors, &c.," just to make a living:

> These, while they are careful to let the public know that they have been educated in, and received all the advantages of the "old-fashioned way," affect a show of contempt for it, as if, forsooth, they had discovered that all the accumulated medical knowledge, from the time of Hippocrates, is worse than nothing. Such men, it has been said, must be "knaves or fools;" but I query whether the majority of them are not both knaves and fools. Thus our most powerful and dangerous enemies are to be found within our own ranks.[244]

It's hard to imagine that Galloupe didn't have fellow townsman Kittredge (the popular and outspoken rebel of conventional medicine) in mind when he offered that opinion. Ironically, Galloupe's commitment to the "old-fashioned" school of conventional medicine gave him the opportunity to personally witness one of the most significant advances in surgery in over two thousand years.

Under the tutelage of Abel L. Pierson of Salem, one of the leading surgeons of Essex County, Galloupe witnessed how going under the knife was feared by those who needed surgery; the "dread of the operation caused it to be put off as long as possible; and in many cases it was not done at all, the patient preferring death." When a patient could be cajoled into having the needed surgery, large doses of opium (he gave the example of a teaspoonful of laudanum) were given and then brandy as needed. Galloupe explained that it was then "necessary to have two or three strong men at hand to ensure the quiet required by the surgeon." But, Galloupe explained, the patient who was courageous enough to endure the excruciating pain of a surgery "ever afterward … was a coward if the same kind of courage was needed again."[245] Eight months into Galloupe's medical education, a Boston dentist named William T. G. Morton claimed to have a compound that would make patients insensible to pain during surgery, but a demonstration was obviously necessary before the medical community would believe what sounded like yet another preposterous claim of a quack.

ANESTHESIA. On 16 October 1846, Galloupe was among those in attendance in the surgical theater of the Massachusetts General Hospital where John Collins Warren was to excise a tumor from a man who was to be made insensible to the pain of surgery by Morton's anesthetic compound. Doctors, ward-tenders, and medical students were all in their seats at the appointed hour, 10:00 a.m., but conspicuously absent was Morton. Galloupe later described how Warren had waited for a half hour for Morton's arrival and then "remarked, sarcastically, 'Dr. Morton has not come, perhaps he has another engagement.' Then followed sneering remarks by the students, and sneering looks by the surgeons, for no one had faith in the experiment, and the students enjoyed the fun of the anticipated failure, myself with the rest."[246]

Just as Warren was about to begin the operation, Morton arrived, "out of breath, and red in the face from hurry." He applied the glass ether inhaler to the patient for three or four minutes, then turned to Warren and said, "Your patient is ready." The surgery proceeded with no sign of pain that Galloupe could see. The venerated veteran of surgery had just performed an operation unlike any other and recognized the historic nature of the moment; according to Galloupe, there were "tears glistening on [Warren's] face" when he turned to the audience and said "Gentlemen, *this* is no humbug." Galloupe recalled, "We were *thunderstruck.*"[247]

Morton had tried to disguise the ether by coloring it red, giving it the name, *Letheon Compound*, hoping to make some money selling rights for its use to other dentists and doctors. One of those licensees was Joseph E. Fisk of Salem who, like Morton and other dentists, had

previously experimented with mesmerism and other methods as anesthetics. Abel L. Pierson arranged to have dentist Fisk assist him as anesthetist in some of his own operations. Using Morton's compound, the team of Pierson and Fisk performed some of the earliest painless surgeries after Morton's demonstration, including the amputation of the arm of a girl who had fallen under an oncoming train, and the leg of a man also injured in a train accident.[248] As Pierson's young protégé, Galloupe may have witnessed these early pain-free surgeries, as well as the removal of a cancerous tumor from a breast that Pierson also performed, but at the very least he watched the first demonstration by Morton.[249] His exposure to this dramatic improvement in surgery bolstered his confidence in conventional medicine and his contempt for unconventional healing.

Lynn healers were divided on the efficacy of the new painkiller. Just a month after ether's official introduction to the medical world, a Lynn dentist named Hanners announced he was preparing to use it.[250] In another month, William Read, a Lynn eyes and ears specialist, was warning of its dangers, "… the inhalation of the vapor of ether is highly injurious … induces a disposition to bleeding from the lungs, violent headache, and extreme and in some cases almost fatal stupefication.… [T]he injury likely to result from its use is greater than the immunity from pain attained."[251] Josiah F. Kimball, the editor of the *Lynn News*, couldn't resist offering his own opinion, "Undoubtedly, there are cases in which the inhalation of the vapor of ether may be attended with ill effects, but we think it ought to be used where, without it, the operations would be excruciating."[252] In 1848 William Harmon, another Lynn physician, experimented with the use of anesthetic, successfully removing a neck tumor "while the patient was insensible under the influence…."[253] Harmon actually opted to use chloroform as an anesthetic; some healers believed it was safer than ether. Some felt that the use of either was a giant stride for scientific medicine; others felt it was a step into the dunghill of quackery.

Lynn reflected the multidisciplined milieu that comprised medicine in the 1840s. Conventional medicine, hydropathy, homeopathy, botanical medicine, and other factions competed for acceptance and patients. Conventional medicine was faithfully represented by James Nye and Abraham Gould, and at decade's end by Isaac F. Galloupe. Gould had been described as "one of the best and most efficient … under the old *regime*" and like Galloupe, Nye was "jealous for the honor of his profession" and spoke "decidedly against what he regarded as quackery, [refusing] to affiliate with it in the least degree."[254] By contrast, Edward Kittredge had openly rebelled against his regular medicine heritage in mid-decade and became a standard bearer for the water cure. When Kittredge wasn't in town, H. T. Packer of Gloucester visited Lynn, offering a combination of hydropathic and botanic treatments.

The Reverend Philemon P. Russell blended his ministry with the water cure. At first, he was a devoted disciple of Edward Kittredge and brought patients to him (including his own wife) from as far away as Fall River. Later he felt the calling himself and practiced hydropathy in addition to his religious mission. "I feel it but an act of humanity to do so," he explained, "… I have been greatly blessed in my own person, and in my family, by the water cure…."[255] Four months after publicly pledging allegiance to Kittredge, Russell's confidence in his own hydropathic abilities converted him into an adversary. He told Oliver Porter that he had cured forty or fifty people, "mostly chronic cases, at private houses, that will compare with Kittredge's or any other establishment in the Country. [Russell] goes into the business with great confidence & energy besides large ministerial labor."[256] He was even more involved in his water cure efforts than he had intimated in his letter to *The Water-Cure Journal* earlier in the year. His wife had apparently relapsed from the 'full recovery' he indicated she had experienced at Kittredge's hands months earlier and he was now handling his wife's care himself, Oliver Porter had reported to his wife, "[Russell] is now engaged in the treatment upon his wife for weakness … having lately entirely cured a lady of like difficulty who had given up housekeeping & gone to her mother's on account of being run down & not able to work. He got a man out in 10 days who had

not been out for 13 months, &c &c."[257] With the cocky self-assurance of a competitor, Russell assured Oliver that it was "entirely unnecessary" for Aurora or Relief to remain at Kittredge's Waterford cure any longer.[258]

Like Kittredge, James Clark forsook his background in regular medicine; he showed up in Lynn as a "vegetable physician" (in nineteenth century healing, the term "vegetable" was used interchangeably with "plants" and "botanicals"). He abandoned "mineral poisons" and resorted to the plant kingdom remedies that he felt were safer and more effective.[259] Similarly, Benjamin K. Ross described himself as a botanic physician; he and Clark were probably not essentially different in their practices.[260] Robert S. Rogers advertised that he was a Thomsonian and a botanic, thus trying to garner patronage from both orthodox and more liberal of those favoring plant medicines. He also advertised his availability for midwifery services, promising never to use force (as with forceps) because he trusted in the "*simple* and *safer* operations of nature."[261]

A Lynn woman named Martha Chester sold herbal medicines as well and claimed to have the ability to clairvoyantly discern her patients' internal problems and needs. After Kittredge finally made an examination of Aurora Porter, she wrote to her husband, "I think he understands my case *now* as well as any one can, without looking inwardly as Mrs. C[hester] does."[262] When Aurora's sore had become far worse and her anxiety acute, she told her husband to ask "Mrs. Chester if she thinks I am any better or likely to be …" In that Lynn and Waterford were over 115 miles apart, Aurora clearly had faith that Martha Chester's clairvoyance worked at long distance.[263] Oliver exhibited similar faith in the clairvoyant healer; he wrote to his wife about how he went to Mrs. Chester to get a diagnosis and prescription for his indigestion after failing to abide by Kittredge's Graham-styled dietary instructions, "She decided that my difficulty was a canker which caused the food to distress me," Oliver told his wife, "She prescribed a medicine which I prepared, that had a good effect but not yet entirely cured." Since the remedy had not cured him completely, he decided to make another bottle of the stuff.[264]

Elvira, Oliver's sister, apparently had some medical concerns about the birth or early days of her baby, but did not think well of consulting this local mystic. Her attitude was probably in deference to her husband, Charles M. Weeks, who was a physician. In a letter to Oliver, however, Aurora intimated that something in Chester's clairvoyant diagnosis or instructions had come to pass, "I rejoice in Elvira's good fortune. She is now quite happy no doubt with her little daughter, and perhaps will allow that Mrs. Chester *knows something*." [265] Aurora and Oliver Porter used the psychic perception of Martha Chester, the water of Edward Kittredge, the advice of Philemon Russell, and the pills of Ezekiel Eastman, noted the practice of Daniel Perley in their correspondence, and had a self-trained doctor (Charles Weeks) for a brother-in-law. Health was a central focus in their lives and Lynn healers swirled in dizzying orbits around them.

The tiny seeds of homeopathy were planted in Lynn late in the 1840s with little fanfare. The philosophical core of homeopathy, "like is cured by like," meant that diseases were cured by medicines that produced the same results as the disease symptoms. Homeopathy posited that the symptoms of illness were to be encouraged, rather than suppressed, to stimulate a cure. Homeopathic medicine was repeatedly diluted (often in a sweetened base) to minimize the presence of the single medicinal ingredient it contained because it was believed that potency increased as the active ingredient's presence was decreased. Patients were relieved to take medicines that tasted better and did not provoke a violent response from the body like the heroic doses of conventional physicians.

This antithesis to regular medicine gained patients and the ire of conventional doctors. In his anti-homeopathic opus, *Homeopathy and Its Kindred Delusions*, Oliver Wendell Holmes concluded that the miniscule doses were "as great an exception" to the laws of nature as the miracle of the loaves and fishes. The minute presence of medicine in a dose, he went on, was as likely to cause a cure as "a pebble [was to] produce a mountain."[266] The *Lynn Forum* newspaper also took its shot at homeopathy's miniscule doses with a lampoon called "Homoeopathic Soup":

> Take two starved pigeons, hang them by a string in the kitchen window, so that the sun will cast the shadow of the pigeons into an iron pot already on the fire, and which will hold ten gallons of water – boil the shadow over a slow fire for ten hours, and then give the patient one drop in a glass of water, every ten days.[267]

While advertisements in 1849 for Daniel Alfred Johnson are the earliest remaining evidence of a resident homeopathic physician in Lynn, another homeopath administered to Mary Gove, in the earliest years of the decade. Gove recollected in her autobiography the fearsome impact of a stroke-like paralysis she suffered shortly after moving to Lynn, "I had a stony feeling all over me, and particularly in my head. I knew my eyes were open, and yet I could not see. All my limbs were rigid like wood. I heard and understood what was said, and yet could give no sign…. I lay a long time in this stony state. I was in a grievous illness that I can not attempt to describe."[268] Gove "had little belief in physicians or medication."[269] The new homeopath in town was called for and, although she had no faith in homeopathy either, she decided that at least "[t]he thirty millionth part of a grain of charcoal, or chalk, or cuttle-fish, can't hurt me."[270] Starting with Daniel A. Johnson, there would be at least a few homeopaths (and in later decades, many) continuously living and practicing in Lynn for several decades.

In the midst of the many medical philosophies being practiced, some physicians practiced eclecticism – a blend of medicines and therapies from the various systems, according to the needs of the particular case. H. T. Packer had such a blended practice, running a botanic infirmary, selling syrups, bitters, drops and balsam, and also adding the water cure to his practice.[271] By 1851 James Clark had transformed twice over, from a conventional to a botanic physician and then again to an eclectic physician. Like Kittredge, his regular medical training was offered as evidence of his medical knowledge and wisdom to discern the best type of remedy for every situation. He described his practice as one of "vegetable … medicine and surgery, on scientific principles."[272] Two more eclectic physicians in Lynn were Daniel Perley and Ezekiel Eastman. Daniel Perley graduated from the medical school at Dartmouth College and was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, but his biographer explained that while he felt the "old school" of medicine was the best, "he was always ready to study and to receive new thoughts and ideas." Thus, he used the water cure to fight scarlet fever.[273]

Ezekiel Porter Eastman, Aurora Porter's cousin, was thrilled to get an invitation from Nahant's residents to be their physician. In March 1846 he wrote to his brother-in-law back home in Strong, Maine,

> I am three miles from Lynn at *the* watering place of the United States. I was hired by the inhabitants of the place to tend *them* for four hundred and fifty Dollars a year. In summer my charges to strangers will amount to more than my salary. I spend now four hours each day at Lynn where upon an average two Dollars and a half each day ….[274]

A doctor on salary was a rarity indeed and Eastman's retainer was especially generous because he was free to collect additional fees from the wealthy summer tourists to Nahant's hotels and to spend a good part of each day doing the same in Lynn. It was also probably much easier to collect his earnings from the town than it would have been to collect it from an equivalent of dozens or even hundreds of individual patients.

Later in 1846, shortly after Kittredge had returned from his European excursion, Eastman went on a whirlwind tour of England, France, Germany, and Belgium, also to learn the water cure. Ezekiel quickly soaked up information on the new healing method and upon his return in early 1847, began his hydropathic practice at Dracut Heights in Lowell, Massachusetts in an establishment with enough space for sixty patients. He was apparently at that facility for a very short time, however, as it was being run by different doctors by May.[275]

In October, Oliver Porter tried to reassure his wife that if she returned home, her cousin could continue her hydropathic care, "The chief difficulty … is not having Dr. K[ittredge] present in case any decided change should take place. This, perhaps is what lies in your own mind. This is weighty, perhaps, unless you can have confidence in Dr. Eastman. He Doctors considerably in the water treatment now."[276] Later that month, Oliver told Aurora that Eastman used the water cure for typhus fever "with excellent success."[277] When it was clear that Kittredge was going to return to Lynn, Aurora wondered if Eastman would feel threatened. Perhaps he did. Once Kittredge returned to town, Eastman left Lynn twice to get his own water cure running in distant locations. Two years after his effort at Dracut Heights, he tried again to run his own water cure facility, this time in Gorham, Maine, but that effort also ended in under a year and he once more returned to Lynn to resume his eclectic form of practice.[278] Upon his return he was willing to try the next new thing – homeopathy. After only a brief effort with the tiny pills, Ezekiel replaced that new experiment with the botanical medicines that he had learned to trust in his earliest years as a healer. He not only returned to the use of plant medicines in his practice, but he also began bottling his own remedies for retail sale, like the pills that he gave to Oliver for dyspepsia, "[Eastman] says they never have failed to cure Dispepsia. He warrants a cure. They excite the bile to do its duty in digestion – or in some way helps it."[279] Eastman's eclecticism was rewarded with kudos from the town press, "Dr. Eastman is another fine specimen of the polished gentleman, as well as accomplished physician. He united in his practice both the old and new systems, using drugs or cold water, as occasion in his judgment may require, and for this he is highly esteemed by many."[280]

Those physicians who were dedicated to one system of medicine disliked eclecticism because treatment choices were up to the individual physician and no two eclectics would necessarily treat the same patient in the same way. Kittredge jabbed at eclecticism by claiming he was eclectic. He reasoned that if eclecticism was a matter of selecting the best treatment for each malady, he did so by picking the water cure every time.[281]

The decade 1840-1849 was the dawn of organized if not professionalized medicine on a national level. In addition to the establishment of the American Medical Association in 1847, eclectic physicians organized the National Medical Association in 1848, and water cure healers formed the American Hydropathic Association in 1849. Homeopaths had already organized in 1844 as the American Institute of Homeopathy.

Even the American Society of Dental Surgeons had formed back in 1840. It was hoped that this early effort to professionalize dentistry would curtail dental quackery and the common occurrences of laymen taking matters – or tooth pullers – into their own hands. The twenty-five cents for a tooth extraction that Isaiah Haley and other itinerant dentists charged the citizens of Lynn was more than many laborers earning eighty cents a day were willing to spend.[282] A town newspaper related one story where a Lynn shoemaker performed an extraction himself. Whether it was embellished or entirely fabricated, it probably came close to some very real efforts to avoid the dentist's bill:

> A new mode of extracting teeth has lately been discovered in the Highlands [a rocky and hilly section of town where many shoemakers lived and worked], which, from the quickness of the operation, and the facility with which anybody can perform it, bids fair to ruin half of the present professors of the dental art. A countryman who had for some time suffered all the pangs of that excruciating tormentor, the toothache, at length, screwed up his courage to a pitch sufficient to allow him to think of submitting his head to the relentless hands of … a jaw-breaking doctor. Having declared his intention to a neighboring shoemaker, Crispin [a nickname often used for shoemakers, after the patron saint of the craft] invited him to come to his shop, where he would perform the operation much quicker, much easier, and without any reward. The patient assenting was placed on a shoemaker's stool, a strong "rosette end" was twisted round the devoted tooth, and then tied firmly to the

> patient's foot, so as to bring the foot within half a yard of his mouth; things being so far in progress, Crispin moved to the rear, and taking one of his sharpest awls, gave his patient a prick in the seat of honor – a spring and a roar, and the operation was over."[283]

John Hutchinson was just as anxious to have his tooth pulled. He suffered from excruciating tooth pain shortly after his return from England. While staying at a Boston hotel, he accepted the hotel owner's offer to pull out his bad tooth. The proprietor produced his own turnkey and pulled out what he thought was the offending tooth. In that it appeared to have very little decay, he scraped it off and put it back in Hutchinson's jaw. For six weeks after the operation, Hutchinson "suffered neuralgia and every form of pain that ever proceeded from a diseased jaw." The desperate and miserable minstrel finally went to a Lynn dentist because he had come to suspect that the wrong tooth had been extracted altogether. The dentist pulled a different tooth that was the actual problem. When Hutchinson told him of the hotelman's pull-and-replace procedure, the dentist was mortified and declared, "You have run the risk of your life! It must come out at once." Extraction of the replaced tooth was much more painful than on the first occasion, probably because of infection and inflammation that had set in.[284]

Lynn had at least eight resident dentists during the decade. As with regular medicine, there were some who appear only as shadows, slipping in and out of historical records. Some of the more clearly revealed practitioners were J. L. Allen, E. G. Baker, and J. R. Dillingham. J. L. Allen stands out oddly for having won a one dollar prize for specimens of his dental skills that were displayed amid the prize animals, fruits, vegetables, and flowers at the Essex Agricultural Fair of 1847.[285] He filled teeth with gold and sold drops to deaden tooth pain, powder to clean teeth, and astringents for diseased gums.[286] E. G. Baker took over Allen's office at the year's end and announced that he had "taken great pains to possess all the recent improvements in the science, including the art of making porcelain teeth."[287]

J. R. Dillingham was noted in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* for publishing a monthly paper called the *Dental Mirror*, designed to "enlighten the public on the subject of dentistry," and to "expose the trickery and imposition of quacks."[288] He also published a tract on scientific versus quack dentistry to help the public discern the differences between the two and the advantages of the former.[289] Dentistry had the same challenges from quackery and ignorance as did medicine. The *American Journal of Dental Science* identified three types of dentists practicing at the time: those that just made a willful decision that they were "suddenly" dentists, those who were poorly educated and learned rudimentary skills only from painful mistakes, and the true professional man of science.[290]

Standardized methods and professional certification were broadly the objectives of most of the new medical societies, each of whom had to contend with do-it-yourself shoemakers and hotelmen, outright charlatans, poorly educated and trained healers within their own ranks, and competition from each other. While defining their own roles, the societies also had to convince laymen that they had unique knowledge and ability to fight illness and pain. It was a claim that was hard to prove.

BRING TO A SLOW BOIL

Near decade's end, one of the town papers stated, "We have some very good physicians in Lynn, though it seems they do not know every thing."[291] With little understanding of the cause of most illnesses and few measures that were effective in preventing the spread of contagious ones, Lynn was still subjected to outbreaks and its doctors were a weak defense. The whooping cough played havoc in 1842.[292] The smallpox visited in 1841 and again in 1846 and even with an understanding of inoculation, "people were filled with alarm, and discover … death in every wind

that blows."[293] Death blew through many Lynn homes, knocking people down into their graves. Matching Reverend Philemon Russell's family losses to a person, Isaac Pinkham lost his wife in 1842 and his baby daughter just six weeks later. Four years after his 1843 second marriage to Lydia Estes, they lost a fourteen-month-old baby. So too, did Robert Rogers and his wife lose children, in 1844, 1846, 1847, and 1848. Few families were spared an untimely swing of the Reaper's scythe.

Death's harvest was abundant near the decade's end with the killings beginning in 1848. The demise of a single reveler appeared at first to be the vengeance of an angry god. One Sunday in June, a group of young men chose to party at the Saugus River, partaking heartily of clams and liquor. On their way home, one of the group began to feel sick. Growing worse quickly, a doctor was called for, but the twenty-five-year-old William Austin died before the physician arrived. The *Lynn News* suggested that if the group had attended church instead of having their "Sunday frolic," their compatriot would still be alive.[294] But it became apparent that the clams found in the town's shores and riverbanks were proving dangerous any day of the week. In the paper's next weekly edition, it reported, "There have been so many deaths, in this vicinity, from eating clams, within a short time…."[295] A family near the Saugus River had a pail of clams ready to cook, but the woman of the house had heard about the deaths associated with eating tainted mollusks, so she threw them out to the family hog. The next day the hog was found swelled up and dead. The *News* reminded residents of an old bit of wisdom: do not eat clams if the month does not contain an "R" – May through August.[296]

At the same time that poison clams were being harvested on the town's west side, a deadly illness marked by dysenteric evacuations appeared in Wood End, the northeastern section of Lynn. James Nye described the neighborhood's outbreak as typhoid dysentery. The obituary of Sidney Ingalls referred to it as the "summer sickness."[297] Dozens of Lynners were dying from the epidemic at an alarming rate. Those who became ill from it far exceeded the actual death toll, making Lynn a very sick place for many weeks. There were so many sick that there were not enough nurses or watchers to attend to them all.[298] The symptoms included fever, headaches, vomiting, pain in the lower abdomen, and fetid, often bloody, stools. The town's physicians found that the usual dysentery remedies had virtually no impact on the illness. Nye's treatments were limited to the diuretic and gently cathartic properties of silver nitrate, spirits of turpentine, calomel, and nitrous acid and the sedative, painkilling, and anti-diarrheal actions of opium and camphor.[299]

Nye reported that the epidemic spread with great speed, "and confined its ravages to no class or age," but it preferred to kill children.[300] The *Freedom's Amulet* reported, "A great mortality has for about nine weeks prevailed in Lynn … with little abatement…. Many persons of the first respectability have died, but the greater portion of deaths have been of children and infants…. [T]he mortality is unparalleled in the history of the town…."[301] In just one week, twenty-six died, twenty-three of which were children. From July through December, 117 people were brought to the grave by the dysentery illness; 75 of the deaths occurred among children under ten years old. Ninety percent of the deaths (105 of 117) occurred in the months of August and September.[302] Seven funeral processions marched through Lynn streets on September seventeenth alone.[303] Reverend Parsons Cooke delivered a eulogy to comfort grieving families and scared friends.[304]

Alonzo Lewis, the editor of the *Amulet*, asked the critical question that the whole town wanted answered, "And the question is, What is the cause? for there must be a cause. As the scripture saith, 'The curse causeless shall not come.'"[305] Two years later, Nye was still asking the same question in his report to professional brethren of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He noted that the summer and fall of 1848 had been unusually hot and dry and that air and water can decompose when they are warm and not circulating; consequently, the effects of stale air or putrid water could be just as dangerous to health as decaying animal or plant matter.[306] The *Amulet*

article had hauled out the list of usual suspects, including "drinking bad water, eating heartily of fat meat in hot weather, leaving off flannels, taking sudden colds, wearing thin dresses, leaving the body exposed to the night air, and sleeping or living in rooms full of noxious air."[307] The *Amulet* editor's despair changed to anger and frustration over the inability of the town's doctors to vanquish the illness,

> We have at least twelve physicians in town, and they probably receive from seven to ten thousand dollars of our money annually. It is their business to find out [the cause of the epidemic], but not one of them can inform us. We might as well inquire of a flock of hens, or a drove of sheep, they could tell us just as much and probably do just as much good towards saving our lives.[308]

Alonzo Lewis's frustration was real and personal. His own wife had been sick and was attended by eight physicians, but none did any good or could even tell what was wrong with her. The nervous husband-journalist continued to ask the tough questions, "Here is a disease sweeping off from our midst the best and the fairest, and no one can arrest its progress or assert its cause! Is it the plague? Is it the cholera?[309]

Anger, fear, and despair infested Lynn homes – and so did death. Sidney Ingalls left a widow and "a large family" of at least seven children "to lament his untimely loss."[310] The Garlands suffered through the devastating triple deaths of three of their children in one month because of the dysentery. The Peabodys lost their twins within a week of each other; neither of the infants had been on Earth for two months.[311] And young Theodore Parker Mudge, whose head revealed such a promising future, was also stricken and killed by the relentless epidemic. (Lorenzo Fowler had performed a phrenological reading of the boy and determined that his brain was too large for his body and therefore needed to be kept out of school for a year or two so his body could catch up. Fowler pronounced Theodore a prodigy just a few weeks before the boy died.[312]) Many other Lynn families became victims to the illness as well, "to the great grief of all."[313]

Dysentery cases began to diminish in late September and were all but gone by the end of October. Over 50 adults and 110 children had been buried during the epidemic. It is possible that a changeover to cold, dry New England fall weather contributed to the extinguishment of the epidemic; it is unlikely, however, that the town physicians had a meaningful role in defeating an illness they did not truly understand.

No sooner had the dysentery contagion disappeared than the scarlet fever took its place. In January 1849 this new menace to children was "raging violently" in Lynn and continued throughout most of the year. Death often came within twenty-four hours of the fever's onset. Seventy-one died of whom fifty were under five years old and sixty under ten.[314] There were probably many such epidemics in the town's annals that went unrecorded in printed histories because, while virulent and vicious, the population simply endured and lost few to the scourge. The next wave of sickness brought death, however, and therefore scars that wouldn't fade as easily as the January bout with scarlet fever.[315]

In the late summer of 1849, the beleaguered town was hit again, this time by the second great cholera pandemic to strike the United States. Reports of a new invasion of Asiatic cholera appeared in the town papers as early as May, when cases were appearing in New York.[316] This time there was no hesitation to remind the citizens of cholera precautions. Lynners were advised that many vegetables, as well as lobster, clams, oysters, and perhaps even fresh fish were poisonous during the time of cholera, "This should be remembered by our citizens, though the inspiring strains from the fishermen's horns may greet their ears in the cool morning with a most tempting offer of the *net profits* of the Swampscott fishermen."[317] J. F. Kimball, the editor and owner of the *Lynn News*, was probably barraged by irate Swampscott fishermen immediately after the fish warning gained circulation among the townspeople. It was quickly recanted in the

next issue a week later because the *News* had found a Boston doctor who would say that fish were okay to eat. The promise of safety was a relief to the fisherman and to Kimball, who recognized "It would be rather hard, if our Swampscott friends should be compelled to abandon their houses, through fear of the cholera…."[318]

The *Lynn News* was able to share another warning that wasn't so politically sensitive:

> … [A]bove all, don't take patent medicines. Avoid all cathartic ones. Shun quack nostrums as you would contact with the dead body of a victim of the cholera itself. There is an almost insane idea in the minds of some people, that they must take something as a *preventive* of cholera. Such means are sure to induce the disease. Patent medicine manufacturers take advantage of the credulity of such people, and we see their advertisements headed, "sure safeguard against cholera," &c. Beware of these nostrums. Medicine is an evil, at the best; it should never be taken to *prevent* sickness. The best preventive against cholera is to avoid, when in health, *all medicine*, and every thing else which can disarrange the functions of the stomach and other parts of the system. "Throw physic to the dogs," – at least, until nature requires its aid; and then be sure that it *is* an aid.[319]

The editor conveyed his wishes that Lynners would take the precautions to heart because "not a week passes without some citizens of Lynn being exposed to the malignant miasm of the dreadful scourge," the cholera. "With a correct manner of living," the *News* concluded, "there is no need to fear the pestilence."

Like a prophecy from Kimball and a morality tale by the town's reformers, the cholera did strike Lynn, in what the townspeople considered the bastion of the broken and wasted – the town almshouse – the last-chance hotel for those whose lives were testaments to incorrect living.

It hit at the calmest of times. The previous year's epidemic and resulting large number of deaths had given Lynn an unfavorable reputation as an unhealthy place. No town economy could endure the tainted reputation of being infested with illness, contagion, and death, but Lynn was more susceptible than many Essex County towns because of the considerable patronage that its villages of Nahant and Swampscott received from the wealthy of Boston and elsewhere during the summer months. Thus, on 10 August 1849, a town newspaper announced, "We are enjoying, in Lynn, the present season, a remarkable degree of freedom from sickness and death. There has been no epidemic…." It proved that the previous year's troubles were "unusual and unprecedented … this summer, the people are favored with health, in a remarkable degree. The watering places in this vicinity are well filled."[320]

It was a great shock and concern for the fragile sisters, health and reputation, that the very next week the newspaper reported an outbreak of cholera in town. The bad news was wrapped in assurances that the outbreak was limited to the denizens of the almshouse and that they were the unhealthy and unholy types that should expect the punishing disease. The night before *Lynn News* subscribers were to read about how healthy the town was, an Irishman named Thomas Shealey, from East Boston "drank excessively of cold water, after a debauch, and suffered the usual effects of excess and exposure." The drunken, sickened Irishman then staggered to the almshouse and asked to flop there for the night. The next day he became sick from cholera and died on Sunday.[321] Cholera had entered the almshouse and the almshouse became a morgue.

Next to become the cholera's victim was William Skelton, an inmate of the almshouse and "an intemperate man, broken down by his habits and by disease." He exhibited cholera symptoms on Monday and died in eight hours.[322] The irony of Skelton's death wasn't missed. In a time past he had "flourished" as the president of the Reformed Men's Temperance Society, but had "of late years … fallen from his honorable position, so that he became a perfectly used up man, the mere remnant of what he was...." He had appeared before a judge a month earlier on the charge of being a vagabond. The report of the court session explained that he had chosen to go "to the

peaceful retirement of Tower Hill, and was accordingly placed there, to receive its beneficial influence."[323]

The *News* tried to stem any feelings of panic, "Aside from these cases of cholera, one of the oldest physicians says the health of the town has not been as good for the last ten years as during the present summer." Faint comfort. The same edition confessed that the next day another cholera death occurred at the poorhouse: Mary Sweetser, aged 83.[324]

The board of health had arranged for the cholera patients to be quarantined in a separate house and ordered that the almshouse be cleaned, whitewashed, repainted, and the windows opened for ventilation, but the dying did not stop.[325] Four days later, Eliza Erskin, the "worthy assistant matron" of the almshouse, died from cholera. She had delayed calling for assistance for several hours, was found collapsed, and died the next day. Two more senior citizens, already suffering from infirmities, were attacked on Sunday; one died the same night and the other the next day. On Monday, a young boy of eight years was also seized with the sickness and died on the twenty-third. "He had eaten green fruit on Sunday," was the rationale for the child's cholera susceptibility. Yet another feeble man was attacked on Wednesday and also died in eight hours.[326]

The ninth case was Mrs. Clough, the matron of the almshouse and "a most excellent woman in all of the relations of life."[327] She had removed herself from the building on August 19, but symptoms manifested on the twenty-third and she died the next day. She left behind her husband and four children, but the cholera skipped over them and attacked others of the almshouse population. On the same day Mrs. Clough died, another two adult male inmates came down with the cholera.[328] The newspaper reviewed the gruesome symptoms that all the town's cholera sufferers exhibited:

> … violent cramps, profuse vomiting, and purging of thin fluid, resembling rice water; great coldness of the extremities and the skin generally; lips and hands livid; countenance shrunken, and cadaveric; tongue and breath cold; great distress, with a sense of heat; eyes glazed and flaccid; indistinct articulation; partial deafness; pulseless at the wrist, and no perceptible motion of the heart.[329]

It was also conveyed that while the public "is disposed to regard cholera as contagious" the experience of medical men "prove the contrary."[330] This enlightened opinion was dead wrong. Other cases began to show up beyond the confines of the almshouse. William Tarbox died at his home on Cross Street and Anthony Coleman, another Irishman, died on Boston Street. Bridget Haley, a four-year-old Irish girl died in Swampscott.[331]

Then, just as suddenly as it had erupted, it was over. In a one-sentence statement, the September seventh issue of the *Lynn News* announced succinctly, "The cholera has disappeared from Lynn," but the experience wouldn't be quickly forgotten.[332] An undertaker in the western part of town had been extraordinarily busy in August; he had constructed thirty-three coffins to cover the deaths from the town's cholera epidemic in addition to the others of the season.[333] It was acknowledged that the "dreadful scourge … has proved more fatal to its victims here [in Lynn] than at any other place yet on record." [334] And this time, it wasn't confined to the wretched and the intemperate; the healthy and virtuous matrons of the almshouse and an innocent four-year-old girl had perished just as surely and quickly as the debauched Irishman, the decrepit old men, and the relapsed temperance advocate. The verified appearance of the cholera in Lynn and subsequent deaths notwithstanding, the town reacted to the 1849 epidemic with much less panic than there had been in 1832.[335] In the first pandemic, Lynn residents had plenty of time to fear and worry about the killer that was hovering close-by in many communities to the west. When it returned in 1849 and actually attacked some of Lynn's population, its brief and relatively isolated appearance probably put most of the population at ease.

Which course of medical treatment was best in such calamities wasn't resolved or perhaps more accurately, not proven. Little seemed to have changed in the decade other than more

medical choices being created. Faithful followers were earned, but all of the physicians in Lynn, with all of their notions and preferences, were still often unable to ease the town's worries when it mattered most. The report of a local medical debate that occurred in 1835 typified the confusion that continued throughout the 1840s. The *Lynn Record* related that some of the regular physicians of Salem had engaged in a spirited debate with some Thomsonian practitioners at a tavern in Danvers about "which practice is most entitled to public confidence. As is usual in such discussions, *both sides beat*."[336] Aurora Porter witnessed the same standoff between her two friends, Ezekiel Eastman and Edward Kittredge, "I wish Drs. E[astman] and K[ittredge] were on friendly terms, as much at least as 'two of a trade' can be, on my own account, if for no better reason. But 'what can't be cured must be endured' that is sure."[337]

LaRoy Sunderland, a Saugus minister-turned-physician, asked the poignant question, "Who shall decide when doctor's disagree?"[338] A Lynn newspaper editorial had an equally poignant answer, "… however much a respected family physician might be displeased, our advice is … *resort to the remedy that proves effectual*."[339] The public wasn't at all motivated to drop their use of over-the-counter medicines. In fact, store-bought medicines offered an alternative to all the systems. The promise of an end to pain and a speedy cure, accomplished with only a small cash outlay, were all people really wanted; it didn't matter who or what would deliver.

EXIT DOCTOR DEATH

In a town emotionally invested in reform movements, medicines promising to remove the shackles of pain and illness, without the expense of a physician, appeared to be powerful medicines indeed. While Thomsonianism had been the common man's alternative to medical society medicine and hydropathic spas appealed to wealthier clientele, patent and proprietary medicines beckoned every class suffering from any illness. Each advertised medicine was promoted as extremely effective, absolutely safe, well proven, and popular. Each medicine maker was challenging that their products were better than all others, as well as all other forms of doctoring for the same complaints. The resulting competition among medicine makers, conventional doctors and botanic, clairvoyant, hydropathic, and homeopathic healers from Lynn and elsewhere was consistently present in the advertising of each. An ad in Lynn's *The Pioneer* newspaper for the New York-based *McAlister's All-Healing Ointment* did just that, calling out the errors of its rivals, "The Thomsonian, for instance, *steams*, the Hydropathist shrouds us in wet blankets, the Homeopathist deals out infinitesimals, the Allopathist bleeds and doses us with mercury, and the blustering Quack gorges us with pills, pills, pills."[340]

An ingenious advertisement for the Lynn medicine, *Lummus's Pectoral Syrup*, used a carefully crafted illustration to position the medicine as superior to all other products and healers. With all the melodrama of a gothic play being performed, the stage is filled with a mother's pathos and a child's joy, the retreating villain, the returning faithful husband, the courageous family dog and, at the center of it all, the bottle of medicine that animates the whole scene. The setting is inside a home with the mother seated in a comfortable chair. A toddler daughter stands by her mother's side, excitedly reaching up for her father and the bottle of "P.S^{P}" (Pectoral Syrup); she seems delighted at the arrival of both. The sedate, sitting mother is apparently sick of some lung complaint that the pectoral syrup will cure. The entrance of this grand medicine onto the scene foils the evil designs of the skeletal creature who is about to exit stage left. The absence of all anatomy but bones identifies him clearly as Death, but his clothing makes him even more. The top hat and cloak he wears and the nob-headed cane he carries expose his profession as a physician. The four containers grasped in his other bony hand carry opium and antimony – tools of the conventional physician – and lozenges and balsams, representing the deadly pulmonic weapons of quacks. But the deadly doctor will not have his victory because the wife and mother has been rescued by *Lummus's Pectoral Syrup*. Fido stands on guard at his mistress's heels,

vigilantly staring down the unwelcome intruder in his most menacing crouch. The postscript text restates the lessons learned from the picture: *Dr. Lummus's Pectoral Syrup* "is probably the only Cough Medicine now in the market which is entirely free from narcotic and mineral substances and proper to be used as a Family Medicine … compared with this, all the nostrums of the day sink into insignificance."[341]

Medicine makers across the country were quick to offer their products to Lynn's newspaper readers as the healthy alternative to mineral medicines. The makers of *Brandreth's Pills*, frequently mentioned in medical society journals as a prime example of dangerous medicine mongering, threw the stone of quackery right back at regular medicine:

> How my heart bleeds when I think of the valuable lives which are every day lost, that might be saved – the industrious fathers, the affectionate mothers, dearly beloved children, the hopes of their families, cut off in the spring and summer of their lives – and all this havoc, all this misery, because bleeding, opium, calomel, and other destructive remedies are used, instead of removing, with a proper purgative medicine, those humors which from whatever cause arising, and certainly by their retention in the body, the SURE DESTROYERS OF HEALTH AND LIFE.[342]

Dr. Gordak's Jelly of Pomegranate claimed to remove mercury left behind in the system by mineral medicines and users of *Dr. Roberts' Welch Medicamentum* were promised they would no longer have to be bled for any reason.[343] Like *Brandreth's Pills*, *Goelicke's Matchless Sanative* was frequently denounced as quackery, but its manufacturers defended by turning right around and attacking regular medicine, accusing doctors of secretly using the remedy they had renounced:

> WAR! WAR!! WAR!!! BETWEEN "PHYSICIANS AND THE MATCHLESS SANATIVE" … Why are physicians constantly PELTING the Sanative and saying nothing against OTHER medicines? Let their Day Book answer. … Why do some physicians SECRETLY buy the Sanative and MIX it with their own medicines which they use in their daily practice. – Answer: that they may have the CREDIT of the CURES.[344]

At the same moment that regular medicine was being savaged, nostrums borrowed the language of the conventional doctors, using a diluted version of the humoral theory for their own. The proprietary medicine variant of humoralism dispensed with the need for a harmonious balance of four humors; all humors were now just bad, unhealthy junk that needed to be flushed out of the system. Medicines like *Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills* promised to cleanse and purify the body of the "corrupt humors."[345]

Medicine makers tossed the quackery epithet to each other like a hot coal. They all acknowledged the miserable existence of quackery, but each swept the label from their own doorstep onto their neighbor's porch. An editorial in the *Lynn Record* solemnly acknowledged, "It is a rare thing to be benefited by the use of the patent medicine now-a-days," however, they assured their readers, *Dr. Sackett's Strengthening Plaster* was the exception because of the "many cures that are effected by its use, which are really astonishing."[346] All corners in the medicine world assured the public that they despised quackery. It was a real monster to be feared and avoided, but potential patients of healers and medicine vendors were blindfolded and defenseless as they walked through the woods of the beast, never quite sure if and when they would fall its victim.

Lynn's papers were liberally dosed with ads for all sorts of pills, plasters, liniments, elixirs, purifiers, vermifuges, balms, bitters, and balsams, all promising to be the true and best cure. Four-page weeklies were oftentimes crowded with such medical wonders as *Buchan's Hungarian Balsam of Life* and *Dr. Lin's Temperance Life Bitters*, a friend of reformers, the august-sounding *Dr. Skinner's Oleum Jecinoris Aselli*, the patriotic *Balm of America*, and such homey remedies as

Tomato Pills. Advertising copy made promises ranging from the sensible to the outrageous. *Lummus's Headache Lotion* of Lynn would cure "headaches of all kinds in 5 to 20 minutes," while *Albert's Oleaginous Hair Tonic* claimed "No Excuse for a Bald Head" and throat-soothing *Wild's Indian Candy* was "the celebrated champion" of ministers, vocalists, and temperance speakers.[347] A startling testimonial for *Dr. Relfe's Botanical Drops* had to give hope to the hopeless, "My leg which did not look like a human limb, is now entirely healed up…."[348] The promise that *Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills* "open up all the natural drains" might not have been startling, but probably made some wonder if they wanted to be cured.[349]

The level of medicine advertising in the town's newspapers stayed fairly steady during the 1830s and 1840s. Between the *Lynn Record* and the *Lynn News*, the town's two most consistently published newspapers, a cumulative average of fifty medicines were advertised annually and about 200 different brands in each decade.[350] Newspapers put remedies from distant states onto a local stage; the Lynn papers had frequent ads for medicines made in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Medicines were the first type of consumer goods to gain regional and national brand recognition. If a family did not produce its own food, clothing, or house wares, local craftspeople and farmers provided local needs; medicine advertising, however, was the first to imply or promise that more efficacious and valuable products might come from some distant location. Many editions of Lynn's four-page newspapers were crammed with medicine ads. On one occasion the *Lynn Record* apologized to its readers for the amount of advertising it contained, "Owing to the great press of advertisements this week, we are obliged to crowd out several interesting articles."[351] The choice between ads and articles was easy: the ads brought revenue. One third of that week's edition of the *Record* was made up of medicine ads.

There was order in the chaotic sprawl of advertisements. Most medicines were designed to impact symptoms of the lungs, stomach, or intestines. The most popular liquid was bitters, the intemperate's medicine of choice. Topical preparations also covered a lot of newsprint, promising to soothe the joints and muscles of hard-working laborers, farmers, and fishermen. The appearance of lozenges and balsams increased dramatically over the previous decade; they were designed to calm the throat and lungs of the multiplying number of consumptives, as well as cold and flu sufferers. Syrups, cordials, and bitters were positioned to combat dysentery and diarrhea or to encourage intestinal evacuations, as necessary. There were far more medicines offered in liquid form than as pills, but while bitters focused on the intestines and balsams on the lungs, there were pills for almost every illness and some medicines called panaceas that were supposed to cure everything. A few medicines also showed up for animals, and there were some specifically usable by man or beast, which was eminently practical and cost-efficient, which was critical: avoiding expense was just about as important as getting cured.[352] An editor's endorsement of *Bradshaw's Pulmonary Candy* included the observation that it was "a certain mode of evading a Doctor's bill."[353]

The promises set forth in advertising copy were usually backed up with testimonials from satisfied customers. An advertising booklet from Jesse S. Spear, the Indian Doctor, came from Mary B. Blaney of Lynn and was cosigned by her husband Philips Blaney. Her formal-sounding testimonial was just one of many that Spear used in his booklet to bear out his claims of curing hundreds of diseases in one year, including 69 of cough and consumptive diseases, 157 of liver complaints, 3 of spitting blood, 7 of leprosy, 16 of giddiness, and "many other diseases too numerous to mention":

> This may certify that I have been afflicted with a lame side and hip for six years, which was attended with a Tumor in the bowels, and Rheumatism, which contracted the muscles and tendons of one limb, so as to draw it up at a right angle, and confine me to my bed for eight months. The best physicians in the town had attended me, without my receiving any benefit. While lying in this situation, we sent for Dr. Spear, and, taking his medicines, with the use of such other means as he directed, in

> a few months I was restored to health. Two years have passed away without any return of the disease. I can therefore say, with propriety, that I am cured; and recommend him and his medicines to the afflicted.[354]

Oftentimes a favorable editorial comment or two was dropped randomly in a newspaper on behalf of a medicine that happened to also be advertised in that issue. Known as a "puff," it was a device frequently used and usually suspect for being too obviously patronizing. Editors then worked even harder to convince readers of the sincerity of their "impromptu" remarks. The *Lynn Record*'s editor tried to reassure his readers that his positive assessment of *Dr. Jayne's Hair Tonic* was "no puff, but is religiously true…."[355] Humor in a puff worked as well or better than an editor's usual blandishments, and the tiny staff of *The Locomotive* proved very capable of making a lasting impression with a cute "news bulletin,"

Accident on Eastern Railroad

> As the morning train was coming up from Boston last Saturday morning, it stopped suddenly near Market street in this town, the engine refused to work in consequence of the chimney being clogged with cinders and other obstructions, but luckily it happened to be not far from the eastern Depot, the engineer bethought himself of a sure remedy and stepping into Herbert's Book Store, purchased for 25 cts. a bottle of Lummus's Pectoral Syrup and put it into the engine when it immediately began to expectorate cinders, fire and steam, making clean work of it. The train then moved on with unusual rapidity. It is possible the above statement may be somewhat colored, but one thing is certain, the remedy spoken of above is the best, safest and most effectual expectorant and cough medicine ever invented.[356]

Thomas J. Lummus bought and received a good deal of coverage in Lynn newspapers for his line of medicines. While local medicine makers usually contracted for space in just one paper or another, Lummus advertised in the *Lynn News*, *Lynn Record*, *Lynn Freeman*, *Essex County Washingtonian*, and *The Locomotive*. Advertisements for his products expanded from the short-lived tome about his *Aromatic Vegetable Bitters* in 1831 to a parade of his entire line in 1842. Lead off by his *Pectoral Syrup*, Lummus's preparations were "family medicines," meaning they were all helpful to and safe enough for use by each member of the family, young or old. Lummus promised that all of his medicines were made from plants and therefore "they are probably the only medicine in vogue that are entirely free from mineral or narcotic substances."[357] His *Anglo Saxon Strengthening Plasters* were spread using a machine "invented by the proprietor expressly for the purpose of making them perfectly smooth and of uniform thickness." And to protect the unknowing consumer from cheats and quacks, each plaster had a facsimile of Lummus's handwriting (probably his autograph as was frequently done to distinguish products); "… all others are spurious."[358] For his great work and achievements in medicine creation, he eventually adopted the title "Doctor" that had served several of the Lummus family so well. For his significant advertising support, town papers praised his skills and medicines in poetic puffs:

> … let each nostrum vendor know,
> Though each may fret and foam, I'll show
> Their sun's forever set;
> They're used up; done for; bamboozled;
> For Lummus's Balm of Gilead
> Has every one out-shone;
> Know all who make cough pukes, and pills,
> And who profess to cure such ills,
> Your occupation's gone.
> ……
> Oh! Lummus, you have done the thing;
> T'will make your name forever ring,
> ……

Your Pectoral Syrup's made me whole;
And all will bless your noble soul,
Through all posterity. …[359]

* * * * *

Pulmonic disease with a kindred band,
Borne on the chill breeze from cold New-foundland,
Those foes to your health which create such alarms,
The *Pectoral Syrup* completely disarms,
And Jandice and Fever and Ague and chills,
From Georgia's dank swamps, to New England's green hills
Are cured by a cordial both healthy and sure,
Compounded of herbs from mountain to moor,
The *Temperance Bitters*, the very best kind,
The true balm of gilead for body and mind;
……

All these may be found and many things more,
At the fountain of health, at Lummus's store,
And careful attendance and medicines rare,
Which all may secure for a trifling share
Of what people need in this world of sin,
And especially Lummus on Common St. Lynn.[360]

When the weather was sultry hot and a Lynner felt out of sorts, a trip to Lummus's fountain of health could be rewarded with a cool refreshing drink of *Lummus's Sarsaparilla*. Made of ice water, sarsaparilla syrup, and effervescing powder, sarsaparilla had become one of the popular new summertime refreshments in the late 1830s and early 1840s, along with ice cream. Crowds thronged to Lynn's premiere entertainment venues – Lyceum Hall and High Rock – to be captivated and cooled. At the Lyceum, audiences could be dazzled by stars of entertainment and oratory and at High Rock they would be awestruck by the stars of heaven. Entrepreneurs at both locations sold ice cream and probably sarsaparilla to eager crowds enjoying terrestrial or celestial shows.[361] On some of those nights the Hutchinson brothers performed torchlight concerts from the balcony of their High Rock observatory while their wives staffed the first-floor refreshment stand below.[362]

Ads for many sarsaparilla brands variously listed their medicinal properties as gently purgative, blood purifying, stomach cleansing, and system strengthening or tonic.[363] In addition to being a tasty, medicinal, and inexpensive beverage, sarsaparilla was "innocent" (non-alcoholic) and safe for all ages, sexes, and conditions. "If you wish for a delicious, cool and wholesome beverage this warm season," one early ad suggested, "call on Proctor & Rhodes … and procure a bottle of their Sarsaparilla Syrup, and mix to your taste."[364] The town's reformers urged its use in place of rum and hard cider because "Washington Total Abstinence men, on leaving alcoholic drinks, need something a little more *tasteful* than cold water, to practice upon, and prevent too sudden a change."[365] A letter to the editor of the *Lynn Record*, written just before the Independence Day celebration of 1840, urged use of sarsaparilla as a celebratory substitute because "Satan may come also – i.e., the rum seller may pitch his tent," as he usually did, "especially on a hot day in July…."[366]

Sarsaparilla became so universally popular, most apothecaries and medicine makers had their own bottled version. Some Boston brands were identifiable by their shiny wrapped bottle tops, but the editor of the *Lynn Record* wasn't impressed: "Brown has his *silver top*, and Whitwell his *gold top*; but Proctor & Rhodes have the *top notch*. No mistake. Try it, and encourage your home manufacturers."[367] A Swampscott reader of the *Record* also offered huzzahs to the local

favorites, "*Lummus' Sarsaparilla Syrup* … is more wholesome, cheaper, and much more agreeable than the miserable trash sent out from Boston."[368]

Hometown brands needed the townspeople to rally around them. New brands were being developed all the time and advertising was carrying their messages far and wide; competition for consumer dollars was just beginning. In Lynn, a dry goods peddler named George Mills was still developing the identity of the medicine he had been making for a decade by formalizing it with the name *Indian Vegetable Bitters*.[369] William L. Harmon, the new physician who a year earlier had been one of the first to introduce Lynn to the use of chloroform in surgery, advertised his own medicine that he called *Indian Restorative* "for the JAUNDICE, SOUR STOMACH, or what is sometimes called Heart Burning…." His ad for the medicine explained that he had suffered from the same complaints for two years. As a token of his "gratitude to the Supreme Being which fills his heart for the discovery he was able to make for the restoration of his own health," he decided to benevolently share the miracle with the public.[370]

From the liquor-free chambers of the Lynn Temperance House hotel, R. K. Merriam produced *Dr. Gano's Bitters* ("from the original Recipe") and he reported, "many of our citizens who have used them are unanimous in their praise."[371] Another Lynn healer, William Kingsford, invented "a simple but very ingenious machine" called the *Lung Expander*. The device allowed the sufferer of restricted respiration (ranging from asthma to consumption to drowning) to inhale any amount of air at any temperature for immediate relief. A February 1848 article in *The Boston Daily Bee* encouraged use of the inexpensive invention by every physician.[372]

Despite the promised curative powers, scientific bases, or even divinely inspired origins, none of these Lynn-made medicines or Kingsford's invention had a long lifespan. The *Lung Expander* probably suffered an early demise from lack of sustained support by its inventor; Kingsford had gone insane later in the same year that he had introduced his machine and he remained institutionalized for the remaining decades of his life.[373] For Harmon and Mills, the competition to survive within the category of Indian cures had been intense; during the 1840s at least nineteen remedies touting Indian origins or principles advertised in Lynn papers. The two bitters (Mills' and Merriam's) fought in another crowded field of sixteen more of the same medical species that could be found in the *Lynn Record* and *Lynn News*.

Beyond competition from rival brands, there were plenty of challenges from newspapers and other types of healers eager to stop the growing popularity of proprietary medicines. A writer on the conditions and prospects of the frontier reported that he had not seen Indian root doctors east or west of the Rockies and that having few illnesses, the Indians had few medicines.[374] Based on the description, it sounded like Lynn was being offered more Indian remedies than existed in all the Native American tribes. From the water cure camp, a prominent hydropathist expressed concern that the "pernicious habits" of consuming "nostrums and quack medicines was on the increase."[375] Lynn's temperance paper saw alcoholic medicines as a big threat to their cause, some even being seduced from the path by the use of those medicines being styled temperance bitters.[376]

Moralists attacked the proprietaries for hurting the soul as much as the body, "… how often is the sanctuary of life profaned," asked one writer for the *Lynn News*, "the temple of God ravished … by foul treatment from foul hands. Quacks and nostrums lead in this business. Certified lies and poisonous compounds are its active agents…. To many it is a syren song, sung to allure, and heard but to destroy."[377] Another contributor to the *News* was equally vituperative towards private label medicines,

> Let me call the attention of your readers, to the extensive prevalence of an enormous social evil – an evil which, supported by the most base, disgusting, and licentious measures, deludes the unsuspecting, and lays the foundation of premature disease and death. … Need I mention the flattery, the falsehood, the duplicity, the fraud, by which the public are duped in this matter? By which a host of poisonous vegetable

> concoctions, and vaunted nostrums, find their way into every corner of our country? … confuse the ears, and dazzle the eyes ….[378]

Some of Lynn's medical society partisans also tore into quackery wherever they thought it existed. James M. Nye was angered by the false hope and ineptitude of clairvoyant healers who administered to the same patient that he was attending. In July 1842, Ephraim Norwood, a forty-one-year-old Lynn carpenter, became miserable with pain, swelling, and redness in the kidney area; later there was blood in his urine. At first Norwood was called upon by long-time Lynn doctor, Edward Coffin, who made the assessment that Norwood was ill with kidney disease without kidney stones. Coffin consulted with his professional brethren, Abraham Gould of Lynn and Pierson and Holyoke of Salem. All agreed with Coffin's initial diagnosis of kidney disease without stones. Morphine was administered to relieve Norwood of the great pain and other medicines were antiphlogistic (designed to reduce inflammation). In dramatic contrast to the eminent assemblage of medical society physicians, the desperate carpenter had also been examined by some of the town's clairvoyant healers. Nye later wrote with disgust about Norwood's early encounters with the clairvoyant healers, "He was flattered and deceived by a number of the most notorious scoundrel quacks that infest the community, and took the nostrums which their fertile minds suggested, from cow's urine to tar pills and muriatic acid. The acid always created the most severe paroxysms, yet he was assured it was dissolving stones in the kidney."[379]

By February of 1843, Coffin became ill and Nye was summoned to take over the patient. Nye continued to administer morphine and applied plasters over the kidneys. In March Norwood was examined again by a clairvoyant who claimed to be able to see calculi (kidney stones) in Norwood, indicating their shape, size, color, and consistency. According to Nye, the clairvoyant further assured Norwood that he would have one more fit of pain and then recover. The month of April passed, however, with "disease making inroads" into Norwood's poor health. In May a desperately ill Norwood again invited a "magnetized clairvoyant subject" who reiterated that Norwood had stones, but of different description than were visualized in March. In June still "another disciple of Mesmer consents, in great kindness, to describe the progress of his disease" and sees stones not only in the kidneys but in the ureter, "giving it the appearance of a serpent after swallowing a toad." In July Norwood's condition was further worsened by an attack of influenza. In August Norwood's throat became ulcerated. His abdomen was still inflamed and tender, and urination was painful. He became delirious and slipped further until death mercifully ended his agony on the twenty-second of the month.[380]

An autopsy was performed by William Prescott of Lynn "and other gentlemen." The principle finding was one enlarged kidney that was "completely filled with pus and crude, cheesy, tuberculous matter." Nye was gratified by the complete absence of sand, gravel or calculi. Neither Nye nor the clairvoyants could save their patient, but Nye held special animus for the healers whom he derided as charlatans in his report. With stinging sarcasm he concluded, "calculi never existed in the kidneys, notwithstanding they were distinctly seen thrice by clairvoyant subjects of superior power."[381]

A few years later, Nye submitted a letter to the editor of the *Lynn News* about the deceptive and fraudulent statements by sarsaparilla companies and the forged certificates of endorsement for "the most vile and dangerous compounds … thrust upon society." In the same article haranguing worthless medicine and bogus endorsements, he offered up his own recommendation for two brands of sarsaparilla. What read initially as another of his scathing attacks on bad medicine ended in praise of specific products that he promised were reliable, safe and efficient. ("I have used it with satisfaction," he wrote, "and can cheerfully recommend it.") It was puffery in the timeworn pattern of product promotions, from the basest quackery to the most praiseworthy product.[382] As far as the state medical society was concerned, a member could make, sell, patent, or endorse any medicine provided that the ingredients were not held in secret,

"no matter how absurd the composition of the medicine."[383] Indeed, one article from the society's journal pointed out, "… people in this country may do as they like, and who has a right to complain?"[384] But endorsements from medical society members just muddied dark waters still further. A Lynn newspaper advertisement for *American Pulmonary Balsam* appeared with the testimonial of S. A. Shurtleff, another member of the society, and it was very much a secret remedy.[385] When one writer rhetorically asked how many of the Massachusetts Medical Society's professional fraternity were engaged in selling or endorsing nostrums, he demurred from answering his own question, "We do not pretend to know, nor have we much taste for gathering the statistics … If a committee of the council were directed to report the names of gentlemen who prescribe nostrums, they certainly would make Felix tremble."[386] This writer's solution was to just let it be:

> If some people prefer secret drugs or secret preparations, from irresponsible hands, let them have them. The world is large enough for us all…. If physicians, who might be respectable, had rather dabble with nostrums than maintain that position which confers true character on the profession of medicine, why interfere with their downward tendency?[387]

Frustrated by the proliferation of patent medicines, healers of different persuasions disparaged and warned about their competitors in bottles and boxes.[388] Bitters were exposed for being full of alcohol and cough syrups for containing alcohol and opiates; such addictive ingredients explained the repeat-purchase patterns of nostrum customers. Another complaint was that pills were swallowed by the dozens of boxes in succession until silly patients were satisfied that their blood was purified. Users thus came to rely on the private label medicines too long, losing valuable time for any "real cure" at the hands of the conventional healer.[389] Similarly disgusted with what it viewed as the rise of quackery, *The Locomotive* joined the nostrum lynch mob: "Quack! Quack! goes the world now a days. This is not the age of iron or of brass, but the age of pills. It appears as if the world had run mad, and every impudent, ignorant charlatan who manufactures a nostrum for the cure of every disorder that the flesh is heir to, is looked upon as a public benefactor." The editor then thumped his chest and made an easily rescindable promise to stand on higher ground, "The Locomotive never 'puffs' *except* when the good of the public demands it."[390]

Judge James R. Newhall wasn't a medical man, but he was a shrewd observer of people. In writing a book on New England witchcraft, the judge saw a parallel between the seventeenth century public's desire to believe in witchcraft and the nineteenth century public's faith in patent medicines,

> One of the most interesting and profitable chapters in the history of these times, is that relating to quack medicines. It would be heresy to attempt to convince the world that they do not perform wonders. But, I apprehend the curative effects in most instances follow rather from the faith of the patient than from any inherent properties of the nostrums. … All requisite to charm away a pain in many cases is to fully convince the one on whom you would operate that you have power to relieve him.[391]

Some who would have loved to see patent medicines eliminated were fearful to try; one such doctor explained, "If the physician opens his mouth against quacks and quackery, the suspicions of those he would benefit are at once awakened; – it is evidence that his craft is in danger."[392]

What had been a fairly coherent professional group in the first two decades of the century had unraveled in the next two to a considerable degree.[393] Members of the Massachusetts Medical Society no longer shared a common medical philosophy; Edward Augustus Kittredge, for example, retained his member status in the society until his death, even though he was an outspoken advocate of hydropathy and critic of conventional medicine for most of his career.

Some physicians endorsed nostrums or, like Ezekiel Porter Eastman, sold their own. Another complaint was that some doctors struggling for revenue took on too much apothecary business by compounding their own drugs, without the requisite training, while apothecaries did the same in reverse, diagnosing and prescribing without the proper education to do so. Restraint from each other's province was urged, but professional restraint, personal ethics, and fraternal solidarity were all in short supply in medicine during the 1830s and 1840s. At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1844, John Homans humbly accepted the assignment to address his professional brethren on "The Character and Qualifications of the Good Physician." In his outline, integrity was the underpinning of medical character, followed by being qualified in knowledge of anatomy and physiology. In the acquisition of knowledge, Homans wrote, "He must be superior to the inveterate prejudices of time-honored theories and the seducing novelties of caprice and fashion…. He must not suppose all truth in the science of medicine to have been ascertained, nor accept with slight questioning every thing new as true, to be confided in and practiced upon."[394]

THE CURE

Many of Lynn's physicians exemplified Homans' ideal of men constantly pursuing knowledge and truth. Isaac Francis Galloupe was just what the doctor ordered. Brimming with medical knowledge, he barely waited for the ink to dry on his Harvard diploma before submitting a grand plan for educating the public to the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*. Believing quackery was patronized by ignorance, the young Galloupe felt that education was the antidote. His proposal was to have public lectures on medical topics in the state's many lyceums and large halls, delivered by worthy and knowledgeable medical men like Oliver Wendell Holmes. A scant six months later, Galloupe was again having his opinions on education published in the *Journal*, this time to reform the educational standards of the professional medical men themselves. He accurately complained that there was a great lack of public confidence in conventional medicine and blamed the loss on problems in the medical schools, "The requisites for graduation are merely nominal. No *attendance* upon the lectures is required; and the final examination is a mere pretense. This fact is well known and taken advantage of by scores, who creep into our ranks with no more knowledge than could be acquired by three months' study."[395] Galloupe lobbied for mandatory attendance at lectures and passing "a rigid and searching examination" in order to get a medical degree.

The Lynn Natural History Society was formed principally by a sizeable contingent of Lynn's inquisitive doctors. The purpose of the organization was to study and learn from nature and to that end the members assembled a collection of minerals, flora, and fauna. The society counted among its founding and earliest members nine Lynn physicians: William Prescott, Joseph B. Holder, Daniel Perley, Charles O. Barker, Edward L. Coffin, Asa T. Newhall, James M. Nye, Charles H. Nichols, and William Read.[396] Daniel Perley brought home for study specimens of the wild flowers, trees, and rocks he came across as he traveled through the town and countryside on his medical rounds. Some of these samples probably found their way into the collection cabinets of the society.[397] Cyrus Mason Tracy, a Lynn naturalist and author, recognized the contributions of Holder, Nye, and James Clark to his book, *Studies of the Essex Flora*.[398] Others of this founding class also passionately pursued the study of nature. William Prescott published a catalogue of nearly 300 species of marine, fresh water, and land shells of Massachusetts. His wife and daughter seemed adversely affected by Lynn's sea breezes, so the Prescotts relocated to inland Concord where William became the president of that town's natural history society.[399] Joseph B. Holder, the son of Aaron Lummus Holder, one of Lynn's earliest apothecaries, was only eighteen when he participated in the establishment of the Lynn Natural History Society. He wrote the society's first publication, a catalogue of 185 species of birds found in Lynn.[400] He was

an assistant demonstrator of anatomy at the same time that he was a student at the Harvard medical school, and along with Isaac F. Galloupe, he witnessed the first application of ether.[401] He went on to become a renowned zoologist, author, and curator at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.[402]

The pursuit of knowledge turned out to be the undoing of Lynn doctor Charles Otis Barker. He had several female patients who were suffering from illness marked by fever after childbirth. One of the unfortunates died and while performing an autopsy, Barker "slightly scratched" one of his fingers. The wound got infected and within a few days he was suffering from a "violent illness" and fever. It "baffled all medical remedies" and "terminated in death."[403] He was remembered as a "martyr to his profession … even little children have sobbed at his decease."[404] It is interesting to note that a few weeks after Barker's death, his case was discussed by a small group of physicians that included Oliver Wendell Holmes, who made the women's post-partum illness a subject of intense study. The result of his research was his landmark study of puerperal fever as a highly contagious infection spread by the unsterile obstetric practices of physicians; in effect, Charles Barker had unknowingly killed his patients and himself.[405]

More and more women wanted to learn about physiology, pathology, medicine, and other sciences too, but the opportunities were far fewer. When Mary S. Gove taught her lectures to female audiences, she was at first applauded by the state medical society's weekly publication, "All liberal-minded medical men have given countenance to her efforts, because they saw a need for reformation…."[406] The exclusively male Massachusetts Medical Society endorsed Mary Gove's efforts to educate women, provided that such enlightenment did not go too far by giving rise to indelicate, unfeminine reforms:

> … [L]adies have been too negligent of the laws of health, and … profoundly ignorant of the mechanism of themselves. Anatomy is a delightful and elevating study; and if it is necessary for man to know its first principles, it can be no less important to females. In saying this, however, we beg not to have any one suspect that we advocate skeletons in village schools, or dissections at tea-parties.[407]

Even more reactionary male voices resisted the departure of women from the hearthstone and their encroachment into any area of the male realm, like politics, the workforce, public speaking, and certainly by becoming doctors. The likes of Elizabeth Mott, Harriot K. Hunt, and Mary S. Gove were threatening to existing social structure and harmony, and therefore resented by many men:

> In her own sacred home, amid her domestic duties, or in her own parlor surrounded by groups of friends, … whenever we behold her in her own province, she shines the ornament and glory of the race. But when she enters the foetid laboratory of the anatomist, and plunges her hands into the gore of dead men, she loses all her feminine loveliness, and appears like a fallen angel, and object of universal horror and disgust.[408]

Lynn was more receptive to the concept of women in traditionally male roles than were many other New England communities. Many of the town's women had employment beyond being wives, mothers, and homemakers; they worked as stitchers in the burgeoning shoe industry. Even Augusta Peale, the daughter of famed artist Rembrandt Peale and spouse of Charles Otis Barker, gave shoe stitching a try when she became a Lynn wife; she just never got any good at it.[409] The town's Quakers had long allowed their female members the opportunity to preach at pulpits in mixed congregations. Thus, Mary Gove, at one time a convert to Quakerism, was more accepted in front of the lecture podium because of her Quaker affiliation. The women of Lynn also joined and organized many varied reform organizations, although they were not invited to join the Lynn Natural History Society. Lynn women were a few steps ahead of many communities and were therefore more comfortable with the lecturing of Mary Gove and the visits

of traveling female healers. There was an undercurrent of feminism coursing through the community, blending naturally with the many other reforms that were underway, but the struggle for women in education and most other areas was just beginning.

Education had been an important topic throughout the early history of Lynn. Much emphasis was placed on the quality of its schools and teachers; Lynn physicians were intimately involved in the educational reforms and improvements of the decade. Beyond formal schooling for children, there was a natural curiosity and desire among the townspeople to learn about new things. When Jesse Hutchinson opened up High Rock to the public, many took the opportunity to see and ponder the stars more closely. Hutchinson's "spy-glass" was powerful enough to see a person standing in a window on the dome of the State House in Boston.[410] The Astronomical Association of Lynn was established in 1847 and Oliver Porter was its chairman.[411]

Fascination with their universe ranged from the telescopic to the microscopic. The outer and inner universes were equally marvelous, mysterious, and infinite. An article in the *Lynn News* tried to help readers grasp the vast world of life teeming in a single "drop of putrid water…. One inch of water will … contain more living and active organized beings than there are human inhabitants upon the whole surface of the globe."[412]

Townspeople were just as curious about the creatures that could be examined without high-powered lenses. A steady flow of books about physiology, medicines, and illness were being offered to Lynners. Mary S. Gove's *Anatomy and Physiology* for women, Cutter's *Physiology*, Wilson on the *Diseases of the Skin*, Fitch's *Prevention and Cure of Consumption*, and Deslande's *Treatise on the Diseases Produced by Excesses*, were some of the medical texts available at Lynn bookstores.[413] The dozens of Fowler and Wells publications on physiology, hydropathy, magnetism, and phrenology were advertised under the motivational motto, "Know Thyself."[414]

Education and fascination collided in the pageant of curious people and creatures that toured through Lynn and New England. In this era of Chang and Eng, the famous Siamese twins, and Barnum's Fejee Mermaid (the hoax of an artificially conjoined orangutan, baboon, and fish), unusual and even grotesque anomalies of nature held audiences spellbound. Shortly after Tom Thumb, the famous dwarf, enthralled the townspeople in Lynn's town hall, an oddity enthusiast encouraged public viewing of a miserably deformed beggar visiting in Saugus.[415] He reported to the newspaper, "The skin of his face is exceedingly coarse, thickened, wrinkled, and dark-colored, making a most unsightly deformity of the countenance. He is blind and his upper lip is enormously thickened, and prolonged to the bottom of the chin, forming a huge apron to the mouth." The writer continued to paint a disturbing picture of the poor man, "One arm and hand are not developed, remaining nearly as small as at birth, and entirely useless. Being poor, he thankfully receives the smallest favors. I understand that an opportunity will soon be afforded to the curious in this place, of examining this human anomaly."[416] If the unfortunate did subject himself to that public scrutiny, at least the papers did not fuel morbid curiosity beyond these first revelations.

Traveling medical and physiological lecturers captivated audiences by using manikins to illustrate human anatomy. Several such itinerant professors visited Lynn throughout the decade, usually offering a free introductory presentation as a prelude to a full course of lectures for a subscription fee. The classes on male and female reproduction were secretively disclosed, with audiences segregated by sex and age. Medicines or therapeutic items were often offered at the end of each lecture, usually with the promise of curing the terrible things that had just been revealed. A team of two such lecturers appearing in Lynn in 1848 used the model of a human as well as prints, diagrams, and more to illustrate the cause and cure of diseases of the human trunk, from consumption to dyspepsia to diseases of women.[417] One of the pair also offered a line of trusses, spine supporters, and his own "improved vibrating galvanic machine and magnetic remedies."[418] In 1850, the unimpressed and unabashed Isaac F. Galloupe lashed out with his opinion on this

type of educator: "What an abomination are all these self-styled 'doctors,' going about preaching their balderdash 'physiology'…." Galloupe then took his reader right into the lecture hall:

> … [T]he audience … are informed that they are all "fearfully and wonderfully made"; whereat they are set all agog, and await with impatience the revelation of "awful disclosures." Next, a mysterious-looking coffee-bag, or some such thing, is removed, thereby exposing to view the wonderful "manikin," which the audience are informed is a fac simile of a man; a piece of information much needed – for if like a man at all, it must be him of the moon or other planet…. Next comes the "dissection," … the recipients … are made to realize how much tribulation has been suffered (to obtain the manikin) for their entertainment and instruction. A fact which cannot be doubted, for one can hardly rid himself of the idea that the possessor is guilty of having clandestinely abstracted its materials from some unfortunate toy-shop.[419]

Galloupe's quack instructor then unveils the secrets of the human body. He points to the skin, the muscle, the bones, and more, until with a carefully rehearsed dramatic flair, he reveals that most marvelous organ, the heart: "With protruding eyes, and mouths that threaten to swallow something more palpable than 'instruction,' the gaping victims are aghast at what looks for all the world like an apple dumpling." Having delivered a lecture full of witty anecdotes, the lecturer now closes his talk with a summary of the worthlessness of regular, old-school medicine:

> … [F]or two thousand years, [educated physicians] have been a set of hygienic highwaymen – gull-catchers, who by means of their black coats, painted buggies, and such like trash, have all this time robbed and gulled this gullible race: ergo they … are a superfluity, a bane, a parasitic scourge, needed no more than a tree needs caterpillars. Away with them! What is more easy, forsooth, than for every man to be his own doctor….[420]

Galloupe worried that "[t]o men of weak minds, [the unlicensed medical lecturer] is a pioneer reformist…." He was also troubled that schoolteachers were instructing children about anatomy and physiology. In his opinion, they presented the same danger as the itinerant lecturer teaching the "shallow brains," who sat before him. In both scenarios, Galloupe reasoned, the instructors were only capable of providing their audiences with incorrect information, which "confuse and derange the thinking powers, stunting their growth, and producing *mental dyspepsia*."[421]

GOLD FEVER

As interesting and important as knowledge of physiology was to Lynn audiences, it wasn't nearly as exciting and momentous as the stories that were pouring in about the discovery of gold in California. Lynners had long been following the reports of the western frontier opening up like a huge carpet unrolling westward towards the Pacific. The newspapers had provided extensive coverage about Indian tribes, the Mormon exodus into the Rockies, and natural curiosities of the west, like buffalo and the Grand Canyon. Visiting lecturer Amasa Walker's talk on the "*Great West*" was heard in Lynn by "a large audience with uncommon attention and pleasure"; his comments included "useful advice to those about to travel there, as to the best time of year, best route and mode of travel," and more.[422] Letters from pioneering relatives and neighbors came from the territories of Oregon and Minnesota, and new states like Iowa and Texas. Published chronicles of adventurers and explorers showed up in Lynn bookstores, as did maps, all beckoning any with a bigger dream than Lynn. John B. Newhall reported back to George Mulliken in Lynn that the lush, rich farmland of Iowa was "unrivalled in fertility," plus the climate was "salubrious…. This idea that you are going 'out of the world' away off – B'low Sundown is altogether a mistake … I like that species of excitement where evry thing around us

is moving "Onward" That's the watchword…."[423] Thomas O. Larkin, also formerly of Lynn, had made it to Monterey, California and wrote a letter in July 1848 to his sons back in Lynn. It was published in the *Lynn News* and echoed the same promises of incredible wealth that the townspeople were suddenly hearing from many sources,

> There were hundreds of men, with a shovel, [and] a tin pan … obtaining from five to thirty dollars per day…. I should think that ninety men in every hundred, hard working men, were laying by one ounce of gold a day, worth in Boston seventeen or eighteen dollars an ounce…. It is the general opinion, that the gold regions extend over many rivers, and cannot give out for a hundred years.[424]

Reverend Parsons Cooke thought the cost of the dream was too dear to body and soul and was the voice of warning to the men of the town, "[L]et them think what will be their position among bandits and outlaws, pistols and bowie knives – houseless, and exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, of sun and storms…. let them fear the curse of God, for wantonly abandoning profitable employments to plunge into temptation, sacrificing their souls for a phantom."[425]

But the people heeded not the minister's warnings; in their hearts they had made a golden calf and worshipped it – gold fever had struck. Lynners hitched up to a number of expeditions departing from Newburyport to New York City. Four locally organized units were the Sagamore and California Mining and Trading Company (composed of about fifty persons, mostly from Lynn), the Essex Mining and Trading Company, the Bay State and California Trading and Mining Company ("composed of one hundred men, good and true"), and the West Lynn Mining Company.[426] The groups organized in a pseudo-military fashion, much like the town's fire companies, with officers and duty rosters. The Sagamore and California company wore a gray uniform and were well-armed, "each with a pair of pistols, sword, and knife."[427] Their ranks included two surgeons and a dentist, E. G. Baker.[428] Also like the local fire companies, the hometown units were a matter of pride for the town and carried the hopes and best wishes of family and friends left behind. Of the Sagamore company the *Lynn News* boasted, "They take with them all the elements of success; energy, perseverance, sobriety, good practical common sense, and education…."[429] The women of Lynn put together a farewell dinner at the Sagamore Hall for their husbands, brothers, and sons on the day they left.[430] Whitmore the photographer urged families and friends to get that last daguerreotype view of those who were about to leave for California.[431]

All over the region, companies were hurriedly organized for the trip to California. There were four well-traveled routes from New England and Lynners traveled over each one. The Sagamore unit went on the 3,000-mile overland route, down the Ohio River to St. Louis, then to Independence, Missouri, and across the Rockies to Sacramento.[432] The Essex Mining and Trading Company took the southwestern route, sailing down to Corpus Christi, Texas then overland through northern Mexico to San Francisco.[433] The Bay State crew took the ocean route, circumnavigating Cape Horn, South America, as did the West Lynn Mining Company, which went on the brig Charlotte.[434] Other Lynners went on their own, unassociated with any company, often by booking passage on any of the many sailing ships bound for the gold fields. Between 3 February to 22 November 1849, Benjamin G. Schwartz, Zebina S. Gray, and fourteen other Lynn men applied for passports to be able to make the ocean trip that would stop in foreign ports along the way.[435] Ships either traveled the Cape Horn route or by way of Panama or Nicaragua, where the passengers would disembark, cross over the continent at its narrowest point, and catch another ship on the Pacific side.[436] William P. Carlton, a 39-year-old cordwainer, didn't make it; he died of "isthmus fever," brought on by crossing through the Panamanian jungles. He reached the waiting steamship on Panama's west coast but died on board before arriving at San Francisco.[437] He left a widow and two children back in Lynn.[438]

Each of the four routes presented serious threats to the argonauts' health and safety. The Sagamore trekkers fought off fever, trod softly through the lands of a dozen Indian tribes, and

sustained many serious injuries from their stubborn pack mules that seemed to want no part of the mud. When the forty-niners were able to get along without the ornery beasts, they slaughtered and pickled them. One member of the group "was bit through the lip by an ugly dog" and was stitched up by one of the doctors accompanying the expedition.[439] They arrived in San Francisco after a cross-country expedition that lasted about 250 days.[440]

The Essex Mining and Trading Company suffered through chilling night rains, hot sun, and a lack of food while working their way through the region of Monclova, Mexico. These conditions brought on an inflammation of the bowels and two members of the expedition died of cholera, according to letters sent back home.[441] The Mexican countryside was just as unforgiving to American gold seekers as it had been to its soldiers during the recent war between the two countries. The obituary of Charles Robinson lamented, "From the … wilds of Mexico, the tomb of many an American youth, another wail is heard."[442]

The Central American crossover option brought the double-jeopardy of shipboard illnesses and jungle-borne diseases like malaria. Lynner Benjamin Phillips followed the sirens' golden call through the jungles but died on the high seas on a ship forty miles out of Panama.[443] Jesse Hutchinson also became deathly ill on his return through the jungles. He made it back as far as Cincinnati, but died there, while trying to recover at a hydropathic spa.[444]

Edwin H. Tarbox, a former journeyman printer at the *Lynn News* and now a passenger on the Charlotte, passed on some precautions vital to the health of friends back in Lynn who were preparing to make the trip by sea, "Do not go in a vessel that has not good beef, pork, bread, and water…. We have thrown overboard bad pork and beef enough to support a small village…. many declare that they have seen a vast quantity of *bed-bugs*…."[445] Arriving at San Francisco after 222 days, Lynner Alonzo P. Kenrick wrote that his ship, the Oxford, was tempest-tossed by "gale after gale" at Cape Horn, then laid dormant for twenty-one days,

> … unable to make any progress against the headwinds and … *moving mountains* of water…. Many of us had our hands very badly swollen…. We also suffered considerably from chilblains; and many of us were sorely afflicted with boils…. many new cases of diarrhoea and dysentery … occurred, owing to the water … and the poor state of our provisions, which had become sour and musty….[446]

Tarbox survived his travel ordeal and reported that he found paradise, "Upon coming in sight of the bay of San Francisco it seemed as if the wonderful stories had not half been told, for the air was literally full of birds, and the water with fish, a school of monster whales were spouting in all directions…."[447] He came to recognize that all wasn't paradise as water in some parts of the city had turned "green and putrid" and brought sickness and mosquitoes.[448] Other letters sent back home revealed that several of the West Lynn Mining Company suffered "poisoning" from rubbing against poisonous shrubs while mining (probably an allergic reaction to bushes of the toxicodendron family, like poison ivy, oak, or sumac); one was blinded for several days because of it. "The face swells to a hideous size; foul ulcers and biles break out over the body…."[449]

Tarbox's letter to friends back at the *Lynn News* seemed to prove the wisdom of Reverend Cooke's early warnings, "Perhaps you may ask … whether I would advise a man to come to California. One very permanent fault is, that many who come here are so intent on gold that they forget everything else, and sacrifice life and health."[450] Theirs was not the only suffering brought on by gold fever; by 1852, the wives of nine of Lynn's forty-niners had been brought to the Massachusetts Lunatic Hospital, "in consequence of their husbands going to California."[451]

At least two hundred Lynn men left home in search of gold. They were cordwainers and cabinetmakers, carpenters and wheelwrights, farmers and fisherman, and many others of the laboring and merchant classes.[452] A Lowell paper guessed that Lynn had a higher percentage of its population going on the quest for gold than any other community in the region.[453] There was

"as much diversity in their success," wrote James R. Newhall, the contemporary chronicler of Lynn history, "as in their characters and habit. Some returned in poverty and with broken health, others with well-filled purses and good health: still others remained, preferring to make new homes in that distant region."[454]

SYMPTOMS OF A CITY

The absence of so many Lynn men did not slow down the town's growth. As the treasure hunters went west in search of their manifest destiny, foreigners came to Lynn in search of theirs. Individuals and a few families from several nations began to trickle into Lynn. Eugene Babeuf of France became a cordwainer; German Andrew Voit was employed as a color mixer; Lucio Francisco was an accountant from the Philippines; and Joseph Chapee was a Chilean tailor.[455] Devastated by the black fungus that killed their potato crops and by the economic hardships that ensued, victims of the Irish Famine of 1845-1849 seemed to arrive at Boston wharfs on every wave. Three hundred and fifty of the Irish immigrants had settled in Lynn by the summer of 1849.[456] One Lynn advocate for the Irish pointed out that the men took on grueling manual labor jobs, "Our cellars are dug; our swamps are drained; our roads, railroads and canals are made, chiefly by the Irish."[457] The young women (ranging from about sixteen to thirty-five) often became domestic servants.[458] Oliver and Aurora Porter had an Irish domestic servant named Margaret who was "decidedly the most intelligent, tractable, neat & capable irish girl we have ever had. She washes & irons first rate – [is] very neat in preparing the food, and tried to do everything to please."[459]

The complexion of Lynn was changing not just in numbers but in character. The moralists and reformers often saw converts slipping away and evil ways continuing unfettered. Crime grew right along with the town; apprehensive residents and businessmen looked for answers, "Lynn is now so large a town, and is so rapidly growing, that something must be done for the safety and security of the property of the citizens."[460]

The spaces in between families and neighbors were decreasing as business and home construction was on the rise. Multi-family tenement houses were more in number and closer together, with outbuildings – cordwainers' ten-footers, outhouses, barns, stables, and sheds – filling the spaces in between. In 1846 the spice and coffee mills in the town's Waterhill section caught fire and spread to a printing factory. With homes and businesses more densely filling the town, the fire hazards increased as well, "It was very fortunate," the news report read, "that there was scarcely any wind; otherwise a large portion of the town would have been endangered."[461] There was more friction between neighbors, the law and the lawless, and even between buildings. Lynn was ready to ignite.

The town also ended the decade still fighting off image problems. The salubrity of the seaside location and its simpler, slower pace had given way to mysterious epidemics and a less healthy and more stressful environment. The *Lynn News* noted that more new physicians continued to arrive in town because "the climate of cities is not so favorable to health as that of country towns." In a weak attempt to deny the town's destiny, the squib quipped, "Our new city hall has not yet been contracted for."[462]

Health would become more of a challenge as the town grew into a city. The *Lynn News* announced that a particularly sinister evil already lurked in their midst. The town had grown up and around its cemeteries, which were buried amid the clutter of buildings that now surrounded them. The *News* editor warned that poisonous gasses from decaying bodies were escaping from the ground, "especially when the bodies have been buried two or three deep all over the [cemetery] yard…." The deadly, invisible miasma poisoned the atmosphere of homes nearby. It also poisoned the wells:

[T]he waters in the wells … [become] corrupt and a fruitful source of disease and death. It trickles down through the soil after copious rains, in contact with the festering mass of corruption in the graves, finding its way into the springs which supply the wells in the vicinity, and the people literally drink in the seeds of disease and death. [463]

In a plea for Lynn to acquire the much-needed burial space of a new cemetery, the editor inserted an ingenious, provocative poem. It was themed around a gothic demon that was just becoming popular among Victorian novel readers.[464] Through a devilish resurrection called vampirism, the horrific creature returned from the grave and sucked the life force from the living. The poem's vampire was an allegory for the health dangers that were coming to life in Lynn's crowded cemeteries and haunting victims in an increasingly susceptible town.

The Vampyre

The blood-shot moon glares on the close-crowded graves.
Through the foul mist that over the sepulchers waves,
On the tombs where the city, with people o'erspread,
In the midst of the living hath buried its dead.

A glimmering vapor creeps over the ground;
You may see whence it issues – you newly-made mound;
Mark what spectre ascends in that horrible light –
Lo! the vampyre, infection, is rising to-night!

The vampyre! the vampyre! avoid him! his breath
Is the reek of the charnel, the poison of death.
He has broken his prisons of pestilent clay,
And the grave yields him up on the living to prey.

The vampyre! the vampyre! behold where he flies
To the couch where is wife in her widowhood, lies;
Of her lost one – her husband – she dreams in her rest,
Whilst the vampyre is fixing his fangs in her breast.

The vampyre! the vampyre! His infant child sleeps;
To its innocent cradle he stealthily creeps.
And its bite his pure cheek with a plague-spot distains,
And corrupts his own blood in his little one's veins.

The vampyre! the vampyre! Nor mercy, nor truth,
Saves his kindred and friends from his venomous tooth;
He is bound to a task which he cannot evade;
He is sent by a mandate which must be obeyed.

The vampyre! the vampyre! Beneath a stern doom,
On his terrible errand he breaks from the tomb;
To work vengeance and woe in his mission of dread,
Upon those mid the living who bury their dead.[465]

Before the end of the decade, the town leaders decided that a new cemetery was essential. The dogged editor of the *Lynn News* joked one more time about the burgeoning population of doctors in town, "There are a great many doctors in Lynn. There is to be a new cemetery."[466] The two-sentence barb teased readers that the doctors would bring them to an early grave; at least the new cemetery would keep the vampires away.

Chapter 5 Notes

1. Editorial, no title, and Notice, "To the Public," *Lynn Record*, 13 June 1838; emphasis in the original notice. The given names of Mrs. Waldo and other genealogical information about her family were found through the genealogical search section of www.lds.org, the official web site of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
2. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 21 January 1836.
3. Article, "Query," *Hartford Courier*, as quoted in *Lynn Record*, 3 July 1839 (emphasis in original).
4 . Article, "Lynn Prisoner's Friend Society," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1846.
5. According to Alonzo Lewis, Lynn's twenty-six slaves were freed in 1780; however, slavery was actually legal under the new state constitution of 1780; it was the state's Supreme Judicial Court rulings from 1781-1783 that effectively abolished slavery in the state. See Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1844), p.217. In 1840 reports were circulated about a group of Negroes that seen in the vicinity of the "Great Swamp" in Amesbury, Massachusetts, about twenty miles north of Lynn. They were suspected of being runaway slaves who hid in the swamp during the day and came out at night, looking for food. See article, "Negroes in the Woods!" *Lynn Record*, 8 July 1840.
6. Eliza Boyce, Letter to Maria W. Chapman, 1 December 1839, manuscript (Weston-Chapman Papers, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.)
7. Aroline Chase, Letter to Abby Kelley, New York, May or June 1843, manuscript (Kelley-Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; emphasis in original).
8. Stuart A. Kallen, *Life on the Underground Railroad* (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2000), pp.52-54.
9. Dr. Benjamin Percival, "Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County," *The Register of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society* (Lynn: Lynn Museum and Historical Society), No.12 (1908), pp.116-117. Percival explained that he was about 12 years old at the time of this experience, which would mean it occurred in about 1859.
10. Dr. Benjamin Percival, "Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County," p.114.
11. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1376, households 2038 (Freeman), 2039 (Grimage). George W. Putnam corroborated that there were "many fugitive slaves in Lynn" see Geo. W. Putnam, Lynn, Mass., Letter to W. H. Siebert , 5 November 1893, manuscript, (at the Ohio Historical Society, MIC 192, Roll 5, Box 47, Vol 01 MA, item 93).
12. Benjamin Drew, *The Refugee: or The Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada*, (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1856) pp.50-51 (online at https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/drew/drew.html).
13. Article, "The Slave Clarissa," *Lynn Record*, 25 October 1837.
14. Broadside, "Free Soilers of Lynn!" dated 2 April 1852; sold on eBay in 2010.
15. George W. Putnam, Letter, 5 November 1893.
16. George W. Putnam, Letter, 5 November 1893. Putnam recalled, almost a half century later, that "slave-hunters never dared to come [to Lynn] for their prey and well-known fugitives dwelt here in safety for years …." He may have been unaware of or simply forgot the Silsbee incident.
17. Dr. Benjamin Percival, "Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County," pp.126-127.
18. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.218.
19. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.245.
20. Article, " 'I Have Come to Tell You Something About Slavery': An Address Delivered at Lynn, Massachusetts, October 1841," *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 20 October 1841. Transcript of talk by Frederick Douglass; (emphasis in original).
21. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, (Boston: Lee and Shepard, Publishers, 1846), Vol.1, p.70.
22. Article, "Colorphobia," *Lynn Record*, 10 July 1839 (eVol.1, emphasis in original).
23. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1779, household 3556 (Ford).
24. Article, "Shameful outrage!! --- Brutal assault!! Christianity versus Barbarism," *Lynn Record*, 16 October 1839.
25. Article, "Another Outrage," *Lynn Record*, 29 September 1841.

26. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass Written by Himself* (Boston: De Wolfe & Fiske Co.,1892), p.277 (mean); p.278(soundly); p.279 (dogs) (online at https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/dougl92/dougl92.html).
27. Frederick Douglass, *Life aned Times of Frederick Douglass*, pp.277-278.
28. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p.278. (attempted); Article, "Another Outrage," *Lynn Record*, 29 September 1841 (dragged).
29. William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), pp.92-93.
30. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, p.278.
31. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 6 October 1841.
32. Article, "Public Meeting," *Lynn Record*, 6 October 1841.
33. William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, p.93.
34. Notice, *Lynn Record*, 15 July 1840.
35. Squib, *Lynn Record*, 11 August 1841 (Phillips). Rogers was a frequent visitor to Lynn; see Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, *Collection from the Newspaper Writings of Nathaniel Peabody Rogers* (Concord, NH; John R. French, 1847), pp.xvi-xvii.
36. Dr. Benjamin Percival, "Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County," p.114. Biographies of Lydia E. Pinkham have placed Lydia Maria Child, David Child, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, William Lloyd Garrison, Nathaniel P Rogers and Lynn reformers Frederick Douglass, James N. Buffum, and Alonzo Lewis as guests in the Estes home as well. While it is likely that some of these notables were guests there, no primary documentation has been found to support those oft-repeated assumptions. Given that Gulielma Estes drove Nathaniel P. Rogers to the Ocean House in her father's carriage and walked arm-in-arm with Frederick Douglass down Lynn streets, these two men might be placed circumstantially at the top of the Estes's likely guest list. Additionally, the friendship album of Lydia Estes contains autographs and messages from December 1841 to July 1857, including those of Frederick Douglass, Mary S. Gove, David H. Barlow, Henry G. Wright, and Nancy Smith, all Lynn-based reform notables, but no other nationally recognized reformers visiting Lynn were included in her album. If others than these were personal or family friends who frequented the Estes home, it might be logically expected that Lydia, who sought mementos for her friendship album for over fifteen years, would have requested some of their autographs as well.
37. Notice, "Especial Notice," *Lynn Record*, 26 September 1838. See also Percival, "Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County," p.120.
38. Parsons Cooke, Editorial, "Female Preaching Unlawful and Inexpedient," *Lynn Record*, 30 August 1837. (Cooke cited 1 Timothy 2:12)
39. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Alpha), Letter to the Editor, "Female Preaching," *Lynn Record*, 30 August 1837. (Alpha cited 1 Corinthians 14: 34-35)
40. Article, "The Late New England Anti-Slavery Convention," *Lynn Record*, 13 June 1838 (emphasis in original).
41. "Anti-Slavery Society of Greater Lynn," manuscript (MS/010, covering 1832-1839; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).
42. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841* (Lynn: Benjamin F. Roberts, 1841), p.13. Of the eight vice presidents, two women (Aroline A. Chase and Miriam B. Johnson) were included. There were also two more (Eliza T. Boyce and Mercy T. Buffum) among the seven councilors in the organization's leadership.
43. Article, "Lynn Society," *Lynn Record*, 17 March 1841.
44. Editorial, no title, *Lynn Record*, 28 August 1839.
45. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts 1780-1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), pp.17-18.
46. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, pp.213-214.
47. The extant lists of petitioners and society members for various reforms in the 1830s and 1840s are principally from the antislavery movement; little exists for the temperance movement which had many societies and members in Lynn (for example, The Washington Total Abstinence Society had 2,967 who had signed the pledge by 1841, but the names of only 16 officers survive). Even within the antislavery sphere, the list of 1,500-plus names is probably only a fraction of the total of those involved, when considering the statistic that 2,872 people signed the Lynn petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Colombia and to stop the admission of Florida and Texas as states. Nonetheless, between the thirteen documents found with members or petitioners listed (covering antislavery, temperance, prison reform, spiritualism, the Freeman's Institute, and the Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform), only nine individuals – less than one percent - were involved in more

than two causes. Research performed by author (Rapoza) by name extraction from the following documents: Records of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn, manuscript (MS/010, covering June 1836 – May 1838, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society) (Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society); Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 31 January 1838 (Union Temperance Society); "Petition of Aroline Augusta Chase & 785 others," manuscript (File 577, 12 January 1839, at the Massachusetts State Archives) (pro racial equality petition); "Petition. James P. Boyce and 50 others," manuscript (File 577, not dated, at the Massachusetts State Archives) (petition supportive of the Augusta Chase petition); J. M. Spear, *Address Before the Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention* (Waltham, Mass.: Christian Freeman's Office, 1840), p.46 (Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention); *Lynn Directory* (1841), pp.13-14 (Lynn Union Temperance Society, Lynn Anti-Slavery Society, Ladies Anti Slavery Society), Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 June 1841 (Washington Total Abstinence Society); Notice, "Notice" *Lynn Record,* 27 October 1841 (Managers of the Temperance Fair); Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 February 1842 (first Freeman's Institute); "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham, including minutes of Freeman's Institute," manuscript (Folder 3365, covering 1843, at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University) (second Freeman's Institute); Article, "Social Reform. Property Meetings at Lynn," *The Liberator*, 17 February 1843 (Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform); *Article*, "Lynn Prisoner's Friend Society," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1846 (Lynn Prisoner's Friend Society). Records of the Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn and Vicinity

48. Wm. Bassett, Letter to the Editor, no title, dated 26 February 1842, *Herald of Freedom* (Concord, NH), 11 March 1842.
49. Wm. Bassett, Letter to the Editor, *Herald of Freedom*, 11 March 1842.
50. Wm. Bassett, Letter to the Editor, *Herald of Freedom*, 11 March 1842.
51. Advertisement for the "Freemen's Institute," *Lynn Record*, 16 February 1842.
52. Wm. Bassett, Letter to the Editor, *Herald of Freedom*, 11 March 1842.
53. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 February 1842.
54. "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham." Other than this one organizational meeting, Frederick Douglass's name does not appear in the meeting minutes through 2 May 1843, plus he does not show up on the list of members.
55. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 February 1842 (lecture); "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham"; emphases added.
56. "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham." As the Secretary of the Freeman's Institute, Lydia Estes Pinkham recorded the minutes of the institute's organization, its constitution, and its first meetings, from 13 January to 2 May 1843.
57. Research by author (Rapoza) on the list of members of the Freeman's Institute, found in the "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham." Federal census records, vital records, and city directories were used to further identify the individuals, their occupations, ages, and marital status in 1843 and subsequently.
58. Squib, *Lynn Record*, 2 June 1841.
59. Research by author (Rapoza) on the list of members of the Freeman's Institute, found in the "Notebook of Lydia E. Pinkham." The marriage record of Isaac Pinkham and Lydia Estes is located in the town clerk's records, "Town of Rockingham" (manuscript), Vol, 9, p.435. The marriage was performed in Bellows Falls, Vermont, which is a village within the town of Rockingham. It was a civil ceremony performed by Alexander S. Campbell, the town clerk who was also a justice of the peace. The reason for marrying in a remote, small Vermont village several days' carriage ride from Lynn, has not been determined, but it does not appear to have been an effort to veil the nuptials in secrecy; it was announced in the popular abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator* two weeks later, on 22 September 1843.
60. Editorial (under the pseudonym, A Working Man), no title, *Lynn Record*, 15 July 1840. Campaign revelry lasted longer than Harrison's presidency; he died of pneumonia in April 1841, just a month after becoming president.
61. James R. Newhall, *The Essex Memorial for 1836* (Salem, Henry Whipple, 1836), p.150.
62. James R. Newhall, *The Essex Memorial*, p.150.
63. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* (Lynn: T. Herbert and H. J. Butterfield, Publishers, 1851), pp.153 (Washingtonian and High Rock Divisions of the Sons of Temperance), 152 (Cadets of Temperance).
64. James R. Newhall, *The Essex Memorial*, p.150.
65. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 June 1841.
66. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, Publisher, 1865), p.585 (population). Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 June 1841 (membership).
67. Article, "Lynn Temperance Meeting, *Lynn Record*, 7 April 1841.

68. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 21 July 1841; article, "Another Sign," *Lynn Record*, 23 June 1841.
69. Article, *Lynn Record*, 23 June 1841.
70. Article, "The Annual Report of the Washington Total Abstinence Society," *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843.
71. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, p.42.
72. Article, "Another Sign," *Lynn Record*, 23 June 1841.
73. Article, "Young Men's Temperance Union," *Lynn Dew Drop*, 17 January 1849 (emphasis added).
74. Editorial, "For the Dew Drop," *Lynn Dew Drop*, 17 January 1849.
75. Article, "Temperance Houses," *Lynn Record*, 23 February 1842.
76. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1868), pp.207-208.
77. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, p.212.
78. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, p.213.
79. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, p.213.
80. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, p.214.
81. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, p.214. Barlow ran for Congress in the fall of 1843, but his intemperance doomed his run; opposition forces exposed his weaknesses and his newspaper employer consequently decided to terminate him. In another of his many attempts to stop his alcohol and drug dependencies, he turned to the cold water cure, including drinking it copiously and be swathed for hours per day in a wet sheet, doing so for about a month, and proclaiming in his memoir that had gained a complete restoration of health (p.215). However, Day then explained that a few months after Barlow's autobiography closed, he had again relapsed into the use of opium and was again admitted to the asylum (p.216). Barlow describe his morphine use as at least a quarter ounce a week and after dropping morphine, taking from a half-ounce to sometimes an ounce of opium weekly (p.217). A minimum lethal dose of opium is 200mg (although for an addict it can be significantly higher); if a week's half-ounce portion was used equally over seven days, each day Barlow ingested over 2,000mg. He probably used the daily amount in several doses over the course of the day; he managed to survive until about 1864 at 59 years old.
82. Article, *Lynn Forum*, 21 July 1846.
83. E. J. Howe, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Mr. & Mrs. Enoch J. Dole, Rowley, Mass., manuscript, 5 August 1848; sold on eBay in 2018 (emphasis in original).
84. Henry Clapp, Jr., *The Pioneer: or Leaves from and Editor's Portfolio* (Lynn: J. B. Tolman, 1846), pp.73-74.
85. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Lynn, Mass., manuscript volume (covering 1 June 1805 – 29 December 1855; in the collection of author: Rapoza), p.268; recharter date on p.250.
86. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 2 February 1842 (emphasis in original).
87. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, p.271.
88. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 16 June 1841. Lorenzo Fowler returned to Lynn in 1848 and on that occasion did lecture at Lyceum Hall. See Article, "Free Lecture on Phrenology," *Lynn News*, 14 July 1848.
89. The hall of the Lyceum was first used on 18 November 1841. The first speaker was to be John Quincy Adams, but an indisposition prevented his appearance and George Bancroft of Boston delivered an address instead. See Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Pill Garlic), Article, "Lyceum," *Lynn Record*, 24 November 1841. For the other uses of the Lyceum building see Article, "Great Doings at Lyceum Hall," *The Locomotive*, 21 September 1842.
90. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Pill Garlic), Article, "Great Doings at Lyceum Hall," *The Locomotive*, 21 September 1842.
91. Notice, "Family Concert," *Lynn Freeman and Essex County Whig*, 13 February 1841.
92. Articles, no titles, *Lynn Record*, 26 January 1842.
93. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, pp.43-44. *The Lynn Directory* (Boston: Adams, Sampson, & Co., 1858), p.163 (auctioneer).
94. Hannah M. Key, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, Ossipee, New Hampshire, manuscript, 1 April 1846 (Collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).
95. May L. Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, collection of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.1. James Nye was born in 1818; his father died when he was a year old; his grandfather died when he was sixteen. Genealogical information from the genealogical section of www.lds.org.

96. May L. Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," pp.1-2.
97. May L. Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," p.2.
98. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846.
99. George H. Martin, "Dr. Abraham Gould," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.1-3.
100. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846.
101. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846.
102. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846..
103. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846.
104. Hanna M. Key, Letter to Harriett S. Stanton, 1 April 1846. Another account of Nye's use of conventional medical procedures can be found in James M. Nye, M.D., "Dislocation of the Fifth Cervical Vertebra – Death in One Hundred and Ten Days," *Boston Medical and Surgial Journal*, Vol.40, No.20, 20 January 1849, pp.401-403. The case involved Isaac Mansfield, a twenty-eight-year-old Lynn man who sustained serious neck injuries falling from a wagon. The severity of the accident was compounded when Mansfield walked to a nearby house, where his condition quickly deteriorated into almost total paralysis. Nye again called on Abraham Gould and A. L. Pierson for consultation; the prognosis was "unfavorable." Nye treated Mansfield with venesection, leeching, cathartics, blisters, and shocks from a galvanic battery to stimulate sensation and movement in Mansfield's extremities. Nye felt the case deserved inclusion into the *Journal* because he had never seen a dislocation of the fifth cervical vertebra survive beyond a week, but this patient survived almost four months.
105. "GO CALL THE DOCTOR, & BE QUICK"! or ANTI-CALOMEL. Music composed by J. J. Hutchinson. Sheet music published by Firth & Hall, 1 Franklin Sq. & Firth, Hall & Pond, 239 Broadway, New York, 1843. (Collection of the author [Rapoza]; see Appendix D.) The original poem was printed in an Athens, Alabama newspaper in 1820, according to Philip D. Jordan, *Singin' Yankees* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1946), pp.76-77.
106. Roland S. Houghton, A. M., M. D., *Three Lectures on Hygiene and Hydropathy* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1851), p. 115.
107. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 May 1840.
108. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 15 December 1841.
109. Winslow R. Kenrick, Letter to the Editor, "[Communication.]," *Lynn Record*, 6 September 1837 (torture; lips). Article, "Amputation," *The Lynn Mirror*, 2 September 1837; Editorial, no title, *The Lynn Mirror* 9 September 1837. The *Record* editorial stated that the worker "suffered the amputation of a leg," while the *Mirror* editorial specified, "his foot was being amputated."
110. Mary Gove Nichols, *Mary Lyndon or, Revelations of a Life*, *an Autobiography* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), p.222.
111. Jean L. Silver-Isenstadt, *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p.64.
112. Nichols, *Mary Lyndon*, pp.217-218.
113. Nichols, *Mary Lyndon*, p.221. Unfortunately, he continued to weaken and he felt compelled to return home to England. He died in England in 1846.
114. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Diary of a New-England Physician. New Series," *The Water-Cure Journal*, September 1852, p.72.
115. Mabel T. Kittredge, *The Kittredge Family in America*, (Rutland, VT: The Tuttle Publishing Company, Inc., 1936), pp.4-5.
116. Mabel T. Kittredge, *The Kittredge Family in America*, pp.8, 9, 21, 38, 74.
117. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Diary of a New-England Physician. New Series," *The Water-Cure Journal*, September 1852, p.72. "Diary of a New England Physician" matches the life and career of its author, Edward Kittredge, in every biographical detail. While he may have used some literary license to color the diary's hero, Edward Pillicody, Kittredge was clearly telling his own life story. Some of the details of Pillicody's life have therefore been used to unveil the identity of Edward Kittredge in this book.
118. Mabel T. Kittredge, *The Kittredge Family in America*, p.75.
119. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Extracts from the Diary of a New England Physician, No.II," *The Water-Cure Journal*, October 1852, pp.94-95.

120. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Extracts from the Diary of a New England Physician, Number Five," *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1853, p.29.

121. Q. David Bowers, *The Waterford Water Cure* (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Bowers and Merena Publications, 1992), p.47. This book is an excellent study of an American hydropathic establishment throughout most of the movement's history.

122. Kittredge was located over the office of Isaac Gates on Market Street in 1834 (notice, "Dr. E. A. Kittredge Has," *New England Galaxy*, 23 August 1834). In 1835 he had moved his residence to the Moulton house on High Street, "Those wishing his services during the night time, will find a bell at the right side of the front door." (See Notice, no title, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.) In 1837 he had removed to the house of Enos Newhall at the east end of Broad Street (notice, "Removal," *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837). The consistency in his choices was that he remained in the central part of town. According to the *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.50, the Kittredges had moved to the Baltimore Street address by at least 1841. With a few interruptions, it was home to the Kittredges until 1854.

123. *A Catalogue of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows 1781-1931* (Boston: The Massachusetts Medical Society, 1931), p.141.

124. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 29 January 1842.

125. E. A. Kittredge, "The Hunger Cure," *The Water-Cure Journal*, November 1851, p.111 (tongue). Article, no title, *The Water-Cure Journal*, October 1849, p.125 (Abby). *The Dollar Newspaper*, 10 October 1849, as quoted by Harold B. Weiss and Howard R. Kemble, *The Great American Water-Cure Craze* (Trenton, New Jersey: The Past Times Press, 1967), pp.126-127 (Abby). The hunger cure was not Kittredge's invention; it was practiced by John Schrott near Graefenburg in conjunction with the water cure. See also E. A. Kittredge, "The Hunger in Connection with the Water-Cure," *The Water-Cure Journal*, August 1850, pp.63-65 (tongue).

126. Article, "Renunciation," *Thompsonian Medical Journal*, as quoted in the *Lynn Pioneer*, 22 April 1846, p.2 (skillful); Elizabeth P. Peabody, *The Christian Register*, as quoted in Bowers, *The Waterford Water Cure*, p.53 (flourishing).

127. Alonzo Lewis, "The Poet and the Surgeon," *The Pioneer* (Lynn, MA), 31 December 1845. The poem contained in the article was based on correspondence between Lewis and Kittredge, so is apparently based in fact.

128. *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss), Vol.1 (1906), pp.52 (Blanchard), 402 (Trefethen).

129. Notice, "E. A. Kittredge," *The Locomotive*, 19 October 1842.

130. Wm H. Brewer, "Cold Water Cure," *True Wesleyan* as quoted in *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849.

131. Benjamin F. Browne, "Youthful Recollections of Salem" *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol.XLIX, July 1913* (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1913), No.3, p.205. In January 1814 the Essex South District Medical Society (a regional branch of the Massachusetts Medical Society), voted to forbid its members to consult with "Mr. Benjamin Kittredge commonly called Doctr Kittredge of Salem." This action was the result of an earlier investigation by James Gardner and another physician of an incident wherein one of their district society brethren was accused of consulting with "a quack in the neighborhood." It was determined that the member's "conduct was owing to having been deceived" by the quack. Kittredge was apparently a convincing physician, though not certified. See *Records of the Essex South District Medical Society*, manuscript, (covering 1805-1870, at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.)

132. Katherine Pinkham, "Dr. Edward A. Kittredge," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.2.

133. E. A. Kittredge, M.D., "A Lecture on Hydropathy," *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1851, p.44.

134. E. A. Kittredge, M.D., "A Lecture on Hydropathy," *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1851, p.44 (emphasis in original).

135. Deaths of the two children listed in Obituaries, *Lynn Record*, 5 May 1836 (Edward A. Kittredge, aged 8 months) and 13 June 1838 (Anstis Maria, aged 15 months). Henry Wright Kittredge was the only son born before the measles incident; see *Vital Records of Lynn,* Vol.1, p.229. Pinkham, "Dr. E. A. Kittredge, p.3, explains that the child suffering from measles was the doctor's son.

136. Katherine Pinkham, "Dr. Edward A. Kittredge," p.3.

137. Wm H. Brewer, "Cold Water Cure," *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849.

138. Katherine Pinkham, "Dr. E. A. Kittredge," p.3, mentions that Kittredge had been reading about the water cure prior to the incident with his son. Clearly he had some exposure to the concept to have executed what was called the "wet sheet" treatment so precisely and on a moment's notice.

139. Wm H. Brewer, "Cold Water Cure," *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849.

140. Various sources state the recovery time was ten or fifteen minutes; surely the recovery was not timed, but clearly it was quick.

141. Alonzo Lewis, "The Poet and the Surgeon," *The Pioneer*, 31 December 1845.

142. Alonzo Lewis, Letter to the Editor, "Bathing and Cleanliness," *The Water-Cure Journal*, 1 March 1846, p.101 (cleanly); Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.264 (balloon).

143. Squib, "Clean Hands," *Lynn Mirror*, 27 January 1827 (emphasis in original).

144. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 13 January and 18 August 1827.

145. Article, "Bath Houses," *Lynn* Record, 11 July 1832. Article, "Bathing House," *The Star* (Lynn, MA), 16 July 1836.

146. Article, "Bathing House," *The Star*, 16 July 1836.

147. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 2 July 1839.

148. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 13 July 1839.

149. *Lynn Directory* (1841), pp.10, 15. The Lynn Mineral Springs Hotel was not listed under "Baths" in the directory, perhaps because they were in disrepair at the time of publication. A newspaper advertisement at midyear announced, "The Bathing Rooms have been thoroughly repaired and are now in excellent order." (Advertisement, "Lynn Mineral Springs Hotel," *Lynn Record*, 14 July 1841.)

150. Dale Cockrell, *Excelsior,* p.332, listed the date Kittredge left Boston on the steamship Hibernia (1 November 1845) and the day he left England to return to the U.S. (2 February 1846). The Hibernia took twelve days to cross the Atlantic westward on an earlier voyage in that year; see *Scientific American*, Vol.1, No.1 (28 August 1845). Given the favorable west-to-east currents in the North Atlantic, he most like landed in England by no later than 12 November. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, p.164 (18 November 1845).

151. Q. David Bowers, *The Waterford Water Cure*, p.48. Kittredge also visited the Stanstead-bury House Water Cure Establishment in Herefordshire England. He wrote a letter from there on 14 January 1846 in which he indicated he had been undertaking the water cure regimen as a patient for the previous eight days. See "Letter from 'Noggs'," *The Pioneer*, 4 March 1846.

152. Wm H. Brewer, "Cold Water Cure," *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849, p.3.

153. Article, "Dr. Kittredge, *Lynn Pioneer*, 22 April 1846.

149. Katherine Pinkham, "Dr. Edward A. Kittredge," p.8.

155. Katherine Pinkham, "Dr. Edward A. Kittredge," pp.1-2. It was the fashion at this time to name one's house as if it were an idyllic local landmark; thus, the Hutchinsons named their two Lynn homes Daisy Cottage and Stone Cottage, Alonzo Lewis called his Sagamore Cottage, and Edward Kittredge lived at Gothic Cottage.

156. Article, "Water-Cure Institutions in the United States," *The Water-Cure Journal*, 15 February 1847, p.62.

157. E. A. Kittredge, M.D., "A Lecture on Hydropathy," *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1851, p.44.

158. Edward A. Kittredge, Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym E. A. K.), "Hydropathy," *Pioneer and Herald of Freedom*, as quoted in *The Water-Cure Journal*, January 1848, p.6. The occupation of the three men was found in Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn*, pp.116 (Phillips), 80 (Frye), and 106 (Mudge).

159. *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, Vol.2, p.585.

160. Article, "Cases from Rev. Mr. Russell, of Fall River, Mass.," *The Water-Cure Journal*, 1 June 1847, p.170.

161. *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.42 (cordwainer). Article, "Dyspepsia, &c.," by W. A. Fraser, *Lynn Pioneer*, 31 December 1846.

162. Article, "Dyspepsia, &c.," *Lynn Pioneer*, 31 December 1846.

163. Article, "Dyspepsia, &c.," *Lynn Pioneer*, 31 December 1846.

164. Robert Collyer Washburn, *The Life and Times of Lydia Pinkham*, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1931) p.46.

165. Ad, *Boston Post*, 4 March 1848.

166. Article, *Christian Mirror*, as quoted in "Water Cure," *Lynn News*, 30 April 1847.

167. Edward Augustus Kittredge, Waterford, Maine, Letter to Oliver Porter, Lynn, Mass., manuscript, 29 July 1847 (Delegation). Aurora Porter, Waterford, Maine, Letter to Oliver Porter, Lynn, Mass., manuscript, 1 August 1847 (grumbling). (Note: The manuscript collection of correspondence to Aurora and Oliver Porter are located at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA, Ms. N-736, Huntington Porter papers, 1780-1886, hereinafter abbreviated as MHS, Ms.N-736. Printed transcripts of the letters can also be found in

Bowers, *The Waterford Water Cure*, pp.57-99. Aurora always wrote from Waterford, Maine, and Oliver always from Lynn, Mass.) Letters from Edward A. Kittredge and Sara S. B., dated 1847, are also in the collection.

168. Obituary of Aurora Porter, *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 1 February 1849 (scrofulous, pain); Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 September 1847 (discharge).
169. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 21 June 1837 (Young Men's). Article, "Lynn Prisoner's Friend Society," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1846 (Prisoner's Friend).
170. Joseph W. Porter, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of Richard Porter, Who Settled at Weymouth, Mass, 1635, and Allied Families* (Bangor, Maine: Burr & Robinson, Printers, 1878), pp.86-87.
171. Records of the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society (Female); J. M. Spear, *Address Before the Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention* (Waltham, Mass.: Christian Freeman's Office, 1840), p.46 (Universalist).
172. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 9 September 1847.
173. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 22 August 1847.
174. For a complete biography of Ezekiel Porter Eastman, see Andrew V. Rapoza, "An Old and Bitter Storyteller," in *Bottles and Extras*, Vol.17, No.2 (Johnson, TN: Federation of Historic Bottle Collectors, Inc., Winter 2006), pp.42-45.
175. Cyrus went on to become ticket master at Lynn's railroad depot and Caleb became a city marshal. See Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], pp.100 (Long), 129 (Stinson; see "Stimson").
176. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 1 August 1847.
177. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
178. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 1 August 1847.
179. Sarah S. B., Waterford [Maine], Letter to Henry J. Hudson, Cambridge, Mass., manuscript, 18 July 1847 (collection of author: Rapoza).
180. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 14 Sep 1847.
181. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 1 August 1847.
182. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 August 1847 (emphasis in original).
183. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 9 August 1847. Aurora wrote that Oliver's recommendation of "Hydroville" was a name that Kittredge and Farrar wanted to "adopt in some way," but they were not ready to give up the name Waterford.
184. Edward Augustus Kittredge, Waterford, Maine, Letter to Oliver Porter, Lynn, Mass., manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 29 July 1847 (emphasis added).
185. Sarah S. B., Letter to Henry J. Hudson, manuscript, 18 July 1847.
186. Edward Augustus Kittredge, Waterford, Maine, Letter to Oliver Porter, Lynn, Mass., manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 29 July 1847 (emphasis in original).
187. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 1 August 1847.
188. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 August 1847.
189. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 2 September 1847.
190. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 1 August 1847.
191. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 August 1847.
192. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 9 August 1847 (emphasis in original).
193. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 9 August 1847 (emphasis in original).
194. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 2 September 1847.
195. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 August 1847 (emphasis in original).
196. Aurora Porter, Letters to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 22 August (Relief), 25 August (Aurora), and 9 September 1847 (medicine).
197. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 25 August 1847.
198. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 25 August 1847 (emphasis added).
199. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 August 1847.
200. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 August 1847.
201. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 14 September 1847

202. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 14 September 1847 (emphasis in original).
203. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 25 August 1847.
204. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 12 October 1847.
205. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 August 1847.
206. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 2 September 1847 (emphasis in original).
207. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 September 1847 (emphasis in original).
208. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 9 August 1847 (emphasis in original).
209. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 14 September 1847 (emphasis in original).
210. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 24 October 1847. Relief's letter was appended to Oliver's (emphasis in original).
211. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
212. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 21 October 1847 (emphasis in original).
213. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 12 October 1847.
214. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 September 1847.
215. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 24 October 1847.
216. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 24 October 1847.
217. Mrs. R. B. Gleason, "A Visit to the American Water Establishments," *The Water-Cure Journal*, January 1850, p.13.
218. Editorial, "Hydropathy," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848.
219. Squib, no title, *The Mississippi Free Trader* (Natchez, Mississippi), 7 October 1848.
220. "Hydropathy; or the Cold-Water Cure." Music by Asa Barker; Words by The Lynn Bard [Alonzo Lewis]. Printed by C. & H. J. Butterfield, Lynn, Mass., about 1845. (Note: The full lyrics and the illustration of Kittredge appears here in Appendix D.
221. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 5 October 1848 (emphasis in original).
222. Bowers, *Waterford Water Cure*, p.103, lists the 24 January 1849 as it appears on Aurora Porter's gravestone. The obituary of Aurora Porter, *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 1 February 1849, listed her death as 21 January 1849.
223. Gleason, "A Visit to the American Water Establishments," pp.13-14.
224. Several issues of *The Water-Cure Journal* from 1847-1851 mentioned Kittredge's lectures in Salem, Danvers, Leominster, East Cambridge, and Amesbury, Massachusetts, for example. See the April 1851 issue, p.98 for reference to the course of lectures.
225. Noggs was the name of a character in the book "Nicholas Nickelby," by Charles Dickens. Kittredge was a fan of Dickens. In the course of his travels to Europe for water cure training in 1846, Kittredge tagged along with his friends, the Hutchinson Family Singers, as a guest of Dickens at the author's London home. Kittredge later reminisced that he had the privilege during that evening of sitting in Dicken's favorite chair, "As I sat in that "Old Arm Chair" in that library I felt an emotion thrill through me … and I expected every moment to see … the gaunt form of my illustrious predecessor, Newman Noggs, stalking forth to do the bidding of the tyrant Ralph Nickleby, - sitting as I doubtless did in the identical chair where sat the magician who first called [him] into being." (See Pinkham, "Dr. Edward A. Kittredge," p.4.) Perhaps Kittredge chose the character name as a reflection of himself in some respect. His autobiographical writings, "Diary of a New England Physician," written under the pseudonym "Noggs," seem to have been an attempt to mimic Dickens' works in character development and to some degree in style.
226. Edward A. Kittredge (under the pseudonym E. A. K.), "Wash and Be Healed," *New Graefenberg Water-Cure Reporter*, as quoted in *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849.
227. E. A. Kittredge, "Rum-Drinkers Most Liable to Injury from Drinking Cold Water," from the *Washingtonian Journal* (Portland, Maine), as quoted in *The Water-Cure Journal*, November 1847, p.317.
228. E. A. Kittredge, "Applicability of the Water-Cure in Acute Diseases," *The Water-Cure Journal*, November 1849, p.181.

229. Articles from *The Water-Cure Journal*, "American Hydropathic Society," June 1849, p.187 (director) and "Proceedings of the American Hygenic and Hydropathic Association of Physicians and Surgeons, at Their Second Annual Meeting, Held at Hope Chapel, New York, on Friday, May 9th 1851," June 1851, p.138 (vice president).

230. Article, "Kittredge and Priessnitz," *The Water-Cure Journal*, July 1852, p.25 (Priessnitz); Article, Brewer, "Cold Water Cure," *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 15 February 1849 (Yankee).

231. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, p.164.

232. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, March 1853, p.70 and E. A. Kittredge, M. D., "Cholera in Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, September 1849, p.87 (nonsense); E.A.K., Letter to the Editor, "Hydropathy," *Herald & Pioneer of Freedom*, as quoted in *The Water-Cure Journal*, January 1848, p.6 (usurped).

233. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, December 1851, p.135.

234. Article from the *Pioneer of Freedom*, as quoted in *The Water-Cure Journal*, January 1848, p.15.

235. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, October 1851, p.88.

236. E. A. Kittredge, M.D., "Self Treatment with Water Cure," *The Water-Cure Journal*, December 1850, p.208.

237. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, May 1852, p.112.

238. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, December 1850, p.237 (quack); February 1853, p.44 (renegade). The Massachusetts Medical Society did not forbid membership of sectarian physicians until 1872; thus, Kittredge and others were members in good standing in the organization, even though they were not practicing and supporting orthodox, regular medicine.

239. E. A. Kittredge, M.D., "Water is Good for Some Things," *The Water-Cure Journal*, April 1851, p.88 (war).

240. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1852, p.39.

241. Article, "A Letter," *The Water-Cure Journal*, May 1853, p.99.

242. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 29 April 1840.

243. Article, "Dr. Quoggs to Dr. Noggs," *The Water-Cure Journal*, August 1851, p.40.

244. I. F. Galloupe, M.D., "One Case of Empiricism," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.41 (1849), No.19, 12 December 1849, p.381.

245. Isaac F. Galloupe, M.D., "Personal Recollections of the First Use of Anesthetics," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.136 (1897), No.1, p.8.

246. Isaac F. Galloupe, M.D., "Personal Recollections of the First Use of Anesthetics," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.136 (1897), No.1, p.9.

247. Isaac F. Galloupe, M.D., "Personal Recollections of the First Use of Anesthetics," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.136 (1897), No.1, p.9 (emphases in original).

248. Article, "Anodyne Compound," *Salem Gazette* as quoted in *Lynn News*, 26 November 1846.

249. Abel L. Pierson, M.D., "Surgical Operations with the Aid of the 'New Gas'," *Boston Medical and Surgical* Journal, Vol.35 (1846), pp.362-364; articles, "Anodyne Compound," *Lynn News*, 26 November 1846; "Surgical Operation," *Newburyport Herald* as quoted in *Lynn News*, 12 January 1849. All of these surgeries occurred before Galloupe's graduation from medical school but according to D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), Vol.1, p.368, Galloupe spent two years under the tutelage of Abel Pierson, "at the end of which time" he attended the Tremont Street medical School, in Boston, for one year, followed by three courses of lectures at Harvard's medical school, where he graduated in 1849. He was a student at Harvard during the ether demonstration in October 1846, so it is not likely that he was still with Pierson during his Harvard education, since the source described his two years with Pierson as predating his education at Harvard and even Tremont.

250. Article, "Anodyne Compound," *Lynn News*, 26 November 1846.

251. Article, "Sulphuric Ether, *Lynn News*, 25 December 1846. See also Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 14 February 1846 (specialist).

252. Article, "Surgical Operations Without Pain," *Lynn News*, 12 March 1847.

253. Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 14 April 1848.

254. Editorial, "Hydropathy," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848 (Gould); May L. Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," p.5 (emphasis in original).
255. Article, "Cases from Rev. Mr. Russell, of Fall River, Mass.," *The Water-Cure Journal*, 1 June 1847, p.170.
256. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
257. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
258. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
259. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 26 April 1837.
260. *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.9.
261. Advertisement, *The Pioneer*, 31 December 1845 (emphasis in original).
262. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 August 1849 (emphasis in original).
263. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 September 1847.
264. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 3 October 1847.
265. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 30 September 1847 (emphasis in original).
266. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Homeopathy and Its Kindred Delusions," *Medical Essays, 1842*-1882 (The Project Gutenberg EBook of Medical Essays, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.; online at https://www.gutenberg.org/ files /2700/2700-h/2700-h.htm).
267. Article, "Homoeopathic Soup," *Lynn Forum*, 21 July 1846.
268. Mary Gove Nichols, *Mary Lyndon or, Revelations of a Life*, *an Autobiography* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1855), pp.138-139.
269. Mary Gove Nichols, Nichols, *Mary Lyndon*, p.137.
270. Mary Gove Nichols, Nichols, *Mary Lyndon*, p.143. In this autobiographical account, all characters actual names were fictionalized; therefore the true identity of the homeopath Dr. Hall cannot be further identified at this time.
271. Advertisement, *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 28 June 1849.
272. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 26 April 1837.
273. Mary Andrew Bartlett, "Dr. Daniel Perley," in *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.2 (College). *A Catalogue of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows 1781-1931*, p.194 (Society). Oliver Porter, Letter, 17 October 1847 (scarlet).
274. Dr. E. P. Eastman, Nahant, Mass., Letter to Phillip M. Stubbs, Esq., Strong, Maine, manuscript, 28 March, no year (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), but the recipient dated the letter as correspondence of March 1846 (emphasis in original).
275. Weis and Kemble, *The Great American Water-Cure Craze*, pp.127-128.
276. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 3 October 1847.
277. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 17 October 1847.
278. Advertisement, *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* (Bangor, Maine), 9 June 1849.
279. Oliver Porter, Letter to Aurora Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 25 August 1847.
280. Editorial, "Hydropathy," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848.
281. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "The Eclectic; or 'That's So'," *The Water-Cure Journal*, March 1857, pp.55-56. See also Thomas Low Nichols' description of eclecticism in T. L. Nichols, "The Pathies Defined," *The Water-Cure Journal*, August 1851, p.26.
282. *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.10.
283. Article, "Dental Surgery," *Lynn Record*, 20 November 1833.
284. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol.1, pp.222-223.
285. List, "Premiums and Gratuities," *Lynn News*, 8 October 1847.
286. Advertisement, *The True Workingman*, 27 November 1845.
287. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 10 December 1847.
288. "Dental Mirror," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.30, No.21 (26 June 1844), p.424.
289. J. R. Dillingham, *A Brief Explanation on the Use and Abuse of Dental Surgery* (Lynn: J. R. Dillingham, Market St., 1844). On the treatise's cover, Dillingham is identified as "of the firm of Dillingham & Hanners, Dental Surgeons, Lynn, Mass." By July 1846, Dillingham was living in Fairhaven, but William L. Hanners

remained in Lynn. (See J. R. Dillingham, "Abscess of the Antrum Maxillare," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.24 (1841), No.26, p.521.) The advise Dillingham offered in his booklet included "plugging the teeth" with metal (lead or tin, but preferably gold), avoiding mercurial fillings, filing the teeth down so that there is sufficient space for food to pass between them, and cleaning the teeth at least once a day with a soft brush and tooth powder "free from acid." Alonzo Lewis was all for oral hygiene, "… some people never wash their teeth," he wrote, "I know a man who considers himself a great moral reformer, whose breath is so offensive that it is unpleasant to converse with him, unless at a distance." See Alonzo Lewis, "Bathing and Cleanliness," *The Water-Cure Journal*, 1 March 1846, p.101.

290. "The Way Some Persons Become Dentists," *American Journal of Dental Science*, as quoted in *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (1844), Vol.29, No.23, p.453.

291. Editorial, "Hydropathy," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848.

292. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Pil-Garlic), Letter to the Editor, "Whooping Cough," *The Locomotive*, 3 August 1842.

293. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Record*, 12 May 1841; Editorial, "Small Pox," *The Pioneer*, 11 February 1846.

294 . Article, "Sudden Death," *Lynn News*, 16 June 1848.

295. Article, "Narrow Escape of a Family," *Lynn News*, 23 June 1848.

296 . Article, "Narrow Escape of a Family," *Lynn News*, 23 June 1848. The alarming story of the poisoned pig was also carried in squib, no title, *Buffalo Weekly Republic* (Buffalo, NY) 11 July 1848.

297. James M. Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery in Lynn, 1848," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.43, No.11 (16 October 1850), p.212. The obituary of Sidney Ingalls, *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848, referred to the illness as the "summer sickness." Throughout the nineteenth century, the legion of illnesses that frequently appeared in the summer and early fall in many communities and manifesting symptoms of diarrhea, were heaped under the general description, "summer sickness" or "summer complaint."

298. James M. Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery," p.213.

299. Symptoms and treatments were both reported in Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery," p.213.

300. James M. Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery," p.213.

301. Article, "Sickness in Lynn," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 October 1848.

302. James M. Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery," p.213.

303. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*, p.421.

304. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 28 September 1848.

305. Article, "Sickness in Lynn," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 October 1848; the article quotes Proverbs 26:2.

306. James M. Nye, "Epidemic Dysentery," p.213.

307. Article, "Sickness in Lynn," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 October 1848.

308. Article, "Sickness in Lynn," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 October 1848.

309. Article, "Sickness in Lynn," *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 October 1848. It's interesting to note that, although the 6 October 1848 issue of the *Amulet* praised Kittredge and the water cure and disparaged conventional medicine, it didn't specifically state that the water cure had caused healings in dysentery cases, despite the fact that on the next day, *The Mississippi Free Trader* credited the water cure with great success against the remarkable virulence of the illness that was raging in Lynn at that time.

310. Obituary of Sidney Ingalls, *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848.

311. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, pp.484 (Garlands), 563 (Peabodys).

312. Obituary of Theodore Parker Mudge, *Lynn News*, 8 September 1848.

313. Obituary of Sidney Ingalls, *Freedom's Amulet*, 6 December 1848.

314. Lemuel Shattuck, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., and Jehiel Abbott, Massachusetts. Sanitary Commission, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health, devised, prepared and recommended by the commissioners appointed under a resolve of the legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a sanitary survey of the state*. (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, state printers, 1850), p.511.

315. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 19 January 1849.

316. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 25 May 1849.

317. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1849 (emphasis in original).

318. Article, "Fresh Fish," *Lynn News*, 22 June 1849.

319. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1849 (emphasis in original).

320. Article, "Health of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 10 August 1849.
321. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 17 August 1849.
322. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 17 August 1849.
323. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
324. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 17 August 1849.
325. Squib, "Doings About Town," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
326. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
327. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
328. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
329. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
330. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.
331. Article, "Cholera," *Lynn News*, 31 August 1849.
332. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 7 September 1849.
333. Article, "Mortality," *Lynn News*, 7 September 1849.
334. Article, "The Late Calamity at Our Alms House," *Lynn Item*, 7 September 1849.
335. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*, p.423.
336. Article, "Doctoring," *Lynn Record*, 28 January 1835 (emphasis in original).
337. Aurora Porter, Letter to Oliver Porter, manuscript (MHS, Ms.N-736), 24 October 1847.
338. LaRoy Sunderland, *Book of Health for the Million*, (Boston: White & Potter, 1847), p.18 (disagree). This phrase seems to have been a popular rallying cry for challenging conventional medicine. P. T. Barnum had considered using the phrase to promote his Fejee Mermaid in 1842; see Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt, *P. T. Barnum, America's Greatest Showman* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p.43. Kittredge used it in an 1851 article, "Gossip from Boston," *The Water-Cure Journal*, September 1851, p.66.
339. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Just.), Letter to the Editor, "Small Pox Rebuked," *Lynn Record*, 19 February 1840 (effectual) (emphasis in original).
340. Advertisement, *The Pioneer*, 31 December 1845 (emphasis in original).
341. Advertisement, *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843. An example of this bottle was sold on eBay in 2008. It was a clear glass, open pontiled, flared lip cylinder, measuring 4 ¾ inches tall by a base diameter of approximately 1 1/5 inches. The embossing read from the bottom edge to the shoulder in three lines: T. J. Lummus' // Pectoral Syrup // Lynn, Mass. The seller described the bottle as about 1840, but the very clear glass, almost complete absence of air bubbles, potstones, or other manufacturing imperfections, along with a lip that looked distinctly mold-made and not hand applied, suggests this example was about 1860-1870. Thomas Jefferson Lummus made and sold medicines starting in about 1834 and even though he became better known in the later decades of his career for making shoe blacking, staining compounds, and inks, he still made medicines until shortly before his death in 1895.
342. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 5 August 1840 (emphasis in original).
343. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 5 August 1840.
344. Advertisement, *The Mirror*, 30 December 1837 (emphasis in original).
345. Advertisements, *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843 and *Lynn Record,* 5 August 1840.
346. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 2 February 1842.
347. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 22 January 1840 (Lummus's), 8 January 1840 (Albert's), and 27 October 1841 (Wild's).
348. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 24 January 1838.
349. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 19 February 1840.
350. Based on research performed by author (Rapoza) on all issues of the *Lynn Record*, January 1834 – February 1842, and on all issues of the *Lynn News*, January 1846 – December 1849.
351. Squib, no title, *Lynn Record*, 19 May 1841.
352. Healthy horses were essential for transportation and hauling, and healthy cows, oxen, pigs, and sheep were critical to the economy of their owners. Medicine and treatments often mimicked that of humans as veterinary specialization was just beginning. Over 1839-1840, a "fatal distemper" epidemic had killed many cattle and other animals in Essex county. "Some individuals have lost half their entire stock, and some more. It has not

been confined to meat cattle, but horses, hogs, and sheep have been affected." (Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 8 April 1840.) Mention of prevailing animal illnesses did not receive much coverage in Lynn books and newspapers, probably because the town had quickly developed as a community supported by laboring trades rather than farming.

353. Notice, "To the Public," *Lynn Record*, 23 February 1842.

354. Jesse S. Spear, *The Family Physician. A Brief Treatise on the Origin and Nature of the Principle Diseases which Afflict Humanity Together with Directions How to Preserve and Restore Health* (Boston: no publisher named, 1848), pp.48-49 (collection of author [Rapoza]).

355. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 5 August 1840.

356. Article, "Accident on Easter Railroad," *The Locomotive*, 19 October 1842.

357. Advertisement, Essex County Washingtonian, 9 June 1842.

358. Advertisement, Essex County Washingtonian, 9 June 1842.

359. Poem, "Song of the Consumptive," *Lynn News*, 28 February 1846.

360. Poem, no title, *Lynn Record*, 5 January 1842 (emphasis in original).

361. Jesse Hutchinson sold ice cream at High Rock; see *Lynn News* articles, "Try Them," 23 July 1847 and "High Rock Ice Creams," 30 July 1847. High Rock became a "great place of resort during summer evenings" where people could enjoy ice cream, the telescope, and dancing. See Article, "High Rock," *Lynn News*, 20 August 1847. Samuel Soule had won prizes for his "milch cows" in some of the county agricultural fairs (see List, "Premiums and Gratuities," *Lynn News*, 9 October 1846); he apparently put them to good use for his ice cream saloon. The *Lynn News* reported, "We are not going to advise everybody to go and see him, because everybody, already, don't do anything else. His saloon is crowded, every evening, and no one comes out without 'feeling better'." (Squib, no title, *Lynn News*, 7 August 1846.) Soule probably took over the location of Thomas J. Lummus who had been on the first floor of the Lyceum building earlier in the decade. Along with his medicines, Lummus had sold ice cream and raspberry mead as cooling refreshments. (At the time Soule was under Lyceum Hall, Lummus had moved his business a few blocks north onto South Common Street.) Mead and sarsaparilla were virtually synonymous and often blended as one product. Proctor and Rhodes, for example, sold Sarsaparilla Mead Syrup; see "Citizens Advertising Directory," *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.3. While apothecaries usually sold sarsaparilla in syrup form to be mixed at home with water or whatever the customer pleased, the premixed beverage version was sold at public venues. See Editorial, "Keep Cool," *The Locomotive*, 3 August 1842.

362. Carol Brink, *Harps in the Wind: The Story of the Singing Hutchinsons* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p.217.

363. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 3 June 1840, 5 August 1840.

364. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 20 June 1838.

365. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 9 June 1841 (emphasis in original).

366. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Swampscot), Letter to the Editor, "[Communicated.]", *Lynn Record*, 24 June 1840.

367. Squib, "Reader, are you dry?" *Lynn Record*, 3 June 1840 (emphasis in original).

368. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Swampscot), Letter to the Editor, "[Communicated.]", *Lynn Record*, 24 June 1840 (emphasis in original).

369. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 18 May 1849.

370. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.

371. Advertisement, *The Locomotive*, 22 June 1842. No records have been located as to the existence of a Dr. Gano living in Lynn or passing through; it was, however, an era when medicine sellers, healers, and lecturers frequently sojourned in or zipped through towns.

372. Article, "New and Improved Invention," *The Boston Daily Bee*, 8 February 1848. See also Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 18 February 1848.

373. William Kingsford, son of William Kingsford the healer, testified in 1870 that in 1848 his father became "hopelessly insane" and continued so to the time of his testimony. See *Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court, County of Essex, November Term 1870 at Salem.* See also *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts. Kingsford is listed as an inmate of the State Lunatic Hospital in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1860 and 1870. See *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*: Northampton, Hampton County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1204, family 1203, and *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*:

Northampton, Hampton County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1605, family 1745. In the 1860 census, the cause of Kingsford's insanity is listed as "unknown."

374. Article, "Indian Medicine Men," *Lynn Record*, 1 April 1840, quoting from *Parker's Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains*.

375. Joel Shew, M.D., "Lecture on Hydropathy," *The Water-Cure Journal*, November 1849, p.150.

376. Article, "Temperance," *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843.

377. Article, "Evenings at Home," *Lynn News*, 30 March 1846.

378. Editorial, "Quackery," *Lynn News*, 1 May 1846.

379. James M. Nye, M.D., "Case of Scrofulous Ulceration of the Kidneys," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.29, No.26 (31 January 1844), p.514.

380. James M. Nye, "Case of Scrofulous Ulceration of the Kidneys," pp.514-515.

381. James M. Nye, "Case of Scrofulous Ulceration of the Kidneys," p.515.

382. James M. Nye, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 24 March 1848.

383. "Massachusetts Medical Society – Patent Medicines," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.36, No.3 (17 February 1847), p.63.

384. "Massachusetts Medical Society – Patent Medicines," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.36, No.3 (17 February 1847), p.64.

385. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 5 August 1840.

386. "Quackery in the Massachusetts Medical Society," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.30, No.22 (3 July 1844), p.445. Felix was a reference to the greedy Roman procurate who tried to get the apostle Paul to pay for his freedom from accusations brought before him. In Acts 24:25 "Felix trembled" from the truths Paul bore testimony of about righteousness, temperance, and resurrection. The *Journal* writer appeared to be suggesting that the true number of medical society doctors prescribing nostrums was as staggering as the biblical truths that made Felix tremble.

387. "Quackery in the Massachusetts Medical Society," p.445.

388. "The Nostrum Trade – Its Influence on Health and Morals," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.39, No.7 (13 September 1848), pp.129-140. See also, R. T. Trall, M.D., "Alcoholic Quack Medicines," *The Water-Cure Journal*, March 1849, p.70.

389. "The Nostrum Trade – Its Influence on Health and Morals," pp.131-137.

390. Editorial, "Quackery," *The Locomotive*, 22 June 1842 (emphasis added).

391. James R. Newhall, *New England Witchcraft* (Salem, Mass.: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), pp.31, 30.

392. "The Nostrum Trade – Its Influence on Health and Morals," p.138.

393. An excellent review of the disintegration of professional medicine during the decades 1830-1840 is found in Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp.154-164.

394. John Homans, M.D., M.M.S.S., "The Character and Qualifications of the Good Physician," *Medical Communications of the Massachusetts Medical Society*, Vol.7, Part 3, (Boston, 1844), pp.143-145, 153-154.

395. I. F. Galloupe, M.D., "One Case of Empiricism," p.380 (emphasis in original). Students often sat through the same courses twice and they rarely saw patients. See also Otto L. Bettmann, *A Pictorial History of Medicine* (New York: Dover Publications, 1942), p.264. From the turn of the century to 1850, the average pool of potential patients per doctor dropped from about 950 to 600.

A letter from a non-Lynn physician in 1835 expresses frustration over too many people practicing as doctors: "The medical faculty of this place consists of five besides myself and they are a strange mass of Drunkardness infidelity quackery and foolishness as was ever met with. They are a disgrace to the profession and a pest to society. Still the people after being duped and gulled by this professional kind of a nondescrip will employ them because they can pay them in whiskey…. There is six physicians to 12 or 1500 inhabitants [i.e., one physician to every 200-250 inhabitants] The ride is very much circumscribed there being physicians all around us within four or five miles…. [G]ive me your opinion as to what I had better do as I shall starve here." Chas. Shepard MD, Adams, Letter to J. B Hunt Esq., 17 July 1835, manuscript (collection of author: Rapoza).

396. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn, or The Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, Printer, 1880), p.235 (Prescott, Holder, Perley, Barker, Coffin, Newhall, Nye); Article, "East Lynn," *Lynn News*, 15 May 1846 (Nichols, Read).

397. Mary Andrew Bartlett, "Dr. Daniel Perley," p.4 (samples). Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, p.235 (collections).

398. Cyrus Mason Tracy, *Studies of the Essex Flora: An Enumeration of All Plants Found Growing Naturally Within the Limits of Lynn, Mass., and Towns Adjoining*, 2nd edition (Lynn: The Nichols Press, 1892). The first edition was published in 1858. Nye's contribution to Tracy's book was the "very rare" Blue-Weed, which he founded on a manure bed along Walnut Street (p.65). Clark found Spotted Wintergreen in Saugus (p.58). Holder's contributions included six plants that he found in the eastern section of town. Rare and very rare species came from the border of Stacey's Brook, on King's Beach, and near Essex and Chatham streets (see pp.21, 28, 36, 41, 63, and 83). He also identified the "rare" Purple Avens in a Lynn location known as Botanic Grove and Linnean Grove. The 1892 edition of Tracy's book noted that the grove "had been sacrificed to the cheap house-builder, and can no longer be recognized by the botanist" (p.12).

399. May L. Sheldon, *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (10 March 1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.16 (shells, sea breezes); Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 14 March 1846 (Concord).

400. Ralph W. Dexter, "The Lynn Natural History Society," *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* Vol.98, July 1962 (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1962), No.3, p.179. Most of the birds he listed in his "Catalogue of Birds Noted in the Vicinity of Lynn, Massachusetts During the Years 1844-45-46" were stuffed and deposited in the society's collection (See Ralph W. Dexter, "The Lynn Natural History Society," p.176).

401. Rossiter Johnson, editor-in-chief, *The Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* (Boston, The Biographical Society, 1904), Vol.5.

402. Dumas Malone, editor, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp.140-141. Joseph Bassett Holder had an early friendship with Louis Agassiz who had a summer laboratory at Nahant; they dredged the Lynn Bay together in search of zoological specimens. He went to Harvard and later served as an anatomy demonstrator for Oliver Wendell Holmes. He practiced in Swampscott and later in Lynn, where he also served as the city physician for a time. In 1859 he went to the Florida reef, served as a surgeon of the military prison at Fort Jefferson on the Dry Tortugas, despite the fact that he was a Quaker. Much later after the war, he became curator of the American Museum of Natural History.

403. Obituary of Charles Otis Barker, *Essex County Washingtonian* (Salem and Lynn), 12 January 1843.

404. Article, "The Late Dr. Barker," *Lynn Freeman and Essex County Whig*, 14 January 1843.

405. Barker's death was reported by Dr. John Jackson at the the Boston Society for Medical Improvement on 9 January 1843 as follows:

"Dr. John Jackson reported a case of death from a dissecting wound. Dr Barker of Lynn made an examination of a case of puerperal fever last Monday eveg. He had at the time several open sores on each hand and pricked himself while sewing up the body. On Tuesday he was not very well but was out. He was out also on Wednesday morning, but most of the day kept on the sofa. … On Thursday Dr Jackson was sent for to see him. He had no sleep that night, very ardent thirst, complained of pain about the shoulder …. There was considerable swelling of the shoulder … There were … red spots about the clavicle … He had taken cathartics of Senna and of calomel & Jalap which had operated freely. As he was a very strong athletic man Dr Jackson advised bleeding from the arm, and if no relief by night Leeches to the shoulder. He was bled 18 oz's and at night had the leeches applied. His pulse immediately failed after the bleeding. The shoulder after the application of the Leeches became easier, but pain then came on in the left side about the short ribs, and he had 7 or 9 leeches applied here. On Saturday his friends sent up word that he was not so well, and in the afternoon Dr Jackson again saw him with Dr Peirson of Salem. He had failed much. His skin was damp and inactive. … He was put upon calomel & opiates. We had since heard that he continued to sink, and that on Sunday he was put upon stimulants. He died at 6 o'clock last evening."

Holmes learned of Barker's death from the account Jackson narrated during the January 9th meeting; Jackson's report was recorded in the minutes of the Boston Society for Medical Improvement, (manuscript, at the Countway Library of Medicine, Boston, Mass.), Vol.4, January 9, 1843, pp.218-219; see also Vol.4, January 23, 1843, p.220. Oliver Wendell Holmes referred to Jackson's account of Barker's death as one of many instances of the contagiousness of puerperal fever; see Oliver Wendell Holmes, *Puerperal fever, as a private pestilence* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1855), p.5.

406. "Lectures to Ladies on Anatomy and Physiology," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.26, No.6 (16 March 1842), p.97.

407. "Lecture to Ladies" *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.26, No.6 (16 March 1842), pp.97-98.

408. Dan King, M.D., *Quackery Unmasked: or A consideration of the Most Prominent Empirical Schemes of the Present Time* (Boston: David Clapp, 1858), p.215.

409. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," p.15.

410. Article, "High Rock," *Lynn News*, 20 August 1847.

411. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 12 February 1847.

412. Article, "Minuteness of Animal Life," *Lynn News*, 30 April 1847.

413. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 23 October 1846 (Gove's); 21 July 1846 (Cutter's); 4 August 1848 (Fitch's); *Lynn Record*, 8 April 1840 (Deslande's).

414. Advertisement, *The Water-Cure Journal*, February 1851, p.56.

415. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 6 October 1848 (Tom Thumb).

416. Article, "A Freak of Nature," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1849.

417. Article, "Free Popular Lecture at Lyceum Hall," *Lynn News*, 26 May 1848. Another example of the use of manikins in lectures on anatomy and physiology can be found in 1842. R. H. Mack and T. S. Lambert presented a course of six lectures at the Lyceum Hall. Their lectures included the use of a "Manikin or Artificial Man" brought from France for $800. It displayed 1700 body parts "that can be taken to pieces from head to foot." See Advertisement, *The Locomotive*, 15 June 1842.

418. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 26 May 1848.

419. I. F. Galloupe, "Popular Physiology," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.43, No.3 (21 August 1850), pp.59-60.

420. I. F. Galloupe, "Popular Physiology," p.60.

421. I. F. Galloupe, "Popular Physiology," pp.61-63 (emphasis in original).

422. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1840 (emphasis in original).

423. Letter, John B. Newhall, Burlington, Iowa, to George Mulliken, Lynn, Mass., 25 October 1842, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). Newhall even wrote a book about the Midwest's prospects, *Sketches of Iowa*, in 1841.

424. Article, "Gold in California," *Lynn News*, 22 September 1848.

425. Article, "Gold Hunting Fever," *Lynn News*, 12 January 1849.

426. Article, "Lynners for California," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1849 (Sagamore); Article, "More Bad News from Californians," *Lynn News*, 8 June 1849 (Essex); Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 12 January 1849 (Bay State); Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 9 March 1849 (West Lynn).

427. Article, "Lynners for California," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1849.

428. Article, "The Over-Land Company," *Lynn News*, 27 April 1849 (surgeons); List, "California Emigrants from Lynn," *Lynn News*, 21 December 1849 (Baker). The two surgeons have not been identified from this list; there were members of the company that were not from Lynn and the surgeons were probably among that contingent. Early in 1849, E. G. Baker had "badly burned" his fingers in a soldering accident and, as another proof of the curative powers of water, Edward A. Kittredge was pleased to report that Baker instinctively "put his hands into cold water" for an end to the pain. Shortly after the incident, Baker decided to visit "the Gold Regions." See Articles, "Facts for the People" (burned), and "The New Case" (Regions), *Pioneer & Herald of Freedom*, 8 March 1849.

429. Article, "The Over-Land Company," *Lynn News*, 27 April 1849.

430. Article, "Lynners for California," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1849.

431. Notice, no title, *Pioneer and Herald of Freedom*, 25 January 1849.

432. Article, "Lynners for California," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1849.

433. Article, "For California," *Lynn News*, 16 March 1849.

434. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 9 March 1849.

435. Application Certificates for Passports, 1810-1854, manuscript (at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Mass.), Folder 126X. Passport applications existed for the following Lynn men (followed by the 1849 date of application): John Carter (3 February); George B. Weeks (10 February); Edwin A. Rich, Thomas Stevenson, Samuel E. Collyer, George F. Sprague, and Edwin H. Tarbox (1 March); James Woolley (8 March); William C. Stone (10 March); Philip Short and John Gardner (14 March); Alvin R. Richardson (30 April); Zebina S. Gray (whom the 1850 census confirms was male; 29 October); Benjamin G. Schwartz (3 November); William Sprague (13 November); and William P. Buffum (22 November). This record also lists the passport number, age, height, eye and hair color, and complexion for each applicant. Ages of the fourteen Lynn men ranged from 21 (Stevenson and Weeks) to 42 (Wooley); tallest was Sprague (6'1") and shortest were Carter, Buffum, and Collyer (5'6").

436. For an excellent and unusual book on the deprivations and illnesses suffered by the argonauts during the California, see George W. Groh, *Gold Fever* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1966). See especially pp.32-41, 55-56, 64-65, and 79-81 for further details on the various routes to California, along with their respective challenges. Groh does not describe the route of the Essex Mining and Trading Company (by sea to Texas then overland to San Francisco) as one of the major routes.

437. Obituary of William P. Carlton, *Lynn News*, 22 October 1852.
438. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 865, household 1235 (Carlton).
439. Charles W. Hawkes, Diary, manuscript (covering 1849, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). The diary has been subsequently mislabeled as a trip to Colorado, but Hawkes identified himself as a member of the Sagamore Mining and Trading Company of Lynn. A descendant of Hawkes wrote in the back of the diary, "We had about 100 or 150 of these books. Rats destroyed them."
440. The expedition had already left Lynn by the 6 April 1849 edition of the *Lynn News*, and its arrival was confirmed in the issue of 14 December 1849.
441. Article, "Essex Mining and Trading Company," *Salem Register*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 15 June 1849.
442. Obituary of Charles Robinson, *Lynn News*, 22 June 1849.
443. Article, "Letters from California," *Lynn News*, 16 November 1849.
444. Philip D. Jordan, *Singin' Yankees*, pp.188-189.
445. Article, "Another Letter from Rio Janeiro," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1849.
446. Article, "Another Letter from California," *Lynn News*, 26 October 1849 (emphasis in original).
447. Article, "Letters from California," *Lynn News*, 16 November 1849.
448. Article, "Letter from California," *Lynn News*, 28 June 1850.
449. Article, "News from Lynn Californians," *Lynn News*, 4 January 1850.
450. Article, "Letters from California," *Lynn News*, 16 November 1849.
451. Squib, *The Grindstone* (Lynn, MA), 28 February 1852.
452. A list of 191 names of forty-niners from Lynn appears in *Lynn News*, 21 December 1849; however, several others not on that list were identified in various sources. See also Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 27 September 1849, which stated, "There are more than three hundred persons, we understand, who have gone to California from this town." Historian James R. Newhall's estimate of 200 falls more in line with the December 1849 list produced by the *Lynn News*; see Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: John L. Shorey, Publisher, 1865), p.424. See *The Directory of The City of Lynn* [1851] for the occupations of several dozen individuals listed as in California by that date.
453. Article, no title, *Lowell Journal*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 12 October 1849.
454. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*, p.424.
455. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwellings 635 (Babeuf), 508 (Voit), 342 (Francisco), and 666 (Chapee).
456. Article, "Lynn," *Lynn Pioneer*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
457. Article, "The Irish and Temperance," *Lynn Record*, 14 April 1841.
458. The *Massachusetts State Census for 1855* lists many Lynn households containing one Irish female, ranging from sixteen to thirty-five years old.
459. Oliver Porter, Letter, 5 August 1847.
460. Article, "Night Watch," *Lynn News*, 11 June 1847.
461. Article, "Fire!" *Lynn News*, 14 August 1846. This incident and the many fires reported throughout the decade were a stark contrast to an earlier article on town fires, "The loss of property by fire is an occurrence so rare in the town of Lynn…. [T]he *inhabitants* of Lynn deserve some credit, for care and correct habits of life, when is considered that a town of more than *six thousand* inhabitants have been preserved more than twelve years with loss by fire of any kind. Murders, riots and incendiaries are heard of *round about* us, but they disturb not our peaceable dwellings." Times had changed. Article, "Fire in Lynn," *Lynn Record*, 23 January 1833.
462. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 12 March 1847. See also "Health of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 10 August 1849.
463. Poem (under the pseudonym, "No Superstition"), "The Vampyre," *Lynn News*, 17 December 1847.
464. Lord Byron wrote the first story about a vampire, but never finished it. His personal physician, John Polidori used Byron's idea for the basis of his own tale, which he called, "The Vampyre." Thomas Preskett Prest published *Varney the Vampire*, a gothic novel about a blood-sucking vampire. Published in 1847, it was a popular novel and therefore reprinted in 1853. See Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu, *In Search of Dracula*, Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1972), pp.174-177.
465. Poem (under the pseudonym, "No Superstition"), "The Vampyre," *Lynn News*, 17 December 1847.
466. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 14 September 1849.

Chapter 6: 1850-1859

Labor Pains

> *… Lynn has some reputation abroad for tendencies to fanaticism and strange fancies. If Satan has any degrading and filthy delusion to play off, to bring the human race into greater contempt, Lynn is the place which he is wont to choose for its birth.*
>
> *If mesmerism, biology, phrenology, necromancy, spiritual rapping, and any of the thousand and one of that class of the tricks is to be played off, it must go out from Lynn, the great mart of humbugs.*
>
> Parsons Cooke, *A Century of Puritanism and A Century of Its Opposites*, Lynn, Mass., 1855

George Gray just wanted to be left alone. He deliberately lived the solitary life that earned him the title, the Lynn Hermit. It was said that he came from Scotland at the turn of the nineteenth century and hid himself away in a remote corner of Lynn because he was either evading the law or trying to escape the pain of having been spurned in love.

When he arrived in Lynn, he found a perfect hiding place. There was a lonely spot near Strawberry Brook that was crossed only by wildlife, a dirt road, and the sands of time. If visitors waded through a swamp or the weed-choked brook, or pushed through brambles and rotting vegetation, they would eventually arrive at Gray's little hovel.[1] Rumors persisted that he had hidden treasure, yet he lived in poor circumstances bordering on squalor. He had constructed a one-room shack that served as "his parlor, dining-room, bed chamber, work-shop, and privy – a place filthy enough to shame a respectable hog."[2]

In the manner of a true hermit, Gray did everything for and by himself. In his last days, when "upwards of eighty years old," he had added an aversion to soap and water to his list of eccentricities; "he was, in short, a very filthy, nasty sort of a hermit." His feet and legs consequently became swollen and covered with "scales which resembled those of a fish."[3] His skeletal frame had bowed to the point that he was almost doubled over with age, which he tried to correct with an ingenious device of his own invention:

> He had an iron crane made, the short part of which he firmly fastened to his back, while the other part extended itself horizontally about two feet, with a weight of fourteen pounds at the end of it. This singular contrivance kept him in an erect position, and his own opinion was that it did him much good; but he cut a very odd figure, and created considerable sensation, when he went into the streets with his apparatus attached to his person; it was as if a fire-place, with the crane and tea-kettle, had taken a fancy for pedestrian exercise, and were rambling about….[4]

In addition to being resourceful, self-sufficient and eccentric, Gray was hermitically reclusive and he wanted it that way, but things were changing. By 1848 his solitary confinement was no longer the quiet outpost he craved. The sawing and hammering of new houses, barns, and shops were becoming louder as new neighbors came closer from the south and west. Icemen set up their harvesting sheds on the shores of Flax Pond to his east and amid the din and commotion, the town

was preparing to develop its largest cemetery just north of his hovel. Its main entrance would be just a few rods from his homestead, but with the increasing population and building going on in the town, dead people were not going to be his only neighbors. The cities of the living and the dead were converging on his once isolated retreat; the "population largely increased around, much to his annoyance."[5] The day was coming soon that he would wake up surrounded by people instead of nature, but before that looming sunrise, George Gray, mercifully, just passed away.

BREECH BIRTH

Lynn was pregnant with potential. The town's population had increased to 14,257 in 1850, fifty-two percent more than in 1840.[6] Thirteen hundred buildings were constructed during the same decade; 700 of them were houses.[7] They, in turn, were stuck to a web of streets that had expanded from 97 in 1841 to 147 in 1851. Alonzo Lewis decided the town's growth necessitated publishing another street directory, the first in ten years.[8] The new directory came with a plea for residents to begin numbering their houses so that visitors could figure out where they lived.[9] There were frequent calls for the construction of more inexpensive multi-family housing for the cordwainers and laborers that were streaming into town. "We know that several families have been deterred from making Lynn their home by the difficulty in procuring any houses to live in," wrote one of the local newspapermen in 1856, "No doubt that a supply for this pressing demand would at once add to our population a large number of the best kind of citizens."[10] The Nahant Hotel had a hundred-room wing added, making it what was believed to be the largest hotel in New England, able to accommodate one thousand guests.[11] Warehouses and stores were constructed along the railroad line, especially from Market Street to the new Central Railroad Depot on Union Street. Old shoe establishments were remodeled and enlarged and new ones were erected; by 1857, nearly a dozen shoe manufactories existed on Willow Street, near the Central Depot, where none had existed just eight years earlier.[12]

Lynn petitioned the state legislature for the right to incorporate as a city, although there was plenty of opposition to the plan. Opponents cited centralization of power (away from town meetings where every citizen had a voice), the tax burden upon the common man for running a city government ("Farmers, Fishermen, Workmen! if that Charter is adopted, the whole burden falls upon you. … Can the two thousand laborers of Lynn, who do not earn, on the average, one dollar per day, consent to support one hundred and fifty useless and idle City officers[?]"), and the attraction of ne'er-do-wells to cities:

> If Lynn becomes a City, hundreds of rogues, vagabonds, and other persons of bad character, will resort here. They congregate in cities as naturally as crows do around carrion. They snuff the putrid atmosphere afar off, and herd together in them. … every person knows well that smaller cities are nurseries of crime and corruption.[13]

The townspeople voted down the city charter three times, but when another petition was granted a year later in 1850, the vote favored incorporation – by just sixty votes. Massachusetts gave birth to its ninth city.[14] It was said that if the Swampscott fishermen had not been prevented by adverse winds in the bay from coming to land, the charter would have been voted down again.[15] Swampscott felt the need for autonomy from their mushrooming neighbor before being irretrievably swallowed up by the centralization of a city charter. Its land and people were two to four inconvenient miles from the center of Lynn. Further, the wealth and aspirations of the two communities ran on divergent paths; while Lynn was principally engaged in shoemaking, Swampscott fished and farmed.[16] Swampscott incorporated as an independent town in 1852. Similarly, Nahant separated from Lynn in 1853, supporting itself from the wealth of its Boston patrons. The city of Lynn now stood squarely on its own feet, and shoes had become the soul of its economy. "Shoemaking never was better," the *Lynn News* reported in 1853, "and those who 'stick

to the last,' … have plenty of work. … The manufacturers are all making money. Anything that *looks like a shoe* will sell."[17]

The infant city suckled from the success of the shoemaker. In 1850 over 200 last makers, morocco dressers, shoe leather tanners, and shoe toolmakers worked symbiotically with the shoemakers and manufacturers. The 257 carpenters, 50 masons, and 84 painters were plenty busy building the growing city. There were also five carriage makers, two soap factories, two iron fence makers, a silk manufacturer, three saddle and harness establishments, five tin makers and five tool makers, a cigar manufactory, four chocolate and spice mills, two confectionaries, two breweries, six bakeries, and four box makers, among other businesses.[18] Civic and cultural improvements were challenged to keep pace with the growth. The town gave itself a high school when it made itself a city.[19] A music hall was opened in 1854 and the Lynn Library Association was formed in 1855.[20] More fire engines and apparatus were added to the thickening neighborhoods. Brick sidewalks began to be laid. Gaslights began to illuminate sections of Lynn's center. An omnibus began to run between East and West Lynn and the Saugus Branch Railroad connected Saugus and West Lynn into the flow of downtown Lynn traffic and business.[21]

The official seal of the new city captured all of this prosperity and promise in one simple circle. Animated by the rising sun, the city of Lynn stretches expansively below High Rock, with many houses and other signs of human development. At least seven churches form the spiritual center of the city seal. A train steams into town from the left under a plume of its engine smoke. Two factory chimneys stand at attention, ready to do the work of the day and fishermen are already out in the bay in their dories and sloops while larger merchant ships lay protected behind the Nahant isthmus, poised for the day's commerce. A lighthouse stands straight and true on Egg Rock, ready to battle storms, even though in reality it didn't yet exist; the mayor and alderman were apparently confident about the city's future. The seal is banded together with more symbols of Lynn's industry: a shoemaker's hammer, a sailor's anchor, and firmly in the middle, a ladies shoe. The masthead of the *Lynn News* reflected much of the same symbolism of success and industry. It showed the speeding train, the multi-storied factories, and a belching smokestack, along with a collection of agricultural implements that lay conspicuously idle and unattended on the hillside. The shoe industry, not the land, was feeding Lynn.

Dry goods and clothing stores were "crowded with cash customers" and the entire hive was animated with the buzz of activity, "Our streets present an unusually lively appearance – concerts and other entertainments are well attended – boarding houses are filled – the newspapers – especially the one you hold in your hand, reader – are crowded with advertisements. In short, everything indicates the healthy growth and prosperity of Lynn. Her industry is unequalled, and "industry *must* prosper."[22]

For many decades Lynn had seen the wealthy and elite of Boston come to her shores during the summer months for relaxation, recreation, and health. Parents brought their invalid children to benefit by the salt air and sea bathing. Consumptives seemed to revive, albeit briefly, in the cool, clear, invigorating ocean water. Firebrand abolitionist Parker Pillsbury brought his little daughter to Lynn "for the benefit of the ocean atmosphere and baths," and she seemed to have recovered from her illness while there.[23] The already booming city population received a summertime influx of about 700 vacationers and a similar number of summer laborers.[24] Thus tourism had become another significant if seasonal industry for the young city. The Sagamore Hotel was built to accommodate a portion of the increased visitor traffic. It was built at the center of travel, the Central Railroad Depot. It was a large and richly appointed building for Lynn: a four-story brick structure with a hundred feet facing Union Street and another hundred feet on Mulberry Street. The ladies had a separate entrance and reception foyer on the Mulberry side. Beyond the foyer was a flight of stairs up to the main hall, bedecked with tapestry carpets, mirrors, chandeliers, a piano, and fine furniture. The 127 rooms were provided with the "patent enunciator" (speaking tubes), and were illuminated by the newest power source, natural gas.[25]

Summer tourists filled the Sagamore and smaller hotels, boarding houses, and private villas.[26] A two-hour survey of travel through Beach Street was performed in July of 1856. In the first hour alone, 123 carriages and 1,167 people passed by the surveyor. Samuel Soule had the foresight and acumen to take advantage of the tourist traffic. He constructed a building on the beach where ice cream was sold and bathers could change.[27]

The tourist season was heralded by the blossoming of the town's fruit trees; the aroma of peach, cherry, plum, pear, and apple blossoms filled the air, inviting Boston's city dwellers away from the hot, stagnant air that hung heavily between their tightly packed factories and dwellings. Nature was Lynn's friend; it offered a breathtaking panorama of the ocean as well as romantic woodland rides, especially to the curious Dungeon Rock retreat of pirate legend. Activities ranged from berry-picking parties and ice cream shops to the billiard and bowling saloons, which constantly promised to be "innocent and healthy amusements." The theatricals and musical performances at the Lyceum and the seasonal circus caravans swelled interest in the seaside community during the summer months. Even Barnum's circus, led by General Tom Thumb on his elephant, made Lynn a must stop on their tour.[28]

Not only Lynn's coastline but also its highlands were esteemed for asthmatic, dyspeptic, and consumptive complaints. The well water was excellent and abundant and even used at the Hutchinson's cottage for a short-lived water cure business.[29] The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* promised,

> Lynn is one of the healthiest as well as pleasantest places in the Union. The heat of summer is tempered by the cool ocean breezes, and the cold of winter is softened by the same means…. Lynn is acquiring a world-wide reputation, not only for the excellence of her manufactures, the enterprise of her men and the beauty of her women, but for her fine scenery, magnificent drives, and cool, healthful, life-invigorating atmosphere.[30]

For all of its population, industry, and expansion, Lynn still presented a quaint, rural aspect. There was small-town charm and beauty in the shady tree-lined streets with their white cottages, shaded porches, colorful gardens, and well-groomed shrubbery. There was an idyllic wholesomeness about the town. Everything seemed better there; even the ladies of Lynn, it was repeatedly said, were proverbial for their beauty and grace.[31] And the tourists came.

Many behaved, but inevitably, some did not. Townspeople complained of fruit trees being robbed of their fruit and branches broken, and fences were poor guardians from those who were no respecters of property. Horses brought by the summer excursionists were left to roam on private property and pleasure grounds, eating decorative vegetation and plump fruits, while leaving indecorous evidence of their rambling feasts.[32] Squatters brazenly usurped town land, building dwellings and fishing shacks on the edges of the town's beach.[33] Loud noises and voices pierced nights meant only for the music of crickets and the gentle rumble of ocean surf.

Alonzo Lewis became incensed when a gaggle of young tourists bathed and frolicked loudly near his beachfront home. His wife, who had suffered from eight broken breasts (abscessed mammary glands) and milk leg (painful leg swelling shortly after birth), and was "near death," struggled to get her new baby to sleep, but the noises outside were too much. The infuriated father rushed outside to the bathers, his long straggly hair and longer bushy beard flailing about wildly in the ocean breeze, giving him a "wolfish appearance and savage deportment." A dialogue of letters printed in the town paper reviewed the ensuing encounter between Lewis and one of the Boston bathers. The tourist derided the Lynn Bard as "an ill-natured, crack-brained, would-be poet" who acted like an "escaped lunatic." Lewis insisted he was the violated resident and protector of his family, who just wanted to be left alone.[34] But Lynn's course had long since passed the point when they could hope to be left alone. The town was enjoying success and growth, and consequently attracted all types of camp followers, good and bad. Lynn had become a vital cog in the north shore economy and as such had become a veritable Babel of both reputable and unsavory characters.

Lynn's location between and proximity to Boston and Salem made it a convenient place for "out-of-town loafers, rowdies, drunkards, and prize fighters" to congregate. The solitary stillness of an isolated section in Lynn was disturbed early one crisp January day in 1853 by a procession of several dozen carriages that had made their way from Boston. They had traveled so far and so early to watch and wager on a fisticuffs contest. The north section of Lynn seemed remote enough for a pair of men to pummel each other into bloody stumps without falling under the notice of local police, but the fight organizers guessed wrong and the fight was broken up. By the time the marshal arrived, however, the two combatants, dressed only in a pair of thin pants, "were literally covered with blood, and badly bruised."[35]

Circuses and theatrical companies added more curious strangers to the assortment of characters. The sordid exploitation of people with physical abnormalities brought paying audiences to see the Wild Men of Borneo and the Bear Woman of California. The Wild Men were billed as "Part Human, Part Animal." They stood only three feet tall, but exhibited "superhuman power" with feats of amazing strength. Julia Pastrana was called the Bear Woman for the hair that covered most of her body. There was an especially thick growth on her forehead as well as a bushy beard on her cheeks and chin. She was also described as a human/beast hybrid and people marveled that the strange creature could sing and speak intelligently.[36] Near the end of the decade, the committee on licenses refused to issue permission for circuses, theatrical groups, and other performances of dubious moral value to come through Lynn because the objectionable entertainments far outweighed their questionable benefits: "They draw together the idle, the dissipated, the unhappy, the profane, the spendthrift, the intemperate, the quarrelsome, the lecherous, the giddy, and the simple…."[37] In 1857 the *Lynn News* reported that several Lynn boys were trying to imitate circus performers to their peril; 15-year-old George C. Cross tried to stand on his head on the top of a high fence, when he fell, knocking out several of his teeth, cutting his chin, and badly bruising his face. "His escape from death was very narrow … "Boys should not attempt any such dangerous and foolish kinds of amusement."[38]

Vagabonds and itinerants of several sorts appeared with the other signs of spring, playing their hand organs with a trained mouse or monkey, selling perfumes, popcorn, kindling wood, or other basic articles, and stealing food from the fields, pantries, or hen roosts when they thought they could get away with it.[39] Anecdotes of encounters with such diddlers were shared in the town papers, like that of an essence peddler who was swindled out of his own bottles by two fast-talking shoemakers in a ten-footer. Before he was allowed to take stock of his dwindled inventory, a third shoemaker feigning a psychotic fit chased him out of the shop with an axe.[40] On another occasion, a hurdy-gurdy man set himself up in front of Healey's Arcade. One of the storekeepers hated the noise and spectacle the man made, so he emerged from his shop blowing a horn to discourage the fellow, but the organ grinder ground on. Local boys prolonged the confusion by encouraging the organ grinder with a few coins. The contribution had the desired effect and the grinder continued to crank away at his music box, unabashed even by the shopkeeper's new tactic of employing a drummer to battle noise with percussive noise. A crowd of hundreds gathered over several hours to witness the absurd battle of the one-man bands.[41] "The greatest bores and nuisances of the present time are book agents and peddlers," complained an article in the *Lynn News*, "they are as numerous and as grievous a plague to the present generation, as the frogs or flies were to the Egyptians. Not a day passes but some one of these hangers on is seen and heard in every neighborhood, peddling his wares …."[42]

More than ever, the new city of Lynn was the sum of all its parts, and the existence of unsavory characters was not as easy to whitewash as its prim cottages. *The Tattler*, a Lynn newspaper driven on its self-imposed mission to expose the town's underbelly, reported "on the movements of certain lewd women who frequent a certain house in the Kite End of the town, on a certain road running towards Boston, and that certain married men, some of whom do not live a thousand miles from Broad street, … go there about the same time that the … loose women go

there ….”[43] Firefighters were accused of idly lounging, gambling, and having hot times with women at the firehouses.[44] Several Lynn women were arrested for keeping “disorderly houses,” the euphemism for a house of prostitution. A mother of thirteen children was charged with wanton and lascivious behavior.[45] Another was frequently found totally intoxicated, lying in the streets at night, with her two-year-old child crawling around her.[46] The bodies of unwanted infants, sometimes just a few hours old, were found in bags or wrapped in pieces of fabric and left behind a stone wall or next to a railroad track.[47] No member of the sacred family unit was spared from the injustice of crime, immorality, and alcohol.

Foreigners were often suspected of being the source of the immoral and criminal deeds infecting the community. Italians were stereotyped as annoying organ grinders and the Irish were considered a besotted race responsible for activities requiring an absence of morals and an abundance of laziness. Bridget Haley was described in the police report as “a fat, greeny-looking lump of a green-islander” who had been charged with drunkenness.[48] Foreigners were considered to be largely the reason that a police court had become necessary in Lynn; they were a “hindrance to the progress of our country.”[49] *Lynn News* readers understood exactly what was meant by the help wanted ad looking for an “American Nurse”: no foreign women need apply.[50]

The abuse of liquor had been a heavy tax on civilization, progress, and industry in Lynn for centuries. Although the Irish were a fairly recent phenomenon in the city, suspicion and blame for criminal and moral misconduct often focused on them, even though many segments of the town’s population were responsible. The most common denominator in criminal activities was not nationality, but alcohol. Laws were passed for much stricter regulation of liquor sales, but for every lawful sale there were many more illegal ones. James Thompson was arrested for selling contraband booze from his “low, dirty, beer-drinking cellar in Shinbone Alley,” in the Waterhill section of town.[51] There were so many arrests for drunkenness to report, the *Lynn News* found itself challenged to keep the repetitious news fresh. On one occasion a creative writer offered the following shorthand: “Edward Tuttle – drunk – drunker – drunkest – jug – Work House – four months.”[52]

At the beginning of the 1850s decade there were upwards of thirty unlicensed “rum-holes” in Lynn, including twenty hotels and shops. There were also fifteen licensed apothecaries that averaged $1,000 each in liquor sales per year. In 1852 a state law was passed whereby intoxicating liquor could only be distributed to businesses by an appointee of the city government.[53] Existing liquor licenses, including those held by all of the apothecaries, were revoked and liquor was then to be distributed by the new city liquor agent. Caleb Long (the husband of Aurora Porter’s sister Relief) was the first appointee and it was recognized that he was inexperienced in “the business of rum selling and buying,” but he understood his instructions and reduced at least the legal flow of alcohol into Lynn to a trickle. At the end of the first two months under the new law, his agency sold only $554.86 worth to the businesses that had been relicensed or licensed for the first time, for an annual rate of only $3,300. This tightening of the liquor spigot only encouraged more illegal manufacturing and purchases of alcoholic products.[54]

There was also a provision in the new law that allowed the sale of alcohol as a medicine; suddenly there was an epidemic of “sick” people. Many types of medicines contained large amounts of alcohol with the bitters class leading the way. Unlicensed individuals made these alcoholic beverages in medicinal clothing by adding a few botanic elements and slapping on a bottle label that promised health benefits. Unlicensed and licensed apothecaries, shops, and saloons sold them as medicines. Several established liquor manufacturers also resorted to the ruse, audaciously repositioning their porters and schnapps as new health-giving liquors “for medicinal use only.” Enforcement of the new law would ultimately prove to be insufficient and ineffective, and justice too unevenly meted out. While many of Lynn’s apothecaries were suspected of selling liquor illegally, few were arrested. Jeremiah Bulfinch, an apothecary, and Reverend Ambler, a minister and medicine seller, were arrested for selling liquor to drinkers who feigned illness. Tragically, the

minister "never recovered from the shock, but went sorrowful to his grave." Bulfinch survived his two convictions and continued his business.[55]

Much to the consternation of other temperance advocates, a disheartened member of the town's Young Men's Christian Temperance Society had prophesied in 1846 that "rum would be sold as long as wood grows or water runs."[56] True to his vision, estimates of illegal liquor operatives in Lynn in 1857 had risen to as many as two hundred.[57] Almost the entire adult population had signed a temperance pledge at one point or another, but it was estimated that nine out of ten had fallen off the wagon. Many drank secretly, others more openly, and some "were more degraded after than before the reform."[58] Lynn badly needed a rousing pep talk from the visiting nationally renowned temperance speaker, John Gough. He commanded a huge seventy-five-dollar fee for his speech, but the fizz was gone from the bottle. One of the city's papers reported, "There were striking and truly eloquent passages in Mr. Gough's address … but, we regret to say, a large, a very large portion of it, was made up with old and stale stories, badly told, and given in the style and taste of a third rate actor in a third rate theatre."[59] Lynn's anti-liquor forces were not enjoying their finest moments in the 1850s.

Crime escalated with the population. Calls for centralized police authority as well as a stronger, municipal government were principal reasons for Lynn's incorporation as a city. It was not a crowning achievement, but a necessary step for the community to deal with more than the random acts of juvenile delinquency that had typified a simpler, white cottage and shady lane era. Much of the crime in mid-century Lynn was burglary and theft. Silverware and clothing were purloined from the houses of the wealthy. Clothes were stolen off clotheslines. Eggs and hens were taken from chicken coops. A traveling daguerreotype saloon in Gravesend was broken into, and about thirty miniature cases were stolen.[60] James M. Nye had a buffalo robe stolen right out of his chaise that he had left standing one evening at the corner of Tremont and Market streets.[61] The unoccupied Nahant summer homes of some of Boston's elite made easy targets; cottages belonging to the mayor of Boston and one of that city's aldermen were among those broken into and robbed.[62] In one unusual house robbery, a bungling burglar was caught emerging from his hiding place under the homeowner's bed and was severely beaten by the woman with her glass lamp base as he made a hasty exit from her property.[63]

There were also many burglaries of shoe shops and warehouses for shoemaking tools and shoes in any stage of completion. One shoe manufactory in Woodend was completely stripped of everything that could be carried off, for a total loss of $800. Another shop was burglarized of ninety pairs of shoes and fifty unmade pairs.[64] For sheer volume, the largest heist of the decade may have been at the West Lynn cigar factory where two men loaded up their wagon with 11,000 cigars.[65]

J. C. Pierce's apothecary was broken into and several bottles of cologne were taken. A town paper cautioned the thieves not to use the cologne lest it lead to their detection; it was apparently good advice because the scent nabbers were not caught.[66] The apothecary of Proctor & Rhodes was broken into several times. A little money and three gold pens were stolen, but nothing else. Shoes were taken from the shoe shops and groceries from the grocery stores, but interestingly, crooks didn't steal the medicines out of Lynn's drug stores. Proctor & Rhodes installed double locks that were supposed to be impervious to all but the "most finished burglars," but just a few nights later the store was successfully burgled by "old hands at the business," who had the necessary tools to overcome the locks.[67]

The West Lynn railroad depot was a favorite haunt of nighttime marauders. Exasperated at its constant burglaries in the weekly police reports, *Lynn News* editor Kimball observed on 5 October 1849 that it had been burglarized "for the one thousand and twoth time," this time for a clock and twenty-five cents.[68] A year earlier, booming crashes of thunder during an intense rainstorm perfectly disguised the efforts of crooks blowing open the safe of the Eastern Rail Road depot.[69]

Shoplifting was also practiced with stunning shamelessness. Lynn jeweler Charles Lefavour had displayed several watches and two gold fob chains to a well-dressed man. The customer proved to be no gentleman; in an instant he seized all of the pieces and ran out of the store. During his escape, he shut and locked the door, leaving Mr. Lefavour and his clerk unable to give an alarm in time.[70] A fifteen-year-old convicted thief outdid the jewelry crook for brazenness. He had just been released from the Salem jail where he had served a sentence for larceny. On his way home from jail, he stopped by a shop on Market Street and stole a clock. He was immediately caught and rearrested.[71]

The militia musters were still big events that brought together a lot of spectators and those who tried to profit from the gathering. During just one muster in Lynn, a man and a woman were arrested (on separate complaints) for conducting unlawful games involving a roulette table and other gambling implements; another man was charged with having obscene books with the intent to sell, and a Hungarian was arrested for selling champagne nearby.[72]

Some crimes, driven by poverty, could be understood although not condoned. Other crimes were far more disturbing because of their maliciousness. There was no purpose served but meanness when Breed & Childs' grocery store was trashed. Vandals tossed and spilled foodstuffs that were "never designed for mixture"; eggs were broken and the spigots of oil and molasses containers were opened to allow the contents to pour out. Perhaps they were angry at being unable to open the safe.[73] Richard F. Andrews, the wayward son of the former Suffolk County Jailer, found false courage at the bottom of a bottle one night and burned down a grammar school. The dozens of displaced Ward Three schoolchildren and all of Lynn's taxpayers were the victims of the one inebriated arsonist.[74] Of the 215 complaints of lawbreaking in the year 1856, eighty-eight were for common drunkenness; fifty-one for assault or assault and battery, and twelve for petty larceny.[75]

The new city of fourteen thousand couldn't escape some vicious attacks of violent crime. In December 1859, Herman T. Hatch went to the chicken coop to feed his birds. He found all thirty-four fowls in his coop had been killed the preceding night – their heads had been torn from their bodies.[76] Shortly after Lynn had graduated to a city, the community was shocked and outraged over a murder that occurred in the center of town. Charles J. Furbush, a former sailor who became a peg-legged shoemaker after an accident at sea, killed his roommate in their Market Street boardinghouse. John J. Perdy died after saying just a few words; two balls from Furbush's single-barreled pistols had penetrated his heart and his lung.[77] Furbush was an angry and troubled man who had tried to kill himself by poison on previous occasions and by trying to shoot himself with a screw.[78] The prosecution tried to prove he committed the heinous murder in a drunken rage, but it was decided that drinks of cherry-rum and new cider and the several bottles of lightly alcoholic medicine found empty in his room were not enough to make him drunk.[79] Furbush was acquitted on the grounds of insanity but was bound over to the state lunatic hospital. When he escaped from the hospital two years later, the *Lynn News* worried that the acquittal was ill-conceived: "Let those who testified against him, on his trial, keep a sharp look out for him. He is not, in our opinion, so crazy as the jury and some others believed him to be."[80] Furbush voluntarily returned to the asylum, but in a few more months Lynn suffered from another murder.[81] In the middle of Franklin Street, one man walked up to another and stabbed him twice in the back. The victim lingered in intense pain for several hours before he bled to death.[82]

An analysis of crime in Lynn observed that the city's location between Salem and Boston made it a "convenient place of resort for out-of-town loafers, rowdies, drunkards, prize fighters, and men of like tastes and manners; so that our city gets the reputation of much evil doing, for which it is in no wise responsible."[83] To reinforce community safety and control, the city instituted a centralized police department made up of a city marshal, twenty-two constables and night watchmen.[84] Their charge was to enforce the letter of every law, no matter how minor the infraction, and this they did repeatedly, bringing all sorts of lawbreakers to justice at the police court. Charles Riley, John Butler, and Thomas Davis were fined for playing cards on the Sabbath. John Kennedy

and Simon Binney were found guilty in 1856 of playing a game of ball on Boston Street on Sunday, as were three small boys a year later.[85] The thirteen arrests in 1856 for disturbing Sunday's peace were the third largest cause for arrest in that year.[86] Five children were even dealt with for the "crime" of stubbornness; one "stubborn child" named Joseph Mackey might not have felt quite so pigheaded as the wagon carted him off to the state reform school in Westboro, leaving home and family far back in Lynn.[87]

A DAMMED SHAME

The new city plan aimed at safeguarding the citizens' health just as it had focused on protecting them from lawbreakers – by reshaping the responsible department. The health and safety of the citizens fell under the authority of the new board of health. It had been revamped with two new health officials: a city physician and a health officer (the city marshal).[88] A health department had existed in Lynn since 1821, but its members had been chosen in town meetings in the same manner and with no more significance attached to the position than the fence-viewers and hog reeves. The new city's health board stated that in the health department's previous administrations, "… the members seem to have considered the office rather a nominal than an active one; and seem to have acted, when they acted at all, upon their individual responsibility, without much systematic organization or cooperation."[89]

The new board of health immediately began to decree health regulations that insisted upon compliance from the citizens. A commandeering force behind the new health and safety initiatives was James M. Nye who had been made the city physician.[90] Nye was called a popular, courteous and refined gentleman, and a skillful, rarely criticized physician. He was "firm in his judgments, prompt in action, calm and self-sustained"; in short, he was the perfect man to get things going as Lynn's first city physician.[91] He urged and prevailed upon the mayor to allow one of the city's annual publications to include a special section on health. Nye reasoned, "Our finances, fire engines, and schools, very properly receive careful and deliberate investigation. Is the subject of health and disease, life and death, of less interest than these?"[92]

As much as the city's newspapers liked to paint young Lynn's picture as a ruddy-cheeked beauty full of vigor and health, James Nye and the board of health knew better. While health prevailed in one house or individual, illness could be next door or show up tomorrow. Health on a community-wide basis was measured by the presence or absence of diseases (usually contagious) that could affect many at one time. Thus in January of 1853, Maria Eastman was not certain whether to root for healthy neighbors or her husband the healer, "Notwithstanding this unseasonable weather – there is no severe sickness here as yet – Should we be glad or sorry?"[93] In June 1854 a Lynn doctor was quoted to have said it was "dreadful healthy just now," and in June 1855 the depressed physicians were again lamenting it was "horrid healthy this season."[94] But these healthy times were respites at best. During those same years, records of deaths and their causes (kept faithfully by the health department due to Nye's insistence) told tales of consumption (tuberculosis), stillbirth, and dysentery in large numbers, as well as lives lost to other perennial diseases and illnesses. Consumption continued its chokehold on Lynn as the leading cause of death. Concerns about consumption and the poor working conditions in the shoemaker shops were discussed in Lynn's publications since the town's first newspaper was published. In the 1844 edition of his town history, Alonzo Lewis mulled over the possible reasons for the continued rise in consumption cases:

> There is something improper and unnatural in this. It is doubtless owing to the habits of the people, to their confinement in close rooms over hot stoves, and to their want of exercise, free air, and ablution. It is owing to their violation of some of the great laws of nature…. If mechanics find it convenient to work together in shops, they should build them longer and higher, and have them well ventilated…. To one accustomed,

> as I have always been, to ramble by the sea shore, and on the hill top, to breathe the ocean wind and the mountain air, this close confinement of the shops would be a living death.[95]

An 1849 *Lynn News* article claimed that there was a larger percentage of people under average size in Lynn than were to be found anywhere else. The article's author figured there was something about shoemaking that was "unfavorable to a full development of their physical forms."[96] Suspicions about shoemaker health were confirmed by a statewide public health report produced in 1851 by Lemuel Shattuck. In it were the statistics of longevity for various occupations throughout Massachusetts and the cordwainer didn't fare well. Shattuck reported that a farmer's active labor in the open air blessed him with an average life span of 64.89 years. The fishermen of Swampscott were also a healthy lot, with cases of consumption or serious illness being very rare among them.[97] By comparison, a shoemaker's average life was 43.41 years. There were other occupations that fared worse: dentists' lives averaged 39.44 years, druggists to 38.02 years, and a confectioner's life was not so sweet at 34.22 years, but the shoemaker's statistic hit home because Lynn was crowded with tiny shops full of shoemakers.[98]

The annual report of Lynn's board of health was included as an exhibit in Shattuck's landmark study. The zealous Nye followed up with a series of public health reports of his own about Lynn. He described several factors that could impact a person's health, such as occupation, place of birth, personal habits, heredity, and locality. With respect to the latter, Nye pointed out that Lynn's exposure to easterly winds made its inhabitants particularly susceptible to pulmonic disease, especially consumption.[99] The larger challenge was in the hundreds of small rooms and workshops where "disease is invited by stagnant, poisoned, and tainted air."[100] Nye surveyed some shops and found cramped quarters, low ceilings, and no ventilation. The air was usually hot from the scraps of leather the cordwainers burned for fuel. It was also filled with gaseous odors produced by oil lamps, tobacco smoke, and the alcoholic breath of intemperate workers.[101]

Another visitor to one of Lynn's shoemaker shops was "not a little astonished to find eight men at work [in a twelve-foot square wooden building] …. Packed, crammed, and suffocating …." Eight work benches were arranged like spokes on a wheel, at the center of which was a space for the stove and water pail and a "receptacle for the leather shavings, clippings, tobacco quids, broken pipes and cigar stumps.… Here in this unventilated, unwholesome workshop, this octave 'crew' hammer and sing, laugh and sew, discuss and smoke, (they are excessively chatty and smoky)…."[102] It had even been suggested that the male population was generally shorter than the average man because of working in such unhealthy and cramped quarters.[103] An anonymous contributor to the *Lynn News* emotionally echoed decades of concern over the health of the shoemaker and offered basic and sound advice:

> … O ye Lynners! ye victims to the trade, who toil in shops. Your average life is forty-three years, while the farmer lives sixty-four; what a cruel immolation on the altar of lapstones and leather; what a barbarous sacrifice of twenty-one years to false gods! … Small shops, bad air, and a constrained and sedentary position, are working out their silent and fatal work. … Read it in the pale face, the slender muscle, the sallow complexion; aye, see it in trembling manhood and enfeebled youth, in the weary invalid, and the wasting consumptive. It appears in a variety of forms. In one it produces morbid mental phenomena … in another, torpid bowels and dyspeptic stomach; and in a third, a billious skin and an aching head.
>
> This alarming evil resembles the ancient hydra; it has many heads, but it can be destroyed …. The weapons to be used are, ventilation, daily exercise out of doors, bathing, a uniform and healthy diet, warm clothing, good reading, and a disuse of tobacco, spirit, and all hurtful stimulants.
>
> Let us try the antidote, and exterminate the monster.[104]

Many of the city's houses and schools were also overstuffed powder kegs of illness. The carpenters were having a hard time keeping up with the housing demand during the decade, which put more inhabitants in the average home than was conducive to health. Lynn's occupancy in 1850 was also higher than the state average (8.1 people per house compared to 7.4 for the rest of the state).[105] In 1850 fourteen members of a black family crammed in a house between Spring and Union streets came down with smallpox. None had been vaccinated, but under the medical ministrations of John Renton, a physician and apothecary, and the daily care of one in the household who was not sick, none of the fourteen died.[106] Then one more of the same household – the man who had taken care of the others – succumbed to the disease and died.[107] He, too, had not been vaccinated. A few weeks later, a few more cases continued to pop up.

In 1851 Massachusetts made school attendance mandatory. The increased student populations strained the small school buildings; children crowded together was a perfect mixture for transmitting illness. School attendance averaged fifty-five students per school in 1850, and many of Lynn's thirty-three schools were one-room buildings – not much better than a shoe shop with a chalkboard.[108] In his inaugural address, George Hood, Lynn's first mayor, acknowledged that some of the schools were crowded, furnished with uncomfortable seats, and had foul air due to inadequate ventilation. He continued, "There is reason to believe that confinement in the foul air of those rooms causes much sickness and disease among the children," and recommended that the problems be rectified as soon as possible.[109]

Mayor Hood probably came to those conclusions with the aid of the detailed reports and counsel of his city physician, James Nye. The doctor had a strong interest in education as well as health and served on the school committee for several years of the decade. He did some math on one school in Ward Two and found there were 90.6 cubic feet of air for each of the forty-seven students and their teacher. At a rate of 10 cubic feet inhaled per minute, Nye concluded, "the whole air of the room, unless renewed by fresh supplies … becomes tainted with poisonous gases from the lungs, and is rendered unfit for use in less than ten minutes!" It was probably Nye who wrote on the subject for the *Lynn News*, claiming that headaches, sleepiness, sluggishness, and bad behavior, were products of bad air in the schoolroom; teachers were "hot, heavy, and irritable," and the children were "stupid, ill, and uneasy."[110] Nye also pointed out that some schools were also "badly located and inadequately constructed."[111] He took matters into his own hands when he found the flooring in one schoolroom full of holes that caused drafts. He showed up in the room while class was in session and used several rolls of cotton batting to begin plugging up the cracks. He then dismissed class, telling the students and teacher alike, "This afternoon bring pieces of carpet to place under your desks. Such a state of things as this and there wouldn't be a child [left] in West Lynn."[112]

In his official review of health problems in 1852, Nye worried that hundreds of school-aged children were still not vaccinated and urged a municipal regulation "to remedy this evil."[113] Fearing all epidemics but having a preventive measure for only one, the city passed an ordinance in June of 1853 which required that every child admitted to any public school in Lynn must bring a certificate from a physician, "or such evidence as shall be satisfactory to the school committee, of having been successfully vaccinated."[114] Another law was enacted in 1855 that required all cases of smallpox to be reported, and for children from an infected house to not only be prevented from attending school, but from "running at large" until the danger had subsided. It also required the city marshal to have a red flag displayed from any house or building containing infected people until the disease was removed.[115]

In spite of city ordinances, the board of health, and red flags, the deadly pox had continued its invasive visits. Charles Moulton, a twenty-year old "promising young man," had not been vaccinated and contracted smallpox. Moulton died, despite everything that Abraham Gould "a physician well acquainted with the disease" could do to save him.[116] City authorities were chastised for demonstrating "some negligence" in enforcing the ordinances. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* had

been informed that "two children laid sick with the disease, so near to one of our public schools that the assistants could look directly upon them from a school room window."[117] There was another report wherein the clothes of a dead man were buried but then dug up again by his friends a week later.[118] A boy in Mr. Barlett's school broke out with smallpox; it was believed he contracted it from some rags in a tin peddler's cart. It was the first time the disease had appeared in the Dye House Village area, which was one of the most sparsely populated regions of the city, and thus demonstrated that no family in Lynn could risk not getting vaccinated.[119] James Nye believed that smallpox deaths among the unvaccinated were like "*suicides*, resulting from neglect of preventive remedies."[120] It was even suggested that vaccinated families should report unvaccinated ones "to the proper authorities."[121] But vaccination was not a sure thing: it was widely misunderstood and distrusted, the pox matter used could be ineffective or make you sick, it was inconvenient, there was the expense of a physician and possibly an attendant to be considered, and it hurt. Smallpox clung to Lynn throughout the decade, despite vaccination measures and ordinances. It was not a permanent neighbor – more like an unwelcome transient that just showed up, whenever.

Other illnesses and epidemics threatened and infected Lynners just as surely as consumption and smallpox. The dysentery, scarlet fever, and cholera outbreaks of 1848 and 1849 had given Lynn a triple threat not soon to be forgotten. James Nye was still reflecting two years later about the dysentery epidemic that had pummeled the Wood End neighborhood, "this terrible epidemic had a cause, but what that cause *was* has never been satisfactorily explained." He was perplexed about why the Graves End neighborhood didn't suffer a single death during the epidemic while the population of Wood End, just on the other side of a meadow from Graves End, was devastated.[122]

Typhus, a disease brought about by the bite of an infected flea, earned the label "ship fever" because of its prevalence in vessels. Although shipping was not a big activity in Lynn, a few cases were found among arriving crews. They were promptly isolated and nursed back to health.[123] Scarlet fever made its way into Lynn in 1857; several little children suffered from its effects.[124] In 1858 the "black-tongue" (probably typhoid or erysipelas) was found among vacationing school children.[125]

The dangers from unchained pet dogs had continued to prey on nerves through the 1840s and 1850s. Fear of mean dogs probably outweighed the fear of rabies since no Lynn deaths in the 1850s were attributed to the disease, although several attacks were documented. Nonetheless, there were rabies deaths reported in nearby communities and suffering from the disease was agonizingly real. When a mad dog attack was reported in 1848, Josiah F. Kimball, editor of the *Lynn News*, asked incredulously, "Are the people aware of the danger from these animals?" Indeed, was their any reason that could justify allowing "such a loafing, snarling, quarrelling, pack of nuisances" to continue wandering the streets?[126]

Kimball's animus for dogs was almost as vicious as he accused them of being towards humans. He claimed they had a poisonous bite whether or not they were rabid. He predicted the day would come when through the efforts of sensible, practical people like himself, they would be next to extinct, seen only rarely like other curiosities of nature, "Let them be killed, banished, hunted like other deadly beasts…. Let their presence be dreaded, as it should be, as much as that of a tiger, or a snake; and their contact with society be limited to a grated view through the bars of a menagerie cart."[127]

In 1849 the selectmen passed a dog restraint law, the meat of which was that dogs let loose and without muzzles and identification collars could be killed on sight; it was, in fact, encouraged by a bounty of up to one dollar for each dead dog.[128] The owners lost a pet and ten dollars in fine.[129]

Probably much to Kimball's chagrin, not much changed with the dog problem in the five years after the dog by-laws were passed. In early February 1854, Lynn's streets were said to be "infested with dogs" and three people were bitten by dogs that were thought to be mad. [130] Quick action was taken and a new dog law was passed by the first of March. The new ordinance was

essentially the same as the previous one, although the bounty was fixed at seventy-five cents.[131] The city marshal once again had the responsibility and authority to execute this health law and did so with deadly accuracy. The editor of the *Bay State* witnessed the marshal shoot a collarless dog behind the newspaper office and told his readers, "(we) were surprised to see with what skill Marshall P. handled his revolver. He is a dead shot."[132]

Even with a sure-shot police force, the dog problem continued through the rest of the decade. Less than a year after the new ordinance was passed, a "large, fierce dog" suddenly jumped upon a lady walking across Union Street and knocked her down. Although wearing a muzzle, the animal injured her cheek badly by rubbing against it with the restraint. The poor woman fainted from fright.[133] On another occasion, a large mad dog was seen running towards a little child playing in the Turnpike at Graves End. The observer hurled a large stone at the dog, which caused it to veer from the child and run down into a cellar. When the dog reemerged, The child's defender hit the dog with another stone, stunning him long enough to be approached and killed.[134] One rabid animal could mean many, so the alarm of "mad dog" spread through the city once again.[135]

From enactment of the 1854 dog law to the end of the decade, 325 dogs had been licensed and 72 had been killed.[136] Although some may have felt that the only good dog was a dead dog, even the dead ones posed problems. In 1859 the alderman approved a bill to haul twenty-four dog carcasses out of the Saugus River.[137] The new city was polluted.

In 1846 Alonzo Lewis complained to the board of health about several horse carcasses that had been rotting on Lynn Beach for weeks and some even for months.[138] In June 1854 another pollution exposure appeared in the same edition of a Lynn newspaper that extolled the healthiness of the city. The article advised that people who drank the water made available in the train depot at Central Square should first take a glance at its source, which was a reservoir on Essex Street:

> … it is covered with green slime, and filled with filth of every description, intermingled with a few dead cats and dogs …. Frogs and other vermin luxuriate on its muddy margin or plunge beneath its green and slimy surface. We do not believe that cat broth and dog soup, seasoned with the outflowings of vaults and drains, is healthy; but those who choose to do so, and can believe it to be pure water, are at liberty to continue the practice. [139]

People stepping off the train at Central Square two months later probably wanted to get right back on – the air smelled terrible. An outhouse's underground waste vault close to the depot had been opened, unleashing a rank reminder of its unmentionable contents.[140]

Pollutants of all types found their way into Strawberry Brook. Its name was a remnant of the town's earlier days, when the "curious fresh brook" was crystal clear and pure, inviting all the good things of nature to drink and thrive. It was a time when townspeople from far down the Common and other directions came to the babbling brook to fill their barrels with the excellent water.[141] Times had changed.

> It is no uncommon thing now, to see rusty tin-vessels and broken crockery strewn along the bottom of the brook. Upon its waters is emptied bed furniture in copious effusion. It is actually made a sepulchre for dead animals of various kinds. Often, when the … owner of the stream partially shuts his gate at its source, this carrion is left stationary and bare on the bottom or by the sides of the brook, diffusing its noxious and unhealthy effluvia to no small distance. All this takes place beside the very doors of a large portion of inhabitants. On the brook are located back-houses [outhouses], which, by their filth or muck, are made tributary to the stream. And, as though this was not enough, on the brook are erected factories, whose pollution, and probably poison, has almost, or quite, obliterated the beauty and delightful rivulet. … cow manure is, by barrels, emptied into this brook …. a more prominent evil … is the mixing of such enormous quantities of dye-stuff with its waters. At times, the brook appears as dark and threatening as a thunder cloud.[142]

It was presumed that the contaminated river water made its way into wells and cellars. The fish population had been greatly reduced. Alewives had swum in the stream for centuries and it was reasoned that if the polluted waters killed them off altogether, larger fish would cease to be attracted to Lynn's shores to eat the little fish. Waterfowl that used the stream were also found dead. The situation had "made no small excitement" among the residents of Boston Street, which pretty much ran along the full length of the brook. The exposé's author, J. Barrett (probably Joshua Barrett, a Boston Street cordwainer), warned that lack of action would only cause the brook to get worse and the poisonous, stinking air to spread out over more of Lynn. [143]

Homeowners in the vicinity of the sick brook had to wait until the August sun had cooked the foul broth before the city government took some action. Owners and employees of the nearby factories were ordered to cease throwing dyestuffs into the brook, "or other impure or offensive matter, or any substance that will color the water, or render it unfit or unwholesome for use" or risk facing immediate prosecution.[144] It isn't likely that there was any more compliance to this order than there had been for liquor licensing or the dog and vaccination ordinances.

Beyond worries about the brook, many Lynners had to deal with problems in their own back yards. The area between Central Square and Boston Street (which is a large portion of the city) was flat. Every spring and frequently at other times of year, rain poured down but had nowhere to go. It swamped streets, soaked yards, pooled in every low spot, and waited for evaporation to eventually pull it off the landscape. Without an engineered system of runoff, the land stayed saturated and was a "source of trouble and sickness". Potential pestilences from mosquito eggs to garbage piles were spread by floating over the lowlands. Street drainage became another must on the city's list of pressing needs.[145]

Even on dry days, walking through the streets of Lynn could be a challenge to the senses. Builders were encouraged to place kitchens in the back of the house rather than on the street side, so that the "offal and slops" would not be tossed onto the sidewalk, as was common practice.[146]

The stench of rotting animal parts, swill, and outhouse pits attracted bugs and vermin. Rats, flies, cockroaches, and other pests had been Lynn's unwelcome citizens for centuries, spurring the sale of insecticides and poisons.[147]

An ordinance had to be passed in 1856 to stop the killing of swine in the street because copious blood and guts would get left behind for the sun to putrefy and the rain to spread around.[148] Hogs were the reliable heavy-duty scavengers of the town in earlier days, which is why they had been allowed to wander through the streets. Their roaming days were over, however, preventing them from consuming the entrails of their recently deceased cousins. Dogs only made things worse, spreading the killings hither and yon, and sprinkling chloride of lime in the gutters, while encouraged especially during the hot season, would do little for such a large problem.[149]

There was even more than the normal concern about butchering hogs in the street at the time the ordinance was passed because disease was prevalent among the swine in Essex County in 1856. It continued into 1857 and there was suspicion that it was hog cholera.[150] Pork had started out the decade with an unsavory incident. After eating a meal of pork and beans, three Lynners became suddenly and violently sick. They suffered "all the symptoms of having been poisoned … great general distress … [and] severe pain in the stomach and bowels" brought on "copious vomiting and purging …." The pork, beans, and glazing of the pot they were cooked in were each carefully examined, but the offending agent was easily identified. The pork, "on being cut open, was found decidedly green."[151]

Where the green was seen, danger was obvious, but eating millions of creatures still alive seemed to be no threat to health. Two Lynn men with scientific curiosity – Amos P. Scribner, a daguerreotypist, and James L. Jones, a machinist – imported German optical lenses and constructed a solar microscope. Through its increased magnification, they observed "in water and many articles of food … living animals with all the activity and muscle of the larger species…." The two

microscopists were fascinated to watch the movements of the microbes, "and behold them sporting, jumping, eating, fighting, swimming, &c. … and then to realize the great numbers which are every day devoured by [Lynners]. Yet though they appear like monsters, they are perfectly harmless, and die before reaching the stomach."[152] Foul smells and sights were serious concerns, but microbes were only a curiosity in mid-century Lynn.

In July 1850, less than three months after James Nye assumed the role of city physician, a health ordinance was passed to control recognized causes of sickness and sources of filth. It covered much of the same territory as the health ordinance of 1821, with a little more specificity. It dictated that residents were not allowed to let wastewater or stagnant water remain in any cellar, lot, or vacant ground. If the city marshal identified any dirt, filth, rubbish, or waste matter on private property as a nuisance, the owner was also responsible to remove it within twenty-four hours.[153]

A lot of the new ordinance focused on the construction and periodic cleansing of outhouse and cesspool chambers. Vaults and privies had to be constructed so that they were at least two feet away from adjoining properties and public ways. Whenever the privies or vaults were "left to ferment by the heat of summer … endanger[ing] the health and life of the people," they had to be cleaned out.[154] The contents of those chambers could only be put into a watertight cart or wagon approved by the city marshal and such vehicles were not allowed to stop or stand in the streets.[155] The board of health's annual list of expenses regularly included monies paid out for burying dead animals.[156] The almshouse wanted the good harvests of its farm to become even better, so a night-cart was constructed and the public was notified of its availability. Requests for the night-cart

***"Drop of Water Magnified,"* 1858.** Lynners were finding out what was in their water and it was unsettling, but the thought that "living animals" could do harm was not yet imagined. Since they were so miniscule and could not be seen by the naked eye, they seemed all that more innocuous. From *Glimpses of The Wonderful: A Series of Instructive Sketches for the Young, Illustrated with Numerous Elegant Engravings*, by Isaac Dowd Williamson (Philadelphia, PA: J. & J. L. Gihon, 1858). Illustration placed on a black background by the author (Rapoza).

service were left at the Lynn Hotel and the Central Depot train station. When called upon, the wagon would be brought down to the requesting home, loaded up with the night soil that the homeowner had removed from his outhouse or cesspool vault, then haul its putrid cargo back to the City Farm for use as manure.[157] In an apparent effort to minimize the sight and odors associated with the waste removal service, daytime pick-ups were stopped ("except in cases of pressing necessity") in July 1857, but the night-cart continued to rumble through Lynn streets at night, doing its business under the cover of darkness.[158]

MEDICAL COVERAGE

As the health and sanitation issues confronting the city multiplied, so did the number of healers ready to restore the sick and injured; there was, in fact, an epidemic of health choices. The 1850 federal census listed 25 physicians in the city, which meant that there was a doctor for every 570 Lynners (probably the lowest ratio since the town began). The number of resident physicians was augmented by about two dozen itinerant and circuit doctors who advertised their presence at Lynn's hotels and boarding houses for a few days or weeks before moving on. The Sagamore House and the Washington House were the city's most popular lodgings. They were located a block apart at the central train depot, which was the bustling center of the city. Medical practitioners of every stripe used them as a combination of hotel and doctor's office. During the 1850s the two hotels hosted consumption and blood specialists, mesmeric physicians using botanic remedies, and a lung healer who administered inhalation therapy. Anyone passing by the Sagamore room of Henshaw, the visiting electro-biologist (also called an electrician), was likely to hear occasional yelps of pain behind the door. The traveling healer shocked his patients back to health using a galvanic electric machine. He claimed his method had cured "hundreds of patients not benefited by other modes of practice."[159]

Notices of the traveling physicians' brief availability to Lynn residents were accompanied by descriptions of long years of experience, tales of dramatic success, and endorsements from the famous and highly respected. One such healer staying at the Washington House claimed to have worked alongside Napoleon Bonaparte's surgeon.[160] Another "celebrated" physician of New York and London claimed the ability to discern all types of cancers and lung, heart, and female diseases by staring into the eye, "without the patient saying a word to him." He could be found at Mrs. Avis Keene's boarding house, but his ad warned, "his stay will be short in this place."[161] Another clairvoyant claimed to be the seventh son of a seventh son; he set up in the Sagamore, also telling visiting patients what ailed them without being told.[162] He and many other advertising healers functioned under essentially the same two credos: "will cure all curable cases" and with that sizeable exception in their favor, "no cure, no pay."[163]

Some of the transient healers practiced the same type of circuit itinerancy that Phillip Reade did centuries earlier. Repeat visits of such healers read in the newspaper puffs and advertisements like the promised return of a holy man to his disciples. With many stays lasting only a few days, however, the number of faithful followers were sometimes apparently few. Dr. Greeley from New York City had removed a large tumor, without ether, from the head of Lynner Samuel Atwood in 1858 and returned to perform more miracles in 1859.[164] John W. Channing, a shipwright who suddenly became "The Great Cancer and Humor Doctor," made several visits to Lynn throughout the decade. In his early appearances he brought along Miss Shurtleff, a clairvoyant. During her clairvoyant trance, Miss Shurtleff seemed to have done most of the medical work, diagnosing, prescribing, and even performing phrenological readings.[165] Channing was next seen in Lynn fourteen months later with Mrs. E. T., a clairvoyant who traveled with him but practiced her craft as her own business. Later broadsides for Channing promoted only his services and skills; he had split away from clairvoyant sidekicks and focused on his own greatness. His broadsides listed dozens of cured customers, including two from Lynn: Nancy Howard, whose cancer healed after

using Channing's medicine, and the daughter of Mrs. Hill, whom he "cured of a cancer on the face, after having been doctored without success by Dr. Spear," the Indian doctor.[166]

Like Jesse S. Spear, Reuben Greene was an Indian Physician eager to explain he was not an Indian, "but a scientific physician who has thoroughly investigated the INDIAN SYSTEM of medicine"; it was knowledge he had gained "by actual experience with the Indians themselves."[167] He must have learned a lot from them because he listed thirty-six Indian remedies in one advertisement, from eye water for a quarter to cancer syrup for six dollars a bottle.[168] One of Greene's Lynn patients was C. H. Marsh, who had suffered for nine years with swollen joints and glands. Some of the neck swelling enlarged and physicians drained "nearly a pint of matter" by lancing and repeated the procedure for four years. Marsh grew worse and was forced to leave work, but after three months with Reuben Greene he was well again.[169] Still another Indian doctor visiting Lynn was H. A. Waterman. He welcomed patients at all times of day and night and when not in Lynn, he offered advice by letter. Whatever the illness, the cure would be the same: his *Sovereign Remedy*, "the only medicine in the wide world that ever has been discovered which can break up the root of disease," from deafness to leprosy to female complaints. In short, the doctor said he had discovered "a truly wonderful Indian life-giving elixir" that cured "every disease that flesh is heir to."[170]

The field of women's medicine had emerged as a specialty in Lynn, with women providing medical services to other women and children. One such healer was Mrs. Mary Roundy, who had devoted herself for more than half a century to "the great cause of distressed humanity," with self-sacrifice, unwearying devotion, and "patient watching." Mrs. Miriam B. Johnson, a Quaker woman, was affectionately called "Aunt Miriam" by her patients and their families, "whom to know is to love, as multitudes can testify, who have received friendly calls from her when sick."[171] The services of this "cool, deliberate, experienced and highly intelligent motherly woman, who will patiently wait, watch, and do for the suffering" were esteemed to be just as valuable as the hurried, short visit "of the best doctor in the world."[172] She practiced for decades and was best known for her pediatric care, but one Lynn historian recalled her visits when he was about thirty and "sick for several summers with bilious fevers, and when 'Aunt Miriam' came into the room, as I lay in bed, discouraged and down-hearted at the slow progress made towards recovering, her cheerful countenance seemed to do me more good than a visit from the doctor, especially when he ordered calomel, or salts and senna."[173] With its centuries-old use of and trust in female watchers, midwives, and family herbalists like Aunt Nabby, Mary Roundy and Aunt Miriam, Lynn was ready to embrace female medical professionals. An 1859 *Lynn News* review of the New England Female Medical College in Boston reported that since its establishment in 1848, twenty-five ladies had received medical degrees. Despite the ridicule the college's founders had to endure, the experiment was deemed a success, since "properly educated female physicians can find ready employment" and were considered better suited to women's medicine than were men (due to moral propriety and personal experience).[174] The 34-year-old widow Emmeline Parrish of Lynn had just completed her studies at the college "and her friends saw in her the promise of great usefullness," but she died suddenly of heart disease in 1850.[175] Another early Lynn student of the college was Mary Elizabeth Breed, who graduated in 1857, when she was 51 years old.[176]

Other Lynn women passed on a college education, relying instead on lessons learned in the school of experience to find employment as nurses. In 1851 there were twenty nurses for hire, double the number listed in the city directory ten years earlier, and by the end of the decade it had almost tripled.[177] Miss McKenzie and Miss S. S. Clark took out small newspaper advertisements and modestly promised their potential customers that they had good references and nursing skills.[178] Other nurses relied on the community grapevine to pass on information about their reputation and availability.

Female healers visited Lynn with some frequency throughout the decade as they had during the previous decade, providing their suffering clients the intimacy and comfort that could only

come from another woman. Mrs. Sawin gave free lectures to women on female physiology and health in the privacy of the small vestry at the First Methodist church.[179] Mrs. Mansfield made "quiet visits" to Lynn ladies "who do not like to detail their sufferings to a male physician."[180] Mrs. Mansfield could be found at the Sagamore House (through the ladies' entrance, of course). Mrs. Kidder, "the celebrated Indian Doctress," waited for her patients at the Washington House and, after successfully curing a twelve-year case of asthma in Salem, Mrs. Addison was ready to receive ladies at her "parlor no. 13" in the Lynn, Hotel.[181] Mrs. Byrnes, a female physician with a Boston office and lying-in hospital, didn't visit Lynn, but urged "that large class of females who scruple to consult one of the opposite sex" to visit and benefit from her "educated, experienced and discreet" advise.[182] Visiting male healers were also available as always to tend to women's needs. William Slocomb, an "English Physician, Surgeon and Accoucher," found his way to Lynn by way of the Spanish West Indies; he specialized in "diseases of the chests, lungs, and uterine organs."[183] George Rushe promoted himself as a blood and lung physician who also treated prolapsed uterus and "all diseases of the womb" through the inhalation of heated medicated vapors.[184]

Medicines for women were marketed with the same tone of modesty and propriety that the female physicians had adopted; however, indirect wording in the advertisements was sometimes used to cloak the medicine's primary purpose as an abortifacient. *Dr. Skinner's Female Catholicon* was "designed to lessen and mitigate the pains and afflictions of married females in peculiar circumstances"; this could just as easily have meant it would end the pregnancy as kill the pain during pregnancy.[185] *Dr. Cheeseman's Female Pills* claimed to be the only "certain panacea for troubles incident to female disorganization." The pills were so powerful they were promoted with a caution (or was it an invitation?): "… the pills must not be taken when any female is in an interesting situation, otherwise a miscarriage will be the inevitable result." Other brands of women's medicines issued similar warnings.[186] Frankness in female medicine and health had to have the appearance of staying within the bounds of modesty and morality. When a book titled, *The Married Woman's Private Medical Companion*, was released in 1848, the *Lynn News* refused to carry the advertisement; the author had boldly discussed how to prevent pregnancy and advertised condoms for sale.[187]

Another doctoring type was the long-distance healer who promised to diagnose and sell medicines to those that would write and send money. In 1854 a healer in New York City advertised his inhalation cure for consumption in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*. Consumptives were asked to send a list of their symptoms and ten dollars for the doctor's inhalation tubes and a package of vapor medicine. Although there were plenty of consumptives in the ten-footers, the New York City cure was financially painful for workers earning an average of five dollars a week.[188] By contrast, LaRoy Sunderland, the former minister in Saugus, offered his drugless cure through the mail for a thin dime. Sunderland's pamphlet described his system of cure by proper nutrition. He promised it would cure "every form of disease," including those of the lungs. Once Joseph F. Holman realized that "many families are not inclined to purchase a dollar medicine (even if valuable)," he put his bitters into a smaller, pint-sized bottle and lowered the price to twenty cents.[189]

There was plenty of competition among the varied types of healing practices, specialties, and costs, but from bitters to bleeding and seventh sons to seventh generation medical school graduates, the most important aspect to any of the medical choices was reputation. It was still far more important than education to a healer's success and more so than ingredients to a medicine. Records of the period emphasized its importance. Even though Eliza Ann Breed recanted whatever terrible things she had said against the moral character and healing skills of William L. Harmon, he still opted to leave town shortly after her public apology.[190] J. M. Davidson defended the homeopathic physician Daniel A. Johnson against the damning rumors that he had killed Mrs. Davidson by improper treatments. Johnson had successfully treated others in the household for scarlet fever and erysipelas and although Mrs. Davidson died of an inflammation shortly after the birth of her child,

her husband was convinced that Johnson and another physician had done everything they could for her. Davidson concluded, "my confidence in Dr. Johnson remains as firm as ever."[191]

Abraham Gould's reputation received a strong endorsement from one of the ladies of the Lummus family who created an acrostic from his name. After praising his several character and medical skills, a few lines offered him a prayer of gratitude, "May Heaven, in mercy to our feeble race, Grant to protect thee, and prolong thy days."[192] Amos S. Adams, another resident physician, attacked the reputation of a traveling healer named Samuel Ingalls. In an introductory lecture to a Lynn audience, Ingalls mentioned that two Lynn physicians had "advised or consented to use his system" of braces and trusses, but Adams insisted this was a lie, "there is not a doctor in the city, who has the least confidence in his practice as a physician or his honesty as a man." Adams continued to attack Ingalls' character with the point of his pen,

> Visit a town where he has been more fortunate than he has been in Lynn, and numbers of his instruments will be found thrown aside, as useless articles, and the owners are as far from enjoying health as they were previous to their use…. In conclusion, I shall be most happy to learn if there is a person in Lynn, who has been cured by his peculiar mode of practice.[193]

Ingalls rebutted that physicians always opposed every new theory, but Adams worried that the *opposite* was true, "It is not the fault of the age, that we believe not enough; but it is, that we believe too much."[194] Adams claimed that he and the whole medical profession stood against Samuel Ingalls' quack theories, but Ingalls calmly accepted the odds like a brave David taking on Goliath: "Terrible array! Fearful odds! The Aesculapian champion of Lynn, armed with all the thunders of the god of medicine, backed by the living legions of the lancet, and on the other my humble self, armed with no weapon but a simple sling and five smooth stones, gathered from a noiseless rivulet of truth!"[195]

Options for the ill didn't end with the long train of conventional and unconventional physicians. There were also ten apothecaries, some of whom, in addition to filling prescriptions, provided physician's services like writing prescriptions and applying leeches. Caleb W. Wiley offered to apply leeches "at any hour, day or night."[196] Apothecary William H. Berry served as surgeon for the Lynn Light Infantry muster group (William F. Bulkley, a stove dealer, was his assistant surgeon).[197] In a competitive field, most of the apothecaries vied for attention and points of distinction from the rest. Several stressed that they were agents for certain medicines not to be found elsewhere in the city.[198] Most of the apothecaries were also acting as manufacturing chemists, compounding their own medicine brands as well as non-medical products from insecticides to perfumes. Aaron L. Holder produced *Holder's Excelsior Hair Tonic*, William Ladd marketed *William M. Ladd's Vegetable Bitters*, and Thomas J. Lummus sold the *Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam* that had been a family recipe for at least thirty years.[199]

From about April to September 1853, Joseph F. Holman had temporarily established as a "Druggist and Apothecary" in Lynn at the Apothecary Hall, No 3 Exchange Building, Market Street, wherein he offered *Dr. J. F. Holman's Bitters;* in other advertisements it was also referred to as *Dr. J. F. Holman's Original Spring Bitters* and *Dr. J. F. Holman's Original Spring and Summer Bitters*.[200] This special concoction was composed of sarsaparilla, dandelions, wild cherry, boneset, dock root, poplar bark, thoroughwort, and other botanical ingredients.[201] Like other apothecaries, he sold and even personally endorsed other medicines; he was a wholesale agent for *Dr. Wood's Hair Restorative* and *Devine's Pitch Lozenges*, and while operating his Lynn apothecary, he advertised *Dead Shot!* for bed bugs, *Kennedy's Medical Discovery*, and *Ambrosial Mead*, and that he was "a wholesale and retail agent for all the popular bitters and patent medicines of the day and keeps a good supply of every article usually found in a city drug store."[202] While writing from Lynn on 29 March 1853, he gave his strong personal recommendation for *Mexican Mustang Liniment*, saying it helped him recover from "an attack of ague in the face … one side of my face was swollen to an incredible degree," and that "there are numerous people in this city

[Lynn] that are ready to give in their testimony in its favor, whenever called on."[203] Prior to promoting his own bitters, he advertised throughout New England the sale of *Holman's Nature's Grand Restorative*. This medicine was actually the recipe that his father, Charles Holman, had created; the senior Holman had sold it out of his apothecary shop in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for several decades. It was a popular medicine that promised to cure indigestion, asthma, worms, constipation, gas, colds, coughs, shortness of breath, and sea sickness; two bottles were needed to remove St. Vitus' Dance.[204] After Charles Holman's death (sometime before 1846), Joseph explained how the bitters had passed into his hands, "I am the son of the late Dr Charles Holman … one year previous to his death he instructed me how to prepare the Medicine … I now purchase the purest articles, and compound them in the most [thorough] manner."[205] Joseph sold the *Restorative* to Lynn for 25 cents a bottle, but in a letter to someone who had expressed interest in selling the medicine, Holman offered the entire state of New York as a sales territory and told him to charge whatever he wanted:

> If you wish to purchase the Restorative which you can depend upon as being Genuine, I will sell it to you at such a rate that you can make it profitable to yourself. It shall be put up in handsome style, in Bottles made from a mould, for me. You will be allowed to use the Certificates, both old and new. You can retail it at any price you please in the State of New York and you can have the State of N. York to yourself.[206]

The family name was embossed on the *Restorative* bottle but a version with Joseph's given name or initials has not been found; the absence of any pint-sized *Nature's Grand Restorative* or *Dr. J. F. Holman's Bitters* bottles surviving in modern bottle collections would suggest that these products were not embossed with his name; such a pity.[207]

William H. Berry produced *De Berriam's*, his own labeled cologne, and *Berry's Rose Oil* for the hair.[208] In April 1857 Berry dressed up his shop window with an eye-catching display of "perfumery and other toilet articles" that likely included his own products.[209] His store was further distinguished by the sign of Hippocrates hanging outside.[210] Robert S. Rogers bought out the soap concern of William B. Ramsdell and was thus able to exclusively offer *Ramsdell's Shaving Soap*. He also distinguished his store by advertising its variety of breast pumps, nursing bottles, and nipple shields for new mothers and wet nurses.[211] Most apothecaries offered cigars, candy and cakes, an extensive array of roots and herbs for those compounding their own home remedies, and sarsaparilla and other cooling beverages. The firm of Renton and Clark had handles put on their soda tumblers "so that ladies may not soil their kid gloves."[212]

The largest category of medical options was the huge number of medicines for those who preferred to be their own physician. The three principle newspapers serving Lynn during the 1850s advertised at least 360 medicines, which was a sharp increase over the 223 of the previous decade, and this number didn't include the dozens of medicinal ingredients advertised for use in making medicines at home. Even with the multitude of apothecaries, physicians, and retail medicines and the encroachment of civilization on the fields and woods of Lynn, it was still common practice to make one's own time-tested recipes and family favorites.

Plenty of medicinal plants were found in Lynn's environs. The woody patch in the city known as Botanic Grove was an especially rich trove of plant specimens. James Bassett Holder, a Lynn physician and naturalist, identified among the city's flora Thompson's lobelia, the thoroughwort in Holman's bitters, celandine (another popular bitters ingredient), mullein for dry feet, skullcap for the nerves, and catnip for, well, the cat.[213] Even Alonzo Lewis (who had something to say about everything), had a favorite medicine recipe to offer townsmen. It was a diarrhea remedy involving blackberry vine, raspberry, and hardhack. "If the patient is not actually dying," he reassured, "it will cure …. Fortunes have been made by remedies less effectual."[214] A late-decade squib in the *Lynn News* suggested the exploitation of Nature for medicine had been extremely thorough, "Most kinds of roots and barks are now used as medicines, except cube roots and the bark of dogs."[215]

Shadrach Ramsdell was another resident who headed outside for health. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* puffed with pride and reassurance, "Mr. Ramsdell is a Lynn man and has devoted much time to the study of the medical properties of our native roots and herbs, growing in the fields and meadows of Lynn and he has been very successful in removing bad humors and cutaneous eruptions." Decades earlier he had introduced *Columbian Soap* and an ointment that were both said to be very useful in restoring damaged skin. In the 1850s he focused on the sale of his newest product, *Dr. Ramsdell's Bitters*, which was promised to remove "bilious obstructions" from the stomach, eradicate headaches, and cure other problems originating from a "disordered liver." His medicine and soap making was something between a venture and an adventure, however, because he continued to be a shoemaker first and foremost. He had the assistance of John Sparks, another shoemaker, to make the bitters from 1854 to 1858, but then Sparks also returned to shoemaking.[216] By June 1859 the medicine recipe and rights had been sold to Otis Vickary, the owner of a Lynn grocery store specializing in fruits and nuts. A puff in *The Bay State* assured readers that Ramsdell's bitters, now aggrandized into *Dr. Ramsdell's Indian Restorative, or Family Bitters*, was still said to be recommended for liver complaints, "trembling at the stomach," nervous debility, pains in the side or stomach, headache, loss of appetite, and other problems arising from a diseased liver."[217] By the end of the year, Vickary had dropped the fruits, nuts, and bitters and gone into the second-hand furniture business.[218]

Several other Lynn residents focused exclusively on their medicine businesses. John Hilton and Joseph M. True each carried extensive lines of medicines to suit most any purpose. John Hilton was a botanic physician who resided on the end of Summer Street that used to intersect with the middle of busy Market Street. His products included *Dr. Hilton's Cough Syrup*, which cured influenza, including those cases "given over by physicians as impossible to recover." *Dr. Hilton's Vegetable Curative* eliminated severe headaches, kidney complaints, and chronic cases of upset stomach, and his *Humor Syrup* of course cured "humors of all descriptions."[219] The sixty-something bachelor lived in Lynn from at least 1854 to 1858, but disappeared before the decade ended.[220]

Joseph M. True was in Lynn for about the same time (from at least 1855 to 1858) and he lived just a few houses away from Hilton. He had moved to Lynn from Boston where he had been a butter dealer.[221] Before the decade's end he left Lynn with his wife and two children. (They ended up in New Haven, Connecticut, where he continued to make his medicines for decades.)[222] During his Lynn years he ran a large and bold ad in *The Bay State* that was filled with testimonials and featured a portrait of the dashing young doctor. Based on the testimonials, many Lynn residents must have been sorry to see him leave. His advertisements claimed that the two weapons in his arsenal, *Dr. True's German Cough Syrup* and *Dr. True's Pain Destroying Compound*, were curing "tens of thousands" – no small accomplishment for a man who just a few years earlier was making a living selling butter. Eben Trask, a grocer, Benjamin J. Ireson, Esq., a merchant, and Samuel Neal, a blacksmith, joined a half-dozen others from elsewhere in New England to endorse True's medicines for curing rheumatism, neuralgia, cholera, bowel complaints, lung complaints, and more. Leonard Sawyer, a Lynn machinist, testified that his mother was cured of erysipelas and rheumatism of several years standing, after trying many other products with no relief.[223] Eighty-five year old Theophilus Burrell swore that the marvelous medicine had cured some of the worst cases of rheumatism he had seen in sixty-four years of adult life, plus he knew first hand from personal experience. His own testimonial reads very much like the honest account of a grateful and delighted old man,

> One year ago, I was confined to my room with Rheumatism in my knees and hands; the cords were contracted so that my knees were half bent, accompanied with severe pain. As I was so old, I thought it was useless for me to try anything more than I had; but as you well know, you induced me to try your Pain Destroying Compound according to the directions. Three bottles cured me, and for one year I have been perfectly free from the

> Rheumatism. No man should be without it in his house, as it is good in a great many complaints. If any one wishes to see one it has cured, they can come and see me.[224]

Ezekiel P. Eastman, the eclectic Lynn physician of "high standing, with a large practice," introduced *Eastman's Sick Headache Remedy* in 1853. It was said to have created a sensation in the community because "there are so great a number of people who are afflicted with the distressing complaint, for which no [specific] medicine has before been made public."[225] John B. Alley, part owner of a wholesale leather business, testified that the remedy almost entirely cured him and had "relieved or greatly mollified the disease" of several of his neighbors and friends.[226]

Eastman's medicines were filled with plant life. During his early career a decade earlier, after having moved to Wisconsin, the fledgling physician wrote some medical instructions to his father to pass on to family back home in Strong, Maine. For one of his Porter cousins, he prescribed a syrupy mixture of rhubarb, balsam of tolu, bloodroot, and dried juice of the poppy flower – opium. He showed further faith in the healing power of plants by directing his sisters to virtually marinate themselves in a broth of the common yellow dock weed.[227] The carrot-like taproot of this plant cuts open to reveal a yellow core from which medicine was made. The liquid that was drawn off from boiling the yellow matter was much admired for its gentle laxative effect, thus flushing out sickness or, if used externally, washing it off the body. An 1844 herbal medicine book revealed, "The reason that the value of this article is so little known … is because the patient does not take enough of it, and does not follow it up long enough."[228] In 1843 Eastman tried to convince his sisters not to make this mistake, urging them to make it part of their daily rituals, "get some yellow dock – steep it – drink it and wash in it every day for months …" He urged his father to tell his sister Julia "not to fail to do so. She must persevere in its use … if she [does] she will be cured." He insisted that his other sister, Frances, should also use yellow dock and wrote, "I have cured three or four of the same disease within the past year." He suspected, however, that Julia wouldn't hold much stock in his advice, so he teased that if his cure seemed too "far fetched," he would get some big-name doctor to tell her the same thing.[229]

It came as no surprise to his sisters, at least, that Ezekiel eventually bottled a medicine made of yellow dock root. He arranged to have the bitters manufactured by Joseph B. Hill, a barber in Lynn. (Hair dressers/barbers of this era were often involved in making their own hair oils, tonics, pomades, etc., so by mid nineteenth century standards, medicine preparation by a barber was not at all a stretch on the credulity of the average person.) Since counterfeiting labels of commercially successful medicines was easy and frequently done, they resorted to a bottle version that had his proprietary information embossed right into the aqua glass: Dr E. P. EASTMAN'S // [unembossed beveled side] // YELLOW DOCK / BITTERS // [unembossed beveled side] // LYNN MASS. He also registered the product name at the U.S. Copyright Office in 1853.[230]

The general population knew their botanical ingredients and could even go to the local drugstore and buy various roots and herbs to make their own medicines, if they desired. They knew then that the bold declaration of YELLOW DOCK was a promise to spend time in the outhouse, flushing the illness away. But this medicine was no deceitful money grab for Eastman; he had demonstrated years earlier that he really believed in the stuff. He had promised cures to his own sisters if they would faithfully, frequently, and repeatedly drink and wash in the soupy water made by boiling yellow dock roots. It was the sole medicinal ingredient he prescribed for their illnesses and he told them to use it internally and externally for months until cured. While thousands of medicines would be produced in the nineteenth century solely for financial gain, Ezekiel Porter Eastman can be counted among those that actually believed in their medicine.

Another temporarily Lynn-based botanic physician named J. Fernald used a big newspaper advertisement to promote his medicines like Joseph True had done but he didn't offer testimonials because of the sensitive nature of his principal products. While he had medicines to sell for the usual corns, cough, rheumatism, and dysentery, he specialized in diseases "of a delicate and private

Promising Cure of the 1850s: *Dr. Eastman's Yellow Dock Bitters*, about 1853. Surrounded by carrot-like, yellow-cored taproots from the yellow dock plant stands a Lynn bitters bottle by the same name. It was one of Ezekiel Porter Eastman's favorite botanical ingredients, and he arranged to have his *Yellow Dock Bitters* manufactured by Joseph B. Hill, a barber in Lynn. Since counterfeiting labels of commercially successful medicines was easy and frequently done, Eastman resorted to a bottle version that had his proprietary information embossed into the glass: Dr E. P. EASTMAN'S // [unembossed beveled side] // YELLOW DOCK / BITTERS // [unembossed beveled side] // LYNN MASS. The bottle is made of heavily whittled aqua glass with an iron pontil and applied tapered lip. Note that the left and right sides of the bottle are displaying dark because of the thickness of the glass and the angle of light refraction. (Collection of the author; yellow liquid contents are for photographic effect only.)

character" – those affecting male and female procreative organs. He offered *Female Monthly Pills* for one dollar and the *French Preventive Pills* (most likely for the cure of syphilis, considered the "French disease") for a hefty five dollars a box. He also explained with delicate propriety but unmistakable clarity that he had medicine to cure the masturbation habit: "Young men afflicted with a constitutional debility brought on by a secret habit, which by neglect ruins the constitution of many, will, by calling on him, find a remedy to effect a perfect cure."[231]

One more medicine offered locally was advertised for sale by J. W. Mace, a carpenter.[232] A promotional puff explained that his wondrous product was developed by an old doctor who discovered it while he was in Calcutta, India. It was called Cannabis Indica or Indian Hemp and was indicated for lung and liver complaints and nervous debility.[233] Readers were assured it was a "stimulant without reactionary consequences," but a few years earlier in another town paper, an article about narcotic products clearly included Indian Hemp in a list of addictive substances. (It is the plant from which marijuana and hashish are prepared.) It further indicated that worldwide, almost four and a half billion pounds of tobacco, over four hundred million pounds of opium, ten million pounds of coca, and 250,000 pounds of Indian Hemp were being used annually. Cannabis Indica was not yet causing a big buzz among narcotic medicines, but Mace was doing what he could to popularize it in Lynn.[234] He urged the ill to "buy, try, and be made happy …."[235]

There was also no holding back the entrepreneurial spirit of T. B. Wentworth. He manufactured his own medicine, *Wentworth's Western Horse Liniment*, and also sold *Hunt's Improved Premium Shuttle Sewing Machines*. Wentworth explained that his son was bitten by a rattlesnake on the western prairies and was cured by snakeweed being placed on the wound. From that experience and plant, he developed his liniment (likely deciding to call it horse liniment because more potential customers had horses to care for than rattlesnakes to deal with).[236] Daniel S. Pratt, a shoe manufacturer, Isaac B. Neal, a blacksmith, and Amos E. Mower, proprietor of the City Stable, all testified that Wentworth's liniment worked. Apothecary Leander S. Berry sold another veterinary medicine called *McEckron's Celebrated Liniment*, which was "equally Good for Man or Beast."[237] B. F. Cates, a hack driver at the Central Depot endorsed that liniment, as did Amos E. Mower (who apparently had not found a liniment he didn't like); both praised its curative powers for their horses, but neither owned up to using the stuff on themselves.[238]

Lynners appeared to be very willing medicine endorsers. Attorney Abner C. Goodell said *Kemp's Canker Wash* was a "quick cure" for his mouth and throat cankers.[239] Peter D. Beckford, a shoemaker, loved what *Moreal's Yankee Vegetable Ointment* did for his annual bout with chilblains. He had promised his pharmacist, William Berry, that if it worked like Berry said it would, he would let Berry know; it did, so he did.[240] George W. Mudge, a dry goods dealer, used Dr. Tarbell's Medicines with his family. Four dollars would buy a chest of forty homoeopathic remedies and Mudge said it was a great investment. After a trial of the medicines for two years, the satisfied customer reported, "I have no hesitation, but take pleasure, in recommending them to my friends and the public generally."[241]

Martha Boynton had suffered from infancy with headaches so severe that she lost her sight and sometimes speech and motion, and she became partially paralyzed. Her neck had five scrofulous tumors on it that were open, festering sores. Martha was a mess. Like most medicine endorsers, she had first sought the advice and services of several physicians and tried other medicines (sarsaparilla), but nothing worked. In 1852, at the moment when all seemed lost, she tried *Dr. Porter's Anti-Scrofulous Panacea* and was cured. Her story was verified by Reverend Thomas Pierce and Reverend Nicholas S. Chadwick, pastor of the Lynn Christian Church.[242] A year later, a follow-up was run in the same newspaper. Reverend Chadwick and Reverend Philemon R. Russell (formerly of Lynn, but in 1852 serving in Georgetown, Massachusetts) bore witness to the sustained duration of the cure.[243] The ministers lent significant credibility to Martha's story and therefore to the reputation of the panacea.

John Renton's medicine received marvelous publicity and credibility from the endorsements of a local hero and the emperor of Russia. John E. Gowen of Lynn had become a naval salvage expert and in 1859 was contracted by the Russian government to retrieve the ships they had scuttled in Sevastopol harbor during the Crimean War. Physician Renton, Gowen's friend, saw an opportunity to exploit the attention Gowen was getting from his Lynn neighbors who followed his difficult and dramatic efforts. Renton had allegedly given Gowen a case of his *Dysentery and Diarrhoea Elixir* to present to the Emperor of Russia. Thousands of soldiers had lost their lives to dysentery and cholera during the Crimean War, which ended in 1856, so it was a perfect backdrop for impressive testimonials in favor of Renton's elixir. Gowen reported back to Renton that the medicine was first "rigidly analyzed by a commission of scientific Chemists and Physicians," who became "thoroughly convinced" that it was "one of the most valuable discoveries of the age." The governor, high admiral, captain of the port, and chief physician of a Sevastopol hospital then "tested" the elixir and were so pleased with the results that they requested a fresh supply. Gowen concluded his letter to Renton by saying "… you will undoubtedly hear from the Emperor through me, of its efficacy."[244] Despite the Russian government's alleged admiration for Renton's cure, the only medical miracles history remembered in the Crimea were those performed by a young nurse named Florence Nightingale.

Whether from conventional physicians, Indianopathy, clairvoyance, patent medicines, or any of the other medical systems, the ill of Lynn accepted apparent cures where they could find them. Patent medicines had become a frequent choice in Lynn's struggle for health. Forty-four people sold medicines in the city and almost ten percent of the 360 medicines advertised were made in Lynn. Some Lynners saw the many health choices as hope; others as opportunity; and still others were just appalled. Lynn's conventional physicians continued to try to strip the cloak of secrets off of whatever sounded like quackery. James Bassett Holder, the accomplished naturalist, reminded his townsmen that secrets were not part of science, "Scientific men never keep secrets; it is a pleasure to them to impart information. Never trust the man who tells you he has some great cure, unknown to any one else; he's an imposter …. There is no excuse for being humbugged, – exercise a little common sense." He confidently predicted that the days of the nostrum were numbered, "Fortunately such remarks will be less necessary a few years hence."[245] An editorial writer for the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* bemoaned his townsmen's preference for doctors and medicines over a healthy lifestyle.

> It is really astonishing to see how much some people like to be doctored. They seem to enjoy the process of blistering, and bleeding, and physicing, as though it were one of the necessary elements in the sum total of human happiness. They never fail to let a month pass without taking some infernal stuff or other to "correct the bile," or "cleanse the stomach," or "purify the blood," or "work off a humor," or cure some other imaginary ailment. They are always having the headache or heart-burn, or a pain in the side, which requires a little of Dr. so-and-so's pills, or somebody else's patent double-acting panacea, which never fails to cure – for a few minutes.
>
> We have no patience with such people. We confess entire faithlessness in quack nostrums, including the long list of pills and potions, drugs and chemicals enumerated on the bottles of a first class apothecary shop. We have great faith in Nature as the grand physician to work her own cures. She has plentifully bestowed around us specifics for all the ills that flesh is heir to, unless it be old age, – and even that may be put off for a long day by proper attention to the "rules and regulations" prescribed by her for the government of her children. Plenty of cold water, plenty of fresh air, and plenty of proper exercise, constitute one of the finest cornucopias ever produced. … Why some people have such a mortal hatred of these three life-giving elements is more than we can divine, unless it be that it is so unfashionable to live healthy lives, and so genteel to be always sick and have frequent consultations with the family physician. … [246]

Benjamin Franklin's admonition, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" was true, but many Lynners continued to react to health problems rather than to prepare for them. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* fueled their reliance on the wide spectrum of healers, medicines, questionable claims, and wild-eyed promises by turning over a large portion of every edition to medical advertising. The newspaper's attitudes were noble, but their actions were not.

From his high pulpit of conservative orthodoxy, Reverend Parsons Cooke threw down some of his typical fire and brimstone onto the radical, vulnerable, and wishy-washy of Lynn.

> … Lynn has some reputation abroad for tendencies to fanaticism and strange fancies. If Satan has any degrading and filthy delusion to play off, to bring the human race into greater contempt, Lynn is the place which he is wont to choose for its birth.[247]

Unwilling to hear his hometown besmirched, Aaron Lummus Jr., a vestige of one the community's most open-minded medical families, stood up and challenged the vituperative minister.

> I believe, sir, that you have publicly slandered the people of my native city, and therefore, as a son of Lynn, shall vindicate my birthplace against your denunciations. We have, undoubtedly, a share of rowdyism, and all the other isms mentioned by you. But, though I am sorry for our faults, I am not willing [that we should be] misrepresented to our injury; and I am free to say, there is no other humbug, or ism, tolerated in our city, quite so monstrous as that of a man professing to give a course of lectures … on the Sabbath, on ecclesiastical history, and making it a mere pretext for slandering and misrepresenting all societies but one.[248]

Disease and derision would not be in command here – Lynn was a young city on the move and caution wasn't going to be its chaperone.

KNOCK ON WOOD

Lynners searched for a comfortable balance between their city's evolution, along with its technological revolution, and their own need for stability and reassurance amid the confusion of development. Throughout Lynn's history, many of those who sought guidance past life's hurdles and safety from its storms got answers from a variety of preternatural neighbors who lived among them. For centuries, Lynn had been home to alleged witches and professed fortune-tellers and clairvoyants. Their presence was probably a little bit unnerving, but patrons sought them out nonetheless, often while on the sly from family and friends. The future didn't seem so daunting when one could get a sneak peek at it.

Moll Pitcher prophesied that palaces of marble or some shiny substance would be built all over Lynn and that Lynn's woods would be usurped by development, "To talk of robins will be like talking of fairies, considered a myth."[249] She was off the mark on these prophecies, of course – or perhaps a disciple would say they simply have not happened *yet*. Moll surely made some mistakes, but they would be "little heard of and soon forgotten. In contrast, a prediction verified under extraordinary circumstances was sure to be talked of as a wonder."[250]

In death as in life, the legend of Moll Pitcher was a fusion of history and tall tales. Some versions were kinder to her memory than others. An 1839 play cast Moll in a less favorable light. *Moll Pitcher; or, The Fortune Teller of Lynn. A Drama in Four Acts.,* had Moll portrayed as a tough, snuff-snorting old hag who had no use for the "fools" who believed in her, other than for their money. She eked out a living by eavesdropping on secret conversations, then fabricating plausible readings for the incredulous customers shortly thereafter. Believers and doubters were paired throughout the play, debating whether her skills were the products of prophecy, witchcraft, or rascality. Through the subtlety of playwriting, the audience got to witness one of the believers

coming out of the closet, "I had never visited her house of mystery. – (Aside.) But I will to-night."[251] The play enjoyed some success, having at least six runs in Boston and New York over the next twelve years, but from Lynn it garnered the rebuke, "The old lady never dreamed of such an outrage to her memory."[252]

Decades after Moll Pitcher's death, other Lynn seers were still gazing into the future and reporting back to eager listeners. C. W. Roback, the outlandish, outrageous Swedish, Boston-based, self-proclaimed seventh son of a seventh son, astrologer, phrenologist, geomancer, physiognomist, and metoposcopist, tried to attract Lynn customers by advertising in its 1854 city directory, but the young city already had a tentful of astrologers, fortune tellers, and other practitioners of the mystic arts.[253] "Madame Holbrook, the "celebrated astrologist," moved from Boston to Lynn, settling in on Waterhill Street "near the Liberty Pole." She could be consulted for information on the past, present, and future, including questions about wealth, marriage, children, longevity, and sickness. Her advertisement of introduction pleaded with her new Lynn neighbors, "Don't all come at once."[254] Several months earlier, Mrs. Allen, another West Lynn seer, fell into a gully while walking along the Saugus Branch railroad tracks. The "somewhat celebrated" fortune-teller may have had a hard time explaining to clients why she couldn't have foreseen and avoided getting a broken leg and severe bruises.[255] An itinerant fortune-teller named Madame Duboyce appeared in Lynn early in 1850, claiming for credentials that she had predicted Zachary Taylor becoming president two years before his election and the return of the cholera in 1849.[256] She also "frightened a few very silly people" with her prediction that a huge fire would occur in West Lynn within two weeks' time.[257] She was wrong. In 1852 Professor Lister, the "celebrated astrologer," predicted that within twelve years, the south part of Lynn all the way up to the Common was going to sink, making a deep harbor. He was wrong too.[258]

While Moll Pitcher and her fortune-telling cronies exposed secrets of the future, other specialists revealed secrets within the mind and body. Practitioners of hypnotism had been in Lynn since Moll Pitcher's time under the labels of animal magnetizer or mesmerist. They often performed public demonstrations to show how they were able to control participants' minds by doing such feats as removing then restoring sight, hearing, and memory, and changing a drink's taste from honey to vinegar to milk, and so on.[259] The mesmerist's explanation of such control over another was essentially that everyone had an invisible electro-magnetic fluid coursing through the body and that some people had an excess of the fluid that they could learn to impart to others, thus "magnetizing" them.[260] It was much the same principle as the electro-magnetic fluid that ran from Joseph Lakeman's machine, through the water, and into the patient; even lightning was understood to be filled with the fluid. By mid-century, some of the mesmerists had polished the name of their science into "electro-biology." LaRoy Sunderland used the term "pathetism" to describe his own version of mesmerism.[261] Within a six-week period during the winter of 1850, three biologists rented out the lecture hall at the Lynn Lyceum. The first was Rev. Theophilus Fiske, who rented the Lynn Lyceum for a string of five days to teach his version of biology:

> Lecture No. 1 was free to everybody …. Biology was explained to be the science of reading letters while tightly sealed and the contents utterly unknown, on holding them between the open hands, with the assistance of a round copper plate about the size and appearance of a silver dollar, which copper piece of battery was to be held in the mouth, from whence would flow a continuous line of electricity, &c. Dr. Fisk supplied the little round batteries, and without the little round batteries and Dr. Fisk's 10 lectures, in 5 days, at $20 in advance for each pupil, the thrilling and highly important science of Biology could not go on.[262]

A. S. Pearce advertised that he was forming classes for instruction on how electro-biology could be applied to curing diseases.[263] His classes probably didn't get started, since his lecture hall demonstrations didn't go so well. On the first day he was unable to put any of the eighteen audience volunteers into a trance state and he failed with twenty-four more people on the next night. He said

the hall was too cold; at least forty-two people might have countered that Mr. Pearce just wasn't so hot.[264] Still another biologist, named James Stanley Grimes, covered in six nights a sequence of topics: biology, mesmerism (which he had renamed as "etherology"), and clairvoyance, but when it came to the last evening (on clairvoyance), the hall's rental records reveal that there was "no house [meaning no audience]; getting stale" (it isn't clear whether it was the topic or the presenter that was beginning to bore).[265] A mesmeric doctor in New York had more success impressing a Lynn man who gave him a lock of hair from his son. Without prompting or prior information and with the boy over 150 miles away, the healer felt the lock of hair then put his hands on his left side and indicated that it was the location of the son's disease. He was right.[266]

Back in 1837, the editor of the *Lynn Record* had criticized the same types of dubious demonstrations to which Lynn residents were still being exposed in the early 1850s. He tempered his censure, however, with the caveat that a closed mind was worse than a gullible one, "… we despise that ignorance which sets every thing down as absurd, which happens not to tally with its own short sighted views of reason. Prejudice is often worse than blind credulity or fanaticism."[267] James R. Newhall offered similar sympathy, "Let us remember this … there are mysteries in the loftiest regions of truth."[268] Even with his objectivity, he didn't give a ringing endorsement to mind healers the likes of Fiske, Pearce, and Grimes:

> During the few years [around] 1850, scores of lecturers, many of them ignorant mountebanks, traveled up and down the country, pretending to great discoveries in mental science, and adopting various learned names for the dignifying of their systems…. LaRoy Sunderland [gave a] course of lectures on [what he called] Pathetism…. He claimed ability to explain divers mystical operations of the mind, and … remarkable effects on the body…. The supposed science, however, seemed but another phase of Mesmerism, or animal magnetism….[269]

Clairvoyance borrowed from the prescience of fortune telling and the inward depths that mesmerism tried to fathom. Among their several supernatural skills, clairvoyants claimed the ability to probe the body for imperfections and illness; therefore, clairvoyance made a wonderful diagnostic tool for a physician. Lynn was thus visited by clairvoyant physicians who promised to find and eradicate "all the diseases that flesh is heir to."[270] For years, healer J. W. Channing went nowhere without a clairvoyant companion. When he struck off on his own, he used medicated vapor baths and pathetism, claimed to have cured cancer and stammering, and to have made the lame walk, but he didn't claim to be clairvoyant and was probably relieved to no longer have a clairvoyant partner encroaching on his role as physician.[271]

The unconventional techniques of Lynn's psychics and mentalists to expose the unknown fascinated many and converted not just a few. Believing even occasionally in prognostications or demonstrations of mystical powers apparently made some Lynners quite comfortable with yet another idea in vogue in the 1850s: that gifted individuals could communicate with unseen people; namely, the dead.

The grim annual tally of deaths knelled with numbing repetition throughout the decade, but only hinted at the emotional toll on the survivors.[272] The loss of loved ones made grieving survivors yearn to have them back in their lives. No one ever seemed ready to let go. William H. Ingraham was inconsolable over the 1850 death of his wife Ann Augusta. His devotion to her had only begun to find expression before she died at just nineteen years old, so his pain was carved into her tombstone and became a heart-rending tribute to their love:

> Tis scarcely a year since she gave me her hand,
> And many a plan for the future we formed;
> And fondly we hoped that the fruits of the land,
> Should for years to us be prolonged.
>
> But soon was my vision of pleasure o'erthrown,
> My own loved companion is gone from my side;

> In sorrow I turn to my desolate home –
> Why could I for her not have died?[273]

The 1856 death of Dixy Collins Davis also left "a void that time will never fill."[274] It was equally hard to comprehend how Theodore Lyman Mudge could be dead at just twenty-one. A few weeks earlier he "was among us, in all the gay activities of life," according to his obituary; "how little did he think [the social he attended] was his last evening with his friends."[275]

Sarah Gilbert Hawkes' life became surrounded by death. In October 1857 she lost her husband; then in December 1858, her two toddlers died of croup within a few days of each other. First her two-year-old daughter Maria Louise died on Christmas Eve, then her son Willie Bailey, not quite four years old, died from the same "dreadful disease coiled round his little throat" just four days later. A memorial to the Hawkes promised that while the family circle had disintegrated on earth it was preparing for reunion, "The father sleeps in peace, his children in his arms, waiting the coming of their mother."[276]

Extracts from the diary of Abigail M. N. Lummus reveal the unyielding presence of illness and death for a nine-week period in 1859. Her family resorted to the use of two doctors, several nurses and watchers, and her husband was Thomas J. Lummus the apothecary, but sickness and death showed no respect for the healers or mercy for the family:

January 1	A[aron] Lummus took dinner here. He was quite unwell.
January 14	Betsy not so well.
January 17	Sister Betsy very sick with Neuralgia. Uncle A. Lummus quite sick with influenza.
January 18	… went to Saugus found Betsy very sick …
January 26	… found Betsey very sick.
January 28	Did not hear from Betsey today.
January 29	Dear Sister Betsey has gone from us forever.
January 31	Sis. Caroline quite sick.
February 1	Attended the funeral of my dear sister Betsey … sis. Caroline too sick to attend …
February 2	Heard from A. Lummus. Very sick. not expected to recover.
March 1	Uncle Aaron Lummus died a little after 12 oclock this am.
March 3	funeral of uncle A Lummus from South St Church. H[usband Thomas J. Lummus] sick & could not attend.[277]

It had always been hard to let go of loved ones, but the separation was beginning to feel anything but final. In the several decades after Moll Pitcher's death, invisible agencies were perceived to be at work behind many of the technological improvements and scientific discoveries, as well as some of the more convincing revelations of clairvoyants. Improvements on Leuwenhoek's microscope put a world of life into view that few laymen had previously realized existed. Samuel Morse's invention of the telegraph allowed communications without voices between people in different rooms or states. Louis Daguerre produced the first actual image of a person, allowing the photographed subject to be seen in locations from which he was corporeally absent. Before Horatio N. Macomber worked in Lynn as a dentist, he was employed as a daguerreotypist and may have been the first to take a daguerreotype portrait in town (in 1842) as well as one of its earliest post mortems, in February 1844, of little Eliza B. Kite who died at just 21 months old. The glassy memento of Eliza was vainly doctored by adding red to the dress and lips, gold to the quilt pattern, and a faint pink blush to the face and hand, but none of it brought back life; the baby was still a corpse.[278] Five years later, S. H. Whitmore and William R. Appleton advertised their availability to take daguerreotype likenesses of Lynners after death.[279] It was the last chance many would have to keep their loved ones with them, at least in two dimensions, "when

the original is departed."[280] The *Lynn News* noted it had never seen a post mortem picture "that was pleasant to look upon," the motionless bodies cooperating all too well for the camera. The newspaper therefore recommended a hasty trip to the picture parlor because "as life is at all times uncertain, no time should be lost."[281] Abigail Lummus had lost her baby Alfred before photography was readily available, so shortly after its introduction in Lynn, she took her remaining children to be photographed at Whitmore's studio, thus ensuring that they would be alive in more than just their mother's heart.[282] Eugene H. Roney, another Lynn daguerreotypist, similarly urged, "Secure the Shadow ere the Substance fade!"[283] Such developments in the early nineteenth century suggested to many that what was incomprehensible was nonetheless possible: communication could occur and a person could be seen without being physically present, and living organisms were all around, although not visible.

The advances of science and technology seemed to support long-held religious beliefs that the boundary of life might not be drawn at death and that mortals could communicate with loved ones who had become immortal. The beautiful visions of Swedish theologian Emmanuel Swedenborg had long been regarded as confirmations of the tangible reality of an afterlife. His description of life between heaven and hell revealed a utopian parallel world that had resolved all problems and whose inhabitants were eager to share the solutions with their descendants in mortality. Similarly for the few Mormons of Lynn, eternity was a "palpable and *near* reality … [an] invisible world [that] presses, with more than ordinary weight, on their souls."[284] Many Lynners were trying to cope under the great strain of a modernizing world that was eliminating centuries-old lifestyles and also challenging traditional beliefs that man was limited and God was limitless. Industrialism and machinery were rapidly replacing agrarianism and craftsmanship. Man seemed to be proving his limitlessness, which in turn challenged the supremacy – even the reality – of God.

Many of the god-fearing consequently made efforts to regain spiritual comfort and reassurance amid their rapidly changing world. Evangelical camp meetings spread through the countryside like epidemics looking for bodies that should be penetrated by the germ of faith. Revivalism swept through Protestant denominations in virtually every town, complete with miracles and visions. About 250 Lynners attended the annual revival at Millennium Grove in Eastham in August 1852; 230 attended in 1854 and "there were many conversions in the Lynn tents."[285] Lynn cordwainer John A. Thurston saw profit in serving his townsmen by temporarily setting aside his shoemaking to cater the meals for the large contingent of Eastham pilgrims.[286] Prophets spread the voice of warning with apocalyptic visions that many felt were genuine, given the rapidly escalating pace and multiplication of problems faced by the country. William Miller "proved quite plainly" that the end of the world was "near at hand" in 1843 by calculations from clues he found in the scriptures.[287] "Quite a number" of Lynn disciples of Miller abandoned their businesses and gave away their property in preparation for the Second Coming, which Miller had revised to occur on 22 October 1844.[288] The mood of the singing Hutchinsons was somber as they waited with the rest of the country to see if the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand.[289] A number of Miller's Lynn followers huddled in the Smith's store on Market Street when the fateful day arrived.[290] When the rapture did not occur, Miller revised the end again and again. In 1854 a meeting of the Millerites was held at Lyceum Hall where it was promised that the "wicked would soon be 'burnt up', … [and] the righteous alone were to exist forever."[291] Another date was set for May of 1855, after which the *Lynn News* asked, "How many of such disappointments will their faith sustain?"[292]

While God refused to honor man's timetable by showing up, it was claimed that many other spirit beings did. For believers, the veil between the two worlds had become almost transparent. In 1843, Andrew Jackson Davis wandered forty miles away from his Poughkeepsie, New York, home and into the mountains. He said that while in a trance state in the mountains he received visitations from the spirits of the ancient physician, Galen, and the visionary eighteenth century theologian, Emmanuel Swedenborg. The revelations he received were published in 1847 as *The Principles of*

Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and A Voice to Mankind. In it he revealed that Mercury, Venus, Saturn, and other planets were inhabited by humans of various forms and that along with those from earth, they all lived together after death in a wonderful world of spirits.[293] Davis announced that that happy hereafter, which he called the "Summer Land," was "revolving near the grand orbit of the Milky Way" – heaven was out there, the Poughkeepsie Seer assured.[294] One other revelation he shared rocked the country when it was fulfilled one year later, in 1848: "It is truth that spirits commune with one another while one is in the body and the other in the higher Spheres … and *this truth will ere long present itself in the form of a living demonstration*."[295] Davis's prediction seemed to come true during that next year, when spirits of the dead communicated with two young sisters by knocking on wooden tables and floors. Thereafter Davis became famous as the prophet of the new dispensation, and the Fox sisters became the darlings to a legion of disciples who were anxious to hear, see, and feel any sign that the dead had come back to life.

Unlike animal magnetism and phrenology, spiritualism was a common denominator for all classes; not only could the poor and unschooled participate but they were often the mediums to whom the learned and refined turned. Lynn as a city of laborers came to have a number of mediums arise from its rank and file and many others who, whether motivated by hope, skepticism, or curiosity, just wanted to see something ghostly. Séances and other demonstrations of contact with the spirits occurred all over the country, but Lynn proved to be an especially busy wormhole for unearthed visitors. It had two rocky prominences that attracted spiritualists and spirits from far and near. Those mystical lodestones were High Rock and Dungeon Rock, owned by two enchanted townsmen, Jesse Hutchinson and Hiram Marble.

Jesse Hutchinson came to Lynn from New Hampshire about 1839 and worked as a stove dealer, then a printer.[296] Both jobs were difficult and dirty, and like many young men, he dreamed of enjoying a life of wealth and ease. While getting a shave at J. B. Hill's barbershop, Jesse fell asleep and dreamt of a woman leading him by the hand to a buried treasure. Moved by the dream, he sought out Martha Chester, the Lynn clairvoyant noted for "looking into the internal corporosity of poor human bipeds with her eyes shut" (it was Chester who peered into the "corporosity" of Aurora Porter and others of the Porter family several years later).[297] Martha's husband Charles (whose day job was running a restaurant in Lynn) put her into a mesmeric sleep after which she began to speak. The entranced clairvoyant described a hill containing money and bones and declared the location to be Egg Rock off Lynn Beach. Thrilled by the revelation, Hutchinson went with a few companions to the tiny island and dug a deep hole, but alas, found nothing. As the disheartened treasure hunters prepared to leave for the mainland, a storm whipped up with such force that they were compelled to remain throughout the night on the rocky speck, huddled under a sail.[298]

An angry Hutchinson returned to the clairvoyant. She was apologetic and projected another treasure spot, this time at Bass Point, Nahant. There he would find a tree growing by a stone from which he should measure off one furlong in the direction of the setting sun. So Jesse went on his second treasure hunt, this time with William Kingsford, the botanic physician (this treasure hunt occurred before he had become insane) who happened to also be skilled in the use of the divining rod. The two men found the location as the seer had promised and they dug long and hard, but again found nothing. Once more, Nature mocked his vain efforts; when they got back to where he had tied up his horse, he found the tide had come in and he had to wade out to his waist to retrieve the steed. Feeling like a fool, he refocused on his siblings' music and went with them on a tour of England in 1845, but when they came back home, unseen treasures continued to beckon to him.[299]

Jesse turned to a clairvoyant once again to peer into the ground on the top of High Rock, which he had purchased just before going to England.[300] The goal this time was for the clairvoyant to locate a subterranean spring on the property. Jesse wanted to build a home on the top of that rock-bound hillside and a spring of water was essential to a home. The clairvoyant told Hutchinson to dig a specific distance down in a certain spot wherein he would find three rocks in a peculiar

arrangement; when these were removed, a spring would be found underneath. John Hutchinson attested that his brother "Jesse followed the directions minutely [and] found the three rocks and the spring," which never failed for the next half century. Several years after its discovery, the water was of sufficient volume and virtue to become the wellspring of a water cure establishment in Hutchinson's home.[301] There were those who had mocked Jesse, saying that no spring would be found on a rock 200 feet above sea level.[302] Locating a strong spring of good water validated his purchase of High Rock and allowed him to go forward and build his home of stone, which he aptly and affectionately called "Stone Cottage." It also proved to him that clairvoyance worked after all – now if it could only find him that elusive treasure.

The episode was a small precursor of much more marvelous supernatural experiences for Jesse and his band of brothers. In 1848, the Fox sisters of Hydesville, New York, introduced the world to unseen spirits who communicated from beyond the grave. During a singing tour of upstate New York in the autumn of 1850, Joshua, Judson, Asa, Abby, and Jonathan Hutchinson attended a session of spiritual communication at the home of Leah Fish, an older sister of the Fox sisters; the Hutchinsons were more than convinced by the knocks – they were overwhelmed. The rappings of the spirits were loud and clear and brought Brother Judson to tears. John wrote in his diary, "We were all much excited with the demonstrations. We thought we were conversing with spirits of departed friends, who professed to be our guardian spirits."[303] The singing brothers met up with their brother Jesse in Cleveland and regaled him with their experience at Mrs. Fish's house. Jesse wanted to experience "something remarkable" as well, so at the home of a friend, a "clairvoyant was sent into the spirit land." She saw spirits around Judson, magnetizing him. Judson believed that he, too, could see the spirits and hear the harps, and "he wanted to go home to heaven."[304]

Most of the Hutchinson brothers embraced spiritualism, but Judson and Jesse were "enthusiastically devoted" to it.[305] Jesse had lost his whole family of seven in just eleven years: three children died within the space of three weeks in 1842, then the other three died over the next nine years; *none* of them lived to their fourth birthday. The tragedies of Jesse's family were sadly predictable; brother Asa wrote in his journal, "Jesse's little child is a poor sickly thing. Death will soon lay his iron grasp upon it"; and so it did, nine days later.[306] Still worse, Jesse's wife Susanna died after several weeks of intense suffering from illness, just eleven days before the death of their last baby in 1851.[307] These losses added poignancy and urgency to Jesse's desire to believe in life beyond death as well as the ability to communicate with the spirits of his dear departed family. It was a natural progression for people like Jesse who believed in clairvoyant visions to accept communication with departed spirits as an extension of that skill. Soon after adopting spiritualism, he once again was on the hunt for buried treasure, this time with the help of medium-channeled spirits directing his course. He listened spellbound as mediums relayed instructions from the afterlife to dig for treasure at the mysterious Dungeon Rock in Lynn Woods.[308]

Dungeon Rock had long been believed to be the tomb of a pirate and his treasure. The story had been outlined in print in Alonzo Lewis's 1829 *History of Lynn*, but as early as 1721 the town records referred to "the Dungen so Cald:" as a landmark to divide the grazing land between two sheep herds; James Gardner bought "Dungeon Land" in 1798 and attended a "Dungeon Meeting" in 1800.[309] In Lewis's seminal town history the intriguing pirate legend surrounding Dungeon Rock was shared with the world and in an 1830 edition of the *Lynn Record*, he fanned the readers' fascination with tantalizing observations about the needle of his compass going berserk at the mouth of the cave, spinning around and around. He joked that if treasure chests were found in the cave, he would settle for twenty thousand dollars as his share.[310] It was a newspaper article he would long regret. To his great dismay, treasure seekers in 1834 used explosives to expose more of the cave at Dungeon Rock, but this only caused a mass of rock to slide down over the entrance.[311] In spite of the destruction, Dungeon Rock was still a popular visit for the curious and was mentioned in 1838, just before Jesse Hutchinson's arrival in Lynn, as a place "much visited during the pleasant season."[312] Given the well-known legend of Dungeon Rock and the treasure hunting interest it

engendered, it is rather remarkable that Jesse zealously followed a clairvoyant's psychic map to treasures in coastal locations instead of going to the promising cave in the woods – the one place in Lynn that over generations had been dug at, blown up, and rumored to be the location of pirate treasure. Once he had been converted to spiritualism, Jesse turned his attention to Dungeon Rock because he decided "there could be no more convincing proof of its truth than to find that supposed treasure through spiritual guidance."[313] So sometime between 1850 and 1851 he worked in the vicinity of the sealed cave entrance with drill and blasting powder but gave up after several weeks because the work was simply too hard.[314]

Although Jesse's efforts had not uncovered a cent, his newest failure to find treasure didn't dampen his enthusiasm for spiritualism or treasure hunting. He saw spiritual manifestations through the aid of mediums at his High Rock home and several other locations in the Northeast and then he "saw the elephant" like many others who followed the gold rush to San Francisco.[315] During his return from California in March 1853 it was being reported that he intended to go into the medicine business, arranging to manufacture Dr. Robinson's remedy for the fever and ague (all most certainly the *Mountain Extract for Cure of Fever and Ague*, concocted by Dr. David G. Robinson of San Francisco); however, he was detained in the jungles of Panama for three weeks, trying to retrieve a trunk of gold that had been inadvertently left behind during their return trek.[316] Ironically, Jesse contracted the same illness that his new medicine venture was intended to cure because he had once again gone in search of treasure. He died in a Cincinnati area water cure in May 1853.[317]

Before Hiram Marble's heart yearned for gold, his mind had turned to iron. He had left his family in central Massachusetts to be employed in the creation of an iron works in Michigan, but one of his children became deathly ill and he returned to his family with haste. There he found his thirteen-year-old son in the final stages of a painful sickness; the boy's fever was high and his eyes were glazed.[318] Before going out West, a friend had cajoled Marble into consulting a fortune teller. Hiram's first experience with a mystic had proven to be a sobering one; she revealed that death in his family was in the cards.[319] True to her Tarot, the body of Hiram's boy was buried under several feet of dark earth; it was a place much further from the family's loving arms than faraway Michigan.

Having lost his child and his employment, Hiram continued to turn to mystics for guidance. A mesmerized clairvoyant told him he would dig for – and find – a pirate's treasure. He then contracted Asiatic cholera for which a doctor recommended a visit to the seashore for the benefit of salt air.[320] This brought him to the Lynn area in 1851, where he learned about Dungeon Rock. Upon receiving permission from the Lynn City Council to dig at the rock, Marble and two partners started to dig into Dungeon Rock on 5 June 1851 under the direction of a mesmerized clairvoyant.[321] After about a year of digging the partners gave up and left, leaving Hiram and his one remaining son, Edwin, to continue the effort. At this point, the Marbles turned from clairvoyants to spiritualist mediums for guidance to reach the pirate treasure and they were quickly satisfied in the results from their leap of faith.[322] Mediums regularly channeled the spirits of the very pirates who had buried their stolen booty deep in Dungeon Rock. They even received instruction and inspiration from the spirit of Alonzo Lewis, who in life had been so loathe to see Lynn's natural formations destroyed by treasure hunters.[323]

At first, Hiram's wife Arminda and daughter Caroline stayed with him and Edwin only during the warm seasons, returning to their home at Charlton in Worcester County when the cold weather came.[324] In 1856 Hiram built a small cabin so that the family could stay together year round; there would be no more panicked long-distance journeys back home to reach sick loved ones.[325] The women must have provided much-needed comfort as well as nursing assistance when Hiram and Edwin were challenged by painful mining accidents, pulmonary problems, and even brain fever. The cave was cold, damp, and usually foul-smelling; having home and family just a few steps away was essential to their safety and sanity over the many years of otherwise unrewarded hard labor.[326]

Their efforts were also financially challenged. Hiram's meager funds were quickly depleted and his work in the cave never produced a single piece of eight. To stave off financial collapse,

they created a makeshift museum that contained a few rusty artifacts found while digging in the cave, along with paintings of Dungeon Rock's entombed occupants that were created by an artist whose hands were allegedly guided by the spirits.[327] The Marbles also sold a book about their quest that was written by a medium and offered bonds in their venture, promising to repay the investors with interest when he could.[328] Donations were also appreciated from visitors desiring a tour of the cave.[329] The Marbles had started building what was to be a three-story hotel and an octagonal house of stone, but never got to finish either; time was on their side, but funds were not.[330]

Over many years of digging in their unyielding dungeon, the Marbles' health and finances stumbled, but their hope and trust in the directions of the spirits never wavered. Their labors at Dungeon Rock had taken on the same two-fold purpose of treasure quest and spiritual mission that had sparked Jesse Hutchinson's brief effort. For the rest of their lives, Hiram Marble and Edwin blasted, hammered, and picked away in the labyrinthine cave, but there never was a grand moment for spiritualism, or the Marbles. Nonetheless, the rocky outcropping deep in Lynn's woods became a magnet for the curious, a picnic site for romantics who dreamed of pirates and treasures, and a pilgrimage destination for spiritualists who hoped success would prove their faith.[331]

Feelings about spiritualism ran strongly in both directions. They were many like the Hutchinsons and Marbles who were absolutely convinced they were hearing, learning, and benefiting from dead presidents, pirates, Indians, relatives, and other citizens of the Spirit Land. Despite biblical warnings against spiritualism, many took comfort in the newly discovered ability to communicate with the dead as a sign of the fast-arriving Second Coming of Jesus Christ. Others turned to spiritualism as a science instead of a religion, especially where it seemed to fit in so well with the recent discoveries in electricity, magnetism, telegraphy, and photography. Perhaps the most tangible reward of this new dispensation was the proof "that there is, in reality, no death, but upward, onward, perpetual life."[332] In one sense, it was the savior of religion, proving the evolution of the soul, at a time when Darwinism was introducing the human body as the product of an ungodly evolution. Spiritualism simplified life and sympathized with those who felt burdened by it. In an increasingly stormy world that was being pummeled by the thunder of technology, the lightning of reform, and the showers of immigration, spiritualists found shelter and the dawn of a new day. It was also empowering, allowing even the poorest wretch to have supernatural access to and guidance from great minds and famous personalities.

Nonbelievers, on the other hand, said it was all hogwash.

The citizens of Lynn had plenty of opportunities to decide for themselves. Throughout the decade there was a steady parade of mediums proclaiming the good news in Lynn's lecture halls. They came from all ranks of life – preachers and farmers, male and female, adults and children, accomplished speakers and even a mute – each trying to convince audiences that they had been touched by the invisibles. They offered public demonstrations or "tests" to prove the supernatural connection.[333] In Lynn's darkened parlors tables tipped, fireplace tongs danced, and invisible hands played musical instruments. Knocks were heard in walls and floors. Planchettes glided over the alphabet, answering questions along the way. A trunk rumbled across the floor during a séance in the Stone Cottage on High Rock.[334] The spirits of Adam and Eve and Methuselah rapped messages on a Lynn table.[335] The newly formed spirit of Jesse Hutchinson wrote a poem to his brothers, and the centuries-old ghosts of pirates urged the Marbles ever deeper into the ground.[336] The veil that separated the dead from the living had become threadbare; indeed, so many spirits seemed to be suddenly clamoring for the opportunity to communicate with mortals, the celestial kingdom appeared ready to burst open.

With the first spirits rapping at the Fox sisters' home just three years after Samuel Morse's telegraph tapped out messages from unseen senders, some began to suspect that the machine was just a primer for mortals to understand how to communicate with immortals. A massive petitioning campaign (principally in the Northeast and Midwest) was undertaken to get Congress to appoint a scientific commission "to investigate certain physical and mental phenomena of questionable origin

and mysterious import that have of late occurred in this country and in Europe."[337] Ninety-six of the petitioners were from Lynn; most had belief or hope in spiritualism, but some of the signers were probably skeptical or just unsure. The list of petitioners from Lynn crossed both sexes and all walks of life. James A. and Lydia W. Breed signed up, as did carpenter Josiah H. Bennett and his wife, Abigail; and, of course, the names of the devoted spiritualism couple, Jonathan and Hannah Buffum, were to be found on the rolls as well. There were the shoe manufacturers, like William P. Newhall and George W. Keene, and businessmen, such as William N. Breed, accountant; Thomas J. Lummus, apothecary; and Thomas Herbert, merchant. The tradesmen and laborers included Hugh Cross, weaver; Joseph M. Hutchinson, hair dresser; Richard R. Smith, tailor; Charles H. Newhall, silk printer; and Lyman F. Furbush, soap boiler; and shoemakers including Israel Buffum 64, a husband and father; and William H. Boynton, a single 19-year-old. Community leaders signed up too, like William Bassett, the City Clerk and former president of the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society; Caleb M. Long, the city marshal; and William H. Estes of the abolitionist family. Despite the 11,000-plus constituents who had petitioned, the Senate tabled the request, which was the politically correct way to simply ignore it.[338]

James Newhall wrote that all of the mental sciences "seemed to fade away in the light of Spiritualism" and that Lynn had a good share of believers, "some of whom were among the intelligent and refined."[339] The *Lynn News* agreed that there was considerable interest in spiritualism in Lynn and elsewhere. In fact, some were saying that a majority of people in Lynn believed the rapping phenomena was indeed communication from the spirits of the deceased, but the *Lynn News* guessed that the number of adherents was "probably less than other places."[340] Jonathan Buffum, a successful and noted Lynn businessman (publisher of the *Lynn Record* and owner of an oil, paint, and glass store), was an adamant supporter of spiritualism and even served as president of the 1853 convention of spiritualists held in Boston.[341] It was a raucous affair that tested the patience of the living as well as the communicativeness of the dead. Buffum turned the podium over to a long list of spiritualist supporters and mediums like John Murray Spear, a minister who had relinquished his pulpit for spiritualism. He addressed the convention crowd as the mouthpiece for spirits from the Summer Land. The spirits supposedly talked through Spear eighty times, but *The Bay State* said the author was only Spear himself; and others, they said, "[ran] off into a labyrinth of words and finally [got] lost in the fog of their own mysticism."[342]

James Newhall tried once again to keep an open mind to the possible good that could come of the new spiritualism, but it was only *slightly* open:

> The means – to wit, the knocking against a wainscot or the tipping of a table – through which the communications of the invisible ones were vouchsafed, were, to be sure, to common apprehension a little extraordinary; but in matters which are altogether mysterious and without the circle of common events, the rules of what we call common sense may not apply.[343]

Reverend Parsons Cooke had closed and double-bolted the lock to his mind. In 1855 he mourned that the town was a center for spiritualism and other outrageous notions of the day,

> If mesmerism, biology, phrenology, necromancy, spiritual rapping, and any of the thousand and one of that class of the tricks is to be played off, it must go out from Lynn, the great mart of humbugs.[344]

Cooke's bitterness was dismissed as the rant of a born controversialist who "could no more help it than Saturn can help having rings. It was the breath in his nostrils…. He was a man of tremendous prejudices and partialities, and bristled with pugnacity"; nonetheless, he was not at all alone in his objections.[345] Dentist Addison Davis was another of Lynn's vocal and adamant opponents to spiritualism; he aggressively opposed spiritualism in Lynn's lecture halls and newspapers. *The Bay State* said he went after spiritualism and its advocates "without gloves, and gives it to them right and left like a scientific and bold boxer," debunking the demonstrations of

visiting spiritualists and exposing deceit in séances.[346] Spiritualism's opponents were often combative like Davis; one such feisty writer in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, challenged mediums to get spirits to communicate in the light:

> Impostors are rife in the country. They get behind screens, in dark rooms and closets, and induce simple people to believe the most monstrous absurdities. … Why not let the gas burn up bright? Because no 'manifestations' will occur when 'the circle' is exposed to the light. …If there is a particle of science in your doings, it can be just as well brought out in the day time, or before the light of a lamp, as in dark closets and parlors, with just light enough to confuse the senses.[347]

In 1857 *The Bay State* provided an amazingly detailed account of a collision between believers and non-believers at a demonstration of spiritualism in Lynn's Lyceum Hall.[348] The spirits were to speak through Mrs. Cora L. V. Hatch, a stunningly beautiful seventeen-year-old medium from New York. The hall was packed with both proponents and opponents of spiritualism. Mrs Hatch's husband, self-styled Dr. Hatch, explained the ground rules. His wife was not a medium for the discussion of names and dates, "but for the elucidation of principles. I have so stated it upon our [hand]bills …." Alonzo Lewis said he wanted to ask a few questions about science that any school-boy could answer, but Dr. Hatch responded, "If any schoolboy can answer them, then there will be no necessity for the medium's answering." Lewis belligerently countered, "I will not leave the hall until I have that right," which was followed by loud applause. A committee was elected by the audience to determine the questions to be posed and then to make summary comments. The committee consisted of James E. Oliver, a mathematician, James N. Buffum, the lumber dealer, mill owner, and president of the Lynn Gas Light Company, and Charles C. Shackford, a Unitarian minister.[349] Addison Davis, the outspoken opponent of spiritualism, had also been nominated, but was voted down by a majority of the audience. Then the already entranced Mrs. Hatch spoke in the plural, "If we may be allowed to put in our vote, we would desire … that Dr. Davis be added to the committee." The wish of the spirits was answered with loud applause and a unanimously positive revote by the audience. The committee left the hall and decided on questions to pose.[350]

When they returned, they asked Mrs. Hatch to comment on "The Pythagorian Proposition." The entranced medium responded, "… Our present purpose is to consider … the views and teachings of Pythagoras." "Was that the intention?" Davis needled, "The spirits probably know," the medium replied, followed by laughter from the audience. The spirits through Mrs. Hatch quickly tried to regain control over the proceedings, "Dr. Davis, we simply require that you sustain the character of a gentleman towards the lady." The legion in Mrs. Hatch followed that if they had the advantages of the male bodies they once had, they could deal with Davis on any level he might desire, but while working through a female medium, they wanted to respond as appropriate for a lady. The spirits' supporters in the audience applauded.[351]

Davis then repeated, "The Pythagorean proposition," to which the medium expounded on the religious, moral, and social views of Pythagoras, which was followed by more applause. J. E. Oliver then explained that in geometry, "the Pythagorean proposition was to prove that in a right-angle triangle, the sum of the squares of the two legs or the two sides nearest the right angle, taken together, is equal to the square of the hypotenuse or the third side. (Loud laughter.)" The spirits protested,

> We understood (whether you will believe us or not) what the gentleman of the Committee referred to as "the Pythagorean proposition." (Derisive laughter) We did not understand that the Committee should present a test question. Our subject was not to be a test subject. We have given our ideas of his mind and his power. We have not solved the Pythagorean proposition, because the gentlemen of the Committee have not acted up to their trust. They have selected a test question, and withheld the proposition in the first place, supposing it would catch the spirits, if they did not understand it. (Cheers and hisses.)[352]

A lot of arguing ensued about what the spirits were supposed to be asked that night. Reverend Shackford, supportive of the spirits, asked the medium to go on about Pythagoras's philosophy, but a member of the audience objected that what the spirits had thus far spewed was so general that it was "just as applicable to Tom Thumb as to Pythagoras. (Laughter and applause.)" Again Dr. Hatch tried to establish the type of questions his wife should be asked,

> I have everywhere most distinctly stated Mistress Hatch was not a test medium for personal communication, for names and dates, or simple facts, but for the elucidation of general principles…. It is well known … that every medium … has his or her peculiar power of mediumship. We have been over a great portion of the United States … and we have never found any man who felt disposed to make himself a bull-dog or a clown, until the present occasion. A perfect storm of hisses followed the conclusion of this speech, and then came loud calls for "Hood," "Hood." [353]

George Hood, the former mayor, said he came as an impartial listener, but thus far had not heard anything convincing in the spiritual manifestations of Mrs. Hatch. He then asked her husband to present some proof, "But I do not want a rhapsody on general principles, which anybody can deliver. (Applause.)" From his seat in the audience, Alonzo Lewis yelled out two questions he had been itching to ask from the beginning. Mrs. Hatch got one right and one wrong. More haranguing and debate ensued. Finally, Dr. Hatch said his wife had already been kept in a trance state a half hour longer than was agreed to at the beginning of the lecture and that the audience had missed out on a wonderful experience:

> Instead of the entertainment which you might have enjoyed, a few of your citizens have come here, not for the purpose of gaining truth, but simply to see if they could not frustrate, destroy, and break down the medium. (Vehement hissing, mingled with some applause.) Instead of allowing the medium to pursue her usual course, they have occupied the time in pursuing such a course as their judgment saw fit to dictate. (Applause, hisses, and loud cries of "Humbug!" "Humbug!")[354]

Ex-Mayor Hood proposed that a committee be appointed to draw up a resolution expressing the feelings of the meeting "in order that other communities may not be deceived in the same manner." An elderly man tried to speak, but there was so much confusion, the reporter only heard a few words, which seemed to be that "the doctrine of Spirit Manifestations was proved by the Scriptures, and was, therefore, not to be questioned." Others responded, "Dry up, old man," "sit down," "shut up," and the like.[355]

Dr. Hatch asked those of the audience who believed that the committee acted honorably to stand. A large number rose – all men, however, as the ladies stayed seated. Dr. Hatch announced, "The majority is against the committee." Hisses and groans echoed through the hall along with challenges to ask the other side of the question. Dr. Hatch asked, "Those gentlemen and ladies who think the Committee have pursued an unmanly and injudicious course, will manifest it by rising." A large number stood, including several women, but more seemed to be seated, and many had already left. "The Doctor did not announce the result of the vote, and was saluted with hisses, derisive laughter, and shouts of 'What's the vote?' … 'What do you think of it now?'"[356]

The committee then wrote a resolution stating that Mrs. Hatch failed the tests to prove "supernatural inspiration" and warning others "against her impositions." James Buffum said, "We say nothing against Spiritualism. I believe there are honest men and women who believe in it, and I have avowed it; but we all know, that … there are all sorts of humbugs, who go around the country, selling their ghosts, pretending they have revelations from the other world." Current Mayor Mudge said he had been an impartial spectator and he didn't think Mrs. Hatch had been very fairly treated. She had been in the hall for two and a half hours, but only allowed to speak thirty minutes, the other two hours taken up by various people jumping up and expressing their opinions. "… I think the lady has not had a fair opportunity to display her powers. (Applause.)" Former Mayor Hood replied,

"… The point is, whether we have been essentially humbugged or not. (Laughter and loud applause.) I believe we have been egregiously humbugged. (Renewed laughter.)"[357]

And thus went the debate over spiritualism. Prosecutors and defenders of it frequently squared off in the lecture hall as well as in national and local media. An 1857 advance sheet of the *Lynn News* presented the question once again, with equally effective writers vilifying and vindicating spiritualism. Cornelius C. Felton, a professor of Greek at Harvard University (and in 1860 its president), wrote with undisguised animosity:

> There is no such thing as mediumship; there is no such thing as moving … articles without contact; there is no such thing as written communication from the other world … I do not find in the pretended communication from the spirits through the mediums a particle of … proof. They are, with scarcely an exception, men convicted of trickery, lies and fraud; or women of impure lives. … The mediums who are not rogues and prostitutes are self deluded. … The "messages" are always vague and silly…. I am very, very slow to believe that the spirits of those whom I have reverenced on earth are compelled to resort to the ignorant, the fraudulent, the licentious, as channels of communication with me, if they communicated with me at all.[358]

George W. Keene, the Lynn shoe manufacturer, was calm and self-assured in the correctness of spiritualism and his response:

> … [I]t is but reasonable to suppose there is a meaning deeper, in modern spiritualism, than raps, and tips, and trance … it is the harbinger of a brighter day, a reformation mightier than Luther … the beginning of a religious revolution greater than man's highest conceptions ever dared to dream – a change from the decorated corpse to the living soul…. I have personally known a great number of mediums, both public and private, and they sustain as fair and unblemished a reputation as your own, and are … a patient, long-suffering, peaceful people, yet firm to their convictions of truth as the rock of ages.[359]

Henry Lummus, Lynn's high school principal and another supporter of spiritualism, tried to teach that what could not be seen should still be believed, "We live in an age in which it does not do to say we must see things to believe them. If so, history is of no use. … How many have seen [Neptune]? … How many of us saw the battle of Bunker Hill? And yet who disbelieves that?"[360] Jonathan Buffum explained at his convention that spiritualism was not just a test of faith in the invisible; he had actually seen in Lynn a one hundred pound bed levitated four feet off the floor then fall back with a crash.[361] There was no question in his mind that the motive power was purely spiritual because he saw no man or machine near it. Of course, Lynn's Reverend Parsons Cooke had an answer for such phenomenon as Buffum described. In 1857 he published an assault exclusively on spiritualism, titled, *Necromancy or, A Rap for the Rappers*. In it he suggested other possible causes for the unaccountable effects of some mediums. He pointed out, for example, that the electric eel has no apparent source or battery for its electricity, but it was just as absurd to ascribe the phenomenon occurring in spiritualist circles to the spirits of the dead as it would be to say that spirits give the electric eel his current.[362] His conclusion was essentially that belief in necromancy (communicating with the dead) was due to "morbid fancy and diseased mental appetites."[363] In a few more years he could have turned to the example of Jesse's brother, Judson Hutchinson, to buttress his argument. Judson had a high-strung, delicate temperament and was tearfully overwhelmed by the spiritual manifestations that occurred in séances he attended. His frequent bouts of melancholy and retreats from reality (which he and his brothers referred to as the "horrors") combined overwhelmingly with his expressed desires to "return home" to the Spirit Land. On a very cold January night in 1859, Judson hung himself in another Hutchinson home being built next to Stone Cottage on High Rock.[364]

It was probably more than coincidence that Judson chose to take his life on High Rock. It was the home of his deceased brother Jesse, who had come back in spirit form several times to

communicate and even play a string instrument with his invisible fingers.[365] It was also the precise location where two visiting spiritualists, Andrew Jackson Davis and John Murray Spear, had experienced watershed spiritualist events a few years earlier. High Rock was more than an elevated point close to the Spirit Land; for Judson, at least, it was likely sacred ground.

High Rock rose majestically over the heart of busy downtown Lynn, in stark contrast to Dungeon Rock, which was buried in the depths of Lynn Woods. It was also the location of two spellbinding episodes in the history of modern spiritualism, while Dungeon Rock failed to produce after decades of fruitless digging; yet both locations and the events they hosted were celebrated by spiritualists and hacked at by their opponents. Jesse Hutchinson's zeal for spiritualism and the delightful, private location of his Lynn property made it very popular with notable spiritualists. The first of the extraordinary events occurred on his High Rock property during the extended stay of Andrew Jackson Davis, the renowned Poughkeepsie Seer. Davis (no apparent relation to Addison Davis) boarded at Jesse's Stone Cottage from August 1852 to March 1853 and retreated to the observatory at the peak of High Rock for maximum privacy and proximity to the legions of spirits in the celestial realms above.[366]

On the first occasion, in August 1852, Davis felt prompted to ascend to the topmost room in the observatory tower that the Hutchinsons had built, get paper and pencil, and write down everything he might see and hear. For this select audience of one, the heavens finally burst open and the living dead returned through the clouds above High Rock.

> As influence, sweet and heavenly, overspreads my soul, and bids me "Look Up." I do so, But my bodily eyes see nothing … Now my spiritual eyes are opened, and the vision is gloriously beautiful … [an] assemblage of men from the Spirit Land. They seem to be standing thirty miles above the earth's surface….[367]

Far off in the distance – Davis believed it was "several thousand miles away" – he beheld a great multitude of "spirits and angels, both male and female," approaching the first group of spirits he had seen:

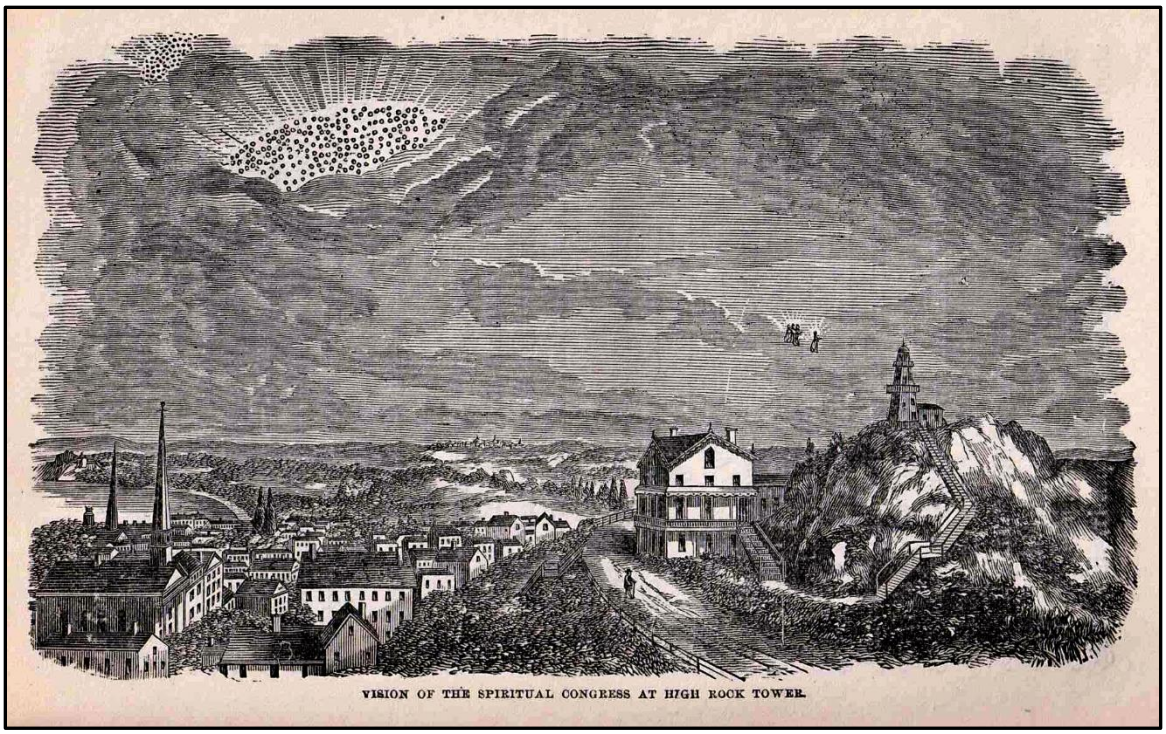
> … [T]hey do neither fly nor walk; but they ride upon a magnificent Shining River of what appears to be electricity; and yet it is different from this element. It looks far more like the principle of Light in a state of … liquefaction! … I do see that this River of light has innumerable branches, flowing, one toward the earth, another toward the planet Mars, another toward Jupiter, another toward Saturn; and so, also, onward to the planets and orbs beyond.[368]

The denizens of the clouds organized and quietly gazed at the different towns, villages, and cities in the hemisphere like heavenly juries:

> *They seem to be looking into the mind and reading the heart of every human being!* Oh! that the human world could realize this inspection; and comprehend the righteous judgment now being exercised upon it! Every thing is visible! Ignorance and Crime – Poverty and Wretchedness … are seen to-day by the noble beings whom, one day, we shall meet face to face.[369]

In the evening of the same day, as Davis prepared himself for the second vision, he noticed how the weather in Lynn had gotten stormy, but he soon found it was no cause to prevent the spirits from coming near the earth once again, "The night is dark, the rain descends, the winds shriek among the rocks and cliffs, yet [the spirits] … stand unharmed above the lower sphere of storm-clouds and tempestuous rain…."[370] During this vision, Davis saw thousands of spirits reading and judging the world and picking out those who should be teachers and mediums.[371]

In the third and grandiose final vision, Davis was introduced to the groups of spirits as delegations representing various earthly nations, twenty-four in this vision, including the Native



The Spirit World Descends Upon Lynn, 1852. This illustration appears in Davis's account of his vision of the spirit world above Lynn; a few of the spirits descended from the rest and were close to reaching the tower on High Rock, at the top of the staircase behind the Hutchinson's three-story home. Shortly after Davis's vision, John Murray Spear followed spiritual direction to build and bring a machine to life in the same tower. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age and Inner Life; Ancient and Modern Spirit Mysteries Classified and Explained,* 12th Edition, 1868.

Americans, Russians, Africans, Irish, and Romans. The delegations from the Spirit Land were composed of luminaries from the ages, such as Benjamin Franklin, Genghis Khan, and Paracelsus. Only a few women (like Pocahontas) were included in the large group.[372] The delegations urged their earthly counterparts, through Davis, to change certain ways and to repent, "for the Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand." The Turkish Delegation urged the people of that country to abandon Islamism and their "over-wrought indulgences," and Russians were told to put down their "glittering swords" and to educate their youth instead. Massive changes of heart and soul had to occur on earth before mortals would be educable by the teachers and mediums the Spirit World had selected.[373] After the grand visions were over, Davis ended his vacation at the Stone Cottage and a new boarder checked in: John Murray Spear, the minister-turned-spiritualist and friend of Jonathan Buffum and the Hutchinsons.

Spear was made for spiritualism – they were both controversial. A Universalist minister with a reformer's heart, he advocated prison reform, women's rights, and abolition. The latter cause had brought him to Lynn in 1840 to speak at an Antislavery convention.[374] He had been beaten within an inch of his life delivering an anti-slavery speech in Portland, Maine, and was forced to leave his congregation in New Bedford because of his impassioned efforts for reform.[375] Not one to avoid an idea for fear of opposition, he pursued a curiosity in spiritualism. When he became convinced that knockings, tilting tables, and floating furniture were true manifestations of spirits, he left his ministry to pursue spiritualism. He came to realize that, he too, was a medium and with his newly discovered role, the spirits worked through him to heal the sick. He traveled through eastern Massachusetts as the spirits directed, healing whom the spirits chose.[376] In April 1853 the spirits took control of Spear's hand, making it write a document that announced the spirit world was creating a special organization to help mortals. The purpose of the select spirit group was to "bless

the diseased, the suffering, and the wretched … dwellers of the lower earth." Among the spirit members signing the charter (through Spear's hand) were Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Rush, and John Spear, the deceased father of John Murray Spear.[377] When he reviewed what his hand had written, Spear questioned his own sanity; when he showed it to two others, they agreed he was a lunatic.[378] Some of the curious counsel the select committee communicated through Spear included that free-flowing hair on the back of the head was essential to recollection; when females twisted or braided those hairs, they were naively disabling their memory.[379] The skeptical looks he got for such radical biological enlightenment didn't slow down his sense of mission as a spiritualist any more than had the bad press he received for his talk at the Boston spiritualists' convention a few months earlier. A year after Jesse's death, Spear came back to Lynn as a very vocal spokesman in the new spiritualism. Perhaps it was during this visit that Spear, in the company of a few other mediums, paid a brief visit to Hiram Marble at Dungeon Rock.[380] In the tower that crowned Jesse Hutchinson's beloved High Rock property, probably in the same room that Davis had seen the heavens open, Spear performed what was probably the most remarkable and daring public experiment ever attempted in the name of spiritualism; Jesse would have wanted it that way.

As a convert to spiritualism, Spear believed that the differences between life, death, and the afterlife were even fuzzier than he had understood them to be as a minister; and with advances like Fulton's steam-powered boat and Morse's electric telegraph, what had always been impossible was proving to be possible. Andrew Jackson Davis was already convinced that with the dawn of modern spiritualism, the world had "passed the age of impossibilities." A year earlier, Davis had described the plans for an electro-magnetic engine that would produce and regulate the fall of rain and "render every sandy desert fertile." Such a technological breakthrough no longer required technical expertise – Davis received the plans by spiritual impression. He promised the skeptics, "It is no more mysterious or impossible than the Magnetic Telegraph…!"[381] The spirits told Spear that the world stood at the dawn of a new era, one where life would be dramatically improved through communication between mortal and immortals. The spirits conspired with Spear to usher in the glorious new dispensation by imparting the spark of life, the vital essence, to a machine; in effect, for man to create life and become like God.

Receiving spiritual impressions like Davis had the previous year, and with the help of Jonathan and Hannah Buffum and a few other fellow spiritualists, Spear constructed a new engine out of copper, zinc, and other metal parts on a table in the Hutchinson's High Rock observatory. Spear had no knowledge of science or engineering that qualified him to build a unique and highly specialized machine, but the spirits preferred him that way. They knew what needed to be done and they could work through him because his mind was not clouded with the knowledge and opinions born of higher education; he was a pure vessel and spiritually receptive to their guidance and instruction.[382] The spirits planned to prove, by having Spear as the builder of their marvelous machine (and by having Hiram Marble find the pirate treasure), that even average people could achieve great things through spiritualism. Thus, armed with nothing more than spiritual receptivity, Spear set to work as the immortals directed.

He installed "points" projecting from the tower's roof (probably looking like short lightning rods) to catch "the [electric] fluids invisible to [the] human eye" from the atmosphere, which would help to bring his machine to life. Inside the tower, the unique invention of the spirits took on its unusual shape. There were metal shafts with crosspieces balancing on top and metal balls were suspended in air at the end of long metal antennae. The center of the structure had a suspended arrangement of copper plates alternating with zinc plates. Small steel balls enclosing magnets were suspended around the entire circumference of the machine and wires, magnets, insulators, and chemical compounds filled what space was left. Two lower limbs extended off of the mass of metal and all of this sat on the confines of a little round wooden table in the observatory.[383] Construction took almost a year, but although the metal fetus was full term, it looked like nothing man had ever seen; it also looked nothing like a man.[384]

The people of Lynn were well aware that Spear was building some strange, supernatural machine on High Rock and the anti-Spear sentiment was mounting. It was not that Spear was tinkering with a mish-mash of metal that was causing the concern, but what he said it represented. One part of the device was referred to as the brain and "provision was made for *inhalation* and *respiration* … the various parts of the model were alleged to *represent* (not in outward *form*, but in *function*) the essential vital or motive organs of the human or animal system, - that is, what is necessary to constitute a *living* organism"; in short, Spear was creating a living being.[385] Robert Morse, a shoemaker, disapproved of Spear and his bizarre machine. He also believed Spear's followers worshipped the invention. In his personal papers, Morse wrote, "The damn'd … Spear has this Nov[ember] been obliged by the prayer & vigilance of good Christian men to remove his motor & his flock from the City of Lynn."[386] The townsfolk sounded ready to storm Dr. Frankenstein's tower on High Rock that loomed ominously over their homes down below, but Spear stayed put and kept adding pieces to his monster. Addison Davis continued to campaign against spiritualism by delivering another lecture at Sagamore Hall at the end of December; the strange doings on High Rock wouldn't have escaped his attention.[387] A few months later, Andrew Jackson Davis came back to Lynn to view Spear's machine and reportedly said it was "not exactly original, as there are some similar machines in operation in Jupiter."[388]

Winter passed to spring; magnets and metal strips blossomed into mechanical assemblies. By early summer, gestation was complete and the new life was ready to be born. The breath of life was to come from the "electric life-currents of the universe."[389] The spirits first directed Spear to give the structure a charge of electricity from a common electrical machine (possibly like the Davis and Kidder electro-magnetic machines that had just been hitting the market that year). This created "a slight pulsatory and vibratory motion" in some of the pieces suspended around the outside of the machine, but the motion was temporary.[390] The creation of life required more than just a shock; it was the result of interaction between a male and female of a species. All things in nature, the spirits explained, even minerals, could be distinguished by sex.[391] In the grand spiritual scheme of things, males were the negative elements and females the positive and the two together created new life. Most of Spear's machine was a symphony of sexual compatibility: positive copper next to negative zinc, and so on.[392] When the electro-magnetic machine didn't accomplish sustained life, the spirits (apparently unfazed by their unsatisfactory choice of the electro-magnetic machine) directed that a circle of both sexes sit around the table in alternating male-female order as they would in the "ordinary circles for spirit-manifestations," with hands on the machine to impart their personal magnetism.[393] Additionally, in the same way that humans were trying to help a metallic assemblage come to life, the spirits explained that Spear and his assistants could increase their ability to channel the life force to the machine by becoming more like the machine. The spirits taught that the metal of the machine and the tissues of a human operated with the same natural and spiritual principles: absorbing, processing, releasing, and breaking down (oxidation). "Metals can be eaten [corrode] with as much ease as a person can eat a mutton chop … ," the spirits explained, and thus the more sensitive parts of the new mechanical infant in the tower at High Rock would need to be wrapped "in oiled silk [so] that the coarser currents may not approach the machine and [so] that corrosion may not appear."[394] Every infant needs to be watched over, cared for, and protected at all times – even the metallic ones.

The next steps in getting the mechanism to come to life made everything involved in its creation to that point seem bland and simplistic. First, Spear was "encased" in an apparatus made of "metallic plates, strips, bands, and some precious metals, jewels, and other minerals." The encased Spear was then brought into contact with the machine and "for an hour or more" was thrown into a trance. A "clear-seer" who was present during this procedure saw "a stream of light, a sort of *umbilicum*, emanating [from Spear] to and enveloping the mechanism."[395] Some sort of "virtue" had transferred from man to machine, the man having an "exhaustion of vitality" at the

transfer's conclusion.[396] But man was not enough. Having received the vital element from the male, it now needed the female – a mother.

The spirits selected a woman to be the "Mary of a new dispensation," the mother of this "embryo of the coming man," which was the "New Creation, the Physical Savior."[397] At the appointed time in June 1854, the woman laid down next to the metallic engine. In front of a very small contingent of those most involved in and supportive of the machine's mission, she fell into a trance-like state and appeared to be experiencing violent labor pains "of the spirit" (not of the body) that continued for two hours. Spear related that during this time, the "refined elements of her spiritual being … were absorbed" by the machine, its minerals having been made particularly receptive by previous chemical processes.[398]

Pulsations of "life" in the machine became apparent after the labor pains were concluded. The slight throbbing at first could only be detected by feeling the balls suspended around the machine's circumference, but the pulse grew into a visible movement of erratic strength, sometimes barely visible while other times causing the orbs to swing in an arc of two inches or more.[399] It became a steady pulse and continued for weeks, during which time it was spiritually nursed by its earthly mother. It was to be cared for until, like any other newborn, it was able to feed itself (on the spiritual energy that filled the universe).[400] Considering the grand experiment a success, Spear and supportive spiritualism newspapers announced, "THE THING MOVES!" and other tidings of great joy,

> Unto your Earth a child is born. Its name shall be called the ELECTRICAL MOTOR…. It is now thoroughly, electrically, magnetically, chemically, spiritually, and celestially, impregnated. It needs maternal care, like other new-born babes. It hungers for that nourishment on which it can feed, and by which it can expand and grow. … It will then go alone, and pick out its own nourishment from the surrounding elements.[401]

The only real problem, observed one reporter, was that no one knew what the thing was for. Even Spear's faithful supporters were disappointed that the machine couldn't produce enough power to be used for *something*.[402] The spirits promised that in the future the machine would "redeem the [human] race from the drudgery of physical toil," but on High Rock, it just wiggled a little bit, like the newborn it was.[403]

A storm of indignation and abuse came down upon Spear and his associates.[404] The Press called him "Fanatic" and "Maniac," and "Worshipper of Strange Gods."[405] He had gone further than any doctor or theologian; he had claimed to create a new form of life, but he had hidden the peculiar machine and the tawdry-sounding steps to its birth behind a veil of secrecy. Rumors spread of a monstrous and filthy invasion into the "sacred mysteries" of birth.[406] The spirits had explained through Spear that future machines would also possess a womb, "showing all the laws of growth or expansion from the time that that condition of matter called semen is formed, ripened, and deposited, until life appears," and produce their own offspring.[407] In order for such an expansion of the machine to be allowed, the spirits said, "false modesty … must be eradicated from the mind. Man must come to that state wherein he will feel that the human form is divine, that every organ is holy, [and] that all the functions are pure."[408] In 1857 Spear had allegedly tried to eradicate modesty among his disciples altogether by conducting nude séances and proclaiming free love (consensual sexual union without the confines of a marriage contract) as the spirits' improved method of facilitating the spiritual receptivity of mortals.[409] In that same year, C. C. Felton called Spear's machine "tom-foolery and nonsense" and railed against the "phallic spirit" that pervaded an account endorsing Spear and the machine's birth. Felton went on to say, "enormous outrages … were perpetrated on womanhood and motherhood" that were "glazed over, thinly disguised, and shamelessly defended."[410]

Shortly after the machine's birth, Spear disassembled and transported it to Randolph, New York, which it was said was better favored with electrical currents.[411] Unfortunately for Spear, the citizens of Randolph were less enlightened than the spiritualist sympathizers of Lynn. Reminding them more of Dr. Frankenstein's heinous creature than the messiah of a new dispensation, the villagers smashed it into scrap metal.

Back in Lynn, High Rock had ceased to be a stairway to heaven; it was once again just a rock. The only ghosts that continued to haunt it were the "evil spirits" of the juvenile delinquent kind who were mischievously "tearing down fences and breaking glass in the observatory."[412]

NERVES OF STEEL

A woman in East Saugus wanted some fish for dinner. It didn't seem an unrealistic plan with fishermen hauling in their catches just a few miles away, but it appeared to be easier to haul fish into a boat than it was to purchase fish for supper. Despite the efforts of the woman's maid to catch the fish cart driver's attention, he "drove right on in the middle of the road, as fast as he could drive, blowing his horn, and never turning his head to the right or left. … [T]he work about houses now is generally done in the back rooms; consequently, after hearing the horn, there is not time to get into the street before the fish are far away." The reporter of this fish story decided that the reason the fish got away was "undoubtedly, the general high-pressure system of the country. We have lived too fast, too extravagantly."[413]

The industrial revolution was well underway, transportation had people moving faster and further, and there was an air of urgency in everything that was done. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* outlined only two choices for people of the era – keep up or get out of the way: "Don't Stand Still. – If you do you will be run over. Motion – action – progress – these are words which now fill the vaults of heaven with their stirring demands, and make humanity's heart pulsate with a stronger bound. Advance, or stand aside; do not block up the way and hinder the career of others."[414] It was a lesson that True Moody had learned the hard way. The popular black servant and hostler at the Lynn Hotel stored tips in his mouth when the enterprise was in full flower. The completion of the Eastern Railroad diverted traffic and customers away from the hotel and thus had a significant impact on Moody's income. With a lot of time on his hands and few tips in his cheeks, the old man often hid himself in a corner of the hotel's deserted stable and wept.[415]

Life had changed greatly over the past half century. The fireplace had been replaced by the iron stove for cooking; the tinder box, with its lint and flint had been replaced by friction matches; and dim, flickering candles had been replaced by steadier, brighter gas lamps. The town's papers were being run on mechanized printing machines instead of hand-lever presses. Clothes making and shoe stitching had been simplified by the introduction of sewing machines. The World's Fair of 1851 had introduced the wonderful device capable of sewing 500 stitches per minute.[416] By 1855 there were believed to be as many as 1,800 sewing machines being used in Lynn.[417]

The mid-century had ushered in the age of power. Gas power illuminated buildings and streets. Steam power energized trains and boats to greater speeds. Electric power was cranked into the weakened, lethargic bodies of the ill and jolted them with new vitality and life. It was also introduced into the telegraph wires that connected Lynn with the rest of the country and even the world. As early as 1852 there was an "immense number of telegraphic wires suspended from the highest eminences, and spanning the city in every direction." During an 1853 thunderstorm, electrical discharges from the wires crackled with sounds like rifle fire.[418] Town newspapers crackled with fresh news items that telegraphed in from around the country. *The Organ* newspaper of Lynn had a column of news items received by wire; in 1854 a single issue of the new paper had news from Kentucky, Baltimore, Detroit, Albany, New York City, and Washington, D.C.[419] Two thousand Lynners celebrated the completion of the transatlantic cable connecting the United States

to England late in 1858.[420] There were few in the community who had "any conception of the method of communicating intelligence by way of electricity"; nonetheless, the cheers and laughter of the delighted celebrants on the top of High Rock were said to have drowned out the noise of the ocean below.[421]

Even the power of Nature seemed to be more forcefully present in the ferocious variety of hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes, and thunderstorms that battered Lynn throughout the decade. Two spring storms in two consecutive months of 1851 caused the ocean to cover several sections of Long Beach, making Nahant an island.[422] In the summer of the same year, a tornado did damage from Woodend to Upper Swampscott, where it "gave a cat her first lesson in flying through the air, from which she descended in safety."[423] The city then experienced an earthquake in the very next year. Lynn was hit by blizzards in January of 1856 and 1857. In the first storm the Boston train took twenty-two hours to travel the thirteen miles to Salem. In the second, the temperature hit twenty-two degrees below zero. Trains could not move at all and a ship wrecked on the Swampscott coast; all hands on board drowned.[424] A thunderstorm in August of 1856 was the most violent and the wettest within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants, "the air appeared filled with electric fluid, and the shocks of thunder were many and terrific." Lightning hit many places in the city; one bolt passed through the house of physician Asa T. Newhall and left a trail of destruction from its split-second visit. After knocking down a tenant and tearing down a lot of plaster on the second floor, it entered a closet, destroyed its lathing, split a table leg, dropped into the Newhall's kitchen, demolished dishes, bottles, and kitchenware, and knocked everything off the table except for a dish of boiled eggs. The electric fluid then went through a wall into Newhall's medicine laboratory, "shivering into atoms at least a hundred bottles, many of them containing valuable preparations," and making the room "odorous with oils, essences and tinctures." Finally, it knocked down and paralyzed Mrs. Newhall and her daughter and pulled the doctor out of his chair. Newhall administered restoratives to free his wife and daughter from their paralyses.[425]

In the highly charged atmosphere of the vibrant new city, Nature didn't always dominate man. Residents continued to eradicate the scant vestiges of wildlife that dared to live in or visit the city. Four- and five-foot rattlesnakes were dispatched regularly, although Darius Barry of northern Lynn preferred to catch them and show them off alive to neighbors.[426] Lynners killed a bald eagle, a gray eagle, a large gray owl, and a white-faced seal that had wandered into Lynn's airspace and waters.[427] A 600-pound sea turtle was found floating off Swampscott, already pierced by a fatal gunshot wound.[428] They even attempted to harpoon the fabled sea serpent, but it just bounced off and the legend lived on.[429]

Nothing would be able to stop the march of progress although many refused to walk to the beat of the same drummer or had trouble keeping up the pace. Coping with the commotion of the era required an internal wellspring of energy and a steely resolve. Being a hard-working and moral man was no longer enough. A *Lynn News* story explained, "force of character, in this age of railroads and steamboats, is an indispensable requisite to success in business."[430] This personal dynamism was the vital force that turned all of the other gears of success: control yourself; beat your competition; advance with progress; survive all challenges. Lynn in the 1850s was no place for weaklings.

Development was also encroaching on the rustic fields and shady woodlands that God's creatures and at least one hermit had called home. Lynn had an outspoken contingent of naturalists (among them Joseph Bassett Holder, Alonzo Lewis, and Cyrus Tracy) who openly worried that green life was being sacrificed to the false idol, progress. In 1858 Tracy published *Studies of the Essex Flora*, which Alonzo Lewis speculated would speak as an ancient voice of a lost world "to those who occupy this soil in the far future, when population and art have driven nature from her present footholds …."[431] It was the fond memorial of a pragmatic naturalist who knew, even in 1858, that the city had only begun to sprawl.

Nowhere was an indomitable will more visible than on the field of athletic competition. Foot races, horse races, cricket, and a fairly new sport called baseball gave the competitive an entertaining and potentially lucrative outlet. One observer noted in 1859, "Lynn seems to be just waking up to the importance of out-of-door sports. Since the fine appearance of the Crescent Club, on the fourth of July, two other cricket clubs have been formed, called the Bay State, and the Eagle, besides several base ball clubs."[432] A trotting park was created in the northeastern section of Lynn and it became the venue for boxing matches and racing events. Foot races between Patrick Buckley, nicknamed the "Lynn Buck," an opponent known as the "Shooting Star" of Baltimore, and other runners were held at the park for cash prizes.[433] Two thousand spectators and side wagerers attended a ten-mile hurdle race in 1856.[434] Harness racing events were held there, too, and even a race between a trotter horse and a man occurred in 1858. The horse won.[435]

SOME LYNN WOMEN WERE IN FULL BLOOM. They courageously tried to seize a measure of freedom and empowerment by wearing the radical new fashion called bloomers. One day in June of 1851 a group of Boston ladies "richly and gaily" dressed in the Turkish tunic style caused "considerable observation" as they got off the train at Central Station. Their "short tunics, full trowsers, bright sashes, and jaunty hats" inspired one observer to report, "They are very pretty for young misses," and it was predicted that the new costume, "or something like it," was bound to catch on.[436] A week later it was noticed that S. H. Whitmore had a picture of "a very pretty Lynn girl, in the 'Bloomer costume" hanging in his shop's picture gallery.[437] Some had mixed feelings, believing that the outfits were attractive but immodest, but Edward A. Kittredge encouraged attractive young women to wear the daring, short-skirted outfit – the younger and prettier the lady, the shorter the skirt:

> Who looks good in the shortened dress depends on who it is. A fat lady with petticoats only at knee level "would look ridiculous, whereas a pretty, genteel-formed young maiden would look pretty, or even bewitching. … Let the altitude correspond with the age, size, &c., of the wearer … . Don't let your zeal for reform run away with your common sense or your modesty.[438]

The bloomer costume was far more practical for women than most of the fashions that had preceded for centuries or would follow for decades. It freed the female form from the heavy and cumbersome ground-level skirts and gave women mobility to perform activities that had previously been impossible. The garments were attractive and "quite a number of the young ladies of Lynn arrayed themselves in the new style," but strong prejudice caused them to give it up before the decade was over.[439] In 1856 the editor of *The Bay State* scoffed,

> We witnessed another attempt, last week, at wearing breeches. A full-blown Bloomer passed our office. She was rigged (a woman in such a gear cannot be called dressed) in a pair of broadcloth Turkish pantaloons, high black boots, short skirts, (and none too many at that) black beaver hat, and black circular cloak. Her tread was lofty, and with a Sharpe's rifle in her hand, would have look[ed] the living embodiment of fanaticism.[440]

Two days later, the editor of the competing *Lynn Weekly Reporter* either enjoyed *The Bay State*'s humor or agreed with the editorial ridicule because he copied the description almost verbatim, altering only the ending with his own opinion, "Fanaticism will never be without its votary."[441] Bloomerism was more than a challenge to feminine modesty; it was seen by many as a threat to a woman's role in the family and society. Defining the narrow role of a young woman left no room for sauntering about the city in provocative clothing. Another Lynn newspaper item stated that no woman should be allowed to get married "without being able to make a shirt, mend a coat or pair of unwhisperables, bake a loaf of bread, roast a sirloin, broil a steak, make a pudding, [and sew clothes for little children]."[442] Lynn was apparently no readier to accept a woman's liberated

clothing style than it was a liberated woman. Women were encouraged to drop their bloomers in favor of hoop skirts, a returning fashion involving a system of large concentric hoops of steel that modestly lied about the female form. A Lynn health advocate complained that the metal cages and layers of heavy skirts were "pressing down over the most delicate organs," but what had been good for their grandmothers was apparently good enough for them.[443] As a Lynn shop boss explained, they just needed to watch out for lightning:

> Last Friday afternoon, when the thunder commenced its distant sound, and the lightning vividly opened its eye upon us, there was quite an excitement in my work-room, among twelve or fifteen girls. The room, in half a minute, was nearly empty. In about four or five minutes, as several of them returned, I looked at them, and, to my astonishment, the bell-shaped forms that had just gone out, returned, and rushed to their seats at the machines, as slim and perpendicular as a mould candle. I asked: "What is the matter with you? It appears to me you have lost all your portliness." The fact was, sir, they had been out to an adjoining room and taken off their steel hoops, fearing that the lightning might make a circus of their extremities.[444]

In 1858 three spunky young Lynn women boarded the train, bound for California. A crowd of well-wishers saw them off at the Central Depot, in awe of their courage to go "all alone" (meaning without the protection and guidance of men). They went "with nothing but stout hearts and hope in each other to buoy their spirits up for so long a journey."[445] They were three of many Lynners who had "Western Fever." Dreams and ambition mixed in the souls of those leaving Lynn for the rich farmlands of the Midwest and the golden opportunities of the Far West. In 1857 the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* noticed, "Many of our citizens are suffering from this migratory malady, and are dropping off daily."[446] *The Bay State* corroborated, "Some of our smartest business men, we are sorry to say, have pulled up stakes and packed off for the West."[447] Joseph Sprague, a printer, headed for Missouri; Nathan W. Page, a shoecutter, left for Wisconsin; and William Orcutt became a farmer in Minnesota.[448] Theodore S. Williams, the "daguerrean artist," toured throughout the West and South, probably taking pictures everywhere he went to defray expenses.[449] Mrs. J. A. Saunderson went to rejoin her husband in Illinois where he had purchased a farm.[450] No word had been heard about the whereabouts of John M. Wood, a carpenter, and his wife and five children. They had planned to live in Millard, Wisconsin, but were feared lost in a storm on the Great Lakes. A month later the Woods sent word that they settled in Hasting, Minnesota, 308 miles west of their original destination.[451] Sixty-five-year-old Jacob L. Bickford went to California in 1855, "so much afflicted with the gold fever," but it was cholera that ended up killing the man and his dream, before he even reached the gold fields.[452] Hezekiah Balcom, "the well known and favorite salesman," shipped out all the way to Australia, probably because of the gold rush going on there during the 1850s.[453]

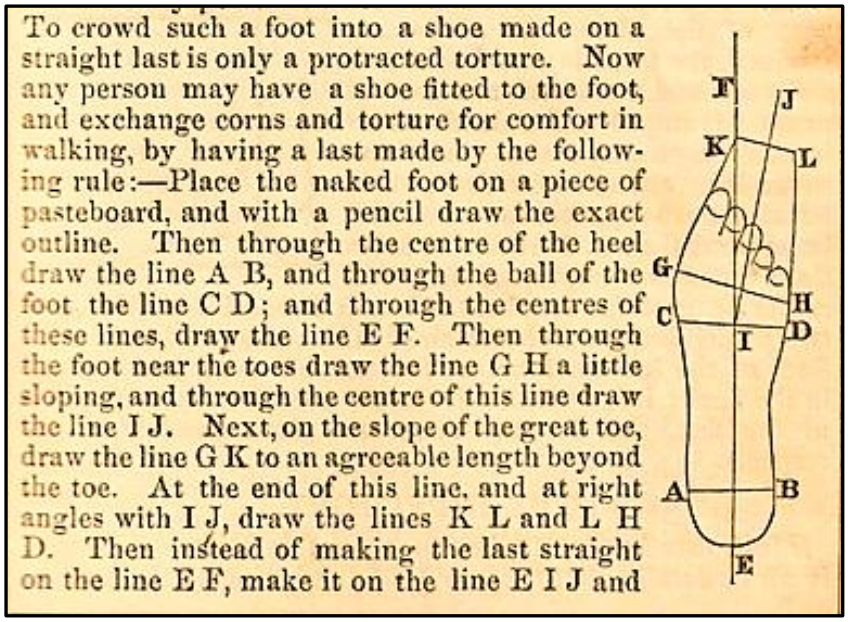
Many were encouraged by reports of the West's benefits, opportunities, and delightful curiosities as their ancestors had been by the frontier prospectus of William Wood centuries earlier. One of Lynn's transplants to Nevada, Iowa wrote back that the little settlement had only thirty-five log cabins, two hundred people, and few complaints of coughs or lung disease, "Say to your weary, shop-worn readers, that there is plenty of excellent prairie land here … that will yield splendid crops. And how much more of true independence, health and strength, they can enjoy as 'tillers of the soil,' than in the artificial, health-destroying pursuits of the shop."[454] A report from Kansas described the wildlife there as consisting of deer, wild turkeys, fish, and flocks of parrots.[455] Manley Grover, who had made and sold the hair tonic *Humectare* while living in Lynn, moved to Minnesota and became one of the commissioners appointed to build the Minnesota State House.[456] The singing Hutchinson family had bought land in Minnesota and began a town aptly named Hutchinson. [457] Shortly after the death of his wife in Saugus, Edward A. Kittredge also tried to make a new start. He departed for Wisconsin to once again establish a water cure facility.[458]

Ezekiel P. Eastman continued to live in Lynn but made an extensive visit to the upper Midwest for his health. In January 1853 he appeared vigorously healthy, telling his sister with manly pride, "I have been home from my morning calls about half an hour – since my return I have shovled the snow from off the poarch drank a mug of ale smoked a cigar read the paper and now I am [writing to] you."[459] But the doctor was human after all; he became stricken with the ubiquitous scourge, consumption. In early 1854 he had left Lynn on a trip to regain his health. (Leaving Lynn to escape the deleterious effects of its ocean breezes had become a common practice. The physician, William Prescott, and Aaron Lummus jr. had both left Lynn with a view of escaping the easterly winds coming off the ocean – the same problem that James M. Nye had identified with Lynn's locality.[460]) Eastman intended to go to the South, and upon arriving in Washington D.C., he advertised *Eastman's Infallible Sick Headache Remedy* for five months in a newspaper from March 9 to August 5, 1854; but he became more enfeebled while in the capital, and by the advice of physicians turned to the West.[461] He rested in Platteville, Wisconsin, probably at the home of his brother Benjamin C. Eastman, who was then finishing his second term as a congressman from that state. With the comforts of a successful life and a home without children, Benjamin and his wife Charlotte were able to provide Ezekiel a restful environment that gave some relief from his terrible disease.[462] A letter from Eastman to a friend back in Lynn was shared in one of the city's newspapers, "The Doctor finds himself much more comfortable there, his appetite is good, and he can take some little exercise in the open air. He has gained strength since his arrival, and thinks that country, above all others, is the proper place for persons affected with pulmonary complaints."[463] Eastman's midwestern hiatus appeared to buy him extra time. He returned to Lynn and resumed his physician's chores, but his death in February 1860 "was not unexpected." He had been unable to continue his profession for the six months prior to his decease, consumption having "long since marked him as its victim; but, having an excellent constitution, and a determined will, he has, several times, by extraordinary perseverance, baffled the inroads of disease, astonishing … those who knew of his troubles and sufferings."[464] His tenacious will to live had served him well, cheating death more surely than all his medicines could do.

While some of Lynn's population was traveling west, other ingenious and entrepreneurial residents shaped their futures at home. A rush of patent applications was generated from Lynn for inventions designed to improve the efficiency of business and the quality of life. Hiram Carsley and Charles K. Bradford, both machinists, received patents for improvements to stove cover stands and thread spooling machines, respectively.[465] Plumer H. Chesley, a mason, had made a better meat chopper, John B. Wentworth, the sewing machine salesman and liniment maker, had also developed an improved leather shaving knife, and Augustus C. Carey devised an improved carpet fan sweeper.[466] Crucible maker Francis Dixon figured out how to do a better job wrapping cigars and daguerreotypist turned dentist Horatio N. Macomber had invented *Dr. Macomber's Magic Fluid Gas Safety Lamp*; it was said to be safer, more convenient, more economical, and even more beautiful than other lamps.[467]

A large portion of the patents issued to Lynners were for improvements to the shoe manufacturing process, like those William F. Johnson made to the heels of boots and shoes.[468] Alonzo Lewis, the civil engineer, historian, and poet, couldn't resist offering his ideas to improve footwear "out of our pure regard for suffering humanity." He published his advice in his 1851 city directory rather than apply for a patent. "Nothing like science has ever been introduced into the construction of a last or shoe," Lewis wrote, so he applied his own science to the problem underfoot.[469] "By a sudden freak of fashion, more idiotic in its operation than the freaks of fashion usually are," wrote David N. Johnson, a shoemaker and historian, shoe styles had changed from an extremely wide area for the toes to the opposite extreme of coming almost to a point.[470] Straight lasts used in making shoes didn't make proper allowance for the comfort and orientation of the toes, which resulted in "corns and torture." Alonzo Lewis proposed that there be an outward slant at the front of the shoe, with more space for the toes. Shoe shape was in fact undergoing reform in

this era, and the result was a differentiation between right and left shoes in a different way than Lewis's duck-foot design allowed. He also advocated wider and lower shoe heels so that the center of the body's weight could be in the center of the heel, rather than throwing the weight forward into the narrow part of the shoe, where "cords are strained, the tread is unsafe, the gait awkward


To crowd such a foot into a shoe made on a straight last is only a protracted torture. Now any person may have a shoe fitted to the foot, and exchange corns and torture for comfort in walking, by having a last made by the following rule:—Place the naked foot on a piece of pasteboard, and with a pencil draw the exact outline. Then through the centre of the heel draw the line A B, and through the ball of the foot the line C D; and through the centres of these lines, draw the line E F. Then through the foot near the toes draw the line G H a little sloping, and through the centre of this line draw the line I J. Next, on the slope of the great toe, draw the line G K to an agreeable length beyond the toe. At the end of this line, and at right angles with I J, draw the lines K L and L H D. Then instead of making the last straight on the line E F, make it on the line E I J and

Rethinking the Shoe, 1851. Civil engineer, poet, and city historian Alonzo Lewis recognized that he might receive some criticism from his townsmen for "attempt[ing] to teach a shoemaker, … [but] "having for many years suffered … from ill-shaped shoes," he felt duty-bound to "suffering humanity, to suggest an improvement." His design proposal was for an *outward* bend to the front of the shoe because he felt this was the direction that most feet pointed; his drawing suggests he may have seen a lot of feet affected by bunions. *The Directory of the City of Lynn* (1851), p.9.

and unnatural, and the foot uneasy, cramped and pained." He concluded, "Science has long had a place in the head; it is well that it should occasionally be applied to the feet, that it may affect the *under-standing* in all respects."[471]

While scientists tried to comprehend and develop electrical energy, entrepreneurs were anxious to capitalize on that power which was little understood but much admired by the public. Proprietary medicines were introduced to Lynn that promised electrical energy had been harnessed in a bottle and even used to magnetize undergarments. Dr. Talbot Watt's *Electro-Magnetic Nervous Antidote* cured all types of nervous complaints and could be found at William M. Ladd's grocery.[472]

J. H. Downing, Lynn's city crier, swore that a medicine called Carbon Electricity cured his headaches. One bottle cured neuralgia, catarrh, headache, and toothache; from two to five bottles would cure the rheumatism.[473] Pulvermacher's *Hydro-Electric Voltaic Chains* were worn under the clothes against the skin, "producing a constant uninterrupted current of Electro Magnetism, effecting IMMEDIATE RELIEF from the most acute pain, and also a permanent cure of all NERVOUS DISEASES."[474] A similar product, called the *Magnetic Belt*, was especially recommended for "controlling the maternal function …. Apart from its specific use of preventing Conception …. [the belt] encircles the body directly over the 'os illium,' by the magnetic action of which the fecundating power is intercepted and held in abeyance."[475] William Slocomb, the female

health specialist visiting Lynn, also offered his own magnetic belt, which he called the *Galvanic Pulmonary Waist*, to residents suffering from heart and pulmonary diseases.[476]

Machines producing galvanic and magnetic forms of electricity were another application of the "electric fluid" that was gaining popularity. Henry C. Angell, the homeopathic physician, and James M. Nye, the city physician, both used galvanic batteries in their practices, as did William H. Berry, the apothecary. Nye was able to use electricity on Maurice Tagney who had been hit in the back with a sixty-pound rock that fell on him while he worked in a well. Initial reports were that there was "little hope of his recovery," but after six weeks of shock treatment from the galvanic battery, Tagney was slowly showing signs of recuperation.[477] Berry advertised his galvanic machine as a sort of pretreatment for the removal of corns: "All you have to do is just drop down to Berry's 48 Munroe street, take a shock from his Galvanic Battery, ask for a bottle of 'Houchin's Corn Solvent' take it and pay 25 cts – go home when you have a mind to – apply it to your corn or corns and rejoice that your 'corn crops has failed'."[478] The machines were also used to bring a shock of energy to the rubbery legs of the inebriated, although not with uniform success. George Crosby was one such failed patient, "his propellers often became ungovernable to such an extent as to put it beyond the power of 'Electro-Biology' to bring them 'all right'."[479]

A business on Beach Street called the Sagamore Bathing House made electricity a health specialty. At first the bathhouse was purely one of water in tubs for bathing. The price for bathing was twenty cents or six visits for a dollar. Some Lynn homes had bathing tubs, but they were still "few and far between," and both Buffum's earlier bathing establishment and Kittredge's hydropathy house had closed, so it was reasonably argued that the need for public bathing facilities in a city of 15,000 was huge.[480] The new Sagamore Bathing House seemed to fill the bill. The proprietors offered hot and cold baths of fresh water or salt water "rendered at every tide." The rooms were "large and airy" and there was a large saloon attached for refreshments after the bath. The tubs were "kept white and clean as soap and water can make them" and the towels were just as white and smelled sweet.[481]

The manager of the Sagamore Bathing House was Joseph Lakeman. Before, during, and after his tenure as manager of the Sagamore he was a shoe manufacturer, but he was most recognized by the newspapers for his management of the bathhouse. He had been known to his townsmen as "Brother Lakeman," and therefore, was probably a Quaker, but shortly after introducing a galvanic battery component to the baths, he was also referred to as "Dr. Lakeman."[482] The "electro chemical battery" or galvanic battery had two conducting rods that could be immersed into the bath water. The electrical current would conduct through the water as well as the immersed person, who at that point could be described more accurately as a patient than a bather. The current could be graduated from a level safe enough for an infant to jolting enough for an adult to cry, "Hold! enough!"[483]

Carefully controlled, the electro-chemical baths were convincing that *something* was happening – something that made the bather feel vitalized and tingly. Reverend Henry Jewell confessed, "the sensation produced by them is certainly pleasurable."[484] As Lakeman used the battery, the reputation of the electro-chemical baths grew, along with the list of diseases it cured. Under such headings as "The Lame Walk!" advertisements and puffs for the Sagamore Bath House promised relief and cure of rheumatism, neuralgia, St. Vitus's dance, nervous diseases, scrofula, sluggish circulation, diseases of the skin, and the removal of such mineral poisons as mercury or lead (introduced into the body from the conventional physician's chemical arsenal). In short, the electro-chemical baths could cure diseases that other medicines couldn't reach.[485]

In August 1856, just a few months after the introduction of the galvanic battery at the bathhouse, Lakeman had more appointments for electro-chemical baths than he could accommodate and he began contemplating adding another tub.[486] A partial list of Lynn residents cured by the baths were offered to the public; it included George W. Lord, a mason, Reverend Jewell, Isaac Young, a provision dealer, Isaac Brown, an attorney, and John Peasley, a shoecutter.[487] In September a newspaper puff claimed, "Dr. Lakeman, of the Sagamore Bath House, is curing

cripples at a great rate, through the instrumentality of the electro chemical baths."[488] One Sunday morning in April 1857, eighty-three people were "washed and made clean" before eleven in the morning.[489] A few weeks later the establishment was moved to Munroe Street to be more centrally located in the town and closer to the railroad station. People were coming from great distances and staying overnight to benefit from the health treatments; patients from eleven of the country's thirty-one states were counted among the visitor's log by July.[490]

Even President James Buchanan may have known Lakeman. The *Bay State* joked that the President had appointed Lakeman, "Inspector General of all Chemical Baths in the United States, Cuba, Central America, Utah, Kansas, Lynn, Egg Rock, Dungeon Cave and Saugus …."[491] Two weeks later the *Lynn Weekly Record* announced that President Buchanan was scheduled to visit Lynn on June 12th for the purpose of having a course of electro-chemical baths at the Sagamore Bath House. It was assumed that the "National Hotel malady" (wherein the President may have been poisoned) had something to do with his plans to visit Lakeman's establishment. Munroe Street was going to be closed to all traffic but pedestrians and the Lynn Light Infantry was to provide escort duty. It is unlikely that the President actually followed through with his therapeutic visit, since the Lynn papers never mentioned his arrival.[492]

Lynn's dentists also tried to attract the public to their establishments by offering the very latest scientific developments. They were not all applying for patents like Horatio Macomber, but each picked their favorites from the current spate of dental techniques, often using one or another product or service as a point of difference from competitors. Where Macomber advertised his use of gold fillings and plates, Benjamin Percival offered gutta percha plates ("at a quarter of the cost of gold") and Addison Davis made mineral composition teeth.[493] H. P. Hood focused on children's dentistry and James M. Trow wanted potential clients to focus on his shop sign, which was "a mammoth tooth … covered with small shells."[494] John Renton had an "elegant chair" for his patients. "If anything could reconcile us to the operation of tooth-pulling," a newspaper puff read, "it would be to have it done in so comfortable a seat."[495]

The most consistently used advance in mid-century dental and general surgery was the application of anesthetic before performing any painful work. Since its introduction in 1846, ether and its sedating cousin, chloroform, continued to be popular choices among the many types of patients about to undergo painful procedures or surgeries, as well as with their physicians. William L. Harmon of Lynn used it before successfully removing a large tumor from the cheek and jaw of Captain William T. Gale.[496] It was also used on a Lynn man who complained that he was suffering from agonizing pain in his ear. With the miserable man calmly unconscious, the physician was able to evict an inch-long beetle from its temporary home in his ear canal.[497] Several of the physician members of the Essex South District Medical Society acknowledged their extensive use of chloroform, especially with women giving birth, since it seemed to shorten labor and allow a quicker recovery by the mother.[498] With use of the anesthetics becoming almost daily more accepted and mainstream, dentistry without it increasingly appeared to be an antiquated art rather than a successful science. Advertisements for four of Lynn's dentists uniformly promised, "Ether administered when desired."[499] One of these, Addison Davis, was painfully reminded that medical advances were not without the risk of peril. Quite unintentionally, he killed Mary Farley.

On 27 February 1855, Mrs. Farley went to Davis's office to have a tooth extracted. She wanted the dentist to administer ether, just like he offered to in his advertisements, but he advised her that it was not prudent in so slight an operation. Mrs. Farley urged him, and he relented. Davis later told the coroner that he had specifically asked her about the health of her heart and lungs and was assured by her that they were in perfect health. He further explained, "The quantity given was no more than what is generally used to induce the first stages of anaesthesia, as the operation was to be a slight one." Everything seemed to go fine until Davis removed the sponge from her mouth. When he tried to proceed with the extraction, he found her jaw was rigid and unmoving. Knowing immediately that there was a huge problem, the dentist "threw down his instrument, dashed cold

water in her face, and fanned her," which caused her to revive a little. Then she fainted into unconsciousness again. Davis extended her horizontally in the chair, which seemed to revive her once more, but then she again slipped back into unconsciousness. The frantic dentist laid her down on the reception room floor, near an open window, hoping that the fresh air would revive her, but she had slipped away to distant kingdoms from which she would not return.[500]

Physicians had been sent for at the first sign of trouble, but they arrived after Mrs. Farley had passed on. Asa T. Newhall tried to open a vein, "but no blood followed the lancet." Galvanism was applied for three-quarters of an hour, but the electric fluid that had limbered up rheumatics and cheered the nervous and depressed couldn't resurrect Mrs. Farley.[501] A post mortem examination found that her left lung was completely adhered to the ribs and had a tubercular condition. The coroner's verdict was "congestion of the lungs, consequent upon the inhalation of ether, administered by Addison Davis." The inquest jury expressed their approval of Davis's administration of the ether and his emergency efforts to revive her. Lynn newspapers expressed their support of Davis, calling him respectable and skillful, "a gentleman of sterling integrity and moral worth … well-practiced in all the mysteries of his art."[502] The *Lynn News* inserted a puff into their next issue, further praising him as wonderful in every respect: "a careful and skillful workman" and "by long experience.… a very successful operator upon the teeth … very reasonable in his prices, and … deserving of the extensive patronage he is constantly receiving from the citizens of Lynn and neighboring towns."[503] Completely exonerated and energetically endorsed, Addison Davis breathed easier, even though Mrs. Farley could not. She was twenty-eight years old and left a husband and two children.[504] Her funeral procession consisted of 126 couples walking and five carriages, each with six more mourners.[505]

THE DEAD WERE BURIED AND THE WORLD MOVED ON. There was too much happening, changing, and evolving, to be otherwise. Thirteen months after the tragedy, Addison Davis began building a three-story house on Spruce Street; it was seen as "evidence of the prosperity of our esteemed and enterprising citizen."[506] He was keeping pace with the vigorous, growing city.

Telegraph wires crossed overhead, railroad tracks ran underfoot, and gaslights were turning the darkness of yesterday into the daylight of tomorrow, one street at a time. The city was being propelled forward by natural gas. It had begun replacing whale oil for illumination even before the last of Lynn's whale ships had returned to port for the last time.[507] When the Lynn Gas Light Company was formed in 1853 there was excited anticipation about having Lynn's homes and even streetlights aglow with the new fuel. Residents hoped the new energy source would bring an end to the terrible fires that ignited when replenishing hot lamps with kerosene or whale oil, like the one that occurred when a young woman tried to cure her toothache. While visiting the Hood family on North Common Street, she had a painful toothache in the dark of night and was endeavoring to light a fluid lamp so that she could find something to relieve her tooth. A bottle fell down from a shelf above, hit the lamp, and shattered it to pieces. The fluid saturated the sleeves of the visitor's dress, caught fire, and burned her severely. Two others were also burned trying to extinguish the flames.[508]

While the city had not yet been exposed to the safety hazards of natural gas, there were other setbacks to its introduction, like not having enough gas to go around. Businessmen were upset when their stores occasionally darkened, causing them to lose business. "To be pestered and bothered, night after night, with your lights going out in darkness … is enough to provoke the patience of a saint," explained an article in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Even as we [typeset] this paragraph, our gas light grows dim, – dimmer – flickers – fails – goes out – leaves us to darkness and ourself.… [B]lessings on the man who invented tallow candles.…"[509] Another setback from the new gas was that imperfect connections in the underground pipes were allowing the gas to escape and kill trees

within a fifty-foot radius of the leak.[510] Stately shade trees of seventy five to one hundred years old became leafless "grim skeletons" mourning the carelessness behind the drive to modernize.[511]

An article describing one day in Lynn found life moving in the fast lane: "The streets] echo to the tread of hurrying footsteps, and the continuous din of lumbering express wagons, hacks, coaches and omnibuses, flying hither and thither, tells us that Lynn is fairly up and doing."[512] The turbulence of activity created a wake of accidents and confusion among the inhabitants. In the same issue of the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* that celebrated the addition of a second omnibus for the convenience of residents traveling between East and West Lynn, an accident was reported between an express wagon and one of the omnibuses on Exchange Street.[513] In another incident, bystanders on Union Street caught sight of a spooked horse pulling a riderless sleigh down the street. Upon reaching the paint store of Jonathan Buffum, the horse proceeded to run through the front entrance and up the stairs to the second floor – with the sleigh still bumping along behind. The confused animal stopped only when it reached a door at the top of the stairs where a sign reading "No Admittance" was posted.[514]

Mechanization of the workplace produced more uniform products as well as more shocking accidents. Richard Roach, employed by the Saugus Branch Railroad, was hard at work, cutting wood with a steam-powered circular saw. As he stood behind the balance wheel, passing wood to another man, the wheel exploded. Fragments blew in all directions with one of them instantly decapitating Roach above the chin, leaving only a part of the lower jaw attached to the neck and body. Other pieces cut through a four-inch joist and were thrown a quarter of a mile away. Roach left a wife and six children with a gruesome memory and a difficult future.[515] Accidents from power tools involving broken bones and lesser amputations occurred frequently. George E. Jepson, an engineer at a steam mill, got his hand caught in the works of a machine while he was cleaning it and two fingers were almost entirely cut off. Edward Newhall was called upon for medical assistance but had no choice than to remove the two digits entirely.[516] James N. Rhodes, a machinist, got his arm caught by a crank while he was oiling some machinery and badly fractured his arm. Isaac F. Galloupe set the broken bone.[517] Thomas Butman's work accident was even more severe. As he oiled a machine in the steam-planing establishment on Commercial Street, his arm got caught between cogwheels and was "shockingly crushed." Galloupe skillfully amputated it above the elbow. A brother of Butman's had a similar accident a year earlier and he, too, had lost an arm.[518]

John F. Nelson was helping to construct a building when he "fell from the attic to the cellar, through the space left for stairways." He broke his right leg, but after a few days, internal injuries proved fatal. He also left a wife and several children.[519] Mourners at Samuel Ireson's funeral came to his house to pay their respects, but too many stood at one time in the entryway, and the floor collapsed beneath them. Several ladies fell into the cellar. Some were "seriously bruised" and the foot and ankle of Mrs. Ebenezer Brown were badly crushed and sprained. The house was one hundred and thirty years old; the combined strain of time and burden of an increasing population were more than the floor could bear.[520] Not age, but shoddy materials were to blame for the collapse of a two-story building still under construction in 1854. The walls were made of small gravel chinked with mud. The stones were too small and very little limestone and cement were used. The building collapsed with five workers inside. Bruises and broken ribs resulted, but it seemed "almost a miracle that all of these men were not instantly crushed to death, in such a mass of ruins…. [S]o complete is the destruction that but little of value can be saved from the ruins."[521]

Even deep in Lynn's woods, away from anything that resembled a bustling city, there were accidents waiting to happen. Edwin Marble and Benjamin Mann were blasting rocks for the purpose of building a house. One of the charges exploded prematurely, severely breaking Marble's arm between the wrist and elbow, as well as two fingers on his hand; his face and neck were also badly cut and bruised. Marble was brought out of the woods and Isaac F. Galloupe once again tended to an accident victim.[522] In fact, Lynn's physicians were instantly called on for emergencies. While

hundreds of medicines promised to cure any illness that beset mankind, virtually none offered instant cures of accidental injuries. Broken bones, amputations, and serious wounds were in the hands of physicians. Medicines were apparently better suited for mysterious cures than miraculous ones.

Accidents were unfortunate, sometimes tragic, and bound to happen. Most involved carelessness, but others that were the result of recklessness were increasing with the multiplying populations of wagons, carriages, trains, horses, and people. Children were as frequently victims as any because they often played in the streets. The little daughter of Alphonso Knight was knocked down and run over because the street was too narrow for her or the driver to avoid each other.[523] Out-of-town rowdies got intoxicated at the Nahant resorts then raced through Lynn streets with alcohol-induced abandon. The wife and daughter of James Bacheller were knocked down and run over by a wildly driven horse-drawn carriage.[524] Another child was run over on Beach street "by two teams from Nahant, driven at a reckless speed." The first wagon knocked the child down and the second ran over him. The despicable drivers kept racing their teams, not stopping to check on the condition of the poor boy who was "very seriously if not fatally injured."[525] It was said as early as 1846 that Lynn was becoming "somewhat notorious" for the "furious driving" through its streets.[526]

Moses Kimball was recklessly driving his one-horse vehicle down Willow Street when the animal made a sudden and acute turn, causing Kimball to be catapulted from the wagon and slammed to the ground. The horse then bolted in a different direction. While rounding a corner, the wagon behind the animal hit a post and broke the wheels off from the wagon. The horse kept running with just a set of wheels rolling right behind. The axle hit the leg of a bystander and broke it in two places. Still the frenzied horse ran. It jumped over two eight-foot-wide culverts after which it finally calmed down and stopped in Market Street. Kimball was only bruised, but the other man's leg was severely broken. Daniel Perley and Edward Newhall administered medical aid, but it was decided that he needed to be sent to the Massachusetts Hospital in Boston.[527] Kimball was fined $10.10 for fast and reckless driving through the public streets.[528]

A man identified simply as Mr. C was madder than a Lynn dog on a hot day when he was almost run over by a wagon, "which was flying up the street at a speed quite criminal." The next day he confronted the wagon's owner, who insisted that the wagon had been stolen. Amid the heat of the altercation, three young ladies approached the two men and apologized for taking the wagon without prior notice. They had been providing compassionate service, trying to get a load of wood to a poor family that had no fuel for their fireplace. The charity defense exonerated and almost blessed the girls for absconding with the wagon and wood and coming very close to colliding with the pedestrian. The mood of good will and cheer in the little melodrama's finale would surely have changed to sadness and anger if he had been run over by the wild angels of mercy.[529]

A greater threat to public safety than bad drivers and the charging steeds they whipped along were the iron horses running through the most peopled parts of the city. The man-made beasts of steam and steel were a powerful, daunting presence every time they came to town to swallow up more of the depot's denizens. "Now we hear the shrill whistle," a visitor wrote, "and the fierce, thundering engine with its black funnel belching forth its steam and smoke, comes plunging headlong into the station, dragging along its train of cars." Train travel embodied the confusion and frustration of man in a changing world: it was necessary, fast, reliable, and even desirable transportation, if people and animals just stayed out of the way. They didn't.

With tracks crossing through many streets in the city and at least twenty trains running on them every day, accidents occurred with morbid redundancy.[530] Whether it was a contest of train versus man, carriage, or animal, the train *always* won. In 1851 a statistical survey was undertaken to determine the amount of traffic there was (and therefore potential danger) where tracks crossed two of the city's busiest streets. On one Saturday in late June, between sunrise and 8:00 pm, 30 trains, 1,120 horse-drawn carriages, 4,130 people, 11 ridden horses, and 7 cows had crossed Union

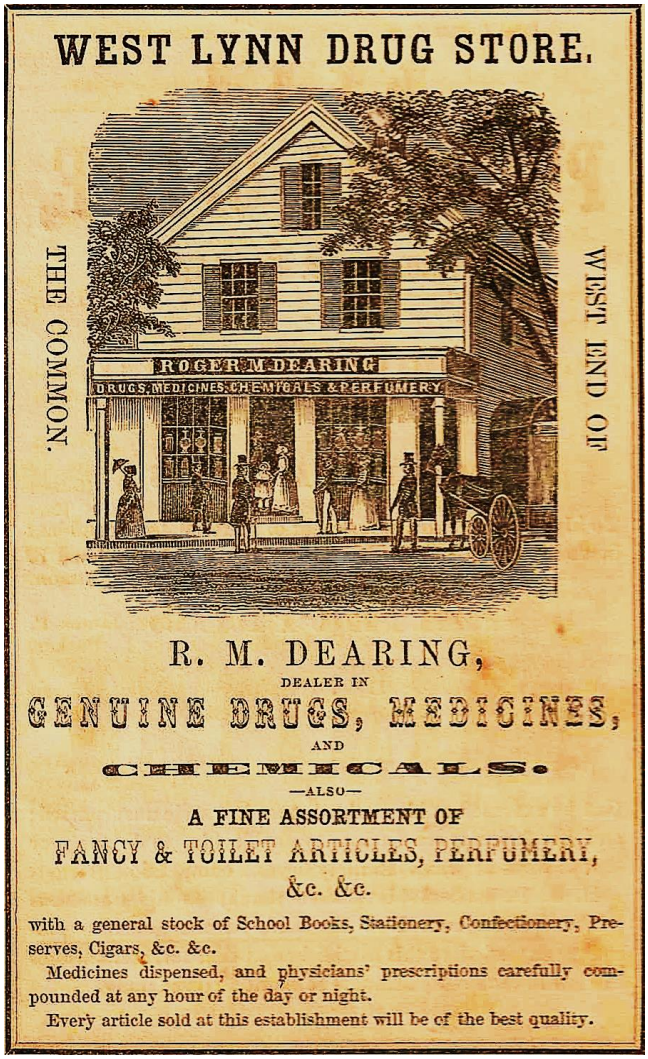
Street in Central Square. The following Tuesday, 24 trains, 860 carriages, 3,620 people, 24 horses, and 9 cows crossed the railroad track on Market Street during the same period of time.[531] The city's center was a hive of activity, making danger imminent every time a train passed through. Compounding the problem was the rate of speed at which the trains bore down the tracks. One of the town's papers reported in 1855, "A train of cars passed through Lynn, a few days since, traveling at the astonishing rate of eight or nine miles an hour. Several individuals walking along Exchange and Union streets came within half a dozen rods of being run over … The [railroad] corporation are liable for such a reckless disregard of human and inhuman life."[532] Others were not so lucky. The train killed Albert Gove; his body was dragged two hundred feet and his spectacles were found in the grating attached to the front of the engine when the train arrived at the Salem depot.[533] Other trains hit two deaf pedestrians, one losing a foot and the other losing his life.[534]

Sometimes the victims were the reckless parties by not having a healthy respect for the speed, power, and mass of trains. Mrs. Gray of Pleasant Street was walking on the tracks with a grandchild in her arms. She heard the train coming and "stepped aside, but not far enough to be safe." She was clear of all but the last and widest car, which hit her and knocked the child out of her arms and over a fence. The child was not injured, but Mrs. Gray was lucky to not have been instantly killed.[535] Mrs. Avice Stannard made a little money selling her pamphlet, *The Remarkable Adventures of Faustina Woodman*, to other passengers on the train. On one of her selling trips, she attempted to jump from the moving train, but miscalculated the leap. Her feet slipped under the wheels and were crushed. The grizzly accident was especially tragic because it was also completely avoidable, but such tragedies would not stop, read the *Lynn News*, "so long as people are so foolish as to jump from a train when it is in motion."[536]

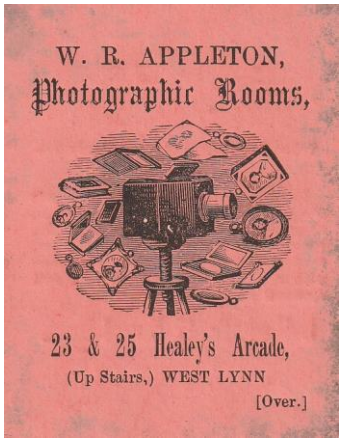
Confused, frightened, and oblivious animals were frequent victims. A little east of the Swampscott depot, a train ploughed into a herd of cows that had been feeding on the track. The engine, tender car, and baggage cars derailed, and several cows were killed; small wonder that the metal grating on the front of the engine was called the cowcatcher.[537] In another accident, a horse was "literally torn to pieces" after being dragged 250 feet down the track. The chaise to which it had been attached was thrown against a fence and smashed to pieces; amazingly, the driver was unhurt.[538] Moses R. G. Goodridge knew his horse was skittish around trains, so when he saw one approaching the intersection they were at, he jumped out of the wagon and tried to turn his horse around and away from the track. Part way through the maneuver, the train slammed into the horse, killing it instantly. Goodridge had toes severed off both feet and was thrown a distance, landing on his head. He was taken unconscious to a nearby house where Asa T. Newhall and Abraham Gould were summoned. They did "everything in their power … to relieve the sufferer," but it was feared that Goodridge's injuries would prove fatal.[539]

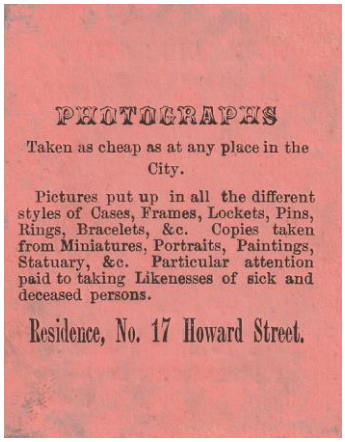
It is hard to imagine the flood of feelings Abraham Gould must have experienced as he tried to save Goodridge. Gould had also been a victim of a railroad crossing disaster five years earlier. He and a friend named Twisden were in the doctor's buggy in West Lynn, where the Saugus Branch Railroad track crossed Cottage Street. "Suddenly, without warning of whistle or bell, the train came upon him, striking and killing his horse instantly, demolishing the carriage, and rolling the doctor and his companion upon the ground amid the wreck." Two ribs and his right shoulder blade were broken; Twisden was not seriously injured.[540] Gould was unaware that the train was coming, not having heard a whistle, but the public could hear the anger of Henry S. Cox, then editor of the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Almost daily heavy trains cross our public streets at lightning speed, with hardly a sound of the whistle…." Then, Cox continued, when the whistle was sounded, "It is not safe to approach, with anything like a spirited horse, within hearing distance of one of these trains; for the horrid screech of the whistle is almost enough to frighten the dead. Many broken limbs have been the consequence, and many lives jeopardized."[541]

Gould was seriously injured and very sick after the accident and was compelled to reduce his medical practice. Five months later, he petitioned the city government to require the railroad to put



West Lynn Drug Store, 1851. Show globes in the windows, filled with colorful liquids, made the local apothecary shop an unmistakable landmark in the neighborhood. Showing all the patrons dressed in finery, with parasols, walking sticks and top hats, reflected an elite clientele rather than a cross-section of Lynn's laboring class. Advertisement in *The Directory of the City of Lynn* (1851).





W. R. Appleton, Photographic Rooms. Trade card, about 1859. (top): front; (bottom): reverse. This card was put into the daguerreotype case, behind the image. Note the last sentence of the photographer's services on the reverse side: "Likenesses of sick and deceased persons." (Collection of the author.)

gates up at some of the railroad crossings in town, and to station flagmen at others. The results of his petition didn't meet his satisfaction, so he sued the Saugus Branch Railroad ten months later and was awarded $1,841 in damages.[542] The valued physician continued to linger in feeble health and semi-retirement until his death a dozen years later. Gates didn't go up and men didn't wave flags, but the hulking leviathans kept coming full steam. People continued to get in the way of modernization, while others tried to jump off or run away, but there was no escape.

CIVIL WAR

Moral outrage over Spear's living machine aside, the last thing Lynn's labor force needed was another machine to do the work of man. Shoemaking families were already feeling the economic hurt of sewing machines. The fabulous new invention had vastly increased the quantity of shoes sewn by a single woman, which meant fewer laborers were needed to produce the same quantity of shoes. The number of females engaged in shoe stitching dropped over forty percent in the last five years of the decade, due largely to the enormous productivity of sewing machines, which had been introduced to Lynn in 1852.[543] Lynn's newspapers were filled with illustrated advertisements for competing brands of the revolutionary invention.

The material improvements that came from the advance of industrialization and technology added quality to the lives of those who had the financial resources to enjoy such benefits; however, the vast majority of Lynn's population were the shoemakers and other laborers who could afford little beyond the basic necessities of life. Luxuries and improvements were just as attractive to them, but seldom indulged. They were depressed by their circumstances and increasingly expressed anger over the growing inequities between the haves and have-nots of Lynn. Some sought their version of a better life through migration to other parts of the country for a fresh start; others pursued spiritualism for comfort and hope; most, however, demanded that not they but their world must do the changing.

Life in mid-century was a series of economic ups and down. Of the seventy-eight Lynn shoe manufacturers functioning in 1849, thirty-two had previously failed.[544] The local economy had rebounded, but Mayor George Hood warned in his 1851 inaugural address that while the lessons of hard times past were likely to be forgotten, they would probably come again, "They may be nearer at hand than is generally supposed, and it will be well to be prepared for them."[545] The return of prosperity at the beginning of the decade was accompanied by increased prices for goods and services. In 1850, the physicians of Lynn mutually agreed to raise their charges for house calls from fifty cents to seventy-five cents.[546] The Lynn City Physician's salary increased later in the decade from $50 to $75 and certain grammar school teachers in the city had their salaries increased to $1,000.[547] The blacksmiths of Essex County voted unanimously to raise the price of shoeing a horse.[548] The price of a railroad ticket to Boston increased by twenty cents.[549] Even the price of fish cost more in Lynn (rising to three or four cents per pound) than it did if it was bought in neighboring Swampscott (two and one-half cents per pound).[550]

Finances continued to challenge most of the city's families, while success was being experienced by a small but growing segment of the population: the number of Lynners paying in excess of $50 in annual taxes increased from 159 in 1850 to 388 in 1855.[551] But economic instability during the second half of the decade caused some of these more successful citizens to lose their properties or have them devalued: only 216 had paid over $50 in taxes by 1858.[552] Isaac Pinkham had become insolvent in 1848, but pulled himself up from financial despair, creating a profitable produce business in just a short time after his bankruptcy. But when the shoemakers struggled, other businesses that relied on the shoemaker's patronage struggled as well. Before the end of 1855, Isaac Pinkham's produce business, which had been thriving during the decade's early years when the shoemakers prospered, failed, and he was once again thrown into bankruptcy.[553] Lynn carpenter Warren C. Philbrick was another alumnus of the 1855 top taxpayer list who was forced to declare bankruptcy in the middle of the decade.[554] Penniless, he tried to rebuild his life using what nature had to offer to create products he could prepare cheaply. The easy and free access to Lynn's fields and woods (perhaps in addition to corn from his own garden) enabled the bankrupt carpenter at minimal cost and skill to prepare and sell an eclectic mix of products: kindling wood, popcorn, and wormwood bitters.[555]

Shoemaking families struggled financially throughout the decade, forcing virtually everyone to do more than their share. Large numbers of children under fifteen years old were illegally employed in Lynn.[556] Women working long hours at sewing machines complained of feeling faint,

prompting one of the city's drug stores to offer shoulder braces that would correct stooping posture and improve weak chests.[557] Men couldn't work hard enough or long enough to make up for the falling wages they earned. Poor Benjamin Richardson worked himself to death. Workmates in the ten-footer noticed he sat at his workbench (probably with a tool and shoe leather in his hands) being quiet, still, and looking pale; when they asked him a question, he didn't respond. He was dead.[558] One citizen worried openly in the *Lynn News* about the hard times that had come to the city, "Whole families are out of work. This brings many very worthy people in a few days or weeks to destitution!" He then invoked a call for the resurrection of the Lynn Charitable Association, "A temporary charitable organization should be commenced immediately. … Where are those benevolent ladies that stepped into the breach a few winters ago, and held their meetings at Sagamore Hall?"[559] The need for benevolent assistance also caused the reemergence of the watcher's societies during the late decade's hard times. The Central Female Watcher's Society advertised a meeting for April 1858 and a new watcher's society was organized that June.[560] Once again, as the shoemakers' wages fell, the rest of the town's economy suffered as well. George Lakeman's profitable bathhouse enterprise began to circle the drain. In the fall of 1857, Lakeman promised that he would provide baths, "either common or chemical," for free to those with no means of purchasing one "during these hard times."[561] By May of 1858, the bathhouse had been bought and renovated by a new partnership, charged fifteen cents, a twenty-five percent rate reduction from the enterprise's heyday.[562] Some of the drug stores promised to dispense medicines "without money and without pride," during the hard times, but they wrestled with how to distinguish between the destitute and those who would claim to be so.[563]

The last half of the decade had an increase in bankruptcies. During the year and a half between July 1856 to January 1858 there were ninety-one cases brought before the county insolvency court; twenty were from Lynn.[564] Isaac Pinkham was not able to steady his financial footing again in Lynn during the late-decade depression, so he moved his family to a rural area fifty miles away to try to sustain them through farming. Most of Lynn's shoemakers stayed put, earning dwindling wages and trying to prevail on the manufacturers to stop sending work out of town and to stop producing large quantities of shoes for lower prices. Willing, cheap, out-of-town labor and high-volume production from sewing machines multiplied output and subtracted wages, which added to the shoemaker's financial burdens; division was sure to follow. These were matters of life or death for Lynn shoe workers; a civil war was brewing.

Lynn's workforce was certainly familiar with labor protests that had already occurred in the country's brief history. They were well aware of the textile mill strike by Lowell's female workforce in 1836 and they knew about the 500 female employees of a manufacturing company in Saco, Maine, who in 1841 had paraded with banners through the streets, accompanied by a marching band, to protest wage cuts. The laborers of Lynn were able to read about both rebellions in the newspapers and the town's female shoe binders probably took special note of the empowering protests made by sister laborers not far away.[565] More recently, in March 1859, 1,300 ladies' shoe workers in Philadelphia also went on strike for higher wages.[566]

Although Lynn's shoe workers were not organized into labor unions, they were able to orchestrate a large, prolonged, and fairly effective strike against the shoe manufacturers. Their grievances were first expressed with a protest march through Lynn streets on 22 February 1860, Washington's Birthday, which was carefully chosen and symbolic of their revolt against the wage tyranny of their overlords, the shoe manufacturers. An estimated 1,000 shoe workers, many of them women, paraded through Lynn's streets, festooned with banners, and accompanied by musical bands, fire brigades, and militia units. After the parade there were meetings, speeches, and rallies in various locations throughout the city. Later that day there was some fighting and scuffling in the streets. [567] On the strike's second day, during a confrontation between police and strikers, John Thurston (now the city marshal, serving his townsmen by trying to keep the peace), had his hat knocked off, his coat torn, and a knife drawn on him.[568] He was the most visible representative of

the city government's response to the strike because Mayor Edward S. Davis hid from the public for almost the entire seven-week strike. On the day that Thurston was being attacked, Mayor Davis had made a brief address to the crowd from a wagon. Probably fearful of his safety or at the least, his popularity, he spoke so timidly that most couldn't hear what he was saying. At a massive public meeting that night in Lyceum Hall, he again spoke weakly (due to some undisclosed "indisposition") and couldn't be heard by everyone gathered. His brief comments were timid and seemed calculated to let him exit the hall quickly and without harassment. He simply urged the strikers to stay civil and told them he sympathized with their need for better wages. After delivering the polite but uninspiring comments, the leader of the city in crisis left the building and disappeared from sight for the rest of the strike."[569]

The work stoppage with all of its accompanying processions, gatherings, and scuffles continued for weeks. The Lynn strike was one of the largest in the nation's brief history and as such was a big story even for major national newspapers like the *New York Times* and the *Boston Herald*. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, a popular New York weekly, covered the story with an article and a two-page illustration of the procession during the March 7th snowstorm.[570] The large picture featured some of the 800 ladies at the front of the protest march, escorted by the Lynn City Guards. A reporter from the *Bay State* noted, "The spirit of the lady strikers, in braving the storm and in holding out to the last, was greatly praised by the crowd …."[571] Another large parade on March 16th was the zenith of the Lynn strike. It was like the procession on the 7th only much larger. Trains had freighted people in from Boston and Salem and "carriages of every description" came from Beverly, Salem, Danvers, Saugus, Swampscott, Stoneham, Woburn, South Reading, and other places, bringing spectators and marchers alike to participate in the grand procession. Delegations of shoemakers from nearby towns marched alongside the large throng of Lynn cordwainers; similarly, militia units, fire brigades, and musical bands from other communities added to the many already participating from Lynn. It was estimated that there were over 1,000 women and 5,000 men in grand procession, replete with fluttering flags and banners on tall poles and a crowd of over 20,000 that cheered them all.[572]

Beyond the dignified processions could be found some fanatical rabbles bent on shutting down the manufacturers by preventing trains or wagon teams from carrying raw materials to workers beyond Lynn. Tensions were inevitable and sometimes resulted in brief confrontations between the strikers and the police, such as when City Marshal Thurston was threatened with a knife. Hidden away in some inner sanctum, Mayor Davis issued orders mobilizing the Lynn Light Infantry and having Boston police shipped in to Lynn to enforce the peace and to ensure the safe transport of shoemaking materials and finished goods out of the city. "Groans and hisses greeted the Boston police" as they got off the train in Central Square.[573] The strikers considered it an insult and a disgrace that the mayor had called in outside intervention. In Market Street, stones and brickbats were hurled at the police. One hit a mason named James Bond, inflicting a serious head wound. He was rushed to the nearby apothecary shop of Thomas Lummus, where his head was dressed.[574] Frustrated by the heavy-handed edicts of an invisible and incapable mayor and the strong-armed execution of those decrees by Marshal Thurston, strikers felt unrepresented by City Hall. One of the popular cries at a strike rally was, "We have no City Government!"[575] Although strikers may have felt their city was under siege, the two months of civil unrest never did erupt into a civil war. Given the large numbers involved in the processions, meetings, and other strike activities, the overall absence of violence was remarkable.

By mid-April, the strike was all over. It had been decisive for no one but was divisive for everyone. The economy, politics, and social structure of the city were more polarized than ever. The shoemaker's strike of early 1860 and the bitterness it engendered between neighbors was only a foreshadowing of a far more serious, widespread, and violent struggle ahead that would pit brother against brother. Lynn's sons, so practiced in strolling down familiar streets with wives and friends, were soon to march in strict cadence with weapons of war, far from home.

Chapter 6 Notes

1. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.419. In September 1809, Archelaus Putnam took a walk "to see an old Scotch hermit who is noted for his ingenuity and singularity of living." Gray had been known for decades as a hermit. Based on Newhall's assertion (in the above source) that Gray was age seventy-eight at his death in 1848, he was only thirty-nine or forty when Archelaus Putnam described him as an old Scotch hermit. Perhaps Putnam's own youthful outlook (he was twenty-two) combined with Gray's unkempt, uncivil appearance to make the hermit appear to be old to the young apothecary. See "Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society* (Danvers, Mass., Newcomb & Gauss, 1918), Vol. 6, p.20, 3 September 1809.
2. Article, "The Hermit of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 16 February 1849.
3. Article, "George Gray: The Hermit of Lynn," from *Boston Daily Times*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 16 February 1849.
4. Article, "George Gray: The Hermit of Lynn," from *Boston Daily Times*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 16 February 1849. James R. Newhall, under the pseudonym Obadiah Oldpath, used George Gray's invention with his fictional character, John Makepeace. Newhall retooled Makepeace's spine-adjusting crane so that protruded from an iron band around his head and contained notches by which he suspended on occasion his diner basket, a brace of quails, or a dead rabbit. See Obadiah Oldpath, *LIN: or Notable People and Notable Things in the Early History of Lynn* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), pp.473-476.
5. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.419.
6. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), p.11.
7. Lemuel Shattuck, Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., and Jehiel Abbott, Massachusetts. Sanitary Commission,. *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health, devised, prepared and recommended by the commissioners appointed under a resolve of the legislature of Massachusetts, relating to a sanitary survey of the state*. (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, state printers, 1850), p.511.
8. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841* (Lynn: Benjamin F. Roberts, 1841), pp.26-27; Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of The City of Lynn* (Lynn: T. Herbert and H. J. Butterfield, 1851), pp.32-37.
9. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.11.
10. Article, "Tenements in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 18 November 1856.
11. Article, "Nahant House," *Lynn News*, 10 April 1856.
12. Article, "Mr. Isaac Newhall, Jr.'s Shoe Manufactory," *The Bay State* (Lynn), 3 September 1857.
13. Pamphlet, "Address of the Committee Against the City Charter," April 1850; (Lynn: Bay State Press), p.12 (Farmers), p.10 (rogues).
14. Article, "City of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 26 April 1850. Ironically, the man voted in as Lynn's first mayor (George Hood) had been one of the most vocal opponents to a city government
15. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.504.
16. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 1 March 1850.
17. Article, "Trade," *Lynn News*, 7 October 1853 (emphasis in original).
18. Article, "Statistical Census," *Lynn News* 14 September 1855.
19. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.428.
20. Article, "The New Music Hall," *Lynn News*, 5 June 1855 (Music Hall); Article, "Lynn Library Association," *Lynn News*, 16 November 1855 (Library).
21. "Fire Engines and Apparatus," *City Document No. 2, First Annual Report of the Committee on Accounts* (Lynn: H. J. Butterfield, 1851), pp.21-22 (fire fighting); Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.440-441 (sidewalks); p.435 (omnibus); p.436 (Saugus Branch); Article, "The Gas," *Lynn News*, 21 January 1853 (gas lights).
22. Article, "Trade," *Lynn News*, 7 October 1853.
23. Article, "Henry Clay and Daniel Webster," *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (Lisbon, OH), 24 July 1852.
24. Article, "Lynn," *Lynn Pioneer*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
25. Article, "Sagamore Hotel," *Lynn News*, 6 July 1855.

26. Article, "Watering Places," *The Bay State*, 28 May 1857.
27. Article, "Beach Street," *The Bay State*, 3 July 1856.
28. Article, "In Full Bloom," *The Bay State*, 27 May 1858 (trees). Also see Article, "Lynn as a Watering Place," *The Bay State*, 26 June 1856 (stagnant air); Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 18 August 1857 (Dungeon Rock); Article, "Berrying Parties," *The Bay State*, 14 August 1856 (berries); Article, "Ice Cream," *The Bay State*, 2 July 1857 (ice cream); Articles, "Bowling," and "Billiards," *The Bay State*, 8 October 1857; Article, "Licensed Bowling Saloon," *The Bay State*, 17 September 1857 (bowling and billiard saloons); Article, "Barnum's Caravan," *Lynn News*, 20 June 1851 (Tom Thumb).
29. Article, "Highrockland," *Lynn News*, 23 November 1858 (complaints). Article, "Water Cure at High Rock," *New York Daily Tribune*, 15 December 1851 (water cure). Jesse Hutchinson leased his property to Asa and Louisa Smith, who had run a water cure in Newport, Rhode Island the previous year. An ad in the *Lynn News* on 1 April 1852 (posted on 8 December 1851) listed that the "High Rock Cottage Water Cure is now open for the reception of patients, who will be taken for full board treatment, day treatment, or visited at their residences. Terms, from $6 to $10 per week, payable weekly. Asa Smith, Proprietor. Miss L. A. Smith, Physician."
30. Article, "Health of Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 5 August 1854.
31. Article, "The City of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 29 November 1855 (description of Lynn homes); Article, "Lynn," *Lynn News*, 28 March 1851 (ladies of Lynn).
32. Article, "Depredations," *Lynn News*, 14 October 1856.
33. Letter to the Editor, "Whose Business Is It," *Lynn News*, 22 June 1849.
34. Alonzo Lewis (under the pseudonym, Lynn Bard), Letter to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 1 September 1857 (bather's comments about Lewis). Letter to the Editor, "A Temptest in a Teapot," *Lynn News*, 8 September 1857 (Lewis's comments about the bather).
35. Article, "Prize Fight," *Lynn News*, 7 January 1853.
36. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 11 August 1854 (Wild Men) and Article, "The Bear Woman," *Lynn News*, 28 September 1855. Julia Pastrana was identified as the Bear Woman" in Squib, no title, *Lynn News*, 23 November 1855.
37. Article, "Amusements," *Lynn News*, 3 August 1858.
38. Article, "Dangerous Amusement," *Lynn News*, 4 August 1857. The age of George Cross was determined by comparison to his age in the 1860 federal census (Lynn, MA: Ward 5, p.352, dwelling 2201, family 3021).
39. Article, "Vagabondism," *The Bay State*, 21 April 1855.
40. Article, "A Peddler 'Done Up'," *Lynn News*, 14 October 1853.
41. Article, "Fun for the Boys," *Lynn News*, 29 June 1858.
42. Article, "Peddlers," *Lynn News*, 30 December 1853.
43. Article, "Sayings and Doings of Reporter and our Comments," *Lynn Tattler*, 4 March 1848.
44. Articles, no title, (two articles), and Parsons Cooke and Jos. M. Rowell, Jos. E. Jacobs, L. B. Bent, Charles J. Gale, and J. A. Thurston, Letters to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 24 March 1854; also see James M. Nye (under the abbreviation J. M. N.), Article, "The Morality of Lynn Fireman," and Parsons Cooke, Letter to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 31 March 1854.
45. Article, "Police Items," *Lynn News*, 19 October 1849.
46. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 30 June 1854.
47. Articles, no titles, *Lynn News*, 20 April 1858; 7 December 1859.
48. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
49. Article, "Police Court," *Lynn News*, 14 September 1849.
50. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 17 February 1857.
51. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 1 February 1850.
52. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 25 January 1850.
53. Article, "Liquor Law in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 8 October 1852. See also Article, "The Past and the Present," *Lynn Dew Drop*, 17 January 1849.
54. Article, "The Liquor Law in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 23 July 1852.
55. Article, "Rev. James B. Ambler," *Freedom's Amulet* (Lynn), 6 December 1848. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 16 December 1853 (Bulfinch).
56. Article, "Reformed Men's C. T. Society," *Lynn News*, 31 January 1846.

57. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 12 May 1857.
58. Article, "Temperance," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1849.
59. Article, "First Impressions of Gough," *The Bay State*, 30 April 1857.
60. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 23 March 1855 (clotheslines); Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 25 May 1849 (roosts); Article, "Burglaries," *Lynn News*, 17 November 1857 (daguerreotype). Thefts of more silverware and also a pair of opera glasses from the homes of wealthy Lynners are itemized in Article, "Lynn Police Court," *Lynn News*, 21 December 1858.
61. Article, "Theft," *Lynn News*, 29 October 1852.
62. Article, "Rascality at Nahant," Boston Bee, as quoted in Lynn News, 4 June 1847.
63. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 16 June 1857.
64. Article, "Burglars," *Lynn News*, 25 February 1853 (stripped); Article, "More Burglaries," 28 January 1848 (burglarized).
65. Article, "Robbery at West Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Record*, 12 December 1857.
66. Article, "Another," *Lynn News*, 7 December 1849.
67. Article, "Store Breaking," *Lynn News*, 7 December 1849. For other burglaries of Proctor and Rhodes' apothecary, see Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 29 November 1849 and Article, "Burglary," *Lynn News*, 22 December 1854.
68. Article, "Robbery," *Lynn News*, 5 October 1849.
69. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 12 May 1848.
70. Article, "Bold Robbery," *Lynn News*, 7 April 1853.
71. Article, "Short Recess," *Lynn News*, 4 February 1848.
72. Article, "Lynn Police Court," *Lynn News*, 10 September 1852.
73. Article, "Outrage," *Lynn News*, 2 May 1851.
74. Article, "Burning of the School House in Ward Three," *Lynn News*, 23 November 1859.
75. Article, "City Marshall's Report," *Lynn News*, 1 January 1857.
76. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 7 December 1859.
77. Article, "Horrible Murder," *Lynn News*, 4 July 1851.
78. Article, "Horrible Murder," *Lynn News*, 4 July 1851.
79. Article, "Trial of Furbush," *Lynn News*, 17 December 1852.
80. Article, "Murderer Escaped," *Lynn News*, 15 April 1853.
81. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 22 April 1853.
82. Article, "The Stabbing Case," *Lynn News*, 30 September 1853.
83. Article, "The Recent Prize Fight," *Lynn News*, 4 Feb 1853.
84. The police force for 1851-52 are named in *City Document No. 3, Inaugural Address of Hon.l GeorgeHood, Mayor of the City of Lynn, April 7, 1851; with the List of City Officers for the year 1851-52* (Lynn: Butterfield & Kellogg, 1851), pp.29-30. By 1858 ithe city's police department was only one officer larger than at the start of the decade. in *List of City Officers For The Year 1858*,(Lynn: J. F. Kimball, 1858), p.14.
85. Articles, "Lynn Police Court," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1858 (card playing); 26 January 1856 (Binney); 14 April 1857 (small boys).
86. Article, "City Marshall's Report," *Lynn News*, 1 January 1857.
87. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 19 August 1856.
88. *City Document No. 3*, p.30.
89. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, pp.498-499.
90. James M. Nye served as Lynn's City Physician for 1850-1852 and 1856-1857.
91. May L. Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.3.
92. James M. Nye (under the abbreviation, J. M. N.), Letter to the Editor, "Sanitary Report – No. 2," *Lynn News*, 7 March 1851.
93. Maria Eastman, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Julia Stubbs, Strong, Maine, manuscript, 11 January 1853 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

94. Article, "Health of Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 June 1854 (dreadful); Squib in "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 8 June 1855 (horrid).
95. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn Including Nahant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), p.263.
96. Article, "Lynn," *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
97. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.507 (farmers); Article, "Statistics," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 5 January 1856 (dentists, apothecaries, and confectioners). The Lynn board of health's glowing report of the Swampscott fishermen's health did not coincide with the low longevity (41.63 years) that Shattuck attributed to fisherman. See Lemuel Shattuck and others, *Report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts 1850* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), p.87.
98. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.509.
99. James M. Nye (under the abbreviation, J. M. N.), Letter to the Editor, "Sanitary Report – No. 3," *Lynn News*, 14 March 1851.
100. James M. Nye (under the abbreviation, J. M. N.), Letter to the Editor, "Public Health, Number Four," *Lynn News*, 21 March 1851.
101. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.510.
102. Article, "The Twenty-Four Hours in Lynn, No. II – Day," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 March 1855.
103. Article, "Lynn," *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
104. Article, "A Healthy Body and a Mind at Ease." *Lynn News*, 7 April 1853.
105. Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.511.
106. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 15 February 1850.
107. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 1 March 1850.
108. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.514.
109. *City Document No. 3*, p.6.
110. Article, "Ventilation," *Lynn News*, 5 December 1851.
111. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.514.
112. May L.Sheldon, "Dr. James M. Nye," pp.3-4.
113. "City Physician's Report," *Inaugural Address of Hon. Daniel C. Baker, Mayor of the City of Lynn, April 4, 1853, with the List of City Officers, for the Year 1853-54, and the City Physician's Report* (Lynn: W. W. Kellogg, 1853), p.25
114. Article, "An Ordinance Concerning the Vaccination of Children in the Public Schools," *Lynn News*, 24 June 1853.
115. Notice, "City Ordinances," *Lynn News*, 2 February 1855.
116. Letter to the Editor, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 3 March 1854.
117. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 January 1855.
118. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1855.
119. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1855.
120. Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of a general plan for the promotion of public and personal health*, p.523 (emphasis in original).
121. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn News*, 1 June 1855.
122. James M. Nye (under the abbreviation, J. M. N.), Letter to the Editor, "Sanitary Report – No. 2," *Lynn News*, 6 March 1851 (emphasis in original). See also Shattuck, *Report of a General Plan*, pp.519-521.
123. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 7 November 1851.
124. One victim was sent to the almshouse hospital for treatment. (See Article, "Ship Fever," *Lynn News*, 29 July 1853.) Another was sent off to Boston. (See Article, "Ship Fever," *Lynn News*, 21 April 1854.)
125. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 10 August 1858.
126. Article, "Mad Dogs," *Lynn News*, 6 April 1848.
127. Article, " 'Beware of Dogs,' " *Lynn News*, 16 February 1849.
128. Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 11 May 1858.
129. Article, "Town Meeting," *Lynn News*, 12 January 1849.
130. Article, "Mad Dogs," *Lynn News*, 3 February 1854.
131. Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 11 May 1858.

132. Article, "Dog Days," *The Bay State*, 12 May 1859.
133. Article, "Assault by a Dog," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 January 1855.
134. Article, "Mad Dogs," *Lynn News*, 12 May 1857.
135. Article, "Mad Dogs," *The Bay State*, 14 May 1857.
136. Article, "Doggerel," *Lynn News*, 8 June 1859.
137. Article, "Doggerel," *Lynn News*, 8 June 1859.
138. Alonzo Lewis, Editorial, "To the Board of Health in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 21 August 1846.
139. Article, "Pure Water," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 June 1854.
140. Article, "A Nuisance," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 August 1854.
141. J. Barrett, Article, "Strawberry Brook," *Lynn News*, 18 February 1853.
142. J. Barrett, Article, "Strawberry Brook," *Lynn News*.
143. Article, "Strawberry Brook," *Lynn News*, 25 February 1853.
144. Article, "Strawberry Brook," *Lynn News*, 25 February 1853.
145. Article, "The Common Sewer," *Lynn News*, 30 April 1852.
146. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.12.
147. Advertisements for *Professor Mohr's German Fly Paper, Copeland's Bug and Moth Exterminator*, and *Copeland's Rat and Cockroach Exterminator* can all be found in *Lynn News*, 5 October 1855. Another common pest was the bed bug, referred to as the "tormentors of our nightly rest." See Puff, "A Dead Shot for Bed-Bugs," *Lynn News*, 18 April 1851. Newspapers frequently had material inserted amid the articles to look like another fact-based article or editorial, but such copy was, in fact, nothing more than a promotional device commending a product or service. These endorsements or "puffs" were almost always inserted when the advertiser purchased an ad space in the newspaper.
148. Article, "Municipal," *Lynn News*, 23 May 1856.
149. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 23 June 1854.
150. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 25 November 1856. Article, "Hog Cholera," *Lynn News*, 12 May 1857.
151. Article, "There is Death in the Pot," 2 May 1850.
152. Article, "What We Eat and What We Drink," *The Bay State*, 20 November 1856. The occupations of the two men were found in *The Lynn Directory, Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, with an Almanac for 1858* (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1857), pp.130 (Jones), 183 (Scribner). Scribner and Jones planned to give a public exhibition of their microscope and other optical instruments at Lyceum Hall.
153. Article, "City Ordinances," *Lynn News*, 12 July 1850.
154. Notice, "Notice," *Lynn News*, 31 March 1857.
155. Article, "City Ordinances," *Lynn News*, 12 July 1850.
156. See the board of health account in the "Appropriations and Expenditures" portion of the city's *Annual Reports* for 1851, 1853, 1854, 1855, and 1857.
157. Article, "Lynn Alms-House," *Lynn News*, 3 October 1851 (almshouse); Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 7 November 1851 (requests).
158. Notice, "Notice," *Lynn News*, 28 July 1857.
159. Puff, no title, *Lynn News*, 1 February 1859.
160. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 June 1854.
161. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 November 1855.
162. Puff, "Go and be Healed," *The Bay State*, 2 July 1857.
163. Puff, "Go and be Healed," *The Bay State*, 2 July 1857. See also Puff, "Has Come Again!" *Lynn News*, 20 April 1859, and Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Record*, 15 April 1854.
164. Puff, "Has Come Again!" *Lynn News*, 20 April 1859
165. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 April 1854. His title is found in an 1857 broadside for Dr. J. W. Channing, The Great Cancer and Humor Doctor" (collection of author: Rapoza). He was listed in *The New Bedford Directory* (New Bedford: C. & A. Taber, 1849), p.70, as a shipwright residing in New Bedford; the next directory lists him as a cancer doctor; see *The New Bedford Directory*, (New Bedford: Charles Taber & Co., 1852), p.73.

    His death record lists his birth at 26 June 1800 on St. Simon's Island, Georgia (New Bedford death record of 16 April 1873). He married Anna Snow on 26 February 1824 in Rochester, Massachusetts; see

Jordon Dodd, compiler, *Massachusetts Marriages, 1633-1850* (Provo, UT: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005); microfilm # 0873753. He is found in Rochester again in the 1840 federal census. He lived in New Bedford, Massachusetts fairly consistently from 1849-1873 (though notably absent from the 1856 New Bedford directory). He is listed twice in the 1870 census; on 21 June at Lewiston, Maine and on 25 June in New Bedford; probably because he was on travel in Maine for his medical business. His family lived in New Bedford during the period 1849-1873, including his wife and sons Walter, shipwright; Samuel Snow, daguerreotype artist, later a shipwright; and William Howe, a surgeon dentist; plus three daughters, one of whom was Rhoda Snow, listed as a doctress in the 1873 New Bedford directory, the same year of John W. Channing's death.

166. Advertisements, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 April 1854 (Miss Shurtleff) and 12 April 1856 (Mrs. E. T.); Broadsides for Dr. J. W. Channing (about 1856, collection of Walter Szabo [Howard] and 1857, collection of author (Rapoza) [Hill]. The Szabo broadside states "Has Arrived At Fitchburg [Massachusetts]"; the Rapoza broadside states Channing was "formally of Boston, now of New Bedford," and "Has Arrived At Concord [Massachusetts]".). The itinerant nature of his practice is illustrated in the several stops he listed in just these two broadsides.

167. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 16 March 1855 (emphasis in original).

168. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 19 March 1857.

169. Dr. Reuben Greene, *Dr. Greene's Indianopathy or Science of Indian Medicine*, Fourteenth Edition (Boston: Board of Managers, Indian Medical Institute, 1861), pp.66-67.

170. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 23 April 1857; Puff, "Wonderful Discovery," *The Bay State*, 30 April 1857.

171. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Eight," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 July 1882. Although the article states her middle initial to be "R," it was "B."

172. Edward Augustus Kittredge (under the pseudonym, Noggs), article, "Lynn, Long Ago. – No. XVI," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 April 1860, spelled her name "Merriam." Miriam Johnson was especially well-remembered by Lynn authors. In addition to the recollections of Boyce and Kittredge, Edwin Thompson also acknowledged " 'Aunt Miriam,' so well known for many years as a friend in sickness and trouble"; see article, "RECOLLECTIONS. Sketch of Abraham Breed, with Home Account of Old Black Marsh," *Daily Evening Item*, 24 February 1883. She provided her healing and nursing services from about the 1820s to the 1850s; she died in Lynn in 1887 at 96 years of old age (*Massachusetts Vital Records1841-1911*, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, MA, No.319, 9 May 1887). Despite her years of medical service and many appearances as head of house in census and city directory records, she was never listed with an occupation.

173. Kittredge, "Lynn, Long Ago. – No. XVI," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 April 1860 (pediatrics); Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Eight," *Daily Evening Item*, 3 July 1882 (summers).

174. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 30 November 1859.

175. Obituary of Emmeline Parrish, *Lynn News*, 28 June 1850. Massachusetts Vital Records, 1840-1911, manuscript (at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts), listed Parrish as a resident on Union Street, Lynn; she died on 26 June 1850.

176. Frederick C. Waite, *History of the New England Female Medical College, 1848-1874* (Boston: Boston University School of Medicine, 1950), pp.120-125. Mary Elizabeth Breed appeared on the list of physicians in the Lynn city directory for 1869 and under her married name, Mary E. B. Welch, in the Lynn city directories for 1871, 1873, 1875, and 1876, 1878-9, and 1880. Another Lynn connection to the college was John Bachelder who was one of the trustees of the New England Medical College. See Article, no title, *The Bay State*, 18 September 1856.

177. The number of nurses listed in the city directories dipped from twenty in 1851 to thirteen in 1854, then to six in 1856, before rebounding to twenty-eight in 1858. It is interesting to note that the largest numbers of nurses correspond with the decade's better economic times and conversely, fewer nurses were listed during the years of depressed wages. The directories were published at the end of the year before the year described or right at the beginning of it. Therefore, the directories of 1851, 1854, 1856, and 1858 list names, addresses, and occupations as they were in 1850, 1853, 1855, and 1857. Faler described 1853 and 1855 as years of improved shoemakers' wages, while 1850 and 1857 were years of depressed wages and tough economic times. See Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts 1780-1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), pp.94-95. It therefore appears that nurses were viewed as a luxury and watcher's societies as more economical alternatives in the difficult years. Doctor numbers held fairly steady (seventeen in 1851, eighteen in 1854, fourteen in 1856, and nineteen in 1858), suggesting the profession was becoming perceived as essential rather than an optional extravagance.

178. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 7 April 1853 (McKenzie) and 23 April 1855 (Clark).

179. Notice, "Anatomy and Physiology," *Lynn News*, 1 February 1850.

180. Puff, "Mrs. Mansfield" and Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 11 May 1859. She must have had some interesting stories to tell her patients because her practice spanned a huge portion of the country; her advertisement included endorsements from newspapers in Kentucky, Alabama, and Pennsylvania.
181. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 9 July 1852 (Byrnes); Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 11 May 1859 (Mansfield); Puffs, *Lynn News*, "Mrs. Kidder," 19 July 1850 and "Mrs. Addison," 22 December 1854.
182. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 9 July 1852.
183. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 9 April 1857.
184. Puff, no title, *Lynn News*, 25 May 1859.
185. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 18 January 1850.
186. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 8 December 1857. Advertisements for Dr. DuPonco's French Periodical Golden Pills and Hudson's Female Remedy also warned that they should not be used while pregnant. See Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 27 April 1858 (DuPonco's) and 24 March 1859 (Hudson's).
187. Article, "A Bad Book," *Lynn News*, 2 June 1848 (advertisement); A. M. Mauriceau, *The Married Woman's Private Medical Companion* (New York: Joseph Trow, 1848), p.144 (condoms).
188. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.96.
189. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 14 January 1853.
190. Notice, "To the Public," *Lynn News*, 22 March 1850.
191. Notice, "A Card," *Lynn News*, 1 March 1850.
192. Poem, "Acrostic," *Lynn News*, 25 September 1846.
193. A. S. Adams, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 18 October 1850.
194. Amos S. Adams, Editorial, no title, no title, *Lynn News*, 23 August 1850.
195. S. Ingalls, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 4 October 1850.
196. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 15 November 1850. See also Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 14 May 1852 for mention of William M. Ladd offering to prescribe.
197. Article, "Lynn Light Infantry," *The Bay State*, 15 May 1856 (Berry); Article, "Military Movements," *The Bay State*, 17 July 1856 (Bulkley).
198. See for example, Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 26 December 1851 and Puff, "Removal," *Lynn News*, 5 August 1856.
199. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 November 1854 (Holder); Notice, "The Old Standard Remedy for all Pulmonary Diseases," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 January 1857 (Lummus); Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 1 April 1853 (Ladd's).
200. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 14 January 1853, listed the bitters simply as *J. F. Holman's Bitters* being sold at the Apothecary Store, No 3 Exchange Building, Market Street, in Lynn. See also Advertisements, *Vermont Watchman and State Journal* (Montpelier, VT), 5 May 1854 (Spring Bitters); *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, CT), 28 May 1855 (Spring and Summer). There were two apothecary business associated with the No. 3 Exchange Building location on the corner of Market Street and Essex Street in Lynn: the Apothecary Hall and the Apothecary Store. An advertisement for the "new store" called "Apothecary Hall," at the corner of Market and Essex streets listed John Renton and James Clark as the proprietors; see Advertisement, *Lynn* News, 14 May 1852. In July 1852, Apothecary Hall was still described as "the new drug and medicine store" owned by multiple "proprietors" with an assistant who was a "regular physician"; see Puff, no title, *Lynn News*, 16 July 1852. In April 1853 J. F. Holman was listed as having "removed to Apothecary Hall (it's not clear whether "removal" indicated his relocation from Boston or elsewhere in Lynn). In June 1853, *Ambrosial Mead*, a "New, Delicious Temperance Beverage," was being advertised by "Clark & Holman, Apothecary Hall," so Holman's involvement in Apothecary Hall was in partnership with at least James Clark, and not in replacement of the previous proprietor; see Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 3 June 1853). During the same time, 1852-53, the "Apothecary Store" at No. 3 Exchange Hall, corner of Market and Essex streets, was advertised by George S. Waters, who had been listed as a clerk in the *1851 Lynn City Directory*. Ads in *Lynn* News, 14 January 1853 (for example) featured many products offered by Waters at the Apothecary Store, including Macassar Oil, Dr. [S. O.] Richardson's Bitters, Dr. J. S. Houghton's Pepsin, Mrs. Kidder's Cordial, Spalding's Rosemary and Castor Oil, Babbitt's Soaps, J. J. Holman's Extract for Warts, Corns, and Moles, Mustang Liniment, Dr. Fontaine's Balm of Thousand Flowers, Morse's Yellow Dock Syrup, Dr. Bennett's Pills, Judd's Baking Powder, Pearl Power, Wilbor's Cod Liver Oil and Lime, Babbitt's Soaps, Aromatic Vinegar ("A very superior article of perfumery. It has acquired a great reputation for its purifying qualities in the sick chamber."), hair oils, cocoanut cakes, gum Arabic drops, burnt almonds, and "the very richest confectionery." Apothecary Hall was never mentioned in conjunction with Exchange Hall, but both Apothecary Hall and the

Apothecary Store were listed as located at the corner of Market and Essex streets; therefore, these appear to be two closely located but distinctly separate businesses.

201. Advertisement, *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, 5 May 1854. Thoroughwort was additionally revealed as an ingredient in the bitters in Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 9 July 1852. The add states that "Dr. Holman's original Sarsaparilla, Wild Cherry, Dandelion, and Thoroughwort Bitters, in PINT BOTTLES," were sold for only 20 cents, six bottles for a dollar, "by all the apothecaries and grocers in Lynn."

202. Advertisements, *Vermont Phoenix* (Brattleboro, VT), 22 June 1859 (Wood's), *Aurora of the Valley* (Newbury, VT), 8 February 1855 (Devine's), *Lynn News* 27 May 1853 (Dead, Kennedy's) and 3 June 1853 (Ambrosial); Puffs, "Confectionery, Cigars, &c.," and no title, *Lynn News*, 7 April 1853 (wholesale and retail). The puffs also mentioned that his stock included such non-medical items as "superior confectionery," "the choicest brands [of] cigars [for] the most fastidious smoker," and "cocoa nut and cream cakes of the most delicious flavor, received daily fresh from the establishment of a German manufacturer in Boston."

203. Advertisement, *The Eastern Mail*, Waterville, Maine, 1 September 1853. He had lived and worked at several different Boston addresses between 1845-1852, left Boston for Lynn at least by April 1853, then returned to work in Boston by December 1853 with 3 Tremont Temple listed as his place of business until 1860, although Boston residences for him during the remainder of the decade after his return from Lynn are only recorded for 1857 and 1859. See the Boston city directories for the pertinent years of his residence and work history in that city. Note that in addition to his 1853 hiatus in Lynn, there is also no listing for him in Boston in 1856; his location during that time has not yet been discovered. There is no city directory for Lynn in 1853 to confirm that he lived in Lynn while he worked there.

204. Advertisement, *Bradford Inquirer* (Bradford, Vermont), 17 December 1853; sea sickness was added to the list in *Adams's New Directory of the City of Boston* (Boston, MA: George Adams, 1846), advertisements, p.14. The need for two bottles for the cure of St. Vitus's Dance was a pattern established with other medicines as well; different quantities of bottles of the same product were sometimes promoted for different illnesses. An Indian doctor named Larookah recommended his medicine as follows: one bottle to cure croup; one to two bottles to cure severe colds; three bottles to cure catarrh; four to eight bottles to cure bronchitis; and six to eight bottles to cure consumption (partial list). Boxes of Dr. Clough's Columbian Pills were advertised in the same manner. Both were carried by Lynn apothecaries. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 16 November 1855 (Larookah) and 9 November 1855 (Clough's).

205. Letter from Joseph F. Holman, Boston, to unidentified party, manuscript, August 8, 1846 (Reverend Orange Scott Papers, Box 1, FF20, MS 90-01; Wichita State University Libraries, Special Collections and University Archives.)

206. Letter from Joseph F. Holman, Boston, to unidentified party, manuscript, August 8, 1846 (Reverend Orange Scott Papers, Box 1, FF20, MS 90-01; Wichita State University Libraries, Special Collections and University Archives.) The medicine he was promoting in the letter was that of his deceased father, Charles Holman: *Nature's Grand Restorative*. Extant bottles, however, are embossed with the initials "J. B. Holman" rather than "J. F. Holman." Joshua B. Holman (his father was Calvin Holman, brother of Charles Holman; see Advertisement, *The Cambridge Chronicle* [Cambridge, MA], 13 August 1846) was Joseph F. Holman's first cousin. Charles and Calvin both died before 1846 and both of their sons subsequently claimed the right and ability to continue making and selling the *Restorative*. J. B. Holman wrote, "My father, Mr. Calvin Holman, having recently deceased, the Medicine will hereafter be prepared, and the directions signed by the subscriber, who has been his General Agent for several years. J. B. Holman" (Advertisement, *The Cambridge Chronicle*, 13 August 1846). Similarly, J. F. Holman expressed the same competitive concern in his advertising for the *Restorative* from 1850-1854 that "All orders must be directed to J. F. Holman, ('son' of the late Dr. Holman)" and to "Purchase none unless signed by Joseph F. Holman, son of the late Dr. C. Holman, *as there are imitations abroad; examine carefully before purchasing*." (See Advertisement, *Bradford Inquirer* [Bradford, VT], 31 December 1853 (emphasis added). Joseph F. Holman was also listed as living in Boston in 1850, as an apothecary, 30, with a younger brother (whose given name coincidentally began with the letter J – Joshua, 21), working as one of his clerks, at the same time that Joshua B. Holman, 45, was listed as involved (nondescriptly) with "medicines." Joseph left the sale of patent medicines in favor of operating a fancy goods store in 1859, the same year that his cousin Joshua stopped advertising medicines and practiced, apparently full time, as a Methodist minister. Their mutual disengagement from competing medicine sales after 1858 suggests an odd, bilateral end to their apparently mutual interest in *Holman's Nature's Grand Restorative*

207. Joseph commented in his advertising, "As many families are not inclined to purchase dollar medicine, (even if valuable,) the proprietor of the Restorative has put it into bottles for the above price." (See Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 7 April 1852xz.) Selling the *Restorative* in smaller bottles so that he could sell it at a reduced price was designed to pull sales away his cousin, who sold the full-sized bottle embossed with his name; so the "Bottles made from a mould, for me" apparently referred to their size, not the presence of embossing.

208. Puff, no title, *Lynn News*, 18 July 1856 (De Berriam's) and Puff, *The Bay State*, 4 June 1857 (Rose Oil).

209. Puff, "That Window," *The Bay State*, 30 April 1857.

210. Berry's store sign was mentioned in his ads throughout 1857; see for example, Puff, "Soda," Lynn News, 26 May 1857.
211. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 28 October 1856 (soap) and 13 June 1851 (nursing).
212. Article, "Soda," *Lynn News*, 11 June 1852.
213. James Bassett Holder (under the abbreviation, J. B. H.), Article, "Wild Flowers of Lynn No. 4," Lynn Weekly Reporter, 15 July 1854.
214. Alonzo Lewis (under the pseudonym, Lynn Bard), Article, "Dysentery and Diarrhoea," Lynn Weekly *Reporter*, 30 September 1854.
215. Squib, no title, *Lynn News*, 29 March 1859.
216. Puff, "Ramsdell's Bitters," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 May 1856. Ramsdell and Sparks are listed as cordwainers in Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], pp.119 (Ramsdell) and p.127 (Sparks). Sparks is then listed as the "manufacturer of Dr. Ramsdell's bitters" in The *Lynn Directory for 1854* (Lynn: Thomas Herbert, 1854), p.142, George Adams, *The Lynn Directory* (Lynn: T. Herbert & Co., 1856), p.154, and in Adams, Sampson & Co., *The Lynn Directory* (Lynn: James M. Munroe, 1858), p.188, where Ramsdell is still listed as a shoemaker (p.174). In 1860 Ramsdell and Sparks continued on as shoemakers; Vickary continued running his produce business while selling the Bitters; see *Lynn Directory*, (Lynn: James M. Munroe and Thos. Herbert, 1860), pp.175 (Ramsdell), 190 (Sparks), 203 (Vickary), and Advertising Section, p.76 (Vickary), wherein Vickary advertises his bitters as "the best bitters in the market."
217. Puff, "Dr. Ramsdell's Indian Restorative, or Family Bitters," *The Bay State*, 16 June 1859.
218. Article, "Change in Business," *The Bay State*, 22 November 1860. He advertised his second-hand furniture business in the *Lynn Directory, 1865* (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1865)**,** p.156.
219. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 30 August 1855.
220. George Adams, *The Lynn Directory for 1854*, p.89, and *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.119, list Hilton residing in Lynn. The *Massachusetts State Census for 1855*, Lynn, Essex County, dwelling 276, family 392, lists Hilton as 66 years old.
221. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Ward 10, p.331, dwelling 219, household 386 (True).
222. Joseph M. True can be found in the 1880 federal census for New Haven, CT, with the occupation "patent medicines."
223. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 21 April 1855.
224. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 21 April 1855.
225. Puff, "Sick Headache Remedy," *Lynn News*, 23 December 1853. For a biography of Ezekiel Porter Eastman, see Andrew V. Rapoza, "An Old and Bitter Storyteller," *Bottles and Extras* (Federation of Historical Bottle Collectors, Inc., Johnson City, TN) Vol. 17, No. 2, Winter 2006, p.42.
226. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 23 December 1853.
227. E[zekiel] P[orter] Eastman, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Letter to Samuel Eastman, Strong, Maine, manuscript, 6 May 1843 (© University of Wisconsin System Board of Regents; see http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wipionexp.Letters2w)
228. Dr. P. E. Sanborn, *The Sick Man's Friend, Being a Plain, Practical Medical Work on Vegetable or Botanical Principles* (Boston: William Johnson, 1844), p.76.
229. E. P. Eastman, Letter, 6 May 1843.
230. Application for Copyright, District Court of Massachusetts, May 1853. Dr. E. P. Eastman's Yellow Dock Bitters is item E14 in the standard bitters bottle reference book, Carlyn Ring, compiler, *For Bitters Only* (Boston: The Nimrod Press, 1980), p.178. Ring cites a labeled example of the bottle, which listed the 1852 date and J. B. Hill as the manufacturer. There were two adults in Lynn in 1852 surnamed Hill with the initials J. B.: Joseph B. Hill, the barber, and James B. Hill, a cordwainer. While the cordwainer could have been the manufacturer (in the same way that Shadrach Ramsdell and John Sparks were shoemakers who also made medicine and soap products. However, there are references to Joseph B. Hill being known as J. B. Hill which points to Joseph B. Hill as the manufacturer of Eastman's bitters. (See, for example, William Read [under the pseudonym, Dan], "Records of a Society called One in a Thousand in Lynn, Mass. 1845, manuscript, [covering 1845; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society], Chapter 6, 9 September 1845. Ring also notes that less than six specimens of this bitters exist; one of these is in the collection of author (Rapoza).
231. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 6 December 1855.
232. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.101.
233. Puff, "A Sure Cure," *The Bay State*, 9 July 1857.

234. Article, "Narcotics and Poisons," *Lynn News*, 8 December 1854.
235. Puff, "A Sure Cure," *The Bay State*, 9 July 1857.
236. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 5 January 1855 (Liniment and Sewing Machines).
237. Advertismenet, *Lynn News*, 20 July 1858.
238. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 12 May 1859 (Cates and Mower).
239. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 31 January 1856.
240. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 3 January 1856.
241. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 9 November 1858.
242. Puff, "Anti-Scrofulous Panacea," *Lynn News*, 6 June 1851.
243. Puff, "Anti-Scrofulous Panacea," *Lynn News*, 21 May 1852.
244. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 8 June 1859.
245. James Bassett Holder (under the abbreviation, J. B. H.), Article, "Wild Flowers of Lynn, - No. 4, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 July 1854.
246. Editorial, "Doctoring to Death," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 August 1854.
247. Parsons Cooke, *A Century of Puritanism and A Century of Its Opposites* (Boston: S. K. Whipple and Company, 1855), p.275.
248. A. Lummus (Aaron Lummus jr.), Letter to the Editor, "To the Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 13 April 1855.
249. Ellen M. Griffin, *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies*, p.150.
250. Clarence W. Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, p.57.
251. J. S. Jones, *Moll Pitcher; or, The Fortune Teller of Lynn. A Drama. in Four Acts* (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1855), p.14.
252. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 17 January 1846.
253. Roback was born in Sweden as Carl Johan Nilsson but he assumed several identities, including Fallenius, and in the U.S., William Williams, Billy the Swede, Dutch Billy, C. W. Hufeland, Dr. C. W. Roback. He had a reputation in Sweden as a swindler and deadbeat had earned him the epithet, "Knave of Fallebo." He escaped his troubles by traveling to Boston in 1847. Roback's career in the U.S. was a finely developed charade of deception and sensational theater. His earliest U.S. money grab was charging two cents to view an alligator in a tin case loaded on his wagon, exhibited with the storyline that it was a crocodile he had captured himself while in Africa. A later deception got him tarred and feathered in Philadelphia. When he took on his role as an astrologer, he introduced his own medicines, the Astrologer's Swedish Consumption Syrup and Dr. Roback's Love-Powder. Sten Almquist, "The Knave of Fallebo," *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* (1976), Vol.27, p.6-25. After this episode his advertisement in the 1854 *Lynn City Directory* (Lynn: Thomas Herbert, 1854, in the Boston Advertisement section, p.10) was one of his efforts to reestablish his career in Boston. In the same year he published a largely fabricated autobiography that promoted his various mystical services and more medical products: Dr. Roback's Celebrated Premium Galvanic Chains and Dr. C. W. Roback's Medicine Chests designed for ships, containing remedies to cure fits, fever, ague, female diseases, consumption, rheumatism, neuralgia, and disease of the bladder. C. W. Roback, *The Mysteries of Astrology and the Wonders of Magic* (Boston: Wright & Hasty, 1854), p.240. For more on his life, see ansvarig, "Dr. Roback en svensk skojare I USA," *DAST Magazine*, 8 December 2012 (available online at http://www.dast.nu/artikel/dr-roback-en-svensk-skojare-i-usa)
254. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 30 August 1855.
255. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn News*, 29 December 1854.
256. Squib, *Lynn News*, 18 April 1850.
257. Article, "A False Prediction," *Lynn News*, 30 August 1850.
258. Article, "Sinking of Lynn!" *Lynn News*, 24 December 1852.
259. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *The Locomotive* [Lynn], 11 February 1843. Some of the mesmerist and botanic physician teams to visit Lynn were "Dr. Swan and lady," and Dr. and Madam Johnson. See Article, "Mesmerism," *Lynn News*, 17 May 1850 (Swan) and Puff, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 5 August 1854.
260. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *The Locomotive*, 11 February 1843.
261. Article, "Lectures," *Lynn News*, 28 February 1851.
262. Fiske was an itinerant lecturer, traveling at least from New England to the Deep South. The description of Fiske's biology lectures is from an article reviewing his lectures series on the same topic for the same period of five days when in Raymond, Mississippi. See George W. Harper, "Raymond Years Ago" *Hinds County*

Gazette, 1878-1879, from the Gillespie Collections edited by Pattie Adams Snowball and Rebecca Blackwell Drake (see http://raymondhistory.org/harper/ part9.htm)

263. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 8 February 1850.

264. Article, "Electro-Biology," *Lynn News* 15 February 1850. The engagement book for the Lynn Lyceum indicates A. S. Pearce rented the hall for the 5th and 6th of February to speak on "Bilology" (a topic the ledger keeper had not been exposed to long enough to know how to spell). In the comments column the clerk wrote, "annulled did not succeed & refunded the money." See the Lynn Lyceum engagement book, manuscript (covering 1845-1868; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

265. Rev. Theophilus Fiske and James Stanley Grimes rented the Lyceum and paid well for the privilege. Fiske rented the hall from 11-15 January 1850 for $25.00. Grimes hired the hall at a rental rate ranging from $7.50 to $8.00 per evening, on 21, 23, and 28 February. On 4 March the ledger showed the side comment, "stormy no house," but he still had to pay a $5.00 rental fee, and on 12 March he delved into clairvoyance (the ledger read, "no house - getting stale"); he was required to pay only $5.12 of the $7.50 rental fee for that evening. See the Lynn Lyceum engagement book, manuscript (covering 1845-1868; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

266. Article, "Vive La Humbug," *Lynn News*, 2 July 1847. The article said the doctor was 150 miles away from the boy in Lynn, suggesting that he was more likely in the Albany area than down in New York City.

267. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.

268. James R. Newhall, *An Account of the Great New England Witchcraft*, p.36.

269. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.413.

270. Some of the clairvoyant physicians to visit Lynn were Dr. C. C. Jordan and Mrs. Addison, both in 1854. See Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 12 May 1854 (Jordan, "flesh is heir") and Puff, "Free Lecture," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 December 1854 (Addison).

271. Broadside for Dr. J. W. Channing, about 1856 (collection of Walter Szabo).

272. The record of death causes was printed as part of the annual *City Physician's Report*, which was bound together with the mayor's *Inaugural Address* and *List of City Officers*.

273. Benjamin H. Jacob (copied from the original record by John T. Moulton in 1855), "A Record of Interments in the Old or Western Burying Ground in Lyn, Mass.," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1885), Vol. XXII, p.50.

274. Obituary of Dixy Collins Davis, *The Bay State*, 3 January 1856.

275. Obituary of Theodore Lyman Mudge, *The Bay State*, 27 December 1855.

276. Article, "An Afflicted One," *Lynn News*, 28 December 1858.

277. Abigail Makepeace Lummus, Diary, manuscript (covering 1839, 1850, and 1859, at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.); dates as listed in the text.

278. A note was found with a daguerreotype stating that Macomber had taken the first portrait daguerreotype in Lynn in 1842; see John S. Craig ©1996, http://www.daguerreotype.com/. Macomber advertised that he had taken rooms in the Sagamore Hall building to take daguerreotype miniatures; see Ad, *The Lynn Democrat*, 14 December 1844; the add in this issue has an initial posting date of October 17, 1844. The daguerreotype of Eliza B. Kite was sold on eBay in 2006. Eliza died on 23 February 1844, aged 21 months. James R. Newhall claimed to have taken the very first daguerreotype in Lynn in 1841, but mentioned it was a landscape; see Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.409.

279. Puff, "Daguerreotypes," *Lynn News*, 19 January 1849 (Whitmore) and advertising trade card in the collection of author (Rapoza) (Appleton). In contrast to Horatio N. Macomber who became a dentist after being a daguerreotypist, Appleton gave up his camera in 1880 to become a baker in Lynn; see *The Lynn Directory, 1880*, No. XVII (Lynn: George C. Hebert, 1880), p.32).

280. Puff, "Daguerreotypes," *Lynn News*, 25 May 1849.

281. Puffs, "Daguerreotypes," *Lynn News*, 25 May 1849 (post mortem) and 19 January 1849 (uncertain).

282. Abigail Makepeace Lummus, Diary, 14 November 1850 (Whitmore). Alfred's death as listed in *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss, 1906), Vol. 2, p.529.

283. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 July 1857. Joseph Wheeler, Lynn's frequently visiting artist, rolled with the times by offering portraits of his customers through a choice of his traditional paintings or the new daguerreotypes; see Advertisement, *The Pioneer* [Lynn], 31 December 1845.

284. Article, "Mormonism," *Essex County Washingtonian* [Lynn], 18 August 1842 (emphasis in original).

285. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 30 July 1852 (250); Article, "Camp Meeting," *Lynn News*, 25 August 1854 (230).

286. Populations Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, p.288, dwelling 872, household 1248 (cordwainer); Article, "Eastham Camp Meeting," *Lynn News*, 4 August 1854 (cater).

287. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Charles E. Mann, Ed., 2 vols. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), Vol. 1, p.109.

288. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.414.

289. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, pp.113-114.

290. Bertha D. Usher, "Memories of Market Street," manuscript (1932, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society); 1st page.

291. Article, "Millerism," *Lynn News*, 6 October 1854.

292. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 25 May 1855.

293. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind* (New York: S. S. Lyon, and Wm. Fishbough, 1847); (online at google.com/books). Throughout this work, Davis described the physical and mental characteristics of these other races of humans on each planet in the solar system as it was known in 1847. In 1854, the *Lynn News* passed on a rumor that Andrew Jackson Davis had stated the inhabitants of Jupiter had no teeth and existed by suction. The tone of the article was disparaging towards Davis and the machine Spear was building at High Rock, so the *Lynn News* editor was likely playing loose with Davis's revelations. See article, no title, *Lynn News*, 17 February 1854.

294. Andrew Jackson Davis, *A Stellar Key to The Summer Land* (1867). (Boston: Colby & Rich, Banner of Light Publishing House, 1867), p.147; (online at google.com/books).

295. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Principles of Nature*, p.675 (emphasis added).

296. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841*, p.47 (stove dealer); *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1842, households 3643 (printer).

297. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 10 May 1850.

298. William Read, "Records of a Society called One in a Thousand in Lynn, Mass. 1845," Chapter 6, 9 September 1845. While written with humor, this account accurately describes several biographical details about Jesse Hutchinson. In that it was written in 1845, the treasure hunting attributed to him at Egg Rock and Bass Point predates his better documented effort at Dungeon Rock, and establishes behavioral patterns, including his quest for treasure and trust in clairvoyants. Charles Chester was listed as a restorator in *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841*, p.37, and advertised for his restaurant under Sagamore Hall in the advertising section, page 9.

299. "The Adventures of Jesse Hutchinson Jr., Chronicles Read before the 'One in a Thousand,'" by Dan. The story mentions Kingsford by surname only, but William Kingsford was the only man by that name in Lynn, based on the 1850 federal census and 1855 state census.

Chester's fruitless efforts to locate fortune for Jesse Hutchinson did not prevent her reputation as a clairvoyant from growing. It may have been she who in 1845-6 had seen Jesse's spring deep under High Rock. In July 1845, while in a mesmerized state, Chester revealed directions to Captain Kidd's treasure in a certain section New York's Hudson River. The clairvoyant's detailed description of the location as well as of the treasures to be found gained her considerable attention in Lynn and New York. See Article, "Mesmerism – Kidd's Treasure," *Lynn News*, 6 August 1847. For almost two years, treasure hunters dug Kidd's booty based on Chester's instructions. In early April 1847, a rumor surfaced that the diggers had found a box of antique jewels and bars of silver, but by the end of the month, the rumor had been debunked. See Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 30 April 1847. Nonetheless, later in 1847 and for a few years following, Martha was clairvoyantly probing the bodies of the Porter family.

On 28 November 1846, Charles Chester rented the Lyceum Hall for the evening; the rental records list his purpose as "Mesmerism." He may have been performing it on his wife Martha to put her into the trance state under which she could utter her clairvoyant insights, especially about Kidd's treasure, the topic that had many buzzing. However, a note jotted in the comments column of the rental ledger reveals Chester's plans, whatever they were, went bust because no one came: "a failure no house." Chester was not obliged to pay the $7.50 hall rental fee. See the Lynn Lyceum engagement book, manuscript (covering 1845-1868; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

Sometime during 1850 Martha and her family disappeared from Lynn. In May 1850 she was charged with disturbing the peace; she had "kept up a continual annoyance by her loud noises, threats, and unladylike talk, for a considerable length of time …" She was required to pay the cost of prosecution plus a surety of $100, plus was required to be on good behavior and keep the peace for a month. See Article, Police Doings," *Lynn News*, 10 May 1850. By 21 August 1850, the Chesters were located in Boston. Charles Chester was listed as a painter with wife Martha and five children. See *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the*

United States, 1850: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Ward 9, dwelling 515, household 928. In 1860 Charles was a clerk with family living in Ward 11. See *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Ward 11, dwelling 2520, household 3692. In 1870, Charles C. Chester was a caterer and Martha was keeping house; they were living on South Forth Street in South Boston. See *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Ward 12, dwelling 1276, household 1740. None of these censuses mentioned Martha's clairvoyance for hire, but census records list clairvoyants and mediums in far fewer numbers than were actually providing their services for a fee.

300. Deed, Timothy Johnson et al. to Jesse Hutchinson Jnr., 27 May 1845, Salem Registry of Deeds, (Salem, Mass.), Book 355, p.81. Additional pieces of High Rock land were subsequently purchased by Jesse Hutchinson on 29 August 1845 (Book 358, p.70), 4 March 1846 (Book 364, p.173), 1 September 1846 (Book 371, p.97), and 2 April 1847 (Book 380, pp.18-19).

301. Article, "Water-Cure at High Rock," *New York Daily Tribune*, 15 December 1851. Upon Jesse Hutchinson's departure for San Francisco, his Stone Cottage was leased to Asa and Louisa Smith, who converted the Stone Cottage into a water cure enterprise. They had previously operated another water cure in Newport, Rhode Island.

302. The diary of John Wallace Hutchinson is quoted in Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol 1, p.322. The successful clairvoyant is not named.

303. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.276.

304. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.276.

305. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.272.

306. Dale Cockrell, *Excelsior: Journals of the Hutchinson Family Singers, 1842-1846* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, Sociology of Music Series, No. 5, 1989), p.255.

307. Obituary of Susan W. Hutchinson, *Lynn News*, 12 September 1851 (suffering); George A. Ramsdell, *The History of Milford* [New Hampshire] (Concord, NH: The Rumford Press, 1901), p.788 (baby).

308. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.273, does not give the name of this medium. It is tempting to speculate that it was Martha Chester once again, but this probably was not the case. Although many clairvoyants shifted themselves into the role of mediums after the Fox Sisters popularized spiritualism in 1848-1849, there is no evidence that Martha Chester made the leap while living in Lynn (if she did at all).

309. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, 7 vols. Part 1, *1717-1730*, (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1956), p.35 (1721); James Gardner, Daybook, 2 vols., manuscript (covering 19 May 1792 - 31 December 1800; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 18 May 1798 (Dungeon Land), 24 March 1800 (Dungeon Meeting). Unfortunately, Gardner did not mention what type of meeting was held at Dungeon Rock.

310. Article, "The Pirate's Dungeon," *Lynn Record*, 20 February 1830.

311. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.401.

312. Article, "The Pirate's Cave," *The Banner* (Lynn), 21 May 1838.

313. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.273

314. Two sources indicate Jesse Hutchinson actually purchased Dungeon Rock: Enesee (pseudonym for Nanette Snow Emerson), *The History of Dungeon Rock*, p.41; Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.273; however, he did not. His first purchase of land was a tinshop in 1842 followed by his seven purchases of property at High Rock (miles from Dungeon Rock), from May 1845 to April 1847. There were no purchases of property in Lynn by Jesse Hutchinson after his High Rock purchases in 1847. See Jesse Hutchinson in Grantee records at the Salem Registry of Deeds in Salem, Mass.

315. Jesse Hutchinson listed the several locations where he had experienced contact with the spirit world in Editorial, "The Rappings," *Lynn News*, 21 March 1851. The expression, "saw the elephant," was popular among the gold rushers, meaning essentially that they had seen or experienced the exotic, marvelous, and unforgettable.

316. Article, "Jesse Hutchinson," *Lynn News*, 25 March 1853 (reported); Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.317 (Panama). Jesse went to California as an agent for the Alleghanians, another singing group. For just nine months starting in May 1852, he set up engagements for the group at San Francisco's Adelphi Theatre and others as well as at halls in the inland gold regions. See Philip D. Jordan, *Singin' Yankees*, (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1946), p.180-181. Dr. David G. Robinson was a Maine-born chemist whose first love was the theater. He came to San Francisco in 1849 and earned enough from the sale of a bitters of his making to send for the rest of his family a year later. He wrote and performed in songs and plays in San Francisco (including at the Adelphi) and the inland gold regions, just as Jesse Hutchinson was doing with his performing group, and at the same time. The two men shared similar loves for the arts, theater, writing music, and New England, and at some point during the nine months their closely paralleled lives

apparently intersected. In early 1853 Robinson left the stage and according to the *Daily Placer Times and Transcript* of 4 June 1853, "engaged in the manufacture of patent medicine, the 'Mountain Extract for Cure of Fever and Ague.'" See Yolla Mering, "The San Francisco Theatrical Career of Dr. D. G. Robinson," Master's Thesis, 1977, manuscript (at the library of California State University Long Beach), pp.33-36, 57, and 69 (Mountain). Hutchinson and Robinson had apparently arranged that Jesse would begin manufacture of the medicine on the East Coast, while Robinson made it on the West Coast. Hutchinson died before being able to begin his newest business venture and in 1856, Robinson also died coming back East.

317. The funeral was held as soon as the body arrived in Lynn (even before the *Lynn News* got to report his death), the condition of the corpse four days after death plus the hot weather made immediate burial necessary. See Article, "Jesse Hutchinson," *Lynn News*, 20 May 1853.

318. Enesee, *The History of Dungeon Rock*, p.51.

319. Enesee, *The History of Dungeon Rock*, p.55.

320. Enesee, *The History of Dungeon Rock*, pp.58 (treasure), 57 (cholera), and 59 (seashore).

321. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.430 (permission); Enesee, The History of Dungeon Rock, p.430 (clairvoyant). The exact date that Marble began digging is found in the printed description on the back of a stereopticon slide of Dungeon Rock in the collection of author (Rapoza).

322. Enesee, *The History of Dungeon Rock*, p.60.

323. Over two decades since his In 1852 Alonzo Lewis tried to dissuade treasure hunters from attacking Dungeon Rock. He explained, "The earthquake in 1658 did destroy the great cavern as it had before existed. But it left the mouth or outer portion open in the form of a smaller cave. into this cave I entered many times when a boy and peered through a small opening into the darkness of the inner cavern. The small cave was destroyed some years ago leaving only a rude mass of rock. *I never had the least idea that a treasure existed there and I think that none but a visionary would entertain such an imagination*. When I made the survey for a map of Lynn some years ago, the compass was very, very strongly attracted there. I publicly mentioned this fact and … some people took a fancy to believe that a treasure was buried there. But such people ought to know that silver and gold never attract a compass, though an old trammel or the head of an axe might do it. The needle is often affected around magnetic rocks … and in meadows where there is a small presence of bog iron." Article, no title, *The Bay State*, 30 December 1852; emphasis added.

324. Enesee, *The History of Dungeon Rock*, p.63.

325. Article, "Dungeon Rock on the 25th," *Lynn News*, 3 December 1852.

326. Article, no title, *The Lynn Transcript*, 14 November 1868 (pulmonary); Article, "Dungeon Rock," *Lynn News*, 5 August 1853 (brain fever); Article, "Thanksgiving," *Lynn News*, 3 December 1852, Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 23 November 1859, and Article, "Dungeon Rock on the 25th," *Lynn News*, 3 December 1852 (foul smelling).

327. Article, "Dungeon Rock," *Salem Observer*, as quote in *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 September 1857 (museum). They found a broken sword, and old dagger, and a pair of antique scissors in the cave. The article also describes the paintings.

328. Article, "History of Dungeon Rock," *Lynn News*, 9 December 1856 (book); Richard G. Provenzano, *Pirates' Glen & Dungeon Rock: The Evolution of a Legend* (Saugus, Mass.: Saugus Historical Society, Inc., 1983), p.16 (bond).

329. Article, "Dungeon Rock," *The Bay State*, 3 July 1856.

330. Article, "Dungeon Rock," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 September 1855 (hotel); Article, "Dungeon Rock," *Salem Observer*, as quoted in *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 September 1857 (Fowler). Phrenologist Orson Squires Fowler popularized the octagonal house style.

331. Puff, no title, *Lynn News*, 3 November 1854. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.471, describes a large convocation at Dungeon Rock in 1862.

332. A. E. Newton, *The Educator: Being Suggestions, Theoretical and Practical, Designed to Promote Man-Culture and Integral Reform with a View to the Ultimate Establishment of a Divine Social State on Earth. Comprised in a Series of Revealments from Organized Associations in the Spirit-Life, through John Murray Spear* (Boston: Office of Practical Spiritualists, 1857), Volume I, p.237. (online at us.archive.org)

333. See for example, James Woods in Article, "Spirit Medium," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 April 1854; Cora L. V. Hatch in Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 24 November 1857; Ada L. Coan in "Spirit Rapping," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 December 1856; and a Miss Hamblin in Letter to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 4 July 1851.

334. Addison Davis claimed that when the lights were turned on, one of those sitting in the circle saw a rope tied to the trunk handle. He concluded that the Big Irish Girl (the medium), was able to pull the trunk back and forth across the room in the dark, pretending it to be a feat of the spirits. See Addison Davis, Letter to the Editor,

"Spiritualism," *Lynn News*, 3 February 1854**.** Spiritual manifestations at the Hutchinson's Stone Cottage are described in detail in Article, "The Knockers," *Lynn News*, 21 March 1851**.**

335. Article, "Spiritual Rappings," *Lynn News*, 11 July 1851.

336. Poem, "Jesse Hutchinson," *Lynn News*, 27 January 1854. More communications of Jesse Hutchinson after death can be found in Dale Cockrell, *Excelsior*, p.206. These manifestations were viewed as fulfillment of a promise he made that he would return after entering the spirit land. See Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.437. Just two days after Hiram Marble "passed to spirit life" (the phrase etched below his name on his gravestone), his spirit communicated through an earth-bound medium, "… I have hurried back to say to all Spiritualists … I was not mistaken, not misled – not at all … I followed no false light, as the future will demonstrate … Now I want to say to my son, Don't be in a hurry to make any change, for if you are in a hurry you may regret it. Move slowly; then you will have nothing to regret. And if you move slowly, I shall be in a condition to help you move, to show you how, so that you will be satisfied. … The poor hermit of Dungeon Rock lives, just as much as he did four days ago …." See Article, "Hiram Marble," *Banner of Light* (Boston, MA), 13 February 1869.

337. "Spiritualists Memorial to Congress" (March 1854); http://www.spirithistory.com/petlist.html.

338. See http://www.spirithistory.com/petlist.html for a comprehensive history of the petition drive and a complete listing of all the petitioners. Ages and occupations of the Lynn petitioners can be found in the *Populations Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts.

339. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.413 (fade) and p.248 (Lynn).

340. Article, *Lynn News*, "Spirit Manifestations," 30 December 1853 (considerable); Article, "Spiritualism in Massachusetts," *Lynn News*, 25 April 1856 (majority, less).

341. Buffum published the *Lynn Record* from 1830-1836. His oil, paint, and glass business is listed in the *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.77.

342. Article, "Convention of Spiritualists," *The Bay State*, 2 January 1853. A few months later, Spear gave another talk while entranced, but a different paper gave the same assessment; it was nothing but the utterances of Spear himself. See Article, "John M. Spear," *The Practical Christian*, 7 May 1853. Napoleon Bonaparte Wolfe, an Ohio physician and spiritualist, was probably writing about the same convention when he wrote about a visit to Boston in the early 1850s, "There was a class of people anxious to monopolize the privileges of media, who pretended to be entranced by spirits, who would, in this condition, give utterance to the most silly and ungrammatical drivel that ever assailed the ear of credulity. All they had to do was to shut their eyes, squirm a trifle, and then begin a dribble of shilly-shally stuff that the poorest devil in the spirit-world would be ashamed to own. … they did not deceive any man who had capacity to distinguish the difference between a hen and a hand-saw." See N. B. Wolfe, M.D., *Startling Facts in Modern Spiritualism*, (Chicago, Religio-Philosophical Publishing House, 1875), pp.38-39.

343. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.413.

344. Parsons Cooke, *A Century of Puritanism and A Century of Its Opposites*, p.275.

345. John J. Mangan, M.D., "The Newspapers of Lynn," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, (Lynn, Mass.: Frank S. Whitten, 1910), No. 13 (1909), p.148.

346. Article, "Spiritualism," *The Bay State*, 3 December 1857. Also see N. A. Greene, Letters to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 20 June 1851 and 4 July 1851.

347. Anonymous (under the abbreviation, "T."), Article, "Spiritualism," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 May 1857.

348. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857. James M. W. Yerrinton, a phonographic reporter recorded the proceedings of the meeting in marvelous detail and the newspaper's editor dedicated the entire front page plus more than half of the second page to Yerrinton's account.

349. Occupations of the three committee members as found in *The Lynn Directory* [1858], pp.236 (Buffum), 162 (Oliver), and 228 (Shackford)

350. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

351. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

352. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

353. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

354. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

355. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

356. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

357. Article, "Trance Speaking," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.

358. C. C. Felton to George W. Keene, *Advance Sheet of the Lynn News*, 27 October 1857.

359. George W. Keene to C. C. Felton, *Advance Sheet of the Lynn News*, 27 October 1857.

360. Article, "The Discussion on Spiritualism," *Lynn News*, 16 June 1857. Henry Lummus's complete name and occupation listed in *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.141.

361. Article, "Convention of Spiritualists," *The Bay State*, 2 January 1853.

362. Cooke, *Necromancy*, pp.18-19.

363. Cooke, *Necromancy*, p.26.

364. Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Vol. 1, p.276; Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.455. That week had been very cold; five days before Judson's suicide, the temperature was seventeen degrees below zero – colder than it had been for two years. Children's ears and fingers froze as they walked to and from school. See Article, no title (seventeen) and "Waxed Ends" (children's), *Lynn News*, 11 January 1859. For more on Judson's bouts with episodes of the "horrors," see Dale Cockrell, *Excelsior*, especially p.27.

365. Article, "Jesse Hutchinson's Spirit Playing on a Guitar," from *The New York Spiritual Telegraph*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 4 May 1855. Also see Article, "Jesse Hutchinson," *Lynn News*, 24 June 1853, which quoted a female in the *Pittsburg Visitor*, that Hutchinson "pledged himself … to convince us of their truth [spiritual manifestations] as soon as he went to the spirit land. Almost his parting words were, that after death he would come and rap around us so that we should have no peace until we believed."

366. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age and Inner Life; Ancient and Modern Spirit Mysteries Classified and Explained* (Boston: Banner of Light Publishing, 1868), pp.110-171.

367. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.113.

368. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.115.

369. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.118 (emphasis in original).

370. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.124.

371. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.126-128.

372. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.139-165.

373. Andrew Jackson Davis, *The Present Age*, p.144-145, 148-149.

374. There were thirty-four participants at the convention, of which seventeen were residents of Lynn; Jesse Hutchinson was one of these. Other Lynners of note were Oliver Porter and William Estes (the brother of Lydia Pinkham). For a complete list of participants, see *Address Before the Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention, at its First Session, held in Lynn, Mass. Nov. 19, 1840, by J. M. Spear, Pastor of the First Universalist Society in New Bedford, Mass.* (Waltham, Mass.: Christian Freeman Office, 1840), pp.46. Spear spoke at the January 1853 Boston spiritualist convention that was chaired by another Lynn friend of spiritualism, Jonathan Buffum. (See Article, "Convention of Spiritualists," *The Bay State*, 2 January 1853.) The spirits were comfortable to manifest at Jesse's Stone Cottage on High Rock when he was alive; he had hosted a number of séances at his home and the spirits never failed to visit. Spear would certainly have been aware of Andrew Jackson Davis's visions from High Rock Tower in the spring of 1853. Thus, just a few months after the heavens had opened for Davis, Spear came to Lynn, a town he was not only familiar with, but in which he had friends among the remaining Hutchinson brothers, Jonathan Buffum, and probably others.

375. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.13 (Portland), p.12 (New Bedford). Also see Robert Damon Schneck, "The God Machine," *Fortean Times*, May 2002.

376. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I,pp.24-28.

377. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.40.

378. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.29.

379. Slater Brown, *The Heyday of Spiritualism* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1970), p.170.

380. Enesee, *Dungeon Rock*, p.65.

381. Article, "Andrew Jackson Davis," *The Practical Christian*, 26 March 1853.

382. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.239.

383. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.240.

384. The spirits gave Spear initial instructions in November 1852 and construction began in July 1853. See Newton, *The Educator*, p.239.

385. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.240; emphasis as in original.

386. Anonymous (under the abbreviation T. M. of Wakefield, Massachusetts), submitted the quotation to the "New England Magazine," supplement to *The Boston Globe*, 28 December 1980. Robert Morse was listed as a shoemaker in *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.150.

387. Article, "Spiritual Manifestations," *Lynn News*, 30 December 1853.

388. The same article that claimed Davis had described Jupiter's inhabitants as toothless also claimed there were similar machines already in operation on Jupiter. See article, no title, *Lynn News*, 17 February 1854.
389. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.241.
390. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.241.
391. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.255.
392. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.240.
393. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.242.
394. "Of The Electric Motor," Thaddeus Sheldon Papers on Harmonia, 1853-1868, (Darlington Digital Library, University of Pittsburgh, DAR.1960.01), 2 June 1860, p.15. John Benedict Buescher, author of the excellent book, *The Remarkable Life of John Murray Spear: Agitator for the Spirit Land* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), p.112, attributed the spirits' instructions in this instance to be applied to humans (that humans should eat powdered metals "wrapped in tiny packets of oiled silk" to make "themselves more metallic"; but the current author (Rapoza) respectfully disagrees. The spirits rambled in their 23-page lesson on the nature and spirit of man and the "new motive power" (the machine at High Rock), zig-zagging between the two "life" forms, without clearly signaling when they were switching from man to machine and vice versa. However, after explaining that an obstructed human system can result in cancer, the spirits stated, "Precisely so in constructing the new motive power. The elements used must be let off else corrosion will appear. … Metals can be eaten with as much ease as a person can eat a mutton chop … [meaning metals be eaten by oxidation/corrosion as easily as food can be eaten by humans], and in carrying forward these works [the work of taking care of the machine] it will be necessary to observe great particularity in the cleansing & burnishing departments [keeping the machine's parts clean and polished]. The pores or evacuatives being closed [the metals' equivalent to human pores, according to the spirits] a machine which would work seven years might be consumed in three [corrosion would shorten the life of the machine just like cancer would shorten the life of the human]. It will become necessary to enwrap these [corrosively sensitive areas of metal] in oiled silk that the coarser currents may not approach the machine and [so] that corrosion may not appear." The spirits were indeed emphasizing the similarity of human and machine composition, functions, and limitations, but this interpretation does not support the conclusion that the humans tending to the machine at High Rock were being instructed to eat powdered metal in oiled silk packets.
395. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I,.p.245 (emphasis in original).
396. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, pp.245 (virtue), 247 (vitality).
397. Article, no title, *The Practical Christian*, 23 April 1853.
398. Article, *Boston New Era*, 29 June 1854. Given all that has preceded in this Gothic-toned story, it is almost disappointing that there was no protracted, raging thunderstorm occurring as the thing came to life. Bringing life to the machine was an intricately detailed master plan to evolve mankind; by comparison, the creation of Frankenstein was child's play.
399. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.247.
400. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.248; also see article, *Boston New Era*, 29 June 1854.
401. Slater Brown, *The Heyday of Spiritualism*, p.174 (Thing); A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.248 (emphasis in original).
402. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.249 (emphasis added). As early as February 1854 Spear's assistants reportedly did not know what the machine was intended to do. See Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 17 February 1854.
403. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.252.
404. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.33.
405. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.31.
406. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, p.253.
407. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, pp.256-257 (womb), 192 (offspring).
408. A. E. Newton, *The Educator*, Vol. I, pp.256-257.
409. Article, "Abominable Practices," from *The Springfield Republican*, as quoted in *The Bay State*, 28 January 1858. The article reported on "the best authority," that there were séances occurring in Boston where the male and female participants were all "perfectly naked," and that Spear, "of Boston, attempted to organize a similar nude circle in Springfield, by order of the 'spirits;'" but the participants had "too much honor or modesty to acquiesce."
410. C. C. Felton, Letter to the Editor, *Lynn News*, 1 December 1857.
411. Spear lost his New Motor, the $2,000 he had spent on the ordeal, and it appears that his career took a decidedly downward turn from that point. In 1859, N. B. Wolfe saw Spear and his few followers floating up to

a Cincinnati dock on a flatboat. "That was a sight worth seeing … this huddle of world-reformers (?), living in a sensual sty of filth and degrading familiarity, houseless and homeless. What a commentary upon their movement!" See N. B. Wolfe, *Startling Facts in Modern Spiritualism*, pp.77-78.

412. Article, "A Spiritual House – Rare Chance," *The Bay State*, 22 May 1856.
413. Article, "Stop Him! Stop Him!" *Lynn News*, 12 January 1858.
414. Article, "Don't Stand Still," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 9 June 1855.
415. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.444.
416. Article, "Curiosities at the World's Fair," *Lynn News*, 12 December 1851.
417. Article, "Sewing Machine," *Lynn News*, 20 July 1855.
418. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.437.
419. Feature column, "By Telegraph," *The Organ* (Lynn), 27 March 1854.
420. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 17 August 1858.
421. Article, "Magnetic Telegraph," *Lynn News*, 13 November 1846 (conception); Article, "High Rock Concert," *The Bay State*, 19 August 1858 (drowned).
422. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.429.
423. Article, "Tornado in Lynn," *Lynn News*, 19 August 1851.
424. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.445-446 (first storm); Article, "The Snow Storm," and "The Wreck at Swampscott," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 January 1857 (second).
425. Article, "Violent Thunder Storm," *The Bay State*, 14 August 1856.
426. Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 30 July 1852 (rattlesnakes); Article, "Capture of a Rattlesnake," *The Bay State*, 11 August 1859 (Barry).
427. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.442 (bald eagle and gray eagle); pp.432-433 (owl), p.439 (seal).
428. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.423.
429. Article, "Sea Serpent in Full View," *Boston Post*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 14 September 1849.
430. Francis G. Webster, Article, "Select Stories. From the Star Spangled Banner. Amy Lester; or the Lynn Guard," *Lynn News*, 29 December 1854.
431. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.455.
432. Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 2 August 1859.
433. Article, "Disappointment," *Lynn News*, 2 December 1856.
434. Article, "Hurdle Race at Lynn," *Lynn News*, 16 May 1856.
435. Article, "Lynn Trotting Park," *The Bay State*, 25 November 1858.
436. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.430 (tunics); Squibs, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 13 June 1851 (pretty) and 4 July 1851 (something).
437. Article, "Whitmore's Daguerreotypes," *Lynn News*, 20 June 1851.
438. Edward A. Kittredge, (under the pseudonym, Noggs), "Gossip from Boston. Dr. Noggs to Dr. Quoggs," *The Water-Cure Journal*, October 1851, p.88.
439. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.430.
440. Article, "Bloomerism," *The Bay State*, 20 November 1856.
441. Article, "Fashion," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 November 1856.
442. Squib, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 9 September 1854.
443. Article, "Causes of Female Debility," *Lynn News*, 29 February 1856.
444. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Observer), "Hooped Petticoats," *Lynn News*, 8 June 1859.
445. Article, "Spunky Women," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 6 March 1858.
446. Article, "Western Fever," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 April 1857.
447. Article, "Westward, Ho!" *The Bay State*, 19 March 1857.
448. Article, "Gone West," *The Bay State*, 23 July 1857 (Sprague); Article, "Going West," *Lynn News*, 29 July 1856 (Page); Article, "Cold," *Lynn News*, 11 January 1856 (Orcutt).
449. Article, "Western Fever," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 April 1857.
450. Article, "For the West," *The Bay State*, 9 April 1857.
451. Article, *Lynn News*, "Family Missing," 10 February 1857 (lost); Article, "Missing Family Heard From," *Lynn News*, 10 March 1857 (settled).

452. Article, "Bound Off," *Lynn News*, 6 July 1855.

453. Article, "Bound Off," *Lynn News*, 6 July 1855. Coincidentally, the issue mentioning his departure had a front page piece of fiction titled, "Sam Drinkwater's Luck. Life in the Gold Fields of Australia," copied from *ChambersEdinburg Journal*.

454. Article, "Letter from Iowa," *Lynn News*, 4 April 1856.

455. Article, "Latest from and about Kansas," *Lynn News*, 24 August 1855.

456. Puff, "Grover's Humectare," *Lynn* News, 30 September 1853; Article, "For the West," *Lynn News*, 28 April 1857 (commission).

457. Squib, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 July 1856.

458. Article, "Death of Dr. Kittredge's Wife," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 September 1854; Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 20 June 1856 (Wisconsin).

459. Maria Eastman, Letter, 11 January 1853 [spelling as in original].

460. Lummus was "in feeble health for nearly a year," so he went to Franklin County, Massachusetts to benefit from the pure mountain air. His health returned for seven more years until influenza ended his life in 1859. (See Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 23 April 1852.) Prescott's wife and daughter had become "unfavorably affected by the sea-breezes" and Prescott relocated his family inland to Concord, New Hampshire, but it did not prevent the death of his daughter Laura by consumption in 1856. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," typed manuscript (1904, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.16 (sea-breezes) and freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~colby/colbyfam/ d327.html (Laura). James R. Newhall also acknowledged that "Many have an impression that Lynn is an especially unfavorable locality for such as are liable to pulmonary diseases." See Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.428.

461. Advertisement in *The National Era* (Washington, DC), 27 April 1854. It is interesting to note that one of the testimonials for his medicine in this ad came from D. C. Baker; dated August 6, 1853, his testimonial was given just three months after he had been inaugurated Lynn's third mayor.

462. Guy S. Rix, compiler, *History and Genealogy of the Eastman Family in America*, (Concord, NH, Press of I. C. Evans, 1901), Vol. 2, p.463. Ezekiel may also have stayed with his brother George W. Eastman who also resided in Platteville or, of course, he may have stayed with neither, but it seems unlikely that he would have brought himself to Platteville without planning to be with some of the family that he had there. The town of Eastman, Wisconsin was named in honor of Benjamin C. Eastman; see Charles John Eastman, *That Man Eastman* (Hollywood, CA: Charles John Eastman, 1952), pp.97-98, 117. He advertised "Eastman's Infallible Sick Headache Remedy" for five months in a Washington D.C. newspaper from March 9 to August 5, 1854; see for example, Advertisement in *The National Era* (Washington, DC), 27 April 1854.

463. Editorial, no title (under the abbreviation, C. M. S.), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 January 1855.

464. Obituary of Ezekiel Porter Eastman, *Lynn News*, 22 February 1860.

465. Squibs, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 20 October 1857 (Carsley) and 8 September 1857 (Bradford). Occupations as listed in *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.70 (Bradford), and p.81 (Carsley).

466. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 30 March 1858 (Chesley); Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 20 July 1858 (Wentworth); Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 11 January 1859 (Carey). Occupations as listed in *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.85 (Chesley), p.204 (Wentworth).

467. Squib, "Waxed-Ends," *Lynn News*, 5 October 1859 (Dixon); Puff, "Light! More Light!" *Lynn News*, 19 January 1858 (Macomber). The patent for his improved vapor lamp is US 20,283 (1858). He also had an earlier pant for an improved spirit blow-pipe: US 14,403 (1856).

468. Article, "Patent," *Lynn News*, 21 December 1858.

469. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.9.

470. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1880), p.168.

471. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.10 (emphasis in original).

472. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 17 December 1852.

473. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 19 June 1856.

474. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 2 December 1853; emphasis as in original.

475. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 10 December 1857.

476. Puff, "Galvanic Pulmonary Waist," *The Bay State*, 14 May 1857.

477. Article, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Sad Accident," 26 August 1854 (rock); Article, "Recovering," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 September 1854 (galvanic).

478. Puff, no title, *The Bay State*, 2 October 1856.

479. Article, "Police Doings," *Lynn News* 1 March 1850.

480. Letter to the Editor, no title (under the pseudonym, EXIT), *Lynn News*, 4 June 1852.

481. Letters to the Editor, no titles, *Lynn News*, under the abbreviation, S.), 25 April 1856, and (under the abbreviation, G. W. S.) 8 June 1855 (saloon).

482. Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 8 June 1855 (Brother Lakeman); Puff, no title, *The Bay State*, 25 September 1856 (Dr. Lakeman).

483. Letter to the Editor, "Baths," *Lynn News*, 25 April 1856.

484. Letter to the Editor, "Electro Chemical Baths," *The Bay State*, 29 May 1856.

485. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 25 April 1856 (Lame, St. Vitus's Dance). Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 17 April 1856 (rheumatism, neuralgia, scrofula, scirrhus affections, diseases of the skin, mineral poisons); Letter to the Editor, "Electro Chemical Baths," *The Bay State*, 29 May 1856 (sluggish circulation).

486. Puff, "Still They Come!" *The Bay State*, 14 August 1856.

487. Puffs, both titled "Electro Chemical Baths," *The Bay State*, 9 July 1857 (Lord, Jewell, Young, Peasley) and 23 July 1857 (Brown).

488. Puff, no title, *The Bay State*, 23 September 1856.

489. Puff, "Sagamore Bath House," *The Bay State*, 2 April 1857.

490. Article, "Removal of Sagamore Bath House," *The Bay State*, 23 April 1857 (Munroe); Puff, "Electro Chemical Baths," *The Bay State*, 9 July 1857 (eleven).

491. Puff, "Sagamore Bathing House," *The Bay State*, 21 May 1857.

492. Article, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 6 June 1857.

493. Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 27 June 1851 (Macomber), 10 February 1857 (Percival), 4 January 1850 (Davis), 14 May 1852 (Hood).

494. Puff, no title, *The Bay State*, 19 June 1856.

495. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 7 February 1851.

496. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 25 April 1851. Captain Gale was formerly captain of the Lynn Artillery and one of the organizers of the Lynn City Guard. He died five years after the tumor surgery from the effects of an accident. He fell head over heels down a set of stairs, fracturing his skull and slipping into a coma from which he never emerged. His funeral had the full military escort of the Lynn Light Infantry and the Lynn City Guard. The funeral was on the hottest day of the year and three of the honor guard broke ranks due to heat exhaustion. See Article, "Melancholy and Fatal Accident," *The Bay State*, 24 July 1856.

497. Article, "A Bug Story," in the column "Local Matters," *Lynn News*, 17 August 1855.

498. *Records of the Essex South District Medical Society*, manuscript (covering 1805-1870, at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), 7 March 1848, p.40.

499. See Advertisements, *Lynn News*, 4 January 1850 (Addison Davis), 7 February 1851 (John Renton), 27 June 1851 (Horatio Macomber), and 21 May 1852 (Alonzo Blethen).

500. Article, "Fatal Accident from the Use of Ether," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 March 1855.

501. Article, "Fatal Accident from the Use of Ether," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 March 1855.

502. Article, "Fatal Accident from the Use of Ether," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 March 1855.

503. Puff, "Dentistry," *Lynn News*, 9 March 1855.

504. Article, "Death from Ether," *Lynn News*, 2 March 1855.

505. Squib, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 March 1855.

506. Article, "New Building," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 May 1856.

507. The last two Lynn whalers were the William Badger and the Commodore Preble. As late as April 1853 the Badger was reported returning from a whaling voyage in the Indian Ocean. The Preble was sold at auction on 1 July 1857 then withdrawn from the whaling business and broken up. See Squibs, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 22 April 1853 (Badger), 14 July 1857 (sold), and 29 September 1857 (withdrawn).

508. Article, "Another Fluid Lamp Accident," *Lynn News*, 30 November 1859.

509. Article, "Gas," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 December 1855. See also Article, "The Gas," *Lynn News*, 7 December 1855.

510. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 22 July 1853.

511. Article, "A Sad Sight," *Lynn News*, 7 July 1854. Tree Deaths by gas were mentioned frequently from 1854 to 1856. See for example, Article, "Gas vs. Trees," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 June 1854 and Article, "A Loss," *Lynn News*, 16 December 1856.

512. Article, "The Twenty-Four Hours in Lynn. No. 2 – Day," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 March 1855.
513. Articles, no titles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 October 1854 (second; accident).
514. Article, "Extraordinary Fear of a Horse," *The Bay State*, 7 February 1856. This store was formerly the Aaron Lummus building located on Market Street, which had contained his medical office, the *Lynn Mirror* enterprise, and more.
515. Article, "Shocking Accident," *Lynn News*, 18 February 1853.
516. Article, "Accident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 October 1856.
517. Article, "Accident," *Lynn News*, 12 March 1852.
518. Article, "Sad Accident," *Lynn News*, 11 April 1850 (shockingly); Article, "Amputation," *Lynn News*, 26 April 1850 (cogwheels).
519. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn News*, 3 August 1858 (attic); Article, "Accidents," *Lynn News*, 10 August 1858 (wife and several children).
520. Article, "Accident," in column "Local Matters," *Lynn News*, 2 November 1855.
521. Article, "Fall of a Building," *Lynn News*, 17 November 1854.
522. Article, "Accident at Dungeon Rock," in column "Local Matters," *Lynn News*, 28 September 1855.
523. Article, "Accident," *Lynn News*, 7 April 1853.
524. Article, "Horse Racing and Sabbath Breaking," *Lynn News*, 24 April 1846 and Article, "Furious Driving," *Lynn News*, 21 September 1849.
525. Article, "Accident," *Lynn News*, 7 September 1858. The two drivers were caught and fined $12 and $12.17 for fast and reckless driving. See Articles, "Lynn Police Court," *Lynn News*, 7 September 1858 and 14 September 1858.
526. Article, "Accident," *Lynn News*, 9 October 1846.
527. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn News*, 3 August 1858.
528. Article, "Lynn Police Court," *Lynn News*, 3 August 1858.
529. Article, "Fast Driving vs. Charity," *Lynn News*, 9 March 1855.
530. Alonzo Lewis, *The Directory of the City of Lynn* [1851], p.6. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* and *The Bay State* also listed the schedule of trains throughout most of the decade.
531. Article, "A Stirring Place," *Lynn News*, 4 July 1851.
532. Article, "Miraculous Escape," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 April 1855.
533. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.428.
534. Articles, "Railroad Accidents," *Lynn News*, 23 August 1850 (foot); 22 July 1853 (life).
535. Article, "Railroad Accident," *Lynn News*, 6 August 1852.
536. Article, "Accident," *Lynn News*, 2 March 1855. There is some confusion about her identity. In an earlier report from the same newspaper, the victim was identified as Miss Mary A. Burnham. See Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 16 March 1855.
537. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.457.
538. Article, "Railroad Accident," *Lynn Reporter*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 17 November 1857.
539. Article, "Serious Accident," *Lynn News*, 5 October 1859.
540. Article, "Serious Accident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 November 1854.
541. Article, "Railroad Crossings," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 November 1854.
542. George H. Martin, Dr. Abram Gould," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.2.
543. Paul G. Faler listed 32,826 female operatives employed in shoemaking in 1855, but only 19,215 by 1860. From 1845 to 1855, the number of workers employed by Lynn's shoe manufacturers rose 57%, but shoe production over the same period rose an amazing 286%, largely due to the productivity of sewing machines. See Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.223. The 1852 introduction of the sewing machine in Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, p.16.
544. Article, "Lynn," *Lynn Pioneer*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 13 July 1849.
545. "Mayor's Address," *City Document No. 3, Inaugural Address of Hon. George Hood, Mayor of the City of Lynn, April 7, 1851* (Lynn: Butterfield & Kellogg, 1851), p.21
546. Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 31 May 1850; also Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.425.

547. Article, "City Physician," *Lynn News*, 5 April 1855 (Physician); Article, "School Committee," *Lynn News*, 28 April 1857 (teachers).
548. Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 12 January 1855.
549. Article, "Home Trade – Advertising," *Lynn News*, 23 June 1854.
550. Article, "Fish," *The Bay State*, 4 February 1858.
551. Article, "O.F.M.," *Lynn News*, 6 September 1850 (1850); Article, "Lynn Taxes and Tax Payers," *Lynn News*, 31 August 1855. (1855).
552. Article, "Taxes in Lynn," *The Bay State*, 19 August 1858. By 1860 the number had rebounded to 348; see Article, "Tax Payers of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 2 August 1860.
553. Notices, *Lynn News*: "Messenger's Notice," 16 November 1855 and "Assignee's Notice," 28 December 1855.
554. Notice, "Messenger's Notice," *Lynn News*, 12 October 1855.
555. *The Lynn Directory* [1858], p.168.
556. Article, "Children in Factories," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 5 August 1854.
557. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 24 January 1856.
558. Article, "Sudden Death," *Lynn News*, 3 February 1857.
559. Anonymous (under the pseudonym, Howard), Letter to the Editor, "Who will Start First in the Movement," *Lynn News*, 20 October 1857.
560. Notice, "Central Female Watchers' Society," *The Bay State*, 1 April 1858 (Central); Article, "New Watchers' Society," *Lynn News*, 15 June 1858 (new).
561. Article, "A Liberal Offer," *The Bay State*, 26 November 1857.
562. Article, "Re-Opened," *Lynn News*, 18 May 1858.
563. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 19 November 1857 (without). Also see J. Henry Puleston, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn News*, 12 January 1855.
564. Article, "Insolvency Cases in Essex County," *Lynn News*, 26 January 1858.
565. Article, "The Factory Girls," *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1836; Article, "Great Turn Out of Female Operatives!" *Lynn Record*, 7 April 1841.
566. Article, "Strike of Shoemakers," *Lynn News*, 1 March 1859.
567. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *The Bay State*, 1 March 1860
568. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *Bay State*, 1 March 1860
569. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *The Bay State*, 1 March 1860.
570. Article, "The Great Shoemaker's Strike," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), 17 March 1860.
571. Article, "Great Demonstration! A Great Procession of Men and Women Strikers!" *The Bay State*, 8 March 1860.
572. Article, "Another Great Wave of Labor!" *The Bay State*, 22 March 1860.
573. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *The Bay State*, 1 March 1860.
574. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *The Bay State*, 1 March 1860.
575. Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike," *The Bay State*, 1 March 1860. Similarly, another report of the *Bay* State complained about the "incapacity of the city government and the lack of judgment of the police force and its head…." See Article, "The Shoemakers' Strike, In Lynn!" *The Bay State*, 15 March 1860.

Chapter 7: 1860-1869

Reconstructive Surgery

The horrors of war have never yet been adequately described. The scenes of suffering and distress, the mortal agony of the battle-field and the hospital, have defied the most talented pen or pencil to convey more than a faint idea of the reality. … one after another our young men are falling, some never to return again to their pleasant homes, and others to come back to us maimed and crippled, mere wrecks of their former selves. … the man who is willing to face death for his country is a hero.

Article, "Our Fallen Heroes,"
Lynn Weekly Reporter, 28 May 1864

Sitting at the edge of an ocean, Lynn watched as many of her sons sailed off over the waves. For centuries, the ocean had lured its share of Lynn boys and men away from safe footing then gulped them down, never to be seen again. There were hazards aplenty to fear, from sharks and storms to jagged rocks and hidden shoals. From the tiny dinghy to the sleek schooners, vessels quickly became isolated specks on the mighty ocean; only a wooden shell separated the brave seaman from a deep, dark, watery grave.

Ammi Smith was one of Lynn's mariners who had plenty of time to feel small, helpless, and doomed. For several years he had proudly captained the ship *Oliver Putnam*, doing trade from Boston to Calcutta, but in July 1860, while sailing in the southwestern corner of the Indian Ocean, hundreds of miles from the nearest land, the ship was battered by severe, relentless gale winds, and it sprang a leak.[1] Captain Smith and his men tried valiantly to pump the water out, but the ocean poured in too quickly and the pumps couldn't keep up; the vessel was sinking and the only choice was to abandon ship. Storm and panic conspired to make the crew's departure perilous. Captain Smith ordered seven of his men to row one of the ship's small lifeboats to a longboat being towed behind the *Oliver Putnam*, in order to pack it with some instruments and other needed items to survive the long-distance journey to land. The men on the small boat couldn't grab their towline from the ship, so their tiny craft drifted helplessly into the storm, out of sight of their shipmates on the *Oliver Putnam*. A second small boat was lowered, but the waves quickly smashed it into chunks of driftwood. Captain Smith and seven more of his crew finally managed to get into the longboat and the last six crewmen, led by the chief mate, scrambled into the remaining small lifeboat. Just like when they had lost sight of the first lifeboat of shipmates, the two remaining refugee crews lost sight of each other amid the blinding winds and monstrous waves. The ocean storm was in complete control, pushing all three boatloads of castaways to separate fates.[2]

Captain Smith and his men drifted at the whim of Neptune, relying on scant rations of water and crackers to stay alive. Minutes became hours and hours reached a day with no sight of their other crewmates. Two, three, and four days passed with no sight of land or ships of any

kind. Onward to a week, then eight days, but as far as the eye could see, the world was just a combination of water and sky that through the many miles and days had shown little more than the anger of its rage and the boredom of its calm. Eight days became nine and nine became ten; ten became eleven, but then, another ship! The answered prayer came in the form of a Dutch bark bound for Rotterdam. The rescuers had seen the human flotsam bobbing on the ocean waves and pulled them out of their slow death. The eight grateful souls were dropped off at the island of St. Helena on the other side of Africa; there, Smith and his band of survivors waited for another ship to be able to take them back to Boston, which was accomplished in the fall of 1860.[3]

Lesser men would have dried out their sea legs and gladly stayed on land, but not Ammi Smith. Within a few months he was captaining the *Abaelino*, packed with a load of ice and bound for New Orleans. Ice in New Orleans was sure money. The denizens of the hot, humid city relied on the northern import to keep food preserved and perhaps a few drinks cool. The *Abaelino* sailed out of Boston on April 11th, but then, in the middle of the ocean, the wind stopped and the sails drooped down lifelessly. Periods of calm alternated in succession with headwinds that urged them to go back. Ammi Smith found himself isolated in the vast ocean once again, unable to send or receive word from civilization. A trip that should have taken under three weeks instead took more than five. Finally the ship reached the southern shore of Louisiana, but the unlucky ship captain had one more surprise approaching; the *Abaelino* was boarded on 18 May 1861 by the "piratical craft called the *Music*, sailing under Letters of Marque from the Confederated Government."[4] When the *Abaelino* left Boston, Louisiana had seceded from the United States, but now it was part of an enemy nation. Ammi Smith and his crew were taken as some of the earliest prisoners of war – the ice had melted and the Civil War had begun.[5]

"GLORY, HALLELUJAH!"

While the boarding party must have been a surprise, the war wasn't a shock. The rumbles of discord had reverberated throughout the nation for years and the infection of crisis had swollen sectional sore spots to the point of bursting, which one did at Fort Sumter. When Ammi Smith had returned from his rescue in the Indian Ocean back in October 1860, he found Lynn glowing with a patriotic frenzy as it campaigned for the presidential election:

> Tuesday night last was a gala night in Lynn. The whole city was in a blaze … the … torchlight procession … surpassed anything of the kind ever before beheld in our quiet city. … the residence of Dr. B. B. Breed … was brilliantly lighted, the front displaying two transparencies – one of them representing 'Old Abe' on his way to the White House, walking one of his own rails, while Douglas, unable to follow supplicates his mother. The other represented 'Old Abe' splitting rails, with Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio and Maine for wedges. These of course attracted a crowd. … *Market Square* was well lighted by the illumination of Healey's Arcade. … the residence of Dr. J. M. Nye [was] prominent. … on Mall street, Dr. Galloupe's house … was handsomely decorated with flags and lanterns, and a transparency – 'Lincoln and Hamlin. Let honor, honesty and justice prevail.'[6]

There was simply no confusion about the choice of the majority in Lynn. Just days later, Abraham Lincoln received fifty-nine percent of the votes in Lynn for President of the United States (with the remaining forty-one percent divided between three other candidates).[7] The ancient Micajah Burrill, who had cast his first vote in 1789 for George Washington, was carried to the polls at ninety-six-years-old, where he voted for Abraham Lincoln and the rest of the Republican ticket.[8] Lynn merchant John B. Alley was another of the popular Republicans and he was easily reelected to a second term as the area's congressman.[9]

As excited as Lynn and much of the North were about Lincoln's election, it only fueled the fires of secession in the South. Less than two months after the election, South Carolina seceded

from the Union. When President-elect Lincoln arrived at the Capital in February 1861 to assume leadership of the nation, the United States was less united, having shrunk by seven states that had formed a confederacy. Washington itself was situated in a region containing many southern sympathizers, which put the new government in imminent peril. Rather than entering the Capital in triumphal procession, the new president was forced to slip in at midnight, wearing a disguise.

John, a 24-year-old schoolteacher in Lynn, worried about keeping his students' classroom warm during the bitter February cold (the room was eighteen degrees above zero when they walked in), but he wasn't concerned about war breaking out. He tried to comfort his mother that he had no intention to enlist, "as you seem so much to fear I may." The "possibilities of actual hostilities," he continued reassuringly, were "remote." What did alarm him was the appearance of diphtheria in Lynn, starting right in his classroom: "One of my scholars, a Foster girl about 13 years old, who had just entered the High School, died on Sat last of diptheria. She was at school on Thursday & was not considered dangerously sick, until Sat when she suddenly lost her reason & so remained until death ensued."[10] The outbreak of diphtheria in Lynn was a real worry to John, but not the outbreak of war; unfortunately, both proved to be devastatingly real.

The spark of war was ignited by the bombardment of Fort Sumter in South Carolina on April 12th and 13th. On the 14th the fort was surrendered and on the 15th, President Lincoln issued a proclamation for 75,000 volunteers from the militias of loyal states to provide ninety days of service in order to put down the southern insurrection. The presidential proclamation arrived in Lynn on April 15th, making the city "alive with excitement"; "flags were flung to the breeze, and the startling news was the theme of discussion at every street corner, and in every house…."[11] That night, the armories of Lynn's two militia units were filled to overflowing with the soldiers, family members, friends, townspeople, and businessmen who were contributing "material aid in the most liberal and patriotic manner." Known for decades by the townspeople as the Lynn Light Infantry and the Lynn City Guard, they were now to be recognized by the government and the military as Companies D and F, respectively, of the 8th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia Infantry. Their orders from President Lincoln and Governor Andrew of Massachusetts were read and met with "hearty cheers…. Never have we seen more enthusiastic and determined men," reported *The Bay State.* All of the militiamen and many others in addition, "signified their desire to march in defense of the Union." [12] Both companies, in fact, had more men than uniforms, necessitating Captain Hudson of Company F to send a hasty dispatch to the Adjutant General in Boston, "We have more men than uniforms. What shall we do?" The reply was, "Send your men; we will find uniforms."[13]

The men who answered the call were young; the average age of Lynn's volunteers was twenty-five.[14] Young husbands and fathers left their wives and small children at the sound of the drums. Wagon driver Francis E. Hunnewell signed up, leaving behind his wife and five sons, aged twelve, ten, eight, four, and two years. The sacrifice was no easier for Henry H. Pike who said goodbye to his wife, two daughters, and infant son.[15] Families also missed their sons and brothers and stood to miss their wages that often made all the difference in the family budget. It must have been a struggle for Rachel Jones, a single mother, to take care of her other three children, ranging from four to fourteen, when her son James, a twenty-one-year-old shoe cutter, marched off with the Lynn City Guards; he had been the only one in the family earning a wage. Rachel and her children roomed at a boarding house and she only owned $100 in personal property – meager even by Lynn laborer standards.[16] Similarly, John C. Chase, twenty-three, had become the principal wage earner after his father's death. In addition to his mother, he had one sister who was eight, another sister who at twenty-one was also already a widow and the mother of a one-year-old, and a brother Charles, an eighteen-year-old box maker. But amid the shouts and cheers in the Lynn City Guard's armory that April night, John and Charles both signed up to save the Union, leaving their mother, two sisters, and infant niece on their own with only $95 in worldly possessions.[17]

Lynn also had many single young men boarding in town to work in the shoe industry who also stood ready to preserve the Union. Samuel V. Spear's house got pretty quiet on the morning after Lynn's militias had met; he lost almost all of his tenants under age thirty: John W. Cilley, John E. Lougee, and Josiah F. Moulton, each twenty-four, and Edward Harris, nineteen, all left the boarding house to serve in the war. So too, did Augustus B. Flanders, eighteen, and George Harris, twenty-one, step forward together. Both had been apprentice blacksmiths at the house of their master, blacksmith John A. Sawyer, but now they were soldiers in the Lynn City Guards.[18] Although Daniel W. Kelley did not quite meet the eighteen-year-old minimum age requirement, he quietly slipped into uniform and stood ready with the rest.[19] There were probably many feelings stirring the souls of the young volunteers: patriotism, idealism, adventure, glory, excitement, praise, and even the cajoling of buddies who had already volunteered. For some it may also have been a way out of financial trouble. Early in the year the *Lynn News* suggested:

> The present condition of the shoe business, and its future prospect, should lead many of the young men who now depend upon it for support to look for some other means of earning a livelihood. The introduction of machinery into the business has so increased the facilities of the manufacturers for producing goods, that a greatly reduced number of workmen will be sufficient to supply the demand for labor.[20]

The reasons were probably many, but the result was rows of men standing together, united.

On the morning of their departure, April 16th, the heavens rained on their parade – and stormed and snowed and sleeted, too. A lithographed sketch of the departure of the Lynn Light Infantry hinted at the inclemency with gray skies and an army of umbrellas. The company endured Nature's abuse stoically, standing at attention in their red jackets, black pants, and towering bearskin caps. Two scarlet stragglers can be seen standing off to the side, between their unit and its armory (the Tolman Building), bidding fond farewells to their ladyloves.[21] The gallant infantry managed to pack themselves, their rifles and swords, their haversacks and knapsacks, and their ponderous hats into the waiting train. Together in the railroad cars with the Lynn City Guards and new comrades who did not yet have uniforms, the green troops pressed at the windows for last looks and waves to their loved ones. Another artist with a pen sketched the moment with words,

> Some instances of separation were … painful, but there was no falling back, no blanching of the cheek, no trembling of manly forms. A tear or two – a hurried kiss – God bless you! Good bye! And the fast moving train separated husbands and wives, father and children – and God only knows how long may be that separation, and whether it may not be for all time.[22]

Patriotism and courage was being exhibited just as much by the mothers and wives who, like Hannah Breed, bravely supported their husbands' and sons' compulsion to volunteer to fight for their country. In the first letter Hannah wrote to her husband, Bowman, which she dated, "First night of dear husband's absence," she patriotically and affectionately apologized, "You have acted nobly and right, my darling one. God will reward you. Much as I suffer I would not have had you do otherwise. Forgive me that I made it So hard for you to leave, but I love you. I <u>love</u> you. Let that be my Excuse."[23]

As the train for Boston chugged slowly out of Central Station, the families and friends left behind filled the air "with cheers for the brave fellows … while hundreds of women wave[d] their handkerchiefs from the windows" of buildings overlooking the square. "There were those who wept, as well as those who cheered, and the eyes of strong men as well as fair women moistened, as they bid their fathers, brothers, husbands and lovers, God speed and good cheer in their solemn and earnest work of preserving the flag of the Union from dishonor and destruction."[24] In a scant twenty-four hours of receiving the call for troops, 170 men were heading south. Lynn was going to war.[25]

Just ten miles from home one of Lynn's brave troops had already been injured. John Daley, a fourteen-year-old lad who had snuck or talked his way into becoming a member of the Lynn City Guards, somehow dislocated his shoulder in Faneuil Hall, where the governor was to address the troops. Private Daley's injury received prompt attention, but the young man missed his opportunity to go on; his uniform was quickly filled by another eager volunteer.[26] The rest of his comrades listened as Governor Andrew addressed the assembled throng of troops from around the state, "Yesterday you were citizens – to-day you are heroes! … Soldiers, go forth, bearing that flag, and as our fathers fought, so, if need be, strike you the blow!"[27]

From Boston to Worcester to Pittsfield, then southerly through Connecticut and New York City, and across New Jersey, every stop the regiments made was thronged with well-wishers and the air of excitement, "Windows, fences, wagons, housetops, lumber yards, and every place which afforded a possible foothold, were crowded with men, women and children, cheering, shouting, and waving handkerchiefs, [and] hats …"; bells rang, bands played, bonfires blazed, cannons fired salutes, and local militia and fire companies turned out to receive these minute men of the Union. The crowd support was thrilling, but a circumspect soldier later reminisced, "Indeed, it seemed as though we were war-torn veterans, returning from victorious battle-fields, covered with glory, rather than untried recruits and volunteer militia…."[28]

Few in Lynn's militia companies had ever witnessed a battle or seen an enemy. When the last conflict was being fought (against Mexico in 1846-47), most of the soldiers on the train were just boys playing make-believe war, using sticks for rifles and imagination for ammunition.[29] In the months prior to Fort Sumter, there was more urgency in the militia drills and weapons exercises than had existed for several decades; back then, the militias had been mustering just one or two times a year and in a largely ceremonial capacity. The parading and drilling performed by the handsomely uniformed men had been looked forward to by townspeople as a spectator event and for the troops it was a prerequisite to the consequent reward of free drinks and food. As the train carried the town's newest champions southward, it was clear this was no drill for a mug of beer. Hannah Breed worried that her husband might forget his own training, "Oh my own darling, take care of yourself. I fear So much from that warm climate, and then I am afraid that you have not clothing Enough to make you comfortable. … Do not fail to keep those flannels around your bowels. I am talking to a doctor, I know, but the doctor is my own dear husband."[30]

What they lacked in military finesse, they made up for with toughness. The troops of Lynn were "hard-working mechanics, many of them with families of young children dependent upon their daily labor for support."[31] Of the 170 soldiers, 159 (virtually all of the rank and file) were laborers: 122 worked in some aspect of the shoe industry, and 88 of those were shoemakers. The rest came from the same underpaid, overworked side of the city's economy consisting mostly of painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, and fisherman. Ninety-three percent of the men came from the heart of the city: Wards Three, Four, Five, and Six.[32] The units' officers were mostly wealthier, older, and sometimes militia veterans. Colonel Timothy Munroe, the grand old man of the regiment at age sixty, was also its commanding officer. Captain George T. Newhall and First Lieutenant Thomas H. Berry were merchants; Quartermaster Ephraim Alfred Ingalls was thirty-four and a lawyer; and Roland G. Usher, the regimental paymaster, was thirty-eight and a trader. Second Lieutenant Elbridge Z. Saunderson was a thirty-four-year-old shoe manufacturer and he and Sergeants William A. Fraser, forty-one, and Henry Stone, thirty-two, had served in the militia since at least 1848.[33] While rank favored social standing, age, and military longevity, the medical care of the regiment was entrusted to men who seemed to genuinely fit the positions; physician Bowman Bigelow Breed was commissioned as the regiment's surgeon and Warren Tapley, an apothecary, was his assistant surgeon.[34] Breed was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Amherst College, took a full course of study at Harvard Medical School, and had spent two years visiting hospitals in Dublin, Paris, and Edinburgh.[35] Warren Tapley had been an apothecary in Lynn for a

year and, at the time of his signing on with the regiment, was heavily advertising the sale of rat poison imbued with electricity.[36] At least Breed sounded qualified.

Although the troop train tugged at heartstrings as it pulled away from Central Station, it did not haul away the excitement of the citizens of the city; they remained animated and buzzing in the days and weeks ahead. Rumors, threats, and other raw emotion ran rampant in Lynn against the Southerners who had disrupted their world. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* told its readers that the wife and children of the Confederacy's President Jefferson Davis were staying at a house in Lynnfield; within several weeks, many papers were sizzling with the baseless rumor they had lifted from the Lynn newspaper.[37] Effigies of Davis and other traitors to the Union were hung from trees, between buildings, and from railroad signs on Exchange and Union streets to warn any anti-unionists that they need not stop in Lynn. Shortly after the troops had left Lynn's Central Station, "a big burly fellow" with southern sympathies poorly calculated his timing to utter some "treasonable sentiments" at the railroad depot. Despite his size, he was "hustled and handled about rather roughly" and "a call was made for a rope, and a threat was made to hang him; but with pale face and trembling lips he apologized for his language…."[38] During the next week a horse-taming exhibition failed to draw an audience because the horse-tamer was rumored to be a secessionist. He took his tent down and left the city before the citizens of Lynn did it for him.[39]

Older men (between the ages of forty-five and seventy-five) formed home guard militia groups in case the traitorous Rebels might try to violate the sanctity of their hometown, even though it was some five hundred miles from the Confederacy.[40] Thirteen Lynn men organized as Chase's Battery in order to train on the two cannons in Lynn so that they would be ready and able, if necessary, to use the field pieces to protect the city. They determined to wear a uniform consisting of a red shirt, black pants, and a Zouave hat (a fez).[41] Eager teenage boys that were still too young to serve joined drill teams like the Ellsworth Cadets. At first the drill club was called the Hardee Cadets, but when that man later joined the troops of his southern home state, the Lynn boys renamed their outfit for a northern hero.[42] Another military drill club was formed in September 1862 and, in October 1863, a traveling instructor advertising himself as from "Her Majesty's Royal Regiment of Light Artillery" started an advanced class in broadsword exercise drills. In a war of cannons, rifles, and pistols, there was comparatively less opportunity to use swords, but the class probably helped some civilians become heroic soldiers fighting grand, swashbuckling battles, if only in their minds.[43]

Lynn's fire companies and baseball teams certainly saw and felt the losses within their organizations because of the call to war. The Silver Grey Fire Association had lost a large portion of their company to the armed forces, yet those remaining formed their own drill team, just to be on the ready should their turn come.[44] Several of the baseball clubs that had cropped up in Lynn since 1860 had to put down the bat and ball because some of their teammates had chosen to pick up the rifle and bullet; while the city's newspapers reported the scores of five games in the summer of 1860, only one score appeared in the summer of 1861 (the Granites beat the Mechanics, 50-28).[45] Even as the Outahlanchets, Independents, Ellsworths, Granites, and Mechanics baseball clubs struggled to maintain enough players for their teams, more military companies were quickly being organized in Lynn.[46] New units were, in fact, being formed even before the Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guards had left Central Station. William D. Chamberlain, a shoemaker, was organizing a company he called the Union Guard and Alonzo Granville Draper, one of the leading organizers of Lynn's shoemaker strike in the previous year, used his popularity among the laborers along with his impassioned patriotic eloquence to organize the Lynn Mechanics' Phalanx. Uniforms unified men into a band of brothers and distinguished their fraternity from other military companies, home guard units, baseball teams, and fire brigades. It was a gesture of patriotism, sacrifice, and fraternal pride when the Empire Fire Association donated their coats to the newly formed Union Guard (some of whom had probably been firefighting comrades in the Empires); thus Lynn's newest contribution to the

Union army marched off to war in the Empire's fire team's gray coats, along with dark gray pants and the broad-brimmed, round-crowned, Kossuth-style hats.[47]

In early May, the enthusiasm of Lynn's young men to serve was still boundless and more volunteers signed up than were needed. When physician Asa T. Newhall had completed his examination of the volunteers for the Union Guard, "some eight or ten were discharged" on medical grounds, but the company still had to be reduced to conform to regulation size, so nine more were simply told they couldn't go. "The rejected men were terribly disappointed" and pleaded for the next possible opportunity to serve.[48]

In late June it was the turn of the Mechanics Phalanx to leave for duty in the South. Like all of Lynn's units before it, the Phalanx was largely made up of shoemakers and shoe leather makers; they had removed their brown work aprons for a new uniform of gray pants and jacket and a blue cap adorned with a red band.[49] (Draper's unit was one of ten companies that made up the Essex County Regiment and each dressed in a different style of uniform.[50]) On the day of their departure from the Central railroad depot, the support and emotion of the city they left behind was just as strong as it had been for the departure of its first sons two months earlier, "Wives and children [were] in tears at the loss, for a time at least, and perhaps forever, of their husbands and fathers, and the stern heart of the soldier … was softened, and tears fell over his manly cheeks like rain."[51]

The fairly sudden absence of so many men left not only an emptiness in many hearts, but palpable skips in the heartbeat of the city. Shoe factory production hit a "dead calm" after just a month of the first troops' departure as both the number of orders and employees were reduced. Lynn's *Bay State* observed, "For a while the war excitement, and the fever and stir of getting the men ready for the war, kept up a bustle, but now that these movements have subsided our manufactories and our streets are as dull on week days as they used to be on Sundays, only more so…." Alonzo D. Faulkner worked as a clerk in Benjamin Proctor's apothecary shop, but he found the work "very confining" and apparently boring; there were not as many people or dollars coming into Proctor's to buy things, he explained, because "the war … affects us more in manufacturing towns, where business is dependent upon the earnings of the operatives."[52] Between the members of the 8th Massachusetts and those who had since committed to the Union Guard, Mechanics' Phalanx, and other units in the region, roughly 500 Lynn workers were no longer available to the city by the end of May.[53] Lynners hung on every word and whisper about the safety and success of kindred heroes in the dangerous lands far to the south.

When the 8th Massachusetts Infantry finally got off the train, they were in Maryland, just before Baltimore. Their orders were to protect three national symbols: Fort McHenry, the U.S.S. Constitution ("Old Ironsides"), and the nation's capital. Some of the troops were dispatched to guard the fort and another portion of the regiment weighed anchor and sailed the Constitution to the safety of New York. The majority of the Lynn men were assigned to rebuild a railroad engine and a portion of railroad connecting Washington, D.C., to Annapolis that rebellious Marylanders had torn up to isolate the capitol from the nation.[54] The repairs were hard work in hot weather; half of the time there was a "burning sun," and the other half of the time there was a "drenching rain."[55] When the regiment finished and finally arrived in Washington, "the day was excessively hot, and the men encumbered with overcoats, knapsacks, haversacks, &c., suffered severely."[56] Only five men of Company D (the Lynn Light Infantry) still had their furry hats; the ursine head heaters had been discarded all along the train route from Annapolis to Washington.[57] Their red coats, fine fashion for peacetime parades, were entirely worn out from exposure and labor, and the soldiers complained that their pants were also "getting 'seedy' … we must soon have some others, or we shall be in rags."[58] After being reviewed in their tattered uniforms by President Lincoln, the regiment was issued new uniforms of standard army-issue blue flannel shirts and blue jackets, pants, and fatigue caps.[59] And then they waited.

Within weeks of Fort Sumter, Washington was inundated by patriotic soldiers itching to vanquish the rebellious traitors to the south. "There are about eighteen or twenty thousand troops in the city," a soldier observed, "and all the public buildings are full."[60] The 8th Massachusetts was bivouacked in the rotunda under the unfinished Capitol dome. A Lynn soldier wrote a letter from the floor of the Senate, at the desk of Senator Stephen A. Douglas. It was apparently a popular way for soldiers to pass the time, as the writer explained, "There are a great many writing here all the time, night and day …."[61] Another Lynn soldier seemed to be impatiently tapping his fingers on the desk with one hand while writing with the other, "In regard to fighting, I do not believe we shall see any, unless we go down south; I do not believe they will come here. I should like to get one pop at them, just to try my revolver."[62]

By the middle of May, the 8th Regiment was reassigned to protect a critical span of railroad outside of Baltimore from secessionist subterfuge. There they remained for the rest of their three-month enlistment, watching thousands of Union troops cross over the massive stone viaduct, but they never saw an enemy to confront.[63] The men, longing for Lynn, put up signs by their tents to remind them of home, "The street which runs by our tents is Market street," wrote one homesick soldier, "[other signs included] the Sagamore House, R. G. Usher's clothing store, William H. Merritt's boot and shoe store, Lynn Hotel, &c.,"[64] but they were still just tents in a field, far from home, waiting for a battle that might never come.

Bowman Bigelow Breed also seemed frustrated with waiting. He was one of the most thoroughly educated physicians Lynn had ever had, and he and his men left home to participate in a war that had not yet happened. Before the 8th Regiment left Lynn, Breed's friends had "presented him with a handsome revolver. The doctor will now be sure to kill or cure," one of the city's papers pointed out, "for he knows well how to use either pistol or physic …."[65] For three months, there were no battles; no skirmishes; not even a random shot from a sharpshooter far off in the distance. Not only did Breed have no need for his new gun, he also had little need for his medicine. No one became deathly ill. Breed wrote, almost disappointedly, "The regiment was not under fire during its term of service, and the only medical fact worthy of note, is its comparative immunity from disease."[66] He wrote to his wife, "You cannot conceive the dull monotony of our life here. … We have not even the excitement of danger as a stimulant."[67] The good doctor and his assistant were little more than pleasant company for the troops; one of the men in camp explained, "The men are, as usual, all well and in good spirits. It needs only a peep into Drs. Breed and Tapley's tent to keep them so. Their genial, good-natured countenances have a better effect than a dose of medicine …."[68]

Even the folks back home were getting antsy. As best as they could determine from newspaper reports and their soldiers' letters, the government was taking too much time to organize and move the military into position for war. The editor of *The Bay State* discerned that there was strong desire in the Lynn vicinity to see "the traitors crushed out at once."[69] Their expectation was that the Union troops would end the war in one fight; they would teach the Rebels a lesson and put them in their place. In early June, *The Bay State* urged, "Don't be impatient; wait a little longer. … No great battle will be fought yet awhile, and possibly none at any time; but if it must come, and when it does come, let it be so terrible to the rebels that they will be glad to sue for peace."[70]

On July 21st the anticipated day of punishment had arrived, when Union and Confederate forces clashed near the small Virginia village of Manassas and a creek called Bull Run. Wealthy Washingtonians and congressmen came in carriages with their gaily-dressed ladies and dainty picnic lunches to enjoy the glorious outdoor theater of brave Union soldiers humbling the southern traitors. Congressman John Alley of Lynn was one of those spectators and he was *not* prepared for what he saw.

> Up to four o'clock our army had more than maintained its position, and had gained considerably on the enemy, when suddenly three or four regiments gave way, and all was confusion. An order was given to retreat, and all fled for their lives. I was near the battle-field when the retreat was ordered, and never before had I the least conception of what a retreating army was. Men, who had stood fire all day, brave as heroes, were frightened out of their wits, and fled in every direction, leaving the dead, dying and wounded upon the field. … Several wounded Massachusetts soldiers … trembling with fright, begged of me to take care of them…. This stampede and fright continued for several miles …. Coming through the woods, we were assaulted with stones, and one large one came into our buggy.[71]

Panicked civilians, soldiers, and horses all ran away into the darkness, frightened and confused. Some kept going through the night, until they reached Washington. The son of Lewis Josselyn, editor of *The Bay State*, wrote a few days after the battle,

> Most of us remain, but some – their groans now ring in my ears! – will never march again. We had most of us retreated to the woods. A whole regiment of the rebels, armed with Minie muskets, fired through the woods at us. Our boys suffered severely here. They dropped on all sides of me, but we had no time to tend to the wounded or dying then. Our first lieutenant was shot in the breast. He fell like a log. I saw a soldier hold his head in his lap till his senses came again. The dying officer told him to flee for his own safety, for it was all over with him. … The poor wounded horses, neighing and groaning, galloping riderless through the field, some [hauling] cannon, and the broken remains of artillery, others wounded in the leg, limping anywhere to avoid the shot. Men can look on and see their own kind suffer, and feel resigned to it, but to see these poor horses wounded and mangled is a sight which will touch the hardest heart.[72]

Congressman Alley had seen about three dozen Lynn boys from the Eleventh Regiment fighting on the battlefield who were "much exposed, but fought bravely." Two Lynn men were wounded. George W. Gray was struck by grape shot in the thigh and was "terribly mangled". News of his injury was especially trying for his wife, Sarah, who was "quite ill" at the same time back in Lynn. George survived, but Sarah died a month after the battle.[73] The second Bull Run casualty was Corporal Charles H. Janes who suffered a traumatic and ultimately mortal wound. The twenty-two-year-old bachelor had his leg shot off at the thigh – a cannonball had ripped it away.[74] The wound was mortal, but he apparently lingered for about two weeks after the battle before he ultimately expired.[75] His death in the war's first significant battle was Lynn's first loss.

A nameless citizen back home wrote to the *Lynn News* editor with the wisdom that comes from hindsight, "A little more than a week ago, our army, full of hope and promise, their bright bayonets gleaming in the sunlight, went forth to do battle for the constitution and the Union…. But, alas! How soon did they meet with disaster and defeat! … we were wholly unprepared for such news. We were too self-confident …."[76]

A few days after the devastating loss, a notice was posted in one of the Lynn newspapers that a "mourning breast-pin containing hair" had been lost and the finder would be rewarded for its return.[77] Mourning jewelry had become very popular: strands of hair were either decoratively interwoven or left in an unadorned bunch, often placed behind glass in a brooch or ring. It was a keepsake, like photographs, that reminded the jewelry's owner of a loved one, like a soldier who went off to war, but if the hair donor of the lost breast pin was Charles H. Janes or any of the hundreds of other Lynn men who would follow Janes to the grave, then the jewelry transformed from a cherished memento into a *memento mori*, a reminder that death, ultimately, awaits all.

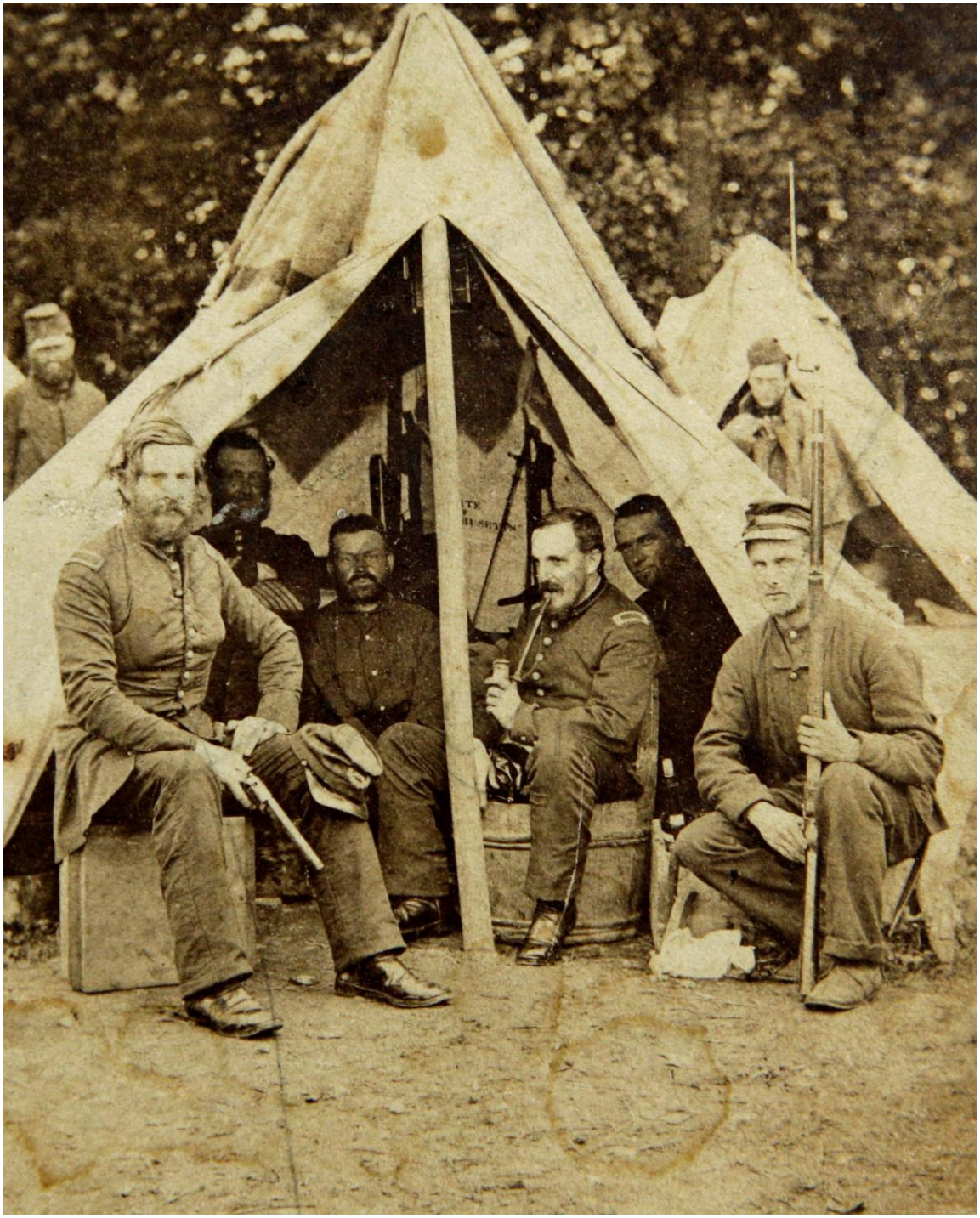
Less than a fortnight after Bull Run, the 8th Massachusetts returned home, having completed what had turned out to be 106 days of duty. Not one man was lost to war or illness; it was a fact that few other regiments would be able to claim over the next four years of war. They never had to confront the enemy, but their patriotism as the city's first volunteers wasn't

forgotten, so nothing short of a hero's welcome would do. Buildings had been decorated in patriotic bunting and flags were hung high across the streets. School children were assembled on the Lynn Common to greet the soldiers. A long parade was staged, complete with two marching bands, the Ellsworth Cadets, city officials, former members of the Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guard, and the always supportive Volunteer, Fountain, Niagara, Silver Grey, and Liberty fire companies. Church bells rang and Chase's Artillery fired its cannons.[78] The soldiers had brought home war booty they had confiscated from secessionist homes, including the enemy's weapons and flags. There were also "about thirty dogs and cats, pets of the men, scattered through the regiment, the younger ones being secreted in their haversacks and under their jackets."[79] In the evening a collation was served, "loaded with a profusion of substantials as well as delicacies of the most appetizing description" (the report of a simple "collation" modestly belied the grand banquet) and was accompanied by speeches and toasts.[80] Ironically, it was when the festivities were going on in Exchange Hall that an artillery injury occurred. One of the small field artillery pieces of Chase's Battery exploded from overheating and three of the cannon's crew sustained "severely burned … faces."[81]

A few weeks later, the Lynn Light Infantry and City Guard received their pay for three and one-half months of service. Major Usher, the paymaster, sat at a table covered with a pile of money, "ranging from double eagles to three cent pieces and nickel coppers," to distribute $57.58 per private, exclusive of $8.24 for the new clothing they received in Washington.[82] Flush with money and three months of death-free, battle-free military experience, over seventy percent of the soldiers who comprised the original Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guard signed up again, although many ended up in different units throughout the state.[83] They were joined by a steady stream of new volunteers anxious to participate in the war effort.

For some of the new soldiers, the spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak. Recruiting physicians were ordered to examine the recruit for such potential battle hazards as no front teeth, which would hamper the soldier's ability "to bite a cartridge" (a key step to loading a musket); a clavicle fracture, "which would interfere with knapsack straps" slung over the shoulders; or loss of the thumb or forefinger of the right hand, which would prevent the soldier from firing a rifle. The recruit needed his big toes and flexible knee joints for marching and running and to he needed to be free from syphilis, imperfect heart or lungs, or bowel difficulty, and should be able to thread an ordinary needle without glasses. Complete baldness was also a cause for rejection; it could be a symptom of serious illness or, at the very least, a sign of an older fellow who might not be able to keep up with the rest.[84] During training camp, recruiting physicians discharged men like Nathan H. Cole, a twenty-one-year-old whom they diagnosed with consumption, and William McNabb, who at forty-two was declared to be "aged and infirm." After just over a month in training with the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry, the two Lynn volunteers were "discharged for disability" and were sent home where they could only read and talk about the war with other homebound Lynners.[85]

Lynn's newspapers tried to report on the war as comprehensively as they could, detailing the battles and movements of the troops, especially the sons of Lynn. A request came into *The Bay State* that the newspaper give its readers an idea of where the places were that they were reading about, given that many of the confrontations occurred in locations so remote that they couldn't be found on maps. "At all events, you can give us a guess at the latitude and longitude of places," the reader pleaded. The editor responded that he would be happy to if he knew the information himself.[86] News reports identified battles by the closest rural village or local geography; thus soldiers were dying in such obscure, impossible-to-pinpoint locations as Blue Creek, Blooming Gap, and White Oak Swamp. Sometimes the places were so little known, they were incorrectly identified; such was the case when the *Lynn News* reported the casualties of the Battle of "Matansas" instead of Manassas, which was still another name for the Battle of Bull Run.[87]



Bowman B. Breed in Union Tent, 1861. Image taken from one half of a stereoview. Breed is holding the long-stemmed meerschaum pipe to his mouth; in a letter to his wife, he explained that he preferred not to be photographed that way, but was urged by his comrades to continue smoking his pipe because "it would look more natural. and so I smoked on."[88] The man with a pistol was Warren Tapley, his surgical assistant (based on a comparison of the hairline, jawline, and muttonchop sideburns to a later service *carte de visite* of Tapley). (Collection and courtesy of Dr. Robert T. Breed, deceased, and Allen G. Breed, grandson and great-grandson, respectively, of the Union surgeon.)

On October 17th of 1861, Lynn experienced earthquake shocks.[89] A few days later, its foundation would be shaken again, this time by another battle. Ball's Bluff, Virginia, was another confrontation where the Union troops did not fare well. They had crossed the Potomac to engage the Confederates, but after several hours, with their backs against the river, they retreated as at Bull Run – in a panic. Corporal F. H. Keith of the 20th Massachusetts Infantry wrote back to his family in Lynn, "Capt. Putnam was the first one that fell a victim. He was shot above the elbow, which [tore the arm off] close up to the shoulder. It almost makes me crazy when I think of it." Others of his outfit were wounded or taken prisoners. Then Keith did as most soldiers did; he tried to pass word on about his buddies for *their* families and friends, "Tell Fraser's mother that he is with us safe, likewise Burrill's folks that he is safe."[90] It was a good thing that he had done so, because the country would read sad and incomplete accounts of the Union defeat with hundreds taken away as prisoners and others who died in the Potomac River, which carried some of their bodies down to Washington. The Frasers and Burrills must have been grateful for Keith's scrap of reassurance that their sons were not ones who were captured at the point of a bayonet, or worse, floated lifelessly down the river.

Near the end of the year, Peter M. Neal, a Quaker, was voted in as the mayor of Lynn. It was suggested by *The Bay State* that Neal was voted into office because so many of the voters were off fighting the war, leaving the peace-loving Quakers at home and in control of the election results.[91] Indeed, animosity did exist towards the Quakers, who were derided as the "rich class" with "conscientious scruples" that "own a million in property [but] have not given a dollar." Bellows from one raucous meeting of war supporters in August 1862 called for the Quakers to either pay large amounts for the privilege of not serving in the army or to have those privileges stripped away altogether.[92] In December of that same year, Congressman John B. Alley, a self-described "semi-Quaker," tried to counter criticism of the Friends' conscientious objections by praising the large contributions they had made since the angry Lynn pro-war rally in August. He explained that over the last four months of the year they had raised several thousand dollars and seven boxes of supplies for the relief of the sick and the wounded soldiers.[93] Throughout the war, however, the Lynn press was largely quiet about their wealthy Quaker neighbors, probably because they understood that even some of their families were being torn apart by the war.

A battle was being fought in the hearts of young Quaker men between faithful adherence to pacifist values and patriotic commitment to preserving the Union. When the committee of church overseers looked into allegations about Jacob Chase Jr. and Edward F. Chase, it was reported that they had also "for a long time neglected the attendance of our religious meetings … made an improper use of spirituous liquors," *and* enlisted as soldiers. The report intimated that they had fallen far from the faith, plus Jacob "did not see the inconsistency of war, but fully justifies that unchristian practice."[94] So too, was it discovered that Philip Augustus Chase "is not as he acknowledges principled against war," and John G. Estes, who had already served in the army for ninety days, had "a prospect of reenlisting in the army and did not wish longer to remain a member of our Society. We have several times endeavoured to obtain a personal interview with him, but have not been successful."[95] When the overseers went to interview with Phillip Chase's brother, Charles H. Chase, they found that he, too, had left the Lynn Monthly Meeting of Friends and was on board "a Man of War Vessel," sailing far away from Quaker values.[96] At least eight young men had left Lynn's community of Friends when they signed up for the company of warriors.

The challenge of faith versus conviction had even hit the home of Lynn's Mayor Neal; his own son, Edward C. Neal, had "so far deviated from our well known testimony against war, as to enlist as a soldier, and has gone into the army."[97] In fact, in August 1862 he was busily trying to assemble his own company of three-year volunteers that he intended to call the Lynn City Rifles.[98] Early in September, Mayor Neal went down to the Washington area to learn the conditions and needs of hospitalized Lynn soldiers. While there he found John O. Churchill, an

eighteen-year-old recruit, recovering from an operation that removed a large piece of shrapnel, two inches square and one inch in depth. He also visited Thomas Donahue who had been shot through the lungs.[99] The Quaker mayor returned home on September 9th, burdened by the horrors of warfare he had witnessed; four days later, his son Edward walked away from home, church, and safety by formally enlisting in the Union Army.[100]

The women's organization within the Lynn Friends acknowledged the emotional struggle between their religion's peaceful heritage and the exigencies of war when they wrote that the departures of Neal and two more young Quaker men "have called forth much expression and enlisted our warm sympathies, and it is with sorrow and regret that we feel called upon, by denying them their right of membership with us, renewedly to maintain the ancient testimony borne by our predecessors, against 'all wars and fighting'."[101] Unlike the frustration and disappointment expressed by the early investigative committees, however, later schisms with Edward C. Neal, John H. Breed, and Charles C. Frye were prosecuted with hope of reconciliation, "it is believed that they leave our society, with pleasant feelings towards us."[102] Reluctantly, the men's and women's monthly meeting groups agreed in each case to "deny [the young man] the right of membership in our religious society until he shall return, and make Friends satisfaction for his outgoings, which we desire he may be favored to do …."[103] As much as they wished their sons wouldn't go to war, the Friends left the door open for them to come home.

By the end of 1861, Lynn was feeling much was beyond their control. With wounded soldiers and disheveled socialites scrambling back to Washington from Bull Run and corpses floating to the capital from Ball's Bluff, it had become clear that the war was going to be longer and harder than almost anyone had originally expected. Hope for a quick Union victory had disappeared in battle smoke. In September the enormous Nahant Hotel, four hundred feet long, four stories high, and 300 rooms big, had burned down; in less than three hours it was a "smoldering heap of ashes." Although the hotel was out on the peninsula, the blaze was so bright, people in Lynn could read by the fire's glow. Like the war, it was too far away and out of control for anyone to be able to stop the destruction. Fortunately, there were no tourists at the hotel; it had been closed since the summer of 1859.[104]

The war had impacted tourism and business by causing a shortage of patrons and workers. By the end of October, the Sagamore Hotel had given notice to its boarders that it was going to have to close down due to insufficient business; so too, did the city's hairdressers mutually agree to close their shops earlier than usual.[105] The shoe manufacturers were doing much less business as well, getting only small orders for shoes, which in turn, meant wages for their laborers had dropped very low once again. Still worse, the prospect for more business in the new year seemed to be "anything but cheering."[106] Christmas Day was "clear, cold, and beautiful" and there were those who were out and about, buying a goose or turkey for Christmas dinner, whether or not they could actually afford it, "but the gloomy aspect of the country had its effect … the day was not as lively, or the people as merry" as in Christmases past.[107] S. R. Bushby, Dealer in Clocks, Watches & Jewelry, advertised his most popular wares for the gift shopper, which included mourning hair jewelry.[108] It wasn't a festive gift, but with war taking loved ones away and death taking some for good, Bushby's holiday sales were probably brisk.

"THE BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM"

Death is inevitable. Some die from illness and others from injury, but to the living, at least, the worst death of all may be for it to end nightmarishly; unfortunately, ghastly ends to life were not limited to the battlefield. Mial W. Martin was just going about his usual routine before the new Lynn sunrise: he lit a lamp and went into the cellar of his house for some kindling wood to start up the stove. Suddenly, his wife was awakened by his loud screams. She met him at the top

of the cellar stairs, "his hair and clothing being in flames, and his face and neck shockingly burned." He lived in agony for over two weeks before finally dying, despite the healing efforts of spiritual mediums and then James M. Nye.[109] In November, Phipps Munroe, a master carpenter, was making some repairs to the floor of a factory, beneath a shaft that turned at 180 revolutions per minute. They heard him cry out just once. His clothing had gotten caught in the machinery and his body was pulled between the shaft and the beams that were only fourteen inches above it. "His clothing was stripped entirely from his body, deep gashes were cut in his head, and his limbs were cut and broken in many places." There was a faint groan, then he was dead.[110] A year later, seventeen-year-old Horace L. Davis went into the store of Nathan Breed Jr. for some kerosene oil. He gave Breed a junk bottle and the storekeeper went into the back to fill the container. Before Breed had turned the spigot on the oil cask, the teenager drove a hatchet into the back of the storekeeper's head. He chopped furiously at Breed again and again and again and again and again; across the nose, through the eye, in the neck and arm; cheekbone was exposed where flesh had been. Three physicians (James M. Nye, David Drew, and Edward Newhall) were called upon, but they couldn't put Nathan Breed back together again; the "excellent, worthy and inoffensive citizen" passed from painful mortality nine hours later.[111] As gruesome as these events were, the nightmares of Lynn provided only a glimpse at the nightmares of war.

"We have all read of the horrors of a battle-field after a bloody fight, and oftentimes think that the imagination furnishes a great deal;" wrote one of Lynn's soldiers after the Battle of Fair Oaks, "but never after this will it be difficult for those who witnessed this field to believe anything that may be written." There were so many killed in the battle (over 13,000), the bodies had to be buried in trenches. The "tremendous rains" then washed the earth off of the cadavers and the stench was "intolerable."[112] In March of 1862, Charles B. Taylor was a sailor on the frigate *Congress* when it was clobbered by the Rebel ironclad *Merrimac*; he put his pre-war experience as an apprentice at the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* to good use, providing readers the type of battle detail that was horrible to consider, but fascinating to read. He described "the roaring of the cannon, the cries of the officers and men, the groans of the wounded, the blood and brains and limbs that strewed the deck, the sulphurous smoke that filled every part of the ship, [and] the crashing of shells, as the *Merrimac* poured in her raking broadsides …."[113] During the Battle of Fredericksburg in late 1862, Joseph E. Hodgkins wrote in the privacy of his diary, "One poor fellow was struck by a round shot, carrying away one side of his head, and scattering his brains all around. Pigs were roaming around eating them."[114] As his unit advanced past dead Rebels, he saw "some with their heads off, others with arms and legs off, and some mutilated in a horrible manner, too much so for detail."[115] How much more horrific than the account he detailed of the man with the exploded head is almost impossible to imagine, but it is clear that battles were large-scale, non-stop nightmares.

Civilians gazing on such a bloodbath for the first time were stunned, and even more carnage could be found at the field hospitals. The poet Walt Whitman visited the Second Corps' hospital at Fredericksburg to search for his wounded brother and saw the surgeons rapidly cutting off all sorts of wounded human anatomy and tossing them out a window. He blanched at the "heap of feet, legs, arms, and human fragments, cut, bloody, black and blue, swelled and sickening …."[116] (Some of those pieces were surely from Massachusetts men, since the Second Corps included the 15th, 19th, and 28th Massachusetts Regiments, each of which had dozens of Lynn troops.) Lasting confusion and horror also occurred between soldiers and civilians alike who witnessed the soon-to-be amputees writhing, moaning, and wailing while under the surgeon's blade or saw. Anesthesia was sometimes administered, but for economy and safety, in amounts just sufficient to make the patient insensitive to pain. It was just enough to make him loopy, loud, and fidgety, necessitating men to hold him still.[117]

Bloodshed littered fields, hillsides, rivers, and ravines from Maryland to New Mexico as the war progressed through 1862 and 1863, and Lynn soldiers spilled and caused their share.

Lynn troops in the Union Guard watched from the banks of Hampton Roads on 8 March 1862 when the Southern ironclad, *Merrimac*, destroyed the Union ship *Congress*. (They also witnessed the historic battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac* on the next day.[118]) Some were probably aware that there were Lynn men on the *Congress* that was in flames. Charles B. Taylor wasn't injured while it was being bombarded, but a shell that exploded just a few feet away from him destroyed a pitcher of drink he was carrying to a wounded man, leaving nothing but the handle in his hand.[119] Robert S. Rogers was also on board the *Congress* and was wounded in the arm by a shell that killed five others at the same moment. Daniel W. Townsend had his eyebrows burned off and received a slight wound over the left eye. John H. Jewett wasn't as lucky; he also received burns, but of a degree that led to his death. *The Bay State* noted that he was "the second martyr in Lynn who gallantly fell in defense of the Union," the first having died at Bull Run eight months earlier. The Grim Reaper's pace was going to pick up in 1862.[120]

At Fair Oaks in June, Lynn soldiers marched six miles through mud and water, sometimes up to their waists. When they reached the battlefield their ears were "sadly greeted with the groans of the wounded and dying all around us." The scene reminded Henry A. Fairbanks of a previous battle "which, I am sorry to say, I saw with my own eyes" where Union wounded had been shockingly mutilated to death by merciless Confederate soldiers.[121]

The war proceeded on through the spring and into the summer of 1862, with battles and skirmishes being fought all over the South. After the Richmond offensive in late June and early July, the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* provided its readers what they most feared to read – the post-battle casualty report, heavy with Lynn names:

> Leonidas W. Carter, of Company B, and Joseph H. Homan, of Company K, are reported missing. The latter, being sick, was not able to keep up with his regiment on the retreat. … Company A – Edward Murphy, wounded in right hip. Company D – John Proctor, missing. Company H – Sergeant George F. Shaw, side, mortally; George W. Thompson, right arm amputated; James H. Wilson, missing. Company K – Albert S. Lillie, lost two fingers. … Assistant Surgeon James P. Prince, wounded and missing. John F. Coates, killed; Elbridge Gerry, John Parfitt, Peter Laborda and Alexander Gordon, wounded and missing. Company E – Joseph P. Noyes, wounded in head, slightly. Company K – Harmon H. Blair, killed; Washington Keene, Isaac D. Emerson and Oscar B. Quimby, missing ….[122]

A well-meaning chaplain wrote to William Ready about his twenty-one-year-old son, John, who had been wounded in the Richmond fight, and assured him that John was going to pull through:

> Dear Sir: Your son, John C. Ready, was brought to this hospital yesterday noon, having been wounded in the fight before Richmond, on Wednesday, the 25th inst[ant]. His wound is in the left shoulder, the ball touching the bone in its passage, but is by no means severe or dangerous. He is otherwise in fine health, very cheerful, hopeful and courageous. Please be, with your family, perfectly comfortable about him. He is in one of the best hospitals in Washington or the country. Walls, ceilings, beds, white as the driven snow; surgeons, lady nurses and other attendants, all devotion, love and kindness, rejoicing to be servants to the wounded boys. Be assured, sir, that your son could hardly be better provided for in your own house.…[123]

Ten days later, John C. Ready died.[124]

Early excitement and confidence had been beaten down to sadness and frustration; men and boys were no longer so eager to become soldiers and families were less willing to let them go. Cash signing incentives of $125 failed to bring the needed numbers of recruits, and wealthier communities like Swampscott offered far more ($300), which enticed potential troops from Lynn to sign up to the credit of other towns.[125] A somewhat spontaneous public war rally occurred on

the Lynn Common in early July 1862 because the recruiting was going slowly. Otis Newhall was chosen to preside over the rally; he had developed a measure of celebrity in town for being one of two Lynn men who had five sons in the war, and he "appealed eloquently to the young men of Lynn not to forsake their brave and noble-hearted brethren who needed their aid in this trying time." Other notables spoke and a band played patriotic songs, like Yankee Doodle and the Star-Spangled Banner. But the meeting was "not so enthusiastic as we could have wished." [126] Another war meeting two nights later had a smaller attendance and even less show of enthusiasm. The last man to stand on the podium "felt indignant" because so many of the enlisted soldiers were from among the shoe workers and laborers. "He wanted rich men, and the 'fast men,' who drive fast horses, and go to fast places" to start signing up, the newspaper reported, because "the laboring men had done their share – now let the doctors and lawyers and clergymen do theirs." The meeting ended "with this dash of cold water" and the people dispersed; the band played the Star-Spangled Banner "as if to shame such unpatriotic sentiments."[127]

A few weeks later, the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* tried to rouse the citizens into a soul-stirring display of patriotism by urging everyone to show their flags from the windows, flagpoles, and housetops. "We want to see a return to the spirit that was manifested a year or more ago," the newspaper explained, "We want more enthusiasm, more life …" but they were both in short supply.[128] The next week, the *Reporter* felt compelled to share the news of another Lynn man's death. The captain of Company F, 24th Massachusetts Infantry, faced the difficult duty of reporting the death of Melbourne Crosscup to the young man's mother. He told her everything a grieving mother could want to know or hope to hear:

> He met his death … while gallantly holding the enemy in check at Tranter's Creek …. I was with him when his spirit left this world …. He spoke of his mother with deep affection and regard several times. His sufferings were terrible, but he was conscious to the last. His last words were – "Captain, I am a Union man." Everything was done for him, my dear madam, that could be done … No mortal hand could have saved his life. … P.S. – I enclose some of Melbourne's hair. It was cut quite short before we came to Washington, but I have thought it would be a comfort to you to have it.[129]

Sadly, another customer for Bushby's mourning jewelry.

Melbourne's younger brother Joseph was also serving in the same company, but he was discharged at the request of their widowed mother because he was now her "only support and comfort." [130]

Armies advanced, retreated, and crisscrossed over country roads and quiet lands that weeks or months earlier had seen gruesome flashes of Armageddon. On the first of September, Lieutenant Frank R. Josselyn, son of the editor of *The Bay State*, wrote to his father about the irony of the battle in which he had just fought and fallen: "It seemed strange – for I was wounded very near where I fought in the first Bull Run fight." From his hospital bed he wrote about the wound he had first received during the Second Battle of Bull Run. The large rifle slug passed "through the fleshy part of my right hip and very near the bone. The wound is very painful and exceedingly ragged." The surgeon told him that if it had reached the bone, he would be dead.[131]

Back home, nervous families tried to find out where their soldiers were after Bull Run had been lost for a second time. Stephen Heald wanted to locate his son Samuel; the last he had heard, the young soldier was seen carrying a wounded officer off the battlefield.[132] Ellen Thompson was totally unnerved to find her husband, Weston, on a list of wounded, with no indication of the nature or severity of the injury or the location of her husband.[133] Thomas Gardiner's mother, a "greatly distracted widow," was just as anxious to find out where her son was. She had been told he was last seen during the battle looking after some gear, but she knew no more.[134] The news for several families was grim: Private Heald had been killed during the battle, Private Thompson was mortally wounded, and the enemy had captured Corporal Gardiner.[135] In Lynn they had been

pursuing careers as a brewer, a calico printer, and a salesman, respectively; in less than a year each had been retrained to kill or be killed; Heald had been a soldier for exactly one month before he lay dead on the battlefield.

The young men who had left mothers and girlfriends in Lynn were becoming battle-toughened soldiers in a matter of months. Charles A. Hall, a struggling shoemaker back home, had fought in his first year of service at Ball's Bluff, Fair Oaks, Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, Malvern Hill, Second Bull Run, and South Mountain, among thirteen pitched battles, and even more, counting skirmishes.[136] Active involvement in the war wasn't just a badge of courage; it was also a badge of honor. One of Lynn's elite riflemen in the 1st Andrew Sharpshooters wrote home, "almost every one of us has been seen to kill a rebel; some have killed not less than ten." Then he added with chilling contentment, "I have killed my part."[137]

On Wednesday the 17th of September, great armies of the North and South battled over another bucolic countryside; one that was divided by a small creek known by the Maryland locals as Antietam. It was the first battle of the war to occur on Northern soil. Confederate General Robert E. Lee's victory at Bull Run had encouraged him to invade the North. Lee hoped that victories in Maryland would dishearten northern support for the war, sway slave-holding Maryland to secede, and get Britain to enter the war as an ally of the South, as well as provide needed supplies and recruits for his army. But Northern troops stood in their way. Lynn men were in Massachusetts infantry regiments dispersed throughout the battlefield; they were in the 29th Massachusetts at Bloody Lane, the 28th at Burnside Bridge, and in the 19th and 15th in the West Woods. The battle everywhere was ferocious and bloody; it resulted in more casualties in that single day than occurred in any other battle of the war.

The 1st Andrew Sharpshooters, named for the Massachusetts governor, was a unit of marksmen who were armed with telescopic rifles. Even though the specialized weapons were heavy, somewhat unwieldy, and couldn't be mounted with bayonets, they were admirably accurate at extremely long distances when fired with skilled hands and a trained eye. But just a month before the battle, the unit was attached to the 15th Massachusetts Infantry regiment and the precision long-distance specialists were ordered to turn in their telescopic rifles for Sharp's regulation infantry rifles. The sharpshooters had been trained in the art of long-distance shooting, not infantry drill, marching, and tactics. Captain John Saunders and 1st Lieutenant William Berry, two of the sharpshooters' leaders, were extremely upset with the orders and planned to seek discharge from the regiment; Berry wrote, "I shall resign as soon as we get to our destination…."[138]

They never got the opportunity. During the Battle of Antietam, the 15th Massachusetts was ordered to march into the West Woods with all the other Union troops, but they were outflanked by Confederate units. The Andrew Sharpshooters were thick in the middle of the fray, face to face with the enemy. Their Sharp's rifles were new and unfamiliar, so they might have relied more heavily on pistols that were given to them as gifts back in March.[139] In the confusion that followed, bullets rained in from Confederates on the left flank and even from the friendly fire of panic-stricken New York troops behind them.[140] Half of the proud sharpshooters fell to the ground. Among the thirty-plus casualties were Lynn sharpshooters Alonzo W. Bartlett, William E. Blodgett, Sanford K. Fuller, Warren Snow, and Joseph S. Ingalls; some were wounded, but others had passed over to the spirit world or were on their way. In twenty-seven minutes the 15th Massachusetts suffered 318 casualties (almost twelve men a minute), which was over half of the regiment's number in the fight.[141] Captain Saunders and William Berry were among the corpses on the ground, recipients of the most difficult discharge of all.

Further west in the West Woods, Charles A. Hall was once again engaged in battle, serving alongside James Buchanan, George W. Batchelder, and many other Lynn men in the 19th Massachusetts Regiment. Like the 15th Massachusetts, the 19th's casualties were brutal. Buchanan, Batchelder, and Hall were all hit and buckled to the blood-soaked earth. Hall had been

reloading his gun when he was hit by a minie ball. The cone-shaped lead bullet was capable of bodily damage far greater than its size would suggest. When it hit human flesh, it flattened and tumbled raggedly into the body, tearing through muscle tissues and blood vessels and shattering bones.[142] Hall's minie ball struck his left hip, passed down the lower part of his thigh, and came out at the top, cutting the sciatic nerve. The day after the battle, a Rebel soldier was scavenging among the corpses for useable spoils of war. He noticed that an almost new pair of shoes was on the feet of Hall's motionless body. A pant leg was soaked in blood and the soldier's tongue was swollen and protruding out of his mouth. He was the very picture of death, so the Rebel began to remove the shoes, which promptly brought life to the dead man. A "partially insensible" Hall opened his eyes and feebly protested the removal of his shoes. "Good God!" said the Rebel, "I thought you was dead!" Unable to speak because of his swollen tongue, Hall motioned for some water. The thieving enemy instantly transformed into a Good Samaritan. He had no water but said he would get some and, sure enough, in two hours he came back with the nectar of life, bathed Hall's face and gave him a drink. Hall's recovery was assured by the compassionate act of a Confederate who, the previous day, was trying to kill all men in blue.[143]

When recovered by his own troops, Hall was brought to one of the area's several farms that had been converted into field hospitals. He was there for five days, lying outside, "without shelter, or even a blanket."[144] Then he was removed to Frederick, Maryland. He may have been in the same hospital in Frederick as his comrade from the 19th, James Buchanan. Hall was discharged with permanent disability four months after the Battle of Antietam. Back home in Lynn almost a year after the battle, he still had great pain because of nerve damage. His doctor (James M. Nye) could only alleviate his suffering by "frequent application of morphine … injected beneath the skin," but relief was only temporary "and the only prospect before him [seemed] to be a life of suffering of no ordinary nature."[145] Buchanan's prospects were much shorter; after a month of suffering, he died at the hospital in Frederick.[146]

Captain George W. Batchelder died a few hours after being struck. His body was buried on the battlefield, but Lynn's city marshal, John A. Thurston, disinterred the body, apparently at the request of the dead soldier's father, Jacob, who wanted to have one funeral for his two sons.[147] George's brother Charles, a lieutenant, had died just nine days earlier in Louisiana. He had been having a tough go of it for quite a while; back in January their mother wrote to George concerning a letter she had received from Charles about "being cold, hungry, and so far worn out with fatigue and illness [that he] lost the control of his limbs."[148] He expired in September from "fever induced by exposure and fatigue consequent upon the battle of Baton Rouge."[149] His body was being brought back to Lynn on board the brig *Lizabel*, but Thurston arrived in Lynn with George's remains first, so George was put in a receiving tomb at the Pine Grove Cemetery, awaiting the arrival of his deceased brother. In that it took six to seven and a half weeks for the bodies to be buried in Lynn, both would have been embalmed before the long return home; mixtures using arsenic, creosote, turpentine, or alcohol were the most frequently used preservatives.[150] It was an expensive proposition to have a corpse embalmed and transported a long distance, and generally only happened to officers and others connected to wealthy families. Jacob Batchelder was raising his two boys and six girls on his modest schoolteacher wages, but he spared no expense to get his two sons home. A large funeral was held honoring the two fallen heroes.

John C. Dow, a private in the 29th Massachusetts and son of a shoemaker, and Solomon Martin, a sergeant in the 2nd Massachusetts and son of a calico printer, were two more of Lynn's fallen Antietam soldiers and theirs were the first funeral processions in Lynn from that battle. Their parents had no more apparent means than the Batchelders did to have their sons recovered, embalmed, returned home, and honored in a large funeral, so it is likely that city funds and private citizens contributed to those ends.[151] The large processions for these two soldiers involved uniformed members of the 8th Massachusetts and the No. 9 Fire Association, along with the

deceased soldiers' families, a "large concourse" of sympathetic citizens, and the city's authorities.[152] One of the funeral services was conducted by Reverend Nathan C. Wright, who pointed out that he had sent three of his own sons to fight in the war and that one of them was engaged in the same battle in which Sergeant Martin had been killed.[153] Few in Lynn were untouched by the war, and few were unmoved. [154]

In December of 1862, many of the Lynn men were again involved in a bitter battle; this time over the town of Fredericksburg, Virginia. The battle's ferocity and the resulting carnage were like that of Antietam – brutal. A Lynn mother wrote to her son, "[that] awful Battle of Fredricksburgh seems an Inhuman Butchery."[155] A Lynn cannoneer wrote about being in the thick of it, with shells hitting the ground nearby, throwing dirt up into his face. There was no time to dream of family and friends back home; there was only duty or death: "it was much like a severe thunder storm, the lightning striking very near, and knowing there was no use in trying to save your own life. I did not think of home once …." This soldier's perspective concluded with grim satisfaction, "… I think some of the rebels will remember my shots."[156]

A minie ball hit Burnham S. Pevear in the back of the neck and bored through his upper body until it shot out through the armpit – and he was one of the lucky ones because he survived.[157] Joseph Hodgkins was hunkered down in a hole when his buddy Charlie McDavitt, lying next to him, was hit with a projectile and instantly lost an arm. Then Hodgkins was hit with a minie bullet, but he was even luckier; the ball "passed through my haversack, a tin plate, a spoon, a *Lynn Reporter* [newspaper]," and finally nicked him on the side, only managing by that point to take some skin away. His luck was short-lived, however; just a few minutes later, another bullet went through his arm "like lightning." His instinct was to immediately jump to his feet, but then just as quickly he fell to the ground "like a stone." He tried to raise his gun to keep shooting, but found his left arm powerless to do so.[158]

After several days, the battlefield was deadly quiet. "The dead were scattered thickly around," interspersed only by "dead horses, fragments of shells, scattered muskets, broken swords, and limbs of trees," knocked down by the same bullets and artillery shells that had killed all other forms of life. A witness to the devastation reported to *The Bay State*, "The scene was horrible [and] heart-sickening enough to bring tears from hearts of stone."[159] One of the surviving soldiers commented, "… it seemed impossible for any to come out alive." John A. Chase emerged from battle with his life, but just barely and not for long. While charging the enemy, a gunshot badly fractured his leg above the knee, making him instantly collapse to the ground. His regiment was forced to quickly retreat from the "murderous fire of the batteries," leaving him behind. Then the Rebel troops advanced, putting the badly wounded Chase behind enemy lines. He had lain there in that condition, without food or water for a day and a half before being rescued by Union soldiers and placed in a field ambulance. On the way to the hospital the ambulance was overturned and the badly injured Chase was thrown around inside like a rag doll flung down stairs; racked with pain, he thought his time to die had arrived, but the angels left him alone a while longer. There was some hope that his leg would be saved, but ultimately his life wasn't; he died a month after the battle.[160]

Charlie McDavitt's family learned that he had been wounded and taken to the Lacey House Hospital in Falmouth, Virginia, but knew little else. They peppered the Massachusetts state military agent in Washington with questions and requests:

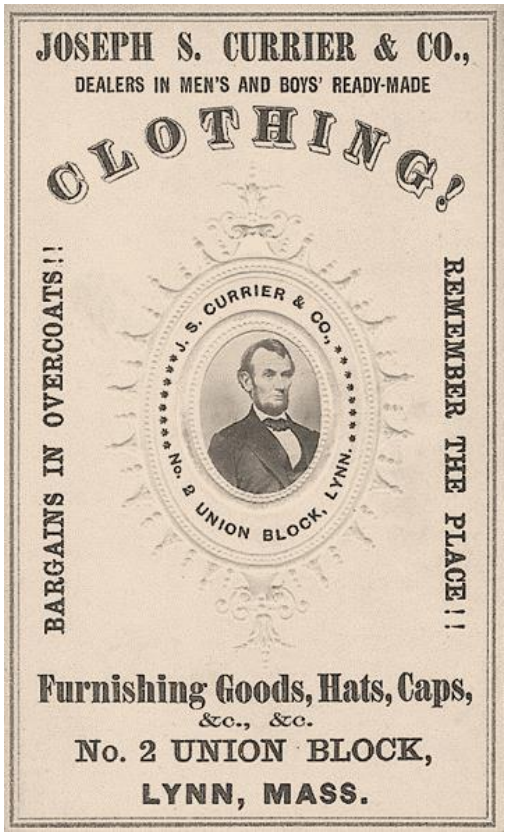
> … can you consider him out of danger[?] if a box addressed to you came with some Wine, Jellies & other Condiments, would [it] be safe, and appropriated to his use[?] [Would] a sister going out there … be allowed to nurse and remain with him until he recovers, and what accommodation, [do] you think a Lady would find, nigh to the Hospital[?] if you would be so kind as to report Once a week how he is getting along or Telegraph from the hospital immediately if any Changes for the worse takes place in his Case. Or if he is sinking also the Nature, or extent of his wounds.[161]

The McDavitts also begged Lynn's beleaguered Mayor Neal to exert his influence on their behalf and the sympathetic mayor obliged, writing a letter to Gardiner Tufts (the state military agent in Washington, D.C.,), on Christmas day, "His friends wish me to ask if any thing is needed to make him more comfortable – If there should be let me know it and I will see that he is provided at once. If he should not live his mother wants the body sent home …." He then confessed that his office had been besieged by family and friends inquiring about the soldiers, "I have some one or more in my office most of the time inquiring about their friends …."[162]

The casualty reports trickled into the Lynn newspapers in weekly installments as more of the city's soldiers were found. A few days after the battle, Lieutenant William L. Palmer was accounted for as wounded; Joseph W. Morrison was wounded and missing; David J. M. A. Jewett was wounded in both arms and Henry Orr in both legs, and Joseph Leaver and Joseph A. Guilford were reported as dead.[163] On the 27th of August the twenty-two-year-old Guilford had enlisted and was mustered into the 19th Massachusetts Infantry. Four days later, he married Miss Harriett L. Beckford, after which the new recruit quickly shipped off to join his regiment at the battlefront. He died on the streets of Fredericksburg on the first day of that battle. Harriet, suddenly the Widow Guilford, had spent just six days of wedded bliss with her new husband before he left for war; it was the last time she saw him alive.[164]

A week passed and the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* continued its coverage of the results of Fredericksburg, "It pains us to be obliged to add to the list of Lynn soldiers … who were either killed or wounded during the battle at Fredericksburg": John A. Chase was identified as severely wounded but having left the field (in the presumed safety of the ambulance); Charles A. Parrott had been killed; George H. Newhall was reported to have only suffered a flesh wound on the leg and Edward L. Clark was slightly wounded on the thigh, but still on duty.[165] Soldiers wounded at Fredericksburg were sent pell-mell to a rapidly increasing number of hospitals in the Washington, D.C. area: Lynn's fallen were distributed among the Armory, Lincoln, Mt. Pleasant, Finley, and St. Elizabeth hospitals; others were sent to the Odd Fellows' Hall, the Fairfax Seminary, and the Mansion House.[166]

Yet another update came to Lynn families almost three full weeks after the battle: Benjamin E. Whitten was wounded in the leg, and Joseph Hodgkins, in the arm. Hodgkins was blessed to receive "kind attention from the lady nurses who bring … luxuries sent by kind friends in the north," and from "some kind lady" who had brought some chicken soup.[167] Blessings, however, were in short supply. Charles E. Smith died of a severe wound. The wife of Joseph W. Morrison received a letter from his captain that he had died from a wound as well.[168] The early word on George H. Newhall's injury being minor proved to be one day premature. On January 8th Gardiner Tufts reported to the Newhall's mother, "I found him wounded in the leg, a flesh wound; he was also suffering from fever. The latter trouble will yield to treatment in a few days; when that has left him he can have a furlough until his wound is healed."[169] But the very next day, Tufts felt compelled to write again, "I regret to inform you that your son … is very sick: failing, and cannot long live. When I wrote you yesterday I thought the fever would soon be broken up but today he is reported to me in … unfavorable condition."[170] Infection had set into the wound and the fever wouldn't break. Newhall died before his widowed mother had received the letter. He expired at the Carver Hospital in Washington, D.C., on the 10th and was quickly buried.[171] The many deaths on the Fredericksburg battlefield had once again necessitated mass burials in long ditches, "and thus many lie," reported one observer, "except in a few cases, with no means of future recognition."[172] Newhall's death away from the battlefield allowed a little more effort to be made to mark his grave, a fortunate circumstance because his family decided to have his body brought home for final burial.[173] A month after the body had been buried near Carver Hospital, it was disinterred. Forty dollars covered the cost of exhumation, a coffin, and freight back to



Lynn Mementos of the 1860s. The *cartes de visite* (CDVs) and advertising trade card display some of the leading issues of the decade: consumption and the Civil War.

(top left) CDV: *Unidentified Consumptive Girl, ca. 1865*. Exhibiting sunken cheeks, narrow chest, and skeletal forearms and upper arms, this young girl, approximately 12-14 years old, is emaciated, probably due to being in the advanced stages of the dreaded consumption. Photographer: Bowers, 96 Market St., Lynn. (Collection of the author.)

(top right) CDV: *Unidentified Patriotic Boy. ca. 1863*. The plump-cheeked boy poses in his replica zouave military outfit, holding the American flag. Photographer: B. Whiting, 3 Ellis' Building, West Lynn. (Collection of the author.)

(bottom left) *Patriotic trade card, ca. 1867*. The post mortem portrait of the revered, assassinated president, Abraham Lincoln, is surrounded by tribute layers of decorative embossing. The central commemorative image and motif have nothing to do with the advertising, other than to subliminally assure patrons that the purveyor was a fellow patriot. (Collection of the author.)

Lynn.[174] The family was assured, "The identification of the remains was completed. Those who disinterred it inform me it was in a very good state of preservation but not in a condition for public exhibition owing to the nature of the soil in which he was buried."[175] When her son's corpse came home, the widow Newhall sent word to Tufts, "The body of my son arrived at Lynn in due time: all was in good order, he was seen by a number of friends and we feel satisfied, that it was his body."[176]

Sons were sick, brothers were hurt, husbands were dying, and their families wanted them to come home, hopefully before it was too late. When Mayor Neal returned from Washington with the news that Private Thomas Donahue had been mortally shot through the lungs, Mrs. Donahue took the news hard. She became "partially insane" because "his loss [had] worn sadly upon her." More than a year after his death, the police found her wandering a considerable distance from her home, "bareheaded and barefooted, [seeming] quite bewildered," and mumbling something about being told to leave her shawl on the fence. A Mrs. Williams was also overcome by the death of her husband, William, shortly after he was drafted. In her inconsolable grief, she swallowed an ounce of laudanum and an additional ounce of arsenic just to make sure she wouldn't have to worry about continuing to live.[177] After major battles, Gardiner Tufts' office was flooded with inquiries and requests from worried families anxious to learn where their wounded love ones had been taken, the nature and extent of the wounds, and whether Tufts would provide a variety of favors, from getting messages and homemade goodies to the wounded to getting them home on a temporary furlough or even a permanent discharge. Compelling concern came across in many of the letters. "John E. W. Chase has ben in the Hospidle Sick," his family wrote, "and we are a feered that hee will not recover unless he returns home."[178] George H. Breed did not dream of a furlough miracle from Tufts; he just hoped for a small favor. Although having a pen in hand was not his strong suit, love and concern for his son overcame the shortcomings of his spelling:

> Der cur as my sun has ben cick and ben in the different Hospitels for fore munts and is vary dustetut for he rites that he ante had any Boots or shoes cinc he has ben thar all he has got is a par of slippers. I sent a boks of things to him but it fell into the rebbels hands … I find it imposerbul to git them to him. Now if you can assist him in eney way you will confure a grate faver ….[179]

The Reverend Wright prayed for a bigger favor, but still not a discharge or furlough; his hope was to get William, the youngest of his three soldier sons, out of the hard-fighting 19th Massachusetts Infantry. Though just eighteen years old, William had already fought at South Mountain, Antietam, and Fredericksburg, in addition to several skirmishes. The noble but anxious father reassured, "I do not my dear Sir, ask to have my sons discharged. I gave them to the country …." The minister's hopes were in vain and his fears were realized – William wasn't transferred and he died in battle the following year.[180]

Some families tried to convince the government that they needed their soldier at the home front more than the Union needed him at the battlefront. Private Edward H. Knight had been languishing with "fever and ague" in the camp hospital for over three months and his mother wanted him back, "I am poor and my boys are my only dependence I freely gave them to their country in good health now that one of them is sick and can be of no service I am anxious to get him home, before he is past care."[181] Mrs. Ahern and her children needed her husband back home to help *them* survive, "I am poor and Destitute of Money and friends and if he was to [be] home with Me he May help Me a little and See to his Children."[182] Similarly, Mrs. Hannah Bacheller needed her son George back home in Dye House Village to help with the bills; one of his two brothers had been shipped off to New Bern, North Carolina to fight and the other brother was bedridden with consumption. Since George had become lame from a gunshot injury to his foot, she felt he would be of more help to her than the Army because he could "drive the horse" every day.[183]

Again at the pleading of some of his Lynn constituents, Mayor Neal wrote on behalf of Private Orin A. Miles, "… I am informed … that the surgeon in command says he never will be able to do duty again – If that is so it seems useless – nay cruel, to keep him there longer."[184] Corporal Henry C. Conner's family tried to shame the Army into sending him home, "… other officers are at home every month or two, some of them are stepping around here now in as good health as they ever were and yet when a meritorious officer who has never shirked is down sick he cannot have a furlough this is not right."[185] The sister of Private Charles A. Newhall tried a softer, sweeter approach to get her brother home – she tried to get to Tufts' heart through his stomach, "… you will recollect where you [ate] the Turkey supper & the big apples … well I cooked that … Now Mr Tufts do please use your influence in behalf of my poor brother and may you and I eat Turkey many times together 'when the war is over'…."[186] Whatever it took.

"My head aches terribly and my wound pains me," Joseph Hodgkins wrote in his diary, "but I am almost home, the dear old home."[187] Furloughs and discharges were granted, but as an editorial in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* explained, it was at such a terrible cost:

> We have sometimes thought that we who enjoy the comforts of quiet homes, far away from the noise and tumult of war … do not sufficiently appreciate the sufferings and sacrifices that have been and are daily being made in our behalf by the brave men who are away in distant sections of the country … We meet, now and then, as we pass along the street, one whose pale face, or empty sleeve, or painful effort to drag himself along upon his crutches, tells a tale of suffering … Taking their lives in their hands, they have thrown themselves into the deadly breach, face cannon and sword, endured toil and pain and exposure, submitted to every hardship and privation. And now some of them have come back to us, mere wrecks of humanity, shorn of their strength, deprived of their means of livelihood, to a great extent, and some of them, perchance, dependent on the public bounty for their future maintenance. We speak not now of the hundreds and thousands who have laid down their lives on the bloody fields of battle. They are at rest; their wanderings and sufferings and privations are over … A grateful people will revere their memories. But we speak now of those whom we meet in our daily walks, whose attenuated forms and pale faces and mutilated limbs appeal to us for sympathy and assistance – for a pleasant smile and a cheering word.[188]

A gravely ill Abner F. Ingalls arrived home the day after Christmas in 1862 and lived only until that evening. During his funeral services his mother suffered from an attack of "paralysis of the brain" (a stroke) and lingered for a week. Grief over her son's demise was said to be "undoubtedly the cause" of her own death.[189]

The furloughed soldiers were just as anxious to return home as were their families to get them there. Furloughs were sometimes granted because of a serious illness or death in the family back home. In Lynn, Mayor Neal pleaded for Francis I. Clark to receive a furlough or discharge because he had a child who was "quite sick here."[190] Alonzo Draper came home on a short furlough to attend the funeral of his three-year-old toddler and to visit with a seven-month-old infant daughter who was "lying dangerously ill."[191] Lamentably, his baby girl died less than four months later.[192] Private Joseph P. Southwick lost his infant son "that he had never seen in life." The newspaper ruminated, "His presence was a most welcome surprise to his friends, and joy at his return blended with sorrow that the little one had departed. So mingle the elements in the cup of life."[193]

Stationed with the 38th Massachusetts down in Louisiana, Private Steven G. Hooper was thrilled to receive several pieces of mail from home. Exhilaration flipped to unbearable sadness with the first letter he read: his wife had died.

> Stunned by the terrible news … the tears [came] and for a time I felt like lying down there to die. There I was, two thousand miles away from home, my companion gone,

> my four young children thrown upon the charities of the world, and myself in such a position that I could not go to them. … The boys of Company E came one by one to sympathize with me as best they could, but none could enter into my feelings. Their families were still unbroken; death had passed by their homes, and had not entered. Mine was broken up. I felt truly alone … if I should ever, in the providence of God, be allowed to return, I have no happy home to receive me, no wife to greet me with words of joy.[194]

Hooper may have received a furlough to arrange for his children's guardians and care, but he wasn't discharged; the army filled the void in his life until two months after the war was over.[195]

Howard A. Browne had sustained an injury in a fall that necessitated his discharge from the service. As he made his way home from the hospital down South, he visited farms along the way and at one received a recipe for a medicine that had been useful to him and others in relieving asthma and "catarrhal affections" (nasal congestion, runny nose, etc.). In the deepest part of the winter of 1862, it was said that friends back in Lynn awaited his return, not just for the man but for the medicine.[196] Joseph Hodgkins received an eight-week medical furlough and tried to stretch it out some more. He got a certificate from the Lynn physician, James M. Nye, who wrote that Hodgkins was "still unfit for duty on account of the wound in his arm, which for at least thirty days should not be used. Wound still open. The arm is weak and lame." It probably wasn't as problematic as the doctor made it sound; Hodgkins wrote in his diary a week later that he spent the morning clearing out his father's woodshed and cellar. Four days later, he received notice that the extension wasn't granted, so he promptly left for Washington the next day.[197]

While embracing the returning heroes, Lynners also sent their love and support to their soldiers down south. "The good women of Lynn" busied themselves in making and sending the soldiers all sorts of necessaries and niceties: gelatin and jellies; towels and handkerchiefs; hair pillows and feather pillows; pillow cases, sheets, blankets, and comforters; bandages and other hospital articles; dressing gowns and nightshirts; flannel drawers and undershirts; woolen socks and slippers; books, writing paper and pencils; checkerboards and playing cards; and bottles of wine, cherry brandy, bitters, and proprietary medicines.[198] The goods were brought to the city hall where the men packed them in crates and shipped them down south.[199] In January of 1863 the Ladies Sanitary Aid Society was formed in Lynn and some 580 women signed up; 37 officers tried to run the tremendous group.[200] They organized fairs, concerts, and guest lecturers, like Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, to raise money for the soldiers in the field and in the hospitals.[201] Even the city's children were organized into their own Soldier's Aid Society, "denying themselves the enjoyment of their play hours … to labor for the soldier. And while their little hands can do much, their example may do still more …."[202]

Lynners took heart as they listened to the Hutchinsons sing patriotic songs at outdoor rallies atop High Rock and some kept hope alive as they watched spiritualists at Dungeon Rock give demonstrations of communicating with dead soldiers and other loved ones.[203] Yet from spiritualist to shoemaker and Quaker to mother, patience oftentimes ran thin, so throughout the war a number of private citizens left Lynn for the battlefield and the hospital, searching out loved ones, friends, and Union soldiers in general whom they could perhaps nurse, comfort, or otherwise aid. For two months the Hutchinson Family sang to Union troops along the Potomac, but their performing tour was cancelled when they sang an abolitionist song to troops whose commander was opposed to the politics of their lyrics.[204] Isaac Pinkham took time away from his family and kerosene oil manufacturing business to help the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association in Washington administer to the various needs of the sick and wounded soldiers. He wrote to Tufts in February 1863, at the request of a Lynn soldier he had visited at a Convalescent Camp in the Washington, D.C., area; Pinkham described the soldier as "completely used up" and urged Tufts to visit him.[205] Working through the U. S. Christian Commission, Reverend Alfred

Owen, pastor of Lynn's High Street Baptist Church, was also gratified to find himself needed and busily involved in aiding the soldiers in a Washington area hospital,

> There is but one chaplain in the hospital … and the sick and wounded are more than fifteen hundred. Two or three die every day, and as the chaplain is required to keep a register of deaths, attend to the mail, and write to friends of the deceased, he has not very much time for personal conversation with the men. The delegates of the Christian Commission endeavor to supply the lack. Armed with a badge and a basket full of papers, books, woolen shirts, hose, wines, jellies, paper, envelopes and stamps, we furnish whatever the men ask for, except that we give no eatables without permission of the surgeon in attendance.[206]

Alderman Shorey and Mayor Neal also visited Lynn's wounded and sick scattered among the myriad of hospitals in Washington, D.C., and northern Virginia.[207] Five months after Edward C. Neal had enlisted in the army, the mayor's other son, John Winslow Neal, volunteered to be a nurse, and served in the Union Hotel Hospital in the Georgetown section of Washington, D.C.[208]

Mrs. Jean Davenport Lander also decided to become a nurse and her choice probably surprised (but pleased) devoted fans that had enjoyed following her storybook life. She was a popular, successful, and wealthy actress who married the equally popular Frederick W. Lander, the transcontinental explorer who became a brigadier general during the war.[209] Then tragedy struck when General Lander died of what was described as congestion of the brain. A bride of only seventeen months, the newly widowed Mrs. Lander wanted to busy herself in the war effort instead of wallowing in mourning, so she devoted herself to service as the head nurse over the military hospitals in Beaufort, South Carolina.[210] She was described by a colonel of a black regiment as "strong, shrewd & conquering, stainless & fearless, a thoroughly rich & noble woman."[211] After about a year of service, what some perceived as her strengths had become obstacles for others, "Dr. Dibble of Beaufort a meek little mouse of a man … says that Mrs. Lander has left … not to return, by desire of the surgeons … she was indiscreet & imperious in her dealings with the Drs & they [could] not get along with her … I can easily conceive that she would not work well in harness."[212] Clara Barton also thought her to be arrogant and priggish because Mrs. Lander had barred her from entering Beaufort's hospitals to nurse the soldiers (allegedly due to Dorothea Dix's command to keep nurses not affiliated with her government-sanctioned Women's Nursing Bureau out of Union hospitals). Thus, when they happened to be confined to the same ship off the Carolina coast, Clara Barton hid away in her cabin to avoid sitting at the same table with the imperious Mrs. Lander. That ship was appropriately named *The Dictator*.[213]

Mrs. Lander had carried on her relief efforts in the same vicinity as another Lynn woman, Esther Hill Hawks, a physician who worked alongside her physician husband in a Beaufort hospital.[214] The Hawks worked principally among the contrabands of the Beaufort area and also had the opportunity to doctor black soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts who had been wounded in their assault on Fort Wagner.[215] If Mrs. Lander and the Hawks got to know each other very well, they might quickly have found themselves at odds. Early in the war, Mrs. Lander went to the White House to alert the President to what she believed had been an assassination plot; John Milton Hawks, on the other hand, shared with his wife his belief that Lincoln was an impediment to abolition and Union and that someone would be doing the government a favor by assassinating him.[216] Indeed, as the war continued on with no end in sight, sentiment was growing among Northerners that things might go better with a different Commander in Chief.

John A. Thurston was another Lynn civilian who embarked for the South. He resigned as Lynn's marshal to become the sutler for the 8th Massachusetts Infantry as they embarked on their second tour of duty, this time to New Bern, very near North Carolina's coast. Becoming the regiment's sutler would not only provide him healthy profit margins on the non-regulation food, medicines, tobacco, whiskey, and other items he sold the men, but perhaps more importantly, he

would be able to keep tabs on his son, Benjamin, who at seventeen years old wasn't much more than a boy in soldier's clothing.[217] John Thurston brought his thirteen-year-old son, George, with him, probably to help out with menial chores in his sutler business.[218]

After the regiment's first tour of duty, Bowman Bigelow Breed had gone to work in the Circle, Armory, and Finley hospitals in the Washington area. At first he was frustrated that his surgical skills were still not getting used:

> Our first installment of patients arrived. one stupid boy with an old bullet mark where he used to be whipped. one old man, with dropsy of the legs. one coward with a feigned weakness of the arm. and three men with sore throats. all dirty and lousy. we made a burnt offering of all their Effects to Hygeia. I Expect we shall have a yard full of such cases. We may get a few wounded men. but I think my chance or surgery grows less.[219]

Shortly after the battles of Second Bull Run and Chantilly, Breed finally found himself surrounded by badly wounded soldiers needing his surgical skills. On 8 September 1862 he wrote to his wife that he had been operating all day, "Going from one ward to another[,] cutting off arms and legs[,] sometimes two or three operating at once."[220] Later in September, Washington was inundated by volunteer physicians that were responding to War Secretary Stanton's request for surgical help in the Washington hospitals. So many arrived, it was said that there seemed to be as many surgeons as wounded men; so many went back home.[221] Breed was reassigned in November to New Bern and his wife Hannah later joined him there with their six-month-old baby (they had just lost their first child a few weeks earlier).[222] Before she had joined him in New Bern, Breed had written to his wife that his new assignment had returned him to light surgical duty, much to his dismay, "This monotonous life is as dreary as solitary confinement. There is absolutely nothing new."[223] The only movement of the troops was the expedition to Goldsboro in January 1863 and although three battles did occur, he described himself as "confined" to the medical supply wagons, far in the rear of the battles. Nonetheless, he had done his duty as medical purveyor, ensuring that the wagons were stocked with all of the medical and surgical necessities to support the expedition of over 10,000 soldiers. He packed the wagons with bedding and medical supplies for the wounded and sick, including 10 ounces of morphine, 10 pounds of Dover's powder, 48 pounds of ether, 144 bottles of whiskey, 1,200 opium pills, 1,200 quinine pills, and 1,200 cathartic pills, but just two bed pans.[224]

Isaac F. Galloupe had also left his patriotically decorated home in Lynn to provide his medical skills to the army and was commissioned to be the surgeon of the 17th Massachusetts Infantry, but unlike Breed, he always seemed to have his hands full. The 17th Regiment was shipped down to Baltimore and remained there for seven months. The young Lynn men were stuck there with no war to fight, but they found things to do with their time. Galloupe reported that "venereal disease, both syphilis and gonorrhoea, prevailed extensively in the Regiment during its stay in Baltimore."[225] The men had quickly discovered that Maryland's biggest city had several brothels filled with young women who were determined to take the soldiers' minds off the war.[226] Eventually the soldiers surrendered to Galloupe who kept the mementos of their midnight alliances in check with injections of zinc sulphate solution, applications of black wash (a decomposition of mercury in limewater), and cauterization with a hot iron.[227]

Besides the fact that Breed and Galloupe were both ordered to New Bern and both participated in the Goldsboro expedition, the two Lynn surgeons seemed to have little in common. One was looking for action while the other was getting it. Breed had to watch the battle and Galloupe was in the thick of things. Breed packed and carried ether for the field hospitals, but Galloupe used chloroform for surgery, perhaps because of its non-explosive quality; it could be used in surgery near battles and at night time or during inclement weather when candles and lanterns might be quite near the surgery table.[228]

While Breed was managing the medical supply wagons far to the rear of the battle, Galloupe found himself up to his elbows in arms and legs that had to be amputated immediately. Experience taught him that patients stood the best chance of survival if the amputations were performed during what he called the "golden opportunity" – immediately after the injury occurred, when the patients were "in a high state of excitement and exhilaration, a condition highly favorable for immediate operation, which, if done at such time, produces no shock to the system …." Galloupe was inundated by about 150 soldiers in need of amputation. It was impossible for him to operate quickly on all of them, so he selected the worst cases for operation first: four forearms, an upper arm, one lower leg, a thigh, and one double amputation of an upper arm and a leg at the thigh.[229]

Many battlefield surgeons operated with "sleeves rolled up to the elbows … bare arms as well as … linen aprons smeared with blood …." They went from one patient to the next with no more than a quick wipe of a bloodied saw and possibly a knife between the teeth. "Around them pools of blood and amputated arms or legs in heaps sometimes more than a man high."[230] They closed the wound with a needle that the surgeon or an assistant had threaded by line moistened with their saliva. The procedures could and did kill many with infection, blood poisoning, gangrene, poor clotting, and hemorrhaging.[231] Maybe Galloupe was a cut above the other surgeons. Harvard educated with a decade of surgical experience in Lynn, the cases he had selected for immediate amputation had rapid recuperations, except for the double amputee who died.[232] Those who had to wait longer for amputation were more likely to suffer blood poisoning or gangrene and often did not pull through. Private James McKnight of the 17th was shot in the left ankle with a round musket ball. Not thinking much about the pain, he walked to the field hospital that was a third of a mile behind the front lines. The musket ball fell out on its own. Two days later he was brought to Galloupe's care back in New Bern, forty miles from the battlefield. Galloupe found the joint had been injured and then became inflamed and the wound suppurated. Infection spread throughout the leg and foot. Galloupe had no choice but to amputate at the thigh. And it had all started with a bullet wound to the ankle.[233]

In contrast, Breed sounded bored once again when he reported during the summer after the Goldsboro Expedition that affairs at New Bern were in "excellent condition, though very quiet. The weather has been very hot, but the troops are generally in good health."[234] He was reassigned again to take charge of a military prison hospital in St. Louis. Before doing so, however, he allegedly bloodied his surgical tools in St. Helena's Episcopal Church in Beaufort, South Carolina, where tall gravestones had been pulled out of the adjoining cemetery and laid horizontally within the church to become operating tables; ironically, the markers of death were being used to preserve life. It may have been in this surgical theater that he attempted blood transfusion using a gravity system with blood flowing through a rubber tube to the recipient. It was probably not a successful experiment since he did not develop a reputation for the procedure nor was it noted in wartime medical records.[235]

Somewhere in the Carolinas, Breed contracted malaria; it stayed with him throughout the rest of his life and ultimately killed him.[236] It was reported by Galloupe that for twenty-five miles around the town the land was "universally low, level, sandy, swampy and highly malarious … nearly every man in the [17th Massachusetts] Regiment … had, at least once, an attack of miasmatic disease [malaria]."[237] Perhaps it caused the death of the Breed's baby boy who had been with them in New Bern, or perhaps he died from the mysterious outbreak that had spread among the New Bern troops. Bowman and Hannah had to cope with this second death of two babies just when Mrs. Breed had become pregnant with their third.[238]

Galloupe tried to figure out what the strange new disease could be that was spreading through the troops. Young healthy men were suddenly overcome with pain in the head, back and legs. They were bedridden within a day, became covered in small red spots, vomited, and groaned in helpless misery; most died in less than four days.[239] Galloupe knew it wasn't malaria since it

appeared in winter, wasn't accompanied by paroxysms of shaking chills followed by intense fever followed by sweating, and most of all, did not surrender to the effective malarial drug, quinine.[240] It also did not submit to calomel vomits, turpentine and brandy enemas, bleeding, blistering, or cupping. Post-mortem dissection revealed a greenish, pussy, viscous film sticking to surfaces of the brain and the spinal cord.[241] He concluded that whatever it was, crowded living conditions in barracks made of green lumber was a major cause, although he also noted that a young son of an officer living in a brick house also had the illness.[242] The mystery lingered, but after some four dozen deaths, the deadly illness just went away.[243] If only more of the diseases were similarly relenting; most of the wartime contagions tenaciously grabbed their victims until death arrived or another host came near.

"TENTING ON THE OLD CAMP GROUND"

The most devastating killers in the war were not Confederates, bullets, and cannon fire, but diarrhea, typhoid, and malaria. War brought together thousands of young men who had never been exposed to the diseases before – defenseless bodies waiting to be pillaged and plundered by sickness. Bowman Breed wrote to his wife, "I see more disease … here in a month than I should in a year of private practice."[244] Changes in water, diet, and general living conditions, not the least of which was sharing crowded tents with infected soldiers, exposed defenseless young men to such highly contagious illnesses as typhus (from body lice), erysipelas, meningitis, smallpox, chicken pox, mumps, and measles. When the new recruits of the 17th Massachusetts went to Lynnfield to train for war, diarrhea was running through the camp.[245] The absence of vegetables in the diet contributed to malnutrition, which could also spur on diarrhea, as did the troops' penchant for frying virtually everything in animal fat, from meat to rice and beans.[246] Contaminated water was a constant problem, especially because it was often not recognized to be fouled. The water in streams and ponds was used for doing laundry, flushing away bodily wastes, bathing, taking horses to drink, cooking, and of course, for drinking.[247] Another impediment to health was the uncleanness of the soldiers themselves – they rarely bathed. It was a rare indulgence occurring only when the water was warm (which meant only during warm weather) and it was near enough to camp and far enough away from the enemy.[248] Joseph Hodgkins took a swim on 6 October 1862 and did not mention bathing again until 29 May 1863, seven and a half months later.[249]

The troops feared the smell of rotting vegetation but mosquitoes carrying malaria and yellow fever were seen only as annoying bugs that pestered the soldiers wherever they were, day and night. Bowman Breed had written to his wife,

> We have had another very hot day, with very little air. The flies which swarm here drive away all thought of sleep. All day long there is a running fight with flies. Evening continues the battle but with a change of combatants. The light attracts the insects and in a half hour one could stock a museum from the specimens which hover on the table, flit about the candle or poke themselves in your face.[250]

A soldier in Galloupe's 17th Regiment described the ubiquitous presence of insects in the terms of a military campaign to break down and defeat the soldiers; his metaphor for the misery they caused was closer to reality than humor:

> Mosquitoes revel in this congenial atmosphere, as do also the blue-tail fly, and a species of biting insect like the common house-fly [probably deerflies], while gallinippers, gnats, ants, and biting sandfleas … and grey-backs [lice], all attack the hapless sleeper in succession, in a body, by detail, in squads, battalion, - in brigades drawn up in echelon – in front, flank and rear… They scale the walls of his fortress

> … burst the barriers of bedclothes – penetrate the abatti of woolen socks and tightly-tied drawers ….[251]

Perhaps the only thing that was more attractive to flies than man was a steaming, stinking pile of feces; the flies were in luck because wherever men were, excrement was sure to follow. Horses, mules, and thousands of soldiers followed the call of nature over and over. Piles of human and animal waste were daily deposited in close proximity to the tents; flies swarmed on the brown buffet then landed their disease-covered feet on drinking cups, bottles, eating utensils, food, blankets, and any other surface destined to make a soldier sick with typhoid and other illnesses.[252] They were quite successful in accomplishing the full measure of their existence because typhoid was one of the two greatest killers of soldiers during the war.[253] If the flies missed their mark, water contaminated with fecal matter was just as certain to infect the men with typhoid. For two of the six weeks that his body was ravaged by typhoid, Private Jeremiah Manson was "unconscious of everything"; he pulled through but the disease more often created victims than survivors.[254] Edward Burrill, a promising young sharpshooter, succumbed to typhoid; his father, who served alongside him in the same company, was probably with him at his cot when he died. When his body was brought back to Lynn, his buddies in the Tiger Fire Association honored him by attending his funeral in the uniform of their fire brigade.[255] Private Joseph Adams also fell victim to typhoid fever; regrettably, it wasn't an uncommon way for Lynn soldiers to die, but this death stung a little more than usual: he was one of Lynn's youngest soldiers. His recruiter was publicly criticized for not exercising "a little more judgment" because the young soldier died before even reaching fifteen years of age. The death of the boy prompted the observation by an adult soldier, "The duties we perform require older and abler men to stand it."[256]

The harsh challenges of earth and sky also conspired against the health of the soldiers. Bowman Breed wrote to his wife, "Rain, rain a leaden sky overhead and an ocean of mud all around."[257] Stifling heat, bitter cold, rain, snow, and sleet piled misery from above while fighting, sleeping, doing maneuvers, and marching and hiking in full gear, on all sorts of terrain, battered and bruised their frames. Muscle strain and sprains and foot pain were common ailments. Rheumatism frequently developed from exposure to cold and dampness.[258] Henry G. W. Kittredge (the son of Lynn's eccentric water cure doctor) sent a letter back home wherein he recounted the routine of hardships that were a soldier's lot on the march:

> … imagine yourself on the road, marching with haversack and canteen, knapsack, gun and equipments, in all weighing sixty pounds, – and … it rains all day. After going eighteen or twenty miles, go into camp for the night. … supper … generally consists of a piece of pork, three crackers and a half, and a cup of coffee. … When you [wake up] you find about two inches of snow on the ground … It then takes about two hours to start a fire. You go to your canteen, and find it frozen *solid*, and burst at that! To top all, you have to 'fall into the ranks' and march another day, tired wet, and hungry.[259]

Joseph Hodgkins struggled with temperature extremes occurring over Virginia in the fall of 1863. On 12 September he wrote in his diary, "The day is sultry and hot. Can just breathe. … a number have fainted and fell in their tracks. I hear that some have died. The Mules are falling dead along the line of march." Six weeks later had brought a mighty change, "Very cold and stormy today. Wish to write but cannot muster courage; it is so cold. Have to keep rolled up in my blanket, in the tent, and yet can't keep warm."[260] During his first winter with the 19th Massachusetts, nature and soldiering conspired to create perfect misery, "My feet have been wet for three days and today are quite sore. My shoes have given out and my toes are on the ground. Don't know but I shall freeze them."[261] His boots had worn through after only four months of military service.

The soldiers wrote back home about fighting and their lives in the long spaces between battles, and the families were uneasy and distressed about all of it. Abram Hun Berry's worried

mother was fed up with all of it as soon as the Battle of Fredericksburg was over, "… this Rebellion ought to have been put down long before this time why God permits it to continue so long I cannot tell …." In another letter, she tried to sound pleasant and relaxed, but she just couldn't hold her motherly anxieties in check,

> My Darling Son, … Your letters are so Interesting and so descriptive of every thing that I can follow you through your wandrings and windings and when you are stationary I can see your daily Rotine of Drill and other Manoeveres but when I think of the Heat the Thunder Showers Snakes and Insects it almost over comes me and then Mr Re[be]l so very near you …[262]

Despite Private Berry's assurances that he was actually enjoying being a soldier, he was inundated with advice in letters from home. Mother Maria told him about medicines to take and foods to eat. She doted over her boy, sending him packages designed to satisfy and keep him healthy. One shipment included "Alimode Beef in a Tin Box Air tight Pickles two Cans air tight Tomatos one can Chocolatte Cocoa mustard Sardines and some other things … I paked some lemnons and apples and … two Pears."[263] "If you are sick," she reminded him, "you have many things with you to cure almost any Disease fore sore throat or Bowel Complaint use Cayene or Ginger you have plenty of it."[264] She also instructed Abram that a teaspoonful of the syrup in ginger preserves mixed in a tumbler of hot water could be used for colds or bowel complaints, just in case he needed to know.[265]

Motivated by patriotic sentiments, Edwin H. Oliver, a Lynn shoecutter, was also determined to share his valuable medicine recipe with the soldiers. He asked the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* to publish his recipe so that troops would get to read it. He felt it would be "a great favor to our troops who are now in a climate where they are subject to [diarrhea]" to know that combining an ounce each opium, chalk, and plant materials from the catechu tree, with ten drops of anise mixed into a half-pint of syrup and a quarter-pint of brandy would solve the problem plaguing most of the army.[266]

Lynn businessmen were less inclined to give their secrets away for free, even if for a good cause. Apothecary James W. Holder advertised *Holder's Extract of Jamaica Ginger* as very convenient for traveler's use; Jamaican ginger was a popular remedy for malaria and there were thousands of "travelers" wearing blue that were infected with malaria. This commercial preparation of ginger could be added to various liquids to create such beverages as ginger tea and ginger syrup. Maria Berry had her ginger syrup remedy and James Holder had his.

Horatio N. Macomber also had a commercial preparation for soldiers that he called *Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy*. Testimonials of ministers, a book-binder, a chorister, and other Lynn residents praised the remedy and the Lynn dentist tried to parlay its apparent success at home into a brisk military trade as well; he marketed it as "just the thing for the Soldiers going South, where Bilious Complaints are prevalent. Get some and send it to your friends." One of the forts in South Carolina had purportedly ordered one gross of the remedy.[267]

During the last several months of 1862, the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association distributed home-made relief packages that contained fifty-seven bottles of commercial medicines, including eighteen *Moore's Essence of Life* (which promised to cure just about everything that came in the way of life), eleven hot drops, eight *Perry Davis's Pain Killer*, four *Kennedy's Liniment*, two *Ware's Lotion*, two quinine bitters, and two bottles of balsam, among others.[268] While alcohol was the most pervasive ingredient in these medicines, the association encouraged still more. Brandy, whisky, port, sherry, Madeira, ale and porter were on its list of "articles most needed," right along with socks, blankets, fruit, and shoes.[269] The folks back home complied with robust compassion, shipping 1,015 bottles of liquor, cordials, porter, and wine, plus a barrel of whiskey during the same few months that they shipped the 57 bottles of

medicine.[270] Surgeon Bowman Breed wrote a letter of thanks to the ladies of Lynn's Central Congregational Church for the relief package he had received for use at his hospital,

> Dear Friends
>
> Before you receive this nearly every man in our hospital will have cause to love the name of Lynn, associated as it will be with some much-desired comfort, or luxury for which he is indebted to that city. Lynn dressing gowns, Lynn jellies, Lynn wine, Lynn lint, Lynn shirts. But I will not write an inventory and nothing short of that could embrace the lavish donations from Lynn that have been the theme of the last two days.[271]

Families were not just concerned that their sons got the food and medicine they needed; the Berrys also worried that their son was inexperienced in the world of war. Private Berry's mother delicately urged him to maintain his morals, "Now Hunnie," she wrote to her son endearingly, "you have promised me never to smoke or touch or taste ardent Spirits of any Kind and if you forget me you forget your God there are so many temptations of every kind that you are exposed to.[272] She did not have to say "Baltimore" or even "women"; they both knew that there was more than one battle he may have to fight.

Abram got more pearls of parental wisdom from his father, Nehemiah P. Berry, who was the very successful owner of a spice mill. Nehemiah's letters to Abram exhibited the pragmatism of a seasoned businessman combined with the anxiety of a worried father. With the strength of words, he verbally shook his son by the shoulders and subliminally urged him to grow up quickly:

> The description you gave of your Military Parade is great, and you seem to enjoy the military life. It is very pretty to play Military But when you come to face the Enemy face to face, and go into Battle – day after day as some have done is something besides play. I hope you will never be brought to that point – if you should how is your courage? Can you face it with coolness? Or will your k[n]ees tremble slightly do you think? At any rate I hope you will never answer that question from actual experience.[273]

Boys who had left Lynn with chests pounding full of courage and cause were coming home haggard men numbed by the horrors of war. Some soldiers who had had their fill of war before their term of enlistment was complete took risky shortcuts. Deserters risked severe punishments, even death, if they were caught. Underscoring the seriousness of desertion, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton instructed Colonel Alonzo Draper, "Send out your cavalry and whatever force is needed to arrest all deserters from the Army of the Potomac. Let none escape. If any officers are among them put them in irons …."[274] Only slightly less reprehensible were those who malingered to shirk duty, avoid combat, or to get discharged. Mrs. Mary Curry apparently encouraged her husband to pretend to be ill in order to be sent home. Sergeant Patrick Curry responded that he wasn't willing to risk his health to come back to Lynn:

> You mention about me getting a chance to go home but your notion of playing those games is very different from what it would be if you were out here, and see those that are trying to go home. Before you can get a chance to go home, you must swallow about a cart load of all sorts of medicine, and you know what a man is worth after he has used that much medicine. Now it is my style to try to go home as good as new. Well if I take dctrs medicine I cant go home that way. So I think on the whole that it is as well for me to stay a little longer and come out all right than to hurry home and come out all rong. … there is a good many that played themselves home that will never be worth anything after they got there, on account of taking so much of that man killer medicine[.] I have not used any medicine since I came out here and I feel a good deal better than those that discuss it. I tell you that I never was better in my life than I am now.[275]

The Berrys worried about their son and Mrs. Curry nudged her husband towards feigning sickness for the same reason – to have their loved ones spared from the terrible dangers that were constantly afflicting other Lynn soldiers. William R. Mudge, the son of a former Lynn mayor, was the quintessence of the horrors of war as well as the transcendence of the will to live. He was shot by a musket ball during the fearsome battle of Chancellorsville in May 1863. The projectile screamed into his skull between the left ear and eye, just below the temple, and burned a tunnel through his head, slicing through the optic nerves of both eyes and shattering the upper jaw before shooting out at nearly the same spot on the other side of his head. Sprawled on the ground, Mudge passed some personal effects to a comrade, whispered his dying message for his parents and then apparently died, so the buddy left.[276]

Forty hours later, rain stirred Mudge into consciousness. He was surrounded by Rebels who were digging graves and burying their fallen dead. Hearing the shovels at work and the dirt being tossed, he expected to be buried as well, but they were not burying the enemy.[277]

He would live, but not to see another day. A Confederate burying party returned and one of the Rebels found signs of life in Mudge, who was "covered with blood and mould. He had been trod on, his fingers crushed, and his condition more nearly resembled that of the decaying bodies near him than a living man."[278] They carried him to a nearby field that was studded with the bodies of wounded Union soldiers. He remained for ten more days, with only a small amount of flour and water to eat. Though prostrated in his own blood and pain, his greatest misery, he later said, "[were] the cries of the wounded men around him."[279] Thirteen days after being shot, his wound finally got some medical attention.

Over the next year, all of his upper teeth and sixteen pieces of jaw had to be removed. Reconstructive surgery had reduced the devastation wrought to his upper jaw, but nothing could be done to make the blind man see again.[280]

Two months after Chancellorsville, Robert E. Lee's army invaded the North, crossing into Pennsylvania just forty miles away from the state capitol. Northerners, especially those living at the borders of the Union, worried throughout the war about Rebel attack and sometimes with justification, but sometimes not. Situated next to the ocean, Lynn was one of those wary border communities. A year after Lee's northern invasion, a great excitement was experienced in neighboring Marblehead, when heavy firing had been heard coming from the sea. The local home guard hurried to their coastal fort to man the guns, but first couldn't find the keys to get in and then couldn't find ammunition to fire. Civilians rushed to the beach with rifles, shotguns, fowling pieces, and antiquated muskets, but found that the cause for alarm had been just a Union vessel taking target practice off their coastline.[281] "It must have been a rich sight," wrote a Lynn man who saw the humor in the defensive debacle, "I should have loved to see [the home guard captain] fly around and run [all] over for the key to the fort."[282]

The Confederate invasion of Pennsylvania, however, had been very real as two great armies once again faced off, this time in a small shoemaking town called Gettysburg. One army won and the other lost, but both gained their results at a tremendous human toll. Lynn families held their breath as they looked in the newspaper casualty report for their soldier's name and what was written next to it: flesh wound, shoulder; ankle, slight; left arm amputated; in chest; in foot; contusion by shell; a prisoner; arm, slight; leg amputated; in leg; left thigh; left breast, severe; killed in action, buried in the field; in shoulder and neck; in foot; in head; in right leg; killed in action, buried on field; in back, died in corps hospital.[283] Benjamin H. Atkins, Jr., a veteran of sixteen battles though "scarcely eighteen years of age," had to have his leg amputated, but it wasn't enough; in his last moments he told his father who was with him in the hospital, "Father, I must die – I die for my country. I am going to see my mother and my little sister [who were dead]." A few breaths later, he was gone.[284]

DR. MACOMBER'S
SICK HEADACHE
— AND —
ANTI BILIOUS REMEDY.

A safe, reliable, and effectual remedy, for the immediate relief and ultimate cure of the Sick Headache, and all Bilious Complaints.

Persons who have been afflicted with the Sick Headache need not be told, that although not immediately dangerous, it is one of the most disagreeable and distressing complaints which ever troubled mankind.

Now a remedy which will give effectual relief, and that immediately, to such, saving to them their time, preventing a disarrangement of plans of business or pleasure, and delivering from a day of horrid sickness, must be invaluable. Such is found to be, by many actual experiments, the above remedy.

In case of Sick Headache, if a Powder is taken on the first presentation of the symptoms, in from thirty to forty minutes, the person is relieved; then by following the directions, the health will be so improved, that there will seldom be a recurrence of the complaint, if at all.

This is a purely vegetable remedy, slightly laxitive, compounded not from the crude substance, but from highly concentrated extracts, put up in separate doses, each box containing twelve. **Price 25 Cents.**

DIRECTIONS.—*For Sick Headache*, mix the contents of one paper with a little sugar and water, in a teaspoon, and take it every other night until you pass the usual time for a return of the complaint; then take two or three a week for three or four weeks; take one every time you feel the symptoms of headache or any disturbance of the stomach. Follow these directions, and you will seldom, if ever, have a return of the complaint.

For Bilious Complaints, Jaundice, Indigestion, Trembling of the Stomach, Sour Risings, Costiveness, Piles, Gout, &c., take one powder every night and morning until the bowels are gently moved, then one every other night for a week or two, till you are perfectly relieved. Bilious persons should avoid coffee, hot bread, &c., their diet should be mostly vegetable.

PREPARED ONLY BY

DR. H. N. MACOMBER,

No. 1 So. Common corner Market St., Lynn, Mass.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

The following are a few of the many Recommendations which might be given.

DR. MACOMBER—Sir: A sense of justice compels me to say, that the Powders which you gave me for Sick Headache, are all they profess to be. They gave me relief in thirty minutes, and in an hour I was perfectly well. I have always before had to give up business and go home, having no relief till I could get sleep. I have never seen anything equal to them before, and I confidently recommend them to all who are afflicted with that distressing complaint.

W. KELLY, Market St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Dear Sir: Having tried your Sick Headache and Anti Bilious Powders, I feel that it is due to say, that they have been of great advantage to me; I had been out of health with the Liver Complaint for a year, the symptoms of which were shortness of breath, a distressed feeling and trembling at the stomach. I supposed I had the Heart Complaint, but all disappeared in twenty-four hours after I took the first Powder. I continued to take them, according to directions, for two or three weeks, my strength and flesh increased rapidly, and for the last year, I enjoyed excellent health. I advise everyone to give them a trial.

C. S. PHILLIPS, No. Common St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Sir: The Powders you gave me for Sick Headache were beautiful. They gave me immediate relief. I would not be without them for anything. I have tried other things, but have found nothing like these.

LIZZIE ATKINS, Tremont St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Dear Sir: Those Powders you gave me were of great advantage to me. I was very Bilious, but my health has greatly improved since taking them. They also relieved my daughter very much.

HANNAH C. RHODES, Church St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Dear Sir: The Powders which I obtained of you were for my sister, who at the time was suffering from a severe Bilious attack, accompanied with vomiting and Headache. They gave her immediate relief.

THOMAS BREARE, Book Binder, Market St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Dear Sir: Your Powders gave me immediate relief. As you recollect I told you, that seldom a day passed but that I had the Headache. I have not had it since I took the first Powder. They have been a great blessing to me, and I believe they will be to others if they will but try them.

MRS. VOLANCY BURRILL, Essex St., Lynn.

DR. MACOMBER—Sir: Having used your Remedy in my family, I would say that we think much of it. My daughter, who is very Bilious, was very much benefited by those she obtained of you last summer, when on a visit to Lynn. My wife, also, who has been subject to Headache for some time, found relief by their use. They seem to be a valuable compound, and we think them eminently calculated to effect the objects for which they are intended, and recommend them to all interested.

E. W. WELLMAN, Harbor Police Officer, Boston.

LYNN, JAN. 19, 1862.

This may certify that we the undersigned are well acquainted with Dr. H. N. Macomber, of this city, both as a professional and christian man, and recommend him as a gentleman of integrity, and worthy of the confidence of the public.

Rev. G. M. STEELE, Methodist. Rev. W. C. RICHARDS, Baptist. Rev. JOHN MOORE, Congregationalist.
Rev. E. H. TRUE, Rector of St. Stephens Church. Rev. ALFRED OWEN, Baptist. Rev. P. R. RUSSELL, Baptist.
Rev. LORANUS CROWELL, Presiding Elder of Boston District, M. E. Church.

Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti Bilious Remedy. Broadside, 1862. (Collection of the author.)

The cost of war continued to be great with staggering numbers of casualties caused by the recent conflicts at Stones River, Chancellorsville, Vicksburg, and especially Gettysburg. The government was convinced it needed many more troops to achieve complete and final victory, so it imposed a draft in the spring of 1863. All men between eighteen and thirty-five fell within its parameters, but the law was fraught with exemption loopholes, like physical disability, family circumstances, and provisions for supplying a substitute or paying a $300 commutation fee.[285] On draft day, the anxiety of Lynn's young men "rose to a fever heat" as they watched names for the draft being pulled from a box by a blindfolded man. The newspaper office was "besieged by one of the most anxious crowds" the editor had ever seen, all being eager to see the complete list of names that had been drawn.[286] One of those names pulled by the blindfolded man was Samuel J. Graves, a thirty-six-year-old cordwainer, but he wanted nothing to do with military service and resented having to pay $300 to buy an exemption from it. He tendered his money "under protest and duress" along with a letter remonstrating that he was "compelled so to do against my will" and that the draft was "unconstitutional and void."[287] The strongly worded protest may have been noted, but only the $300 kept him out of the military. Of the 119 soldiers the July draft needed from Lynn, Graves was one of 73 that paid the commutation fee; there were also 22 that procured substitutes, and "quite a number of persons in the list" were known to be disabled; only 9 were found sufficiently fit by examining physician Perley to be admitted into the military.[288]

In the fall of 1863 the Union and Confederacy suffered another massive loss of life at the Battle of Chickamauga, then more again at Chattanooga and in a number of smaller engagements throughout the winter. Otis Newhall visited the soldiers in December and "did not find the Lynn boys, as a general thing, willing to re-enlist." He believed that bounties for reenlisting would have to be pretty large for many of them to stay soldiers.[289] The cadence of the war had become all too familiar: battle after battle, casualty upon casualty, bodies coming home in coffins, and more troops sent in their place. The war was affecting everyone; during the Christmas shopping season of 1863, parents were encouraged to buy their children such war-themed table games as "Conscript," "Union," "Rebellion," "Fort Sumter," and "Battlefield."[290]

While some of Lynn's children were playing with their new war games, more of Lynn's fathers and brothers were dying from the real war. In January of 1864 a mass funeral was held for five members of Company E, 38th Massachusetts Infantry, stationed in Louisiana. Three had died of typhoid fever and the fourth from chronic diarrhea. The fifth was Alfred Bacheller who died from infection that had set in after his foot was amputated because of an ankle wound. He left a wife and seven children. All five had died during the summer and their remains were transported back to Lynn. Atop the five closed coffins were the "rough wooden headboard[s]" that had marked their graves "in the distant soil of Louisiana."[291]

When the spring of 1864 arrived, the song "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" was first sung at a Hutchinson concert on High Rock. There had been a myriad of sheet music written about various aspects of the war, but this piece by Walter Kittredge, a close friend of John W. and Asa Hutchinson, was earmarked for success. The Hutchinson Singers' beautiful harmonies combined with a haunting melody and poignant lyrics to create one of the most popular songs of the war. The stanzas reflected the numbing sadness in many hearts at that point in the war:

……

We are tired of war on the old Camp ground,
Many are dead and gone,
Of the brave and true who've left their homes,
Others been wounded long.

Many are the hearts that are weary to-night,
Wishing for the war to cease,
Many are the hearts looking for the right,
To see the dawn of peace.

Tenting to-night, tenting to-night,
Tenting on the old Camp ground.

……

We've been fighting to-day on the old Camp ground,
Many are lying near;
Some are dead and some are dying,
Many are in tears.

Many are the hearts that are weary to-night,
Wishing for the war to cease,
Many are the hearts looking for the right,
To see the dawn of peace.
Dying to-night, dying to-night,
Dying on the old Camp ground.[292]

The mournful, expressive lyrics continued to amplify the feelings of hearts burdened by the weight of a war that refused to end. Civilians were as emotionally fatigued by the fighting as Sergeant Joseph Hodgkins was physically. Late in the night of 12 May 1864, after fighting at the Battle of Spottsylvania Court House in the afternoon, the exhausted troops tried to disregard the "almost intolerable [stench] … of the dead of both armies laying near" as well as the fighting that continued into the night.[293] Hodgkins wrote in his diary, "although the bullets flew over us and among us even at that late hour, we were too tired and sleepy to take much notice of them, and fell asleep."[294]

Spottsylvania and the immediately preceding Battle of the Wilderness combined for over two weeks of continuous fighting and were massively bloody and deadly engagements for both sides. The identities and even the existence of individuals became casualties of the fighting. Thomas F. Bancroft wanted to have his brother's remains sent back to Lynn, but he had to be told, "the remains could not be gotten. You must console yourselves with the melancholy satisfaction that your lot is in common with hundreds of others." Even personal mementos couldn't be recovered, "The effects of officers and soldiers dying as he died fall into the hands of those who may chance to be their companions in those hours."[295] The body of Robert Mansfield lay in different conditions and was able to be retrieved at a cost of fifteen dollars for embalming the body, twenty dollars for the coffin and its traveling case, fifty-five cents for clothing, and twenty-eight dollars for transporting the body back to Massachusetts.[296]

Mayor Neal had again trekked down South to visit the Lynn casualties and report back home. He was vexed by the "old-fogyism" and "red-tapeism" that prevented his visit in the Armory Hospital, but all others he visited freely, and he wrote copious notes about all the injuries: George E. Stone had to have his leg amputated; L. D. Chapin was "badly wounded in the bowels"; and John Sullivan was "badly wounded in several places and will probably die."[297] During the battle, another correspondent had seen Dennis Owens shot in the back and fall to the ground, then rise up again and run, but he had not been seen or heard from after that.[298] Lieutenant Charles Carroll had just taken his canteen in hand when two balls struck him in the chest at the same moment. He lived only long enough to utter the three last words in his heart: "Father, mother, wife."[299]

Although he had already lost over a third of his army at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, Lieutenant General Grant continued to push towards Richmond and General Lee next tried to stop his progress at North Anna River. In the ensuing battle, a shell burst within five feet of Corporal William J. Breed. One piece struck his knapsack, a second bent his gun nearly in half, and a third glanced off his right knee then drilled into his foot. Yet he had been one of the lucky survivors and quickly reconciled his injury with the consolation that he had done his duty, "… I am perfectly satisfied, for I killed one reb – that I am sure of." [300] Samuel Vial, another casualty of the battle, was no stranger to Rebel bullets; it was his third wound in battle, the other bullets

having been taken in Antietam and Gettysburg. Fortunately, Mayor Neal was able to report that Corporal Vial was "lively as a cricket" – but, of course, crickets die too. Vial died of lockjaw and was buried ten days after the battle.[301]

After North Anna River, the armies came to blows at Cold Harbor outside of Richmond. It was another brutal affair with heavy casualties; one was Alonzo Bartlett, who had previously been wounded at Antietam, and once again he survived the wound.[302]

Grant still pushed further south, down to Petersburg, Virginia, which was critically important as a railroad center for the South. Here the two armies bogged down for ten months of bloody, brutal trench warfare. Amid the inhumanity of war there were temporary lapses into peace when Johnny Reb and Billy Yank came out of hiding, engaged in brief conversation, and exchanged newspapers or sundries. In late September, Joseph Hodgkins was just on the other side of the river and within speaking distance of Confederates digging rifle pits. He wrote in his diary, "Four Rebs came across into the cornfield and conversed with our men. One of them gave Lieut Shackley a letter to a friend, a prisoner at the Hospital at Gettysburg. … They also gave him some tobacco for coffee and sugar of which they have none."[303] When the brief moments of friendly banter and barter had passed, the neighbors became enemies again, exchanging only bullets and cannonballs.

Lynn troops were all over the huge Petersburg battlefield, serving in the 1st, 15th, 19th, 22nd, and 28th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments and in the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery. Captain Edward A. Chandler, captain of Company M of the Heavy Artillery described the staggering losses incurred during Grant's spring campaign. He wrote home in the early stages of Petersburg, "Our loss in this regiment has been fearful …. We started with sixteen hundred and seventy men fit for duty; this morning's report shows about six hundred and seventy for duty, and many of those are sick and worn out. Company M left with one hundred and thirty-five men … we now have fifty-four to account for."[304] Edwin Earp served under Captain Chandler's command and was also wounded at Petersburg. He was "severely wounded" in the hip after which he was subsequently shipped back to Washington. Upon receiving word about her husband's injury, Mrs. Earp "immediately left for [Washington] to look after and nurse her husband."[305] The massive losses of Grant's spring offensive, along with Union failures and losses in other theaters of the war, made spirits plummet and caused Lincoln to doubt his ability to win reelection in the fall. The only certainty was that his army needed more soldiers, but the future was looking dark.

Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation had put the issue of black freedom and civil rights squarely in front of every family and soldier in the North and South. While the southern economy and slave owners had the most to lose, northerners were not at all unified in support of the blacks; racism had always existed throughout the Union and the issues and needs of war were not about to integrate all northern attitudes under the abolition banner. Nehemiah Berry told his soldier son to drop his idea of bringing a black boy servant back to Lynn, "… you say you have a little Nig you want to bring home – *don't you do it* for I would sooner have forty Black Cats around me as I would soon find out what to do with them [i.e., kill them]. But I could not with yours."[306] Lynn Sergeant Patrick S. Curry's animus for blacks was goaded into steaming hatred by his immersion among them deep in Louisiana,

> … we have the usual amount of Negroe troops here as when I wrote to you before I wish they would order us to Mobile or Taxes or Some where out of Sight of those Colored troops I don't want to be with them at all if I Could help my self But I hope we will soon be ordered a way I don't Care whare we go only go Some where to get away forever from them.[307]

According to Esther Hill Hawks, the Union Army had won control of Beaufort, South Carolina, but wickedly treated the black population left behind by the fleeing southerners; instead of liberation, the blacks were victims of northern degradation,

> … every indignity … was heaped upon the poor negroes, who had hailed their coming so joyfully …. No colored woman or girl was safe from the brutal lusts of the soldiers – and by soldiers I mean both officers and men. … Mothers were brutally treated for trying to protect their daughters, and there are now several women in our little hospital who have been shot by soldiers for resisting their vile demands.[308]

There were many northerners, however, who were dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal and saw black soldiers as a means of supplying the need for troops. Debate raged about the intellect and character of black men as soldiers and what would be their ability and conduct in battle. It was said that some whites felt "they would rather not have the country saved, than to have colored men have a hand in the work. … Like an old gentleman we have heard of, they would rather die under the hands of the regular family physician, than be cured by any of the new-fangled doctors."[309] The grand experiment of black units was being measured microscopically by friends and nay-sayers alike and the heroic acts of the black soldier took on as much importance as the battle's final outcome. Lieutenant Samuel C. Ambler, Jr., of Lynn, a company commander in the First North Carolina Colored Volunteers, wrote back home that there was such an example of heroism in the otherwise "disastrous" battle the regiment had fought at Olustee, Florida, "Our color-bearer had his right arm shot away, but he proudly clung to the standard with his left, and would upon no condition give it up. Are such men brutes?"[310]

Alonzo G. Draper had moved through a series of promotions and units until he reached the rank of colonel in charge of the Second North Carolina Colored Volunteers, which was almost completely made up of former North Carolina slaves. Draper also recruited his brother-in-law, Richard F. Andrews, to lead one of the companies.[311] When Draper had created the Lynn Mechanics Phalanx at the start of the war, he surrounded himself with his loyal labor brothers from the shoe strike, but years later and states away, as he chose the white officers to lead his new black brigade, his brother-in-law was the only Lynn man he kept with him. Draper had taken his brother-in-law under his wing ever since that January night in 1859 when Andrews had gotten himself into serious trouble by burning down a Lynn schoolhouse.

Andrews had known better than to get in trouble with the law. He grew up in the house of the jailer of Suffolk County – his own father – the "turnkey" who locked and unlocked the jail cells.[312] Even after the family moved from Boston to Lynn, his father kept a half dozen keys that were used in the city's first prison. They were massive wrought iron keys, each about a foot long. They *should* have been blunt reminders to the jailer's young son that lawbreakers get tossed into jail and the key can get thrown away, but on young Richard Andrews, it was apparently a lesson lost.[313]

At age twenty he married a fifteen-year-old and by the time of his lawlessness they already had two babies.[314] Although he was a father and a husband, Richard F. Andrews had not grown up. Three times in 1859 he was arrested for violating the liquor law, selling it without a license.[315] On the night of 21 January 1859, he was drinking as he watched the Empire fire company put out a fire in a building on Breed's Wharf. The building had been filled with hay and the fire was believed to be the act of an arsonist.[316] The soused Andrews declared to a buddy that he wanted to see another fire because "the other was such a poor one," so he "picked up a handful of shoe rags, and took down some fluid and saturated the rags, put them in his bosom and buttoned his coat over them; then he took a piece of candle about an inch and a half long, and whittled it to a point." He then walked down the schoolhouse lane and when in sight of the building said, "There is the house that will make a good fire! Rich owners – the city – no loss to anybody." Despite his friend's protests, Andrews opened a window of the school and climbed in. A short while after he

left the building, the school was in flames.[317] The *Reporter* declared, "The light of the fire was so brilliant that it was observed in all the surrounding towns, even in Boston. … We hope the rascals, who perpetrate such dastardly acts, will be sought out and brought to punishment."[318]

Months after the fire, the police were able to make the nervous friend a cooperative witness; he put the finger on the arsonist. Andrews absconded to Unity, Maine to avoid prosecution, but City Marshal Thurston followed him there and got his man. When the marshal hauled his prisoner into Lynn's Police Court for questioning, such a large number of people had shown up to watch, the interrogation had to be relocated to the Common Council chamber. The justice of the Police Court ordered the prisoner held on $2,000 bond, which his father posted.[319]

Although not a lawyer, Draper had taken responsibility to defend Andrews in court and was apparently persuasive, because the three counts of violating the liquor law and the felonious charge of "burning" were all dropped (or at least not prosecuted).[320] It was more than coincidence that Andrews enlisted into the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery and was placed in Company C; Draper was in charge of it. When Draper was given command of black soldiers, he brought along his brother-in-law the only way he could – by arranging for his promotion and making him a white officer in the black brigade.[321] He probably watched after his brother-in-law in the military as a favor to his own in-laws, who had their son Richard's wife and children living with them while he was at war; plus Alonzo Draper and Richard Andrews were apparently genuinely good friends: each named their first son after the other man. So there they were, a former leader of a shoe strike and a former lawbreaking brother-in-law, far from Lynn, leading a band of former slaves to fight against an army that hated them all. They all had a lot to prove.

Draper and Andrews had fought together in other battles, like Spottsylvania, while both were attached to the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, but the defining moment for them was fighting with their men of the 36th USCT (United States Colored Troops, the government's new designation for the 2nd North Carolina Volunteers) at a place called Chaffin's farm, on the outskirts of Richmond. On the 29th of September 1864, Draper lead his 2nd Brigade through 800 yards of dense fog, open terrain, swampland, and enemy-made obstacles, all before reaching the enemy. Previous repeated assaults by another brigade of black soldiers had failed and they took very heavy casualties. Draper was then ordered to try again with his brigade of 1,300 men. He ordered the 5th USCT to lead the assault on the Rebels who were hunkered down behind their earthworks, just itching for the Yankees to run towards them for a half mile. Following the 5th was the 36th, including Andrews and his Company D, followed in turn by the 38th.[322] Draper had not put his brother-in-law in the back of the attack, but he was not on the front lines, either.

The brigade was ordered to fix the bayonets onto their rifles; *if* they made it to the enemy, the bayonets would be essential.[323] Few of the bayonets of the 5th USCT met their mark; most of the front rows of Draper's black phalanx were mowed down before they got to the enemy. Draper later reported that the "men were falling by the scores"; hundreds of troops were killed, wounded, missing, or captured; no black regiment suffered more casualties on that day.[324] Four black soldiers of the 5th each took command of their respective companies after all the white officers had been killed or wounded in the attack.[325] The 36th started to look like it was the front line as they continued to move forward past the fallen soldiers of the 5th Regiment. Andrews had been suffering from "billious remittent fever" (malaria) for two months and was "scarcely able to walk," so he had been excused from duty before the battle began, but he would have none of it; he got on his horse, rode up to a pine copse, dismounted and, apparently running on adrenalin, led his men in a charge on foot. They reached the swamp about twenty-five yards from the enemy's guns; it "broke the charge" just enough to make Andrews an easier target for an enemy rifleman.[326] Suddenly, hot Rebel lead slammed into his leg: a bullet had entered on the right side of his right knee and drilled upwards into his quadriceps muscle, ten inches above his kneecap. It was clearly the end of the battle for Lieutenant Andrews.[327] As he lay crumpled on the ground, bleeding and in excruciating pain, bombs and bullets whizzing overhead, and black comrades

running by or thudding to the ground, the only question remaining was whether the wound would make him a discharged hero, a prisoner of war, an amputee, or a corpse. The next day, the burying party removed 192 bodies out of the swamp and 32 more from the creek that ran through it, but Richard F. Andrews wasn't part of the body count; though wounded, he survived.[328]

The wound did make him miss out on the brigade's victory. The black soldiers had courageously continued on and, after half an hour "of terrible suspense," they overcame the Confederate position and sent graybacks running.[329] Draper later wrote proudly to Senator John B. Alley,

> I do not believe that the history of this war will show another example of a charging line remaining without shelter half an hour within twenty or thirty yards of an enemy's works, subjected to a heavy fire, and finally rallying and carrying the works. … I glory in the black troops; I do not believe that their superiors can be found in this or any other army.[330]

Fourteen black soldiers were later awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for their valiant contributions in the battle; nine of them were in Draper's brigade. About thirty-five percent of his command had become casualties of war, his brother-in-law among them.[331] Andrews' medical leave kept getting extended due to continued pain and wound drainage, plus the knee joint had "partially anchylosed" (stiffened as if the knee bones had fused). On 8 November 1864 he received a leave of absence that allowed him to go home to Lynn to continue his recuperation in the care of his wife and mother.[332] While at home, "invalided" by the gunshot wound in his right knee, he went to the photography studio of William R. Appleton to have his picture taken.[333] He looked relaxed in his *carte de visite* photograph, but gaunt from the rigors of bilious remittent fever. He had an air of sober maturity as he sat erect in his army frock coat with its new captain's bars (a promotion initiated by his brother-in-law for his heroic actions at the Battle of Chaffin's Farm).[334] His minor shift of the hips revealed the discomfort of his wound: his right hip was at the edge of the seat and his right leg was discretely stretched out, in order to favor the knee that did not want to bend. Andrews looked like the man he hoped the folks at home would remember – the one he had become rather than the one he had been. Despite the wound, only the captain in the *carte* would get to stay home; the one of wounded flesh and bones still had to return for service that was far from over.

Brave black men and white men had combined in common cause and united at Chaffin's Farm in a single objective that resulted in many wounds, deaths, and prisoners on the battlefield that day. When regiments of men fought together and camped together, ate the same foods, drank the same water, and shared the same tents and latrines, their fates were also often intertwined. Soldiers in the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery were almost as likely to be killed or wounded as the soldiers from the 8th Massachusetts Infantry were to stay healthy; of over two thousand regiments in the Union Army, the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery sustained more casualties than all but fourteen other regiments, while the 8th passed through the war almost completely without casualties.[335]

To be a member of the 38th Massachusetts Infantry's Company E during its assignment in Louisiana meant a high likelihood of becoming afflicted by intestinal infections, especially chronic diarrhea and typhoid fever; many cases were severe enough to end in death.[336] Over in Plymouth, North Carolina, the soldiers of Companies G and H in the 2nd Massachusetts Heavy Artillery were made prisoners "almost to a man" on 20 April 1864 and the majority of them died in Confederate prisons. At least sixteen Lynn men were among the prisoners.[337]

Soldiers captured in Virginia and North Carolina were often sent first to Libby Prison, a converted tobacco warehouse in Richmond, and later transferred to other prisoner of war centers. Captain Frank R. Josselyn had been captured at Gettysburg and wrote to his parents after three months of prison that conditions at Libby had reduced him to 115 pounds, "but still I am much

better than a dead man," and he hoped to return to them within a few months, "not so strong as when you last saw me, but with at least a whole head, and a good frame to build on."[338]

Isaac F. Galloupe also became a victim of Libby Prison. He was taken prisoner while operating on a soldier during a battle at Batchelder's Creek in North Carolina on the first of February 1864. Although the 17th Massachusetts was beating a hasty retreat, Galloupe patiently operated on an injured lieutenant, removing a bullet from the officer's chest. Once the officer showed signs of improvement, he was packed into a field ambulance and the surgeon and his assistants were ready to retreat with the rest of their regiment. "No sooner had we made ready to start," Galloupe later recounted, "than we were, in a flash, surrounded by the Confederate cavalry, coming as it were, from the clouds; horses panting, men with flushed and excited faces, pointing their carbines at our little hospital squad, calling out 'Surrender.'" [339]

Two years earlier he had made a sanitary inspection of the Craven Street Jail in downtown New Bern and found the cells in a "most disgusting and filthy state … endangering the health and lives of the prisoners." They urinated in tubs that at the time of his inspection were almost full, "giving out an intolerable stench." The clothing and blankets were "damp, filthy and lousy." Galloupe's solutions for the jail's deplorable condition included cleaning the cells and improving the means for heating and ventilation.[340] But at Libby Prison the reformer had become the prisoner, suffering from malnutrition, starvation, and rats.[341] He was fortunate enough to endure the privations of a prisoner only until the end of the month when he was released under provisions that allowed for the exchange of surgeons and chaplains. He was then put on board a truce boat with prisoners being released from the Castle Thunder prison, including a correspondent for the *New York Tribune* and a woman who had been captured while posing as a soldier in uniform.[342] Galloupe later recalled that out of 115 men in his regiment, 58 had been captured during the battle of Batchelder's Creek; of those, only three ever returned; the rest perished at the prisoner of war camp at Andersonville.[343]

Throughout the war, Lynn soldiers were sent to prisons throughout the South, including Belle Isle, Libby, and Danville, in Virginia; Florence in South Carolina; and Savannah, Millen, and Andersonville, in Georgia.[344] Dozens of Lynn men died from the poor conditions at the Andersonville prison. Just outside of Petersburg on the 22nd of June 1864, Joseph Hodgkins was on skirmish duty in front of his unit when Rebel forces came around and behind his detail, surrounding them and leaving no choice but to surrender.[345] He was joined that day by Herbert W. Parrott, Samuel H. Boody, John Graham, Frank Steele, Charlie Rowley, Henry W. Vella, and several other unlucky soldiers from Lynn. The prisoners were forced to march for days without water and only a few crackers and a small chunk of ham fat to eat. Joseph Hodgkins became racked with hunger, but had no food left, so Charlie Rowley shared one of his precious crackers.[346] It was apparently just enough to help Hodgkins live to see Hell.

They arrived at Andersonville Prison on July 11th. Hodgkins recalled in his diary, "We were then marched into the dirtiest place that ever I saw where were nearly 27,000 half starved men moving about like so many maggots, with nothing to do but to look around."[347] As he put it, earth was his bed and the sky was his covering, so he suffered from the intense heat and sun of the daytime as well as thundershowers, wind, and extreme cold in the fall. Andersonville became his home for six months.[348] Some of the food he was given, when he was given any, consisted of a ration of inedible mush, and on another day, "a pint of raw buggy beans and a small piece of raw … beef. For wood to cook with we had two small pine branches to be divided between 90 men."[349] Henry Vella had seen starving men nodding as if falling asleep, then falling over because they had died. "And scarcely would the breath have departed before their naked limbs would be covered with vermin crawling over them in such numbers that it seemed as though life itself had returned."[350]

The elements wore out Hodgkins' clothing and aggravated his rheumatism. The terrible diet gave him painful cramps in his gut and he was losing weight dramatically. On October 13th

he wrote in his diary, "My shirt is almost in pieces, my blouse sleeves are about gone. Cold weather coming on, only about one meal per day … what are we coming to[?] God help us." [351]

Eleven days later he burnt a crust of cornbread and made a cup of "crust coffee" which he took to his buddy Charlie Rowley who was in the sick barracks. He found his old friend dead, the body still warm. Hodgkins grieved in his diary, "thus the old nineteenth is quickly dwindling away." In death, Charlie did Joseph one more favor; since Hodgkins' own clothes were in such sad shape, and knowing that the Rebels would take any clothes worth saving before burying the body, Joseph took his dead friend's hat and shirt.[352] November 5th was a "terrible cold night"; the wind blew a great deal and, Hodgkins wrote, it "seemed to go right through me and that isn't saying much, for there isn't much of me to go through just now."[353]

Joseph Hodgkins was one of the lucky ones at Andersonville – he survived. He was paroled by the Confederates in late November and on December 18th he arrived back in Lynn. His head ached badly and his legs were very swollen and lame, but Isaac F. Galloupe, a fellow survivor of Confederate prisons, tended to him. A great many family and friends also came to see the returned hero as well; it was good to be home.[354]

Frank Steele died at Andersonville and was buried in grave 5028.[355]

John Graham died at Andersonville; one night the main artery of his amputated leg opened up and he bled to death.[356]

Samuel H. Boody beat the odds and escaped from Andersonville after two months, but died in New Hampshire of disease after three months more.[357]

Herbert W. Parrott arrived back in Lynn on 15 July 1865 looking like a skeleton – he weighed just fifty pounds. He lived well into the twentieth century.[358]

"WHEN THE CRUEL WAR IS OVER"

While Lynn boys languished at Andersonville and other southern prisons and Isaac Galloupe was a prisoner at Libby, Bowman Breed was serving as the surgeon-in-charge at the Union's Gratiot Military Prison and Myrtle Street Prison in St. Louis. Like Libby, Gratiot was an old building that had been converted into a prison by the demands of war and not because of its salubrity. Breed found the same problems at the St. Louis prisons that Galloupe had found at the Craven Street Jail back in New Bern and that he was then experiencing in the old Libby tobacco warehouse: the Gratiot had insufficient light and ventilation, poor sewerage, and insufficient space for exercise and "in some respects the Myrtle Street Prison is even worse."[359] Breed wrestled with these issues from late February until June 1864 when he was placed in charge of a much larger hospital in Nashville, Tennessee.[360] St. Louis and Nashville both provided him the many opportunities for surgery he had been searching for throughout the war. The surgery he performed covered the whole anatomy of both Union soldiers and southern war prisoners. His surgery schedule included such problems as a gunshot fracture to the toes of an Indiana soldier; an Arkansas prisoner's colon perforated by a musket ball; a gunshot wound to the pudic artery of an Alabama Confederate (that proved fatal); ligation of the subclavian artery of a South Carolinian Rebel, and stopping an arterial hemorrhage in the buttocks of an Illinois Union man.[361] Breed had a photographer and photography studio located on the hospital grounds to take pictures of "all interesting cases" and their repair or reconstruction by surgical craft. The photographs and accompanying reports were forwarded to the Surgeon General's office for preservation in the Army Medical Museum.[362]

Breed was at the Nashville hospital until the war's end. The soldiers there were still in a celebratory mood until word came of President Lincoln's assassination on 14 April 1865. They gathered in the hospital "with desire for revenge on somebody and somehow." Breed channeled

their thoughts of lynching, torching, or rioting by giving them permission to go to the home of a Southern sympathizer in town to require that he drape the American flag from his window as a symbol of mourning.[363]

Lynn had gone through the same intense emotional swing over the condensed period of time between the war's end and the assassination as had happened at Breed's Nashville hospital. Lynn rejoiced at the news of the fall of Richmond on April 3rd: church bells chimed, cannons fired, flags waved, bonfires blazed, some of the already returned soldiers marched in an impromptu parade on the streets, bands of music played, and fireworks filled the night sky.[364] The city was again jubilant over Robert E. Lee's surrender on April 9th. Bad weather hampered a big celebration, but joy rang out continuously for twelve hours from the tower of the First Methodist Church on the bell cast by the revered patriot, Paul Revere.[365] Then on April 15th, a pall of sadness hung over the city when news of the President's death spread among the citizens. Mayor Neal had recommended symbolic actions of mourning to the citizens of Lynn, whom he told in a handbill, "Our beloved President, Abraham Lincoln, is no more. He died by the hand of an assassin … This sudden bereavement covers the whole nation with the deepest gloom. … [I] request all persons to close their places of business at noon to-day … in token of sorrow for the great loss the nation has sustained." Even before his handbill was read throughout the city, the businesses began to close, and mourning drapery was displayed in shop windows and building fronts, "and pieces of [black crepe] hung from almost every door-handle." Flags that had been floating high in victory were lowered to half-mast, and "the church bells, which had commenced to toll when the first announcement was made, continued the solemn knell, almost without intermission through the day."[366] A man who had the alleged audacity to rejoice over Lincoln's death was tarred, feathered, ridden on a rail, and almost killed. A young mother who watched the spectacle was anything but horrified; she wrote to her brother, "good enough for him he had ought to been killed."[367] The terrible war had ended terribly.

The valiant soldiers of Lynn, and the stalwart civilians who had gone down south to support them, returned home in a staggered migration that had started months before the war's end and lasted until months after. The *Lynn Weekly Reporter* soberly pointed out that those who were able to return were "men with charmed lives":

> [They] have escaped the destroying bullet, and death in the thousand forms in which it cluster[ed] around the field, the camp and the hospital, [and] are returning to their homes. They are few in number, when compared with those who left us, with buoyant hearts and gleaming countenances, with high hopes of achieving an early victory …. They have passed through many bloody scenes; they have seen their comrades fall on the battle-field and hurried into a shallow grave, or dying by slow degrees in some far-off hospital, uncared-for by friends, and their dying eyes closed by stranger['s] hands.[368]

The 8th Massachusetts had returned in the late fall of 1864. Over the course of the war they had lost a total of fifteen men to disease and none to battle, but they enjoyed favorite son status for their willingness to be the city's "Minute Men" in the first hours of the war, so their final return was once again honored with a parade and other entertainment. Joseph Hodgkins' unit, the hard-fighting 19th Massachusetts, was mustered out at the end of June 1865 along with the 28th Massachusetts, an Irish regiment, whose Company A was largely made up of Lynn's Irish shoemakers. They too, had been heavily engaged in the battles of Second Bull Run, Gettysburg (in the area called Devil's Den), Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. John F. Hall, one of Lynn's oldest soldiers, returned home in late June after enduring "all the hardships and severe marches [and battles] of Sherman's grand army." The fifty-nine-year-old private came back with a "nut-brown" tan and a thick beard – just like so many other returning soldiers.[369]

The City of Lynn conducted a July 4th parade as something of a combined victory and welcome home event, but participation of the veterans who had thus far returned wasn't as great

as had been hoped, and the newspaper report tried graciously to excuse the rather awkward absence of their honored heroes, "… veterans who have marched so much … do not feel anxious to take unnecessary steps in the heat and dust for the mere purpose of display." It was just too soon for the closure that Mayor Neal was seeking. Many soldiers had not yet returned, so those families still waited for resolution and some that had been long unheard from would never come home and their families might never have peace. Still other men had lasting reminders that victory had come at a cost of great pain and sacrifice. One of the parade's features was "a four-horse wagon load of wounded and disabled soldiers …. The crutches and vacant sleeves were eloquent witnesses of their faithfulness, and many a raised hat and waved handkerchief bore testimony to the love and admiration which was felt for the gallant fellows …."[370]

Isaac Galloupe's 17th Massachusetts returned in July a week after the parade, but he had returned home eleven months earlier as an exchanged prisoner of war. The 38th Massachusetts, which had lost many to typhoid and malaria in the miasmatic swamplands of Louisiana, also returned in mid-July. They were followed in late July by the 2nd Massachusetts and in August by the 29th Massachusetts, in which Captain Chamberlain's Union Guards had served, along with the beleaguered 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, which had fought at virtually every major engagement seen by the Army of the Potomac, from the First Battle of Bull Run to Appomattox Court House. Into the autumn the regiments were still coming home, including the 2nd Massachusetts Heavy Artillery (including whatever troops of Companies G and H that had not become prisoners of war) and the 3rd Massachusetts Cavalry. Sergeant Patrick Curry had returned home six months before his comrades in the 3rd but not because he had followed his wife's advice and played sick: he had gotten wounded and received a legitimate medical discharge.[371]

As home fires were rekindled and the war began its slow fade into memory, final closure still eluded some. While most men were on their way home, Alonzo Draper, Richard Andrews, and the 36th USCT were reassigned to duty in the distant outpost of Brazos Santiago, Texas, on the Mexican border. They arrived there less than two weeks after the Battle of Palmito Ranch, the last battle between the Union and Confederacy.[372] Even though the skirmish was of no consequence, it provided the subtle irony that the South won the last battle of the war it had lost. Only after Draper, Andrews, and their black troops arrived at the southernmost point in the reconstituted Union did the blacks of Texas learn that they were free – the proclamation was read to slaves on Galveston Island on 19 June 1865, two and a half years after President Lincoln had abolished slavery.

The war had officially ended at Appomattox, but, like slavery, the dying had not. Lynner Richard Kingston died of illness in North Carolina on June 9th; months after Lee signed the surrender.[373] Otis Newhall, the patriot father who gave all five of his sons to the cause, waited to hear what happened to two of them. One of them was never heard from again after going missing during the Second Battle of Bull Run.[374] In February 1865 Newhall finally received a letter that his other missing son had written from Andersonville Prison back in June 1864. Almost four months after Otis received the long-overdue letter, Gardiner Tufts had the onerous duty of telling him that his son had died in the prison eight months earlier.[375] Closure came for Otis Newhall, but only by killing off hope. The Amblers experienced the same delayed grim news about their son, Lieutenant Samuel C. Ambler, Jr.; word finally came in late June that he had died the previous November at Honey Hill, yet one more of the legion of godforsaken battles that ended so many lives without really accomplishing anything.[376]

The final chapter had not yet been written for the brothers-in-law, Draper and Andrews; they had been reassigned to serve their country within view of Mexico. They were wearing heavy brass (Draper had become a brevet brigadier general and Andrews was a captain), but instead of making war, their assignment in southern Texas was only to keep peace. There were few inhabitants to keep the peace with; the 1860 census for Brazos Santiago, where they were

stationed, recorded just seventy-nine people.[377] In late August 1865, Brigadier General Draper was especially relaxed as he took a ride on his horse because he had no duty or obligations to fulfill; he had just been relieved of his command at Brazos Santiago and was appointed to command a post at Indianola, further up the coast and nearer Houston.[378] While the general was "riding leisurely along" with an orderly riding behind him, Draper suddenly fell from his horse.[379] The orderly rode up and found that the general had been shot in the back, yet the orderly heard no gunshot. It was a terrible, freakish accident: some soldiers had been practicing target-shooting about a half-mile from where General Draper was riding and a stray bullet flew past all targets and hit him in the back. Rather than bore completely through his body, the far-spent bullet only had enough velocity to lodge in the general's spine. Over the next few days, Draper passed from consciousness to delirium to death.[380] The men at the firing range were "overwhelmed with regret, each feeling that he might have been the innocent cause of the terrible affair."[381]

As soon as word of Draper's wound reached home, his wife and mother left at once to be with him in Texas. When they arrived at New Orleans, however, they received word of his death, "and returned sadly to their darkened home, knowing that they would never more behold the face of their loved husband and son."[382] All that could be done for General Draper was for an honor guard to bring his body back home for burial, and Lynn was over 2,200 miles away. The men selected to the honor of guarding the general's body safely home were Captain Algernon Draper, his younger brother, who also served under him, and his brother-in-law, Captain Richard F. Andrews.[383]

Mayor Neal and the City Council carefully orchestrated the funeral procession to be magnificent. It started off with a military escort consisting of the two companies in the 8th Massachusetts Regiment that had been formed from the city's beloved Lynn Light Infantry and Lynn City Guards militia groups. The Eleventh Unattached followed them, and all of the troops marched with arms reversed in respect and honor of the departed. They were followed by Gilmore's Band, "which was generously sent by the State authorities for this occasion – playing a mournful dirge." The funeral carriage bearing the remains came next, "festooned with red, white, and blue silk." The casket was surrounded by flowers and covered with black cloth studded with silver stars. The American flag draped over the coffin lid. Two black horses with heads adorned in black and white plumes pulled the bedecked carriage and each horse was led by one of Lynn's black citizens. The hearse was followed by carriages containing the pallbearers, which consisted of three generals and five colonels, then by family and relatives of the deceased. Following them were members of the city government, then the Boston Brigade Band, then several past Lynn mayors. Following the political dignitaries at the end of the procession was "a large delegation from the Lynn Veteran Association, bearing a silk flag draped in mourning." [384] The funeral procession was grander than the parade for the returned soldiers on July 4th that had been disappointing and lacking in some respects. Now just about everyone was back and everyone marched. General Draper's funeral not only brought closure to his family and friends, but also to the rest of Lynn. The Civil War was over. Draper's bullet was the city's last mortal wound.

Captain Richard F. Andrews had fulfilled his assignment, but duty still called. Though at home with his wife, children, and parents, he knew from the moment he left Brazos Santiago that he had to return there, as his orders stated, "with as little delay as possible."[385]

Seven months later, Andrews reached out from his lonely outpost on the "sand island, completely cut off, as it were, from the civilized world."[386] He wrote to one of the Lynn newspapers, "… I have but few correspondents at Lynn …."[387] Maybe the folks back home still had not forgiven him for his drunken, expensive torching of their schoolhouse; more likely, the prolonged absence made the list of correspondents dwindle as they got busy with their lives, leaving the homesick soldier out of sight and out of mind. Andrews' minimal correspondence to the newspaper was probably due to the same cause expressed in the letter of another from the same regiment, "… it is hard work to write when there is nothing … to write about."[388]

But there was plenty going on back in Lynn. The war was over and the city was moving on. The decrepit old town hall had burned down but was replaced with a grand new city hall of brick and stone, complete with an imposing central clock tower.[389] To better serve the growing postwar population, the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* began to be published twice a week and the *Lynn Transcript* was introduced. House building did not keep up with demand, even though it outstripped all previous building bonanzas in the city's history. The new houses were multi-story, multi-family structures that towered over any ten-footers nearby. Ten to fifteen-room houses were commonly being built in 1869; there was also a large thirty-room house on Oxford Street and a thirty-two room, three-story tenement being built on Stewart Street.[390] Samuel M. Bubier and Lyman B. Frazier were having an enormous four-story building of brick and stone constructed on the corner of Summer and Market streets; it ran 135 feet by 230 feet with a 150-foot-long ell and was described as "the largest and finest building ever built in Lynn." Frazier's portion would contain his own shoe manufacturing business plus the post office and a bank; Bubier's section was earmarked for six shoe factories.[391]

Driving the building boom was a robust and evolving shoe industry. Even back in 1862, the city was finding that shoemaking was in demand because of an ever-increasing need for shoes, high raw material prices, and a scarcity of shoemakers with so many off to war.[392] Sewing machines were adapted to shoe stitching, and several other machines (some steam-driven) were invented that mechanized the shoemaking process. Bowman Bigelow Breed had worried that continuous operation of the early foot-powered sewing and stitching machines caused excessive menstrual bleeding in the female operatives, but those units were soon replaced by new steam-powered machines.[393] Men and women who had previously been making shoes by hand in their homes and ten-footers now reported to work in factories to take their position in the shoemaking assembly line. Samuel M. Bubier's shoe factory even had a steam-driven elevator to shuttle the 125 employees between floors.[394] The art of handmade, homemade shoemaking was quickly disappearing, "The little shoemaker's shop, and the shoemaker's bench, are passing rapidly away, soon to be known no more among us, and the immense factory, with its laboring steam engine, and its busy hum of whirling wheels, is rising up in its place …. The wheels of revolution are moving rapidly, and they never move backward."[395] The tiny ten-footers that had dotted the Lynn landscape were converted into henhouses, coal pens, and small additions fused to houses, and on a few occasions became humble homes for "men of slender means."[396]

"The prosperity of Lynn has become chronic," a Lynn newspaper reported, "machinery has revolutionized … business [and] tenements are in demand as they have never been before."[397] A large number of shoe manufactories were built along with the tenements, which encouraged the assurance, "The man who buys land or houses in Lynn to-day can scarcely make a mistake."[398] So it proved for Isaac Pinkham, who had turned from making kerosene to construction and real estate investment when those were the city's biggest opportunities. During the 1869 building spree he was one of the most substantial taxpayers in Lynn's northern Ward One.[399] Lynn's success and growth had twice enabled him to pull himself out of the dark hole of insolvency.

Similarly, Horatio N. Macomber's professional life was a mirror of his times and another example of an opportunist exercising his options. He had been a daguerreotypist when those early likenesses were in vogue, then he invented a better lantern when brighter-burning lighting oils were being introduced. He became a dentist and promoted his use of "All The New Improvements" including the extraction of teeth by electricity, ether, and later by nitrous oxide to dull the pain.[400] With reverential awe (or at least slick advertising) he pointed out that as old natural resources got used up, Providence provided substitutions and he introduced yet another new idea to Lynn – rubber false teeth:

> Coal comes up from the depths of the earth to fill the place of the exhausted forest … oil gushes up from subterranean reservoirs to meet the deficiency in illuminating material, occasioned by the destruction of the monsters of the deep … [and]

> vulcanized rubber had appeared just in time to replace the dwindling supply of gold as a base for artificial teeth.[401]

The editor of *The Bay State* was so impressed, he had Macomber remove *all* of his upper teeth. He later confessed that some of them were already false, but he insisted that Macomber's work still excelled, giving him his bite back, "Our friends are welcome to examine them but our enemies must not come near".[402] Most of the city's dentists briskly advertised and competed in their use of the newest oral techniques and inventions as well; Benjamin Percival and Daniel Patterson both claimed to be the first in the city to use nitrous oxide, or laughing gas, as Patterson referred to it.[403]

Entrepreneurial Lynners grabbed onto the coattails of progress. Francis Dixon invented weapons, a better cigar wrapper, and apparently aided his more famous brother Joseph in inventing stove polish and crucibles; one census called him a chemical artist.[404] George Otis boasted that he had received an extension on the patent for his lightning rods and furniture store owner Seth D. Woodbury advertised his invention of a bed and chair combination for the invalid and proudly promoted the fact that it had earned a silver medal at the Boston Mechanic's Fair.[405] A traveling medical electrician transformed shoemaker Edwin T. Butman and his wife Mary into remarkable healers. Through the use of electricity and chemical vapor baths, the transfigured couple claimed to be capable of treating "all those suffering under any diseases whatever," like their mentor, who had claimed to cure cases of paralysis, scrofula, hernia, and diseases of the spine, eye, and ear, and "female complaints especially," often in a single day.[406] George W. Fairbanks cut leather for shoes, but he also moonlighted by making his own version of what he called an *Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases*. It was a detailed little machine with intricacies that must have made it time-consuming for one man to make, but stimulating the systems of returning war-torn soldiers and their worried wives and mothers back home seemed to be nothing but opportunity to a man with small resources but big dreams.

Lynn had emerged from the war years into a world that seemed full of potential. The war had demanded improvement and invention in ships, firearms, medicine, and machines. The home front experienced developments in photography, printing, clothing, and food preservation. The city paper paused to marvel at the progress its readers had experienced in their lifetimes:

> A man need not be very old to remember the time when there were no railroads, … no steamships, and no telegraph wires – no gas lights, no petroleum, no California gold, no … revolvers, no friction matches … no sewing machines … no postage stamps or envelopes, or pens of steel … when there was no homeopathy or hydropathy, no chloroform or teeth extracted without pain, when there was no mesmerism, no biology, and no table-tippings and marvels from the spiritual world; no planet Neptune, … no sax-horns or cornets, no Boehm flutes or seven octave pianos; no photographs, … no illustrated news …[407]

Life was indeed getting better; it was palpable just by visiting some of the city's drug stores. The first thing noticed when entering Warren Tapley's Apothecary Hall was the new Tufts' patent soda fountain. A newspaper had some fun with the fact that one day a cow wandered in and, according to the news wag, "made up her mind that the [fountain's] cream syrups were all right" so turned around and left.[408] On the other side of the city center, everything about James W. Holder's drug store was new. The business started with his father almost fifty years earlier and had been passed on from father to son, but James felt the need for a new, larger facility and though he had it built in the same location as the original, what he ended up with was definitely *not* his father's apothecary. The ceiling was "beautifully frescoed and adorned in the highest style of the art; the floor was an alternating pattern of gleaming black and white marble squares. The walls were lined with shelves painted in a "delicate tint and relieved by mouldings of chestnut, with carved scrolls and brackets of black walnut … and touches of gilt." The countertops were "heavy marble slabs of pure white." At the far end of the store was a "splendid" six-foot tall

mirror set in carved arched frame "of unique workmanship, and surmounted by a clock." Also in the back were Holder's private office, a large storeroom, and a small sleeping room for the attendant, "who is awakened by a bell communicated with the main entrance." The store was lighted by gas fixtures of Holder's own design – shaped like "small mortars with the flame jetting from the end of the pestle." The store was proclaimed "an ornament as well as an honor" to Lynn.[409]

Most recognized that Lynn had been blessed. In the middle of the war years the newspaper noted that the city had a constant need for dwellings, groceries, clothing, and "all the necessaries of life," but their needs and wants were the result of a healthy economy and progress, "while other portions of our fair land are being devastated and laid waste by fire and sword, and the inhabitants driven by suffering to seek new and strange homes, we are blessed with peace and plenty, with employment for all, food for all, and the innumerable blessings that follow in the train of a flourishing business."[410]

This was the home to which soldiers had returned. The men who left for war had experienced Lynn's progress, growth, innovation, and improvements, but they were absent for two to four years and had to figure out how to get back on "the train of flourishing business." The challenge for returning soldiers would be what the *Reporter* called, "laying off the soldier and putting on the citizen again. They are exchanging the turmoil and excitement of camp life for the quiet routine of their former existence."[411] Civilians could often easily recognize a returned veteran from his deeply tanned and leathery skin and not yet trimmed hair. Some still wore their service cap or coat, and of course some had an empty sleeve or leaned on a crutch.[412] The city had gone on without them and done well at that, and now they had to reconnect themselves to families where children had grown and wives had learned to survive as single parents; and the workplace had replaced them with others, often strangers from out of town. Shoemakers who lived by what they could make in their ten-footer now had to retrain themselves to work in a shoe factory.

The challenges had affected virtually everyone. While Bowman Bigelow Breed, Isaac F. Galloupe, and James P. Prince patriotically volunteered to give medical care to the soldiers at war, the need for healers had not been suspended back home. Most notably, female healers had settled in among the populace. Mary E. "Lizzie" Breed, a graduate of the New England Female Medical College, had set up business in 1861.[413] A few years after working among the black soldiers and freemen in Beaufort, South Carolina, Esther Hill Hawks moved to Lynn and went into partnership with Lizzie Breed; they had been medical school classmates.[414] Martha J. Flanders, a homeopath, counted the returned veteran Joseph Hodgkins among her patients.[415] Mrs. Caroline A. Batchelder was a magnetic-electric and eclectic healer and Mrs. Mary Butman was electrically charging and chemically vaporizing her female patients.[416] Richard F. Andrews' wife pronounced herself a healing medium.[417] Miss Francena Porter had been an assistant in Holder's drug store, but then went to the Woman's College in Philadelphia and earned her degree of doctor in medicine; *The Lynn Reporter* lauded her "natural taste" for medicine and was convinced she would "undoubtedly make a successful physician."[418] In Lynn, at least, concern had lessened that a female physician was an immodest profession. The number of women who earned their wages as nurses had also sharply increased. It had always been an occupation largely practiced by single women and widows and the war probably increased that opportunity. Eight nurses (all single) in 1860 had grown to twenty-seven in 1865; only four were married and one of those had a son but no husband living at home. Seventeen of the nurses were widows and ten of those had not yet turned fifty.[419] Newcomer druggist Charles W. Brown established a nursing employment service in 1866, promising employment to "nurses, or those wishing to become such," and at the same time offering nurses to those in need of hiring one.[420] Lynn's youngest nurse was the precocious Ida B. Armstead. Her father had been discharged from the war because of a disability but had not yet returned home. Necessity dictated that the family work in the

father's absence, so mother Lizzie became a "professional medium," Ida was a thirteen-year-old nurse, and her little brother Charles, just six years old, was listed peculiarly as a "seamstress."[421]

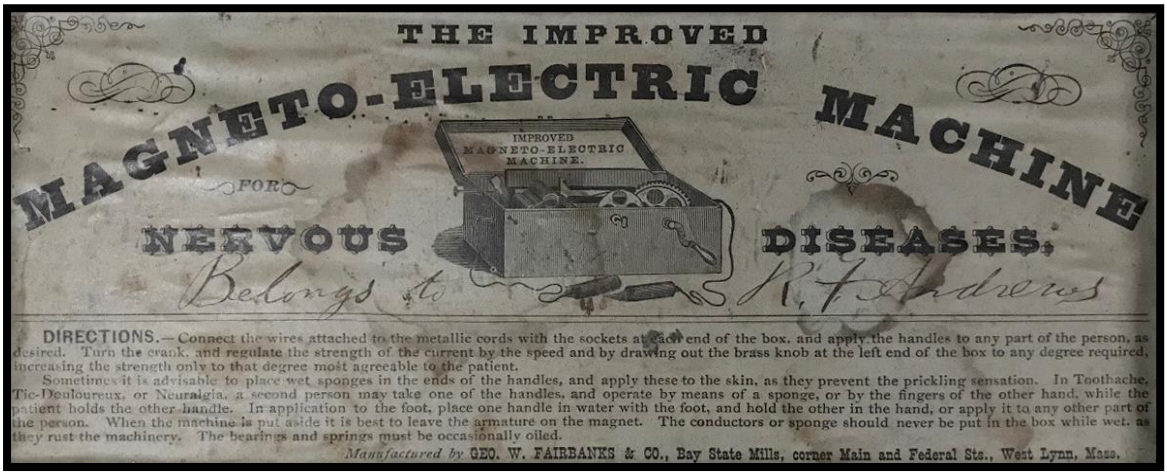
Homeopaths had also filled needs in Lynn's health care during the war years. Some continued to float in and out of Lynn's health history, like the homeopathic team of Floto & Payne, but others stayed for many years.[422] Henry C. Ahlborn located in Lynn from the start of the war until the end of the decade.[423] Alvin M. Cushing had arrived just a few months after the war concluded and he had an impact on the city for decades later. In 1867 he secured a room in the new city hall for use as a clinic for the poor during the winter; there he dispensed medicines, advice, and performed surgical operations, all free of charge.[424] Not only did Cushing receive kudos for his charitable work, but the homeopaths and female physicians had generally found support in Lynn. One of the fundraising ideas a church women's group created for their Spring Fair in 1867 was to have an election for the most popular physician in the city; ballots cost twenty-five cents each. Henry C. Ahlborn came in first and Martha Flanders was third; in total, homeopaths and women healers received seventy-three percent of the vote. Although it clearly wasn't a scientific measure of popularity, it did at least prove that the friends of Henry Ahlborn were willing to spend the most money; he alone received 1,789 of the 2,578 votes purchased.[425] The church ladies were very happy.

Bowman Breed had received his honorable discharge from the army and tried to reestablish his practice in November 1865, but in less than a year, he took a new position as superintendent of the U.S. Military Asylum in Maine.[426] There he continued to care for the sick and disabled boys in blue until a fire totally destroyed the large facility.[427] Only then did he finally settle back in Lynn. For the short remainder of his life, he was a popular advocate for veterans, but recurrent attacks of malaria racked his system and finally won the final victory over his life, seven years after the war had ended.[428]

Isaac F. Galloupe was already back in Lynn and busy when Breed returned. The military made him an examining surgeon for military pension applicants and Lynn made him the city physician.[429] As a pension surgeon he examined all types of veterans' woes: chronic rheumatism and malaria, cases of deafness and blindness, rupture and piles, wounds from head to toe and everywhere in between and, of course, the inevitable, dubious claims that the war had caused such afflictions as "poor color" and "very mild" insanity "when away from liquor."[430] In Galloupe's capacity as the city physician, he quickly focused his attention on the city's almshouse. His reports on the facility were reminiscent of those he submitted during the war about the Craven Street Jail and Libby Prison: the almshouse was crowded and lacked a sufficient supply of fresh air. The crowding resulted in an inappropriate and illegal mixing of paupers and criminals. The kitchen in the basement got flooded during every big rainstorm. The water closets were "primitive" and unsanitary.[431] City Physician Galloupe recommended the building be torn down and replaced by a new almshouse, but since the cost to do so was more than was "expedient," he proposed a hospital be built near the almshouse "as a measure of temporary relief."[432] Galloupe's opinion was well respected, so six months later, a new hospital building was being erected on the almshouse grounds; it would contain four well-lighted, warmed, and ventilated rooms, plus sanitary bathing accommodations.[433]

For decades, Galloupe's civilian practice would involve dealing with old war wounds and camp diseases that lingered into civilian life, like the malaria that his professional brother Breed couldn't shake. One such case was that of Thomas Brown, who at thirty-nine years old had enlisted and served along with his twenty-one-year-old son, also named Thomas, in Company C of the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery. When their unit was stationed in front of Petersburg on 20 July 1864, father Thomas was shot in the elbow by a Rebel sharpshooter. He suffered a great deal from the wound, but refused to have his arm amputated. He was a plasterer and both of his arms and hands were vital to his trade. His son Thomas was also a plasterer and the two probably had plans to work together when the war was over.[434] But the suffering continued and in

Promising Cure of the 1860s: Fairbanks' *Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases*, about 1869. Original unit except for the wires from the machine to the two terminals in the foreground. Holding one terminal in each hand completed the electrical circuit, administering a current of an intensity determined by the speed of turning the crank on the right of the photo. Carte-de-visite of Richard F. Andrews with right knee slightly extended, probably unavoidably so, due to his battlefield injury. Also in the foreground are some bullets, one of which impacted a solid surface. Fairbank's signature double-corner rabbet joints can be seen clearly on the lower left corner of the open lid. (All collection of the author.)



Close-up of label on inner lid. Richard F. Andrews (R. F. Andrews) wrote his name on the label to prove ownership.

February 1867, long after the war was over, it had become evident that the arm had to go, "in order to save his life." Physician Galloupe put on the surgeon again, amputating at the shoulder.[435] Somehow, the Browns made it work out: in 1870, the Brown home housed four plasterers: Thomas, Thomas junior, and two other sons; seven hands made light work.[436]

Many other Lynn veterans also had to endure long-term effects and recuperation from the war, even as the years rolled on. Richard F. Andrews finally got to return home from southern Texas in October 1866, but his wounded knee was a daily reminder of the Battle of Chaffin's Farm. Shortly after his return, his wife tried to raise money as a healing medium, but she and the spirits couldn't relieve her husband's discomfort or incapacitation. Richard or somebody on his behalf went over to George W. Fairbanks and purchased one of his magneto-electric machines. According to the label Fairbanks had pasted on the underside of the box lid, the crank could be turned to cure nervous diseases like neuralgia, tic-douloureux, and toothache. Maybe, just maybe, it would reduce the stiffness in Andrews' knee or take away some of the nerve pain.

The little miracle box was sturdy and handsome. It was designed to be an acceptable ornament in a home's decor – a well-crafted box of cherry wood – and inside revealed technology that fascinated, soothed, and even amused.[437] It was one of the earlier machines to be found in homes, along with clocks, sewing machines, and assorted kitchen gadgets. Fairbanks put everything he knew into making his product. He had almost certainly learned about box-making from his father, a cabinet maker "engaged somewhat extensively in the manufacture of wooden clock cases and fancy boxes".[438] He had some knowledge of science from working a few years at the Smithsonian Institution for Joseph Henry, one of the country's leading experts on magnetism and electricity, and he learned about the new home version of magneto-electric machines from the time he spent making them with and for Ari Davis in New York City. Davis sold his patent-right to Jerome Kidder who, in turn, sold them to William Burnap.[439] Fairbanks continued to make the machines for Burnap in New York City and in Lowell, Massachusetts. In 1861 he came to Lynn and began making his own version of the machine that he had been building for others over the previous decade. The mechanisms and boxes he had made, first as an employee and later as an entrepreneur, were extremely similar, right down to the lining paper and wood stain. Apparently trying to avoid patent infringement lawsuits, Fairbanks made one thing noticeably different: instead of using the brass-reinforced corners like the model he was copying, he created intricate double-corner rabbet joints for each of his box corners – a skillful woodworking maneuver he had probably learned from his father. He made his machine at the Bay State Mills, a Lynn company producing veneered doors and decorative fretwork by jig sawing and woodturning. Fairbanks' access to the mills' machinery to create his magneto-electric devices suggests he was either an employee or rented space and time on the machines.[440] Burnap, his former employer, fumed and warned the public in an instruction guide for his patented machine that Fairbanks' product wasn't genuine, "As there is a Machine manufactured and palmed off [as the originally patented] Davis & Kidder Machine, you will be particular to observe that all genuine Machines are enclosed in a brass-cornered (patent also) box. All infringements will be prosecuted."[441] Perhaps the threat of legal action made Fairbanks cease and desist; it was said that he took up work as a shoe-cutter and a carpenter "at intervals while his business was unsettled."[442] In just a few years George W. Fairbanks had given up his shocking machines and quietly blended into the army of Lynn's shoemakers and laborers.

It is unknown whether Richard F. Andrews ever felt he got benefit from the machine, but perhaps the survival of his purchase (and its excellent condition) suggest that he derived some satisfaction and took good care of it. His leg mended somewhat, at least in the eyes of succeeding government-appointed physicians who kept upgrading his condition and reducing his pension. He once moaned about the difficulties of his post-war life, "With my family, of [a] wife and six children, all depending upon me for support, 'tis hard scratching to obtain food, even."[443]

Some citizens might have noticed Andrews limping home from Fairbanks' house around the corner with the magneto-electric machine under his arm. They may also have seen William Mudge, the blind veteran of Chancellorsville, trying to cover his expenses in life by peddling a few books in the streets of Lynn with the aid of his little sister who led him along.[444] Others witnessed yet another soldier who had lost a leg in the war, demeaned to the circumstance of "sitting upon the curbstone, turning the crank of a hand-organ," to have a few coins charitably tossed his way.[445]

The sickness William Bond had when he was a prisoner of war also followed him home. Over two years after the war had ended, his condition continued to worsen, so he was sent to Massachusetts General Hospital, but chronic diarrhea developed and set him back further, ultimately to death. The newspaper reminded everyone that he was a "victim of southern cruelty … He leaves a wife and five children to mourn his loss.[446]"

John M. Pierce's left arm had weakened because of a bullet wound to the left breast received in battle back in 1862, but when he jumped up to catch a train in 1867, he did not have the strength in his arm that he thought he had.[447] His foot slipped off the step and his arm couldn't hold his weight. Then his hand slipped. His feet quickly tangled in the train's wheels. "He was shockingly mangled": his body was brutally victimized by the huge metal wheels and the crushing weight of the train; blood was splattered over a distance of thirty yards. Terrified female witnesses ran away shrieking – another soldier had met a tragic, bloody end.[448]

The reception and support from the citizens of Lynn was less than many veterans had expected. Provision for soldiers' families, widows, and orphans fell considerably short of promises made at the war's outset, as was the support of soldiers who returned wounded or sick. The jobs they had been assured would be waiting for them had not only changed dramatically, but had often been filled by strangers. Veterans felt abandoned. "After four years of danger and hardship," wrote one of the disaffected, "those of us who survived the battle-field, the hospital and the Southern prisons, returned to Lynn foolishly believing that our sufferings were ended, and that the good words which sped our departure would blossom into good deeds to welcome our return. … it was only words – good words and plenty of them, but nothing but words."[449] Veterans formed the Lynn Army and Navy Union to create a network of mutual aid to fill the gaps in the community's support. A benefit lecture for the Union was poorly attended, barely raising enough funds to cover expenses, giving vent to more frustration, "when every appeal to public generosity, or to public gratitude, meets with the same indifference and neglect, the conclusion is inevitable that the public has no gratitude to spare and that the soldiers' cause – save in cheap talk or buncombe speeches – interests no one but the soldiers themselves."[450]

In 1867 another veteran's organization called the Grand Army of the Republic was spreading nationwide and Lynn became Post 5, replacing the need for its earlier veteran's organization. Most of the GAR's goals aimed at providing aid to needy, aged, wounded, and disabled comrades and the widows and orphans of fallen brothers.[451] The new Lynn post of the GAR quickly began fundraising efforts with renewed enthusiasm. They organized a fair that was intended "to completely eclipse anything in the way of Fairs that has ever taken place in this city." Among the attractions were grab bags, a shooting gallery, and a series of "magnificent tableaux representing scenes in the war."[452] George Thurston loaned his live "Southern critter" (an opossum) for the fair's curiosities display; he had brought it back from North Carolina where he and his father had been sutlers to the troops.[453] The fair organizers also copied the successful pay-for-votes contests of the earlier church fair, offering prizes for the most popular clergyman, teacher, baseball club, and fraternal organization. Veterans were called to reveille, "Rally comrades! Shoulder pocket-books and prepare to make one of our Old Charges on the Unsurpassed Attractions!" while civilians were beseeched, "Ye good loyal people of Lynn … help drive away the wolves of want from the doors of the Widows and Orphans of the departed brave." [454]

The final goal sought to "inculcate a proper appreciation [and respect] of their services to their country."[455] This was addressed on a national level by the introduction of an annual Decoration Day. On 30 May 1868, "the choicest flowers of spring time" were strewn on the graves of fallen soldiers in Pine Grove Cemetery and the flag was raised above them. The official introduction for the holiday proclaimed, "Let no vandalism … neglect, no ravages of time testify to the present or to the coming generations that we have forgotten as a people the cost of a free and undivided Republic."[456] The Lynn Light Infantry wore new red coats and bearskin hats to the next year's observance in the cemeteries and, in so doing, surely dug up many old memories of Lynn's earliest hours in the war, when soldier boys stood proud and cocksure that victory would come quickly.[457]

"OH WHAT'S THIS WORLD A COMING TO?"

Four years and scores of lives later, lessons had been learned that war was brutal, victory painful, and life quite fragile. The war was over but there were still plenty of life's battles to be fought in Lynn, from mere skirmishes for comfort to life-threatening dangers. In the springtime, most of the streets were mucky messes of wheel-rutted mud, pockmarked with puddles that soaked feet, "bedraggled skirts, and ruined pants and dresses."[458] During dry summers these same streets became blankets of powdery dirt that kicked up into dust clouds by horse and wagon traffic; the street dust covered nearby trees, shrubs, house fronts, and window blinds "as if sprinkled with Indian meal."[459] Citizens rejoiced when sprinkling carts wet down the dusty roads; eyes stopped smarting and could finally see in front of them.[460] Sidewalks were lauded as the answer to pedestrian's problems in the streets, but it was up to the homeowners and business owners to install them which, of course, only the wealthy could do.[461] Samuel M. Bubier installed a brick sidewalk in front of his shoe manufactory way back in 1856, but a decade later, Lynn's sidewalks were still a patchy network of bricked sections joined by long stretches of dirt.[462] They turned to sheets of ice in the winter and people suffered significant injuries on them. In 1865 a young woman fell on an icy sidewalk along Broad Street and broke both bones below her knee; one year later, Mary M. Patterson, wife of the dentist, slipped and fell at the corner of Market and Oxford streets and suffered serious injury; she was carried "in an insensible condition" to the nearby house of Samuel M. Bubier, where Alvin M. Cushing, the homeopathic physician, "found her injuries to be internal, and of a very serious nature, inducing spasms and intense suffering."[463]

Most streets still did not have gas lights and even streets with lights had long stretches in darkness, so walking on the sidewalks or in the streets at night was still hazardous. Gutters along some streets were deep and dangerous, especially after spring rains; a pedestrian even drowned in one in 1865.[464] There were also those who made the gutters even worse by tossing their filth and rubbish into them.[465] Heavy rains also raised the water table, encouraging the filthy water from underground cesspools and outhouse vaults to percolate up to the surface and pool into unnatural stinking ponds; one formed on Beach Street near Sagamore in 1869, just as tourists were expected to arrive for the beach season.[466] The rains also seeped into basements, not only at the almshouse, but in many private homes as well, and stagnated sometimes for weeks before evaporation had lifted the unholy atoms up to the heavens.[467] There were suggestions for a main drainage pipe to carry sewerage into Lynn Harbor and the city's growth also demanded new sources of fresh water to be pumped into the city for drinking, bathing, and putting out fires.[468] Many citizens resisted the plan for installation of a drainage system because of the expense.[469] There must have even been a large-scale problem with personal body odor, since home bathing facilities were also considered a luxury, even though the *Lynn Reporter* tried to scare them clean.[470] The newspaper played on the readers' fear of typhoid, typhus, consumption, and the next cholera epidemic to push for better drainage and hygiene and admitted, "… we hope this fear may continue through the season in sufficient measure to make people feel the necessity of keeping clean."[471]

There was too much talk about needing more water and too little action, so the city wasn't ready when, on 28 December 1868, the worst blaze in the city's history burned down a chunk of downtown, including a bank, a tailor shop, an eating house, and Lyceum Hall; fortunately, when the fire happened the hall wasn't jammed with people attending some lecture or other spectacle, as was so often the case.[472]

In addition to the offensive smells of overflowing sewerage, some residents had to contend with the sickening aromas of pigs and goats. Both animals continued to be valuable sources of food for families, but the odors of their bodies and pens offended people moving in closer and closer – farm stock and tenement dwellers were not becoming good neighbors.[473] The disgusting sight of two hogs tearing apart and eating horse carcasses near the railroad track also offended trainloads of passengers.[474]

Certain animals that had shared residency with the first colonial settlers continued to add misery to Lynn lives two and a half centuries later. Mosquitoes plagued people in all but cold weather. The "cheapest and most effectual" insect repellant was said to be "the sole of a slipper," but the "poison-pointed, blood-thirsty" insects were by far the better hunters, efficiently hitting their targets and keeping their giant adversaries from sleeping during the hot summer nights.[475]

> Scarce has your weary head rested on your pillow, when … scores of winged little demons, whining, humming, buzzing, oftentimes actually screeching, make for your … head, and most unceremoniously plunge their proboscis deep, deep into the yielding flesh. Drive them off, and in a giffy they are back with all their aunts and second cousins with them. [476]

Rats continued to inundate certain areas of the city; Luther Jenkins caught 23 in his trap and I. B. Hitching's dog, "Eater," caught 102 vermin in a short time.[477] Fortunately, Eater was finding them down at the river and not in his master's saloon.

Tales could also be told of human vermin and victims; of gambling dens and liquor saloons that sucked in the dissolute and those who sought escape from the world outside; of infants found killed for unrevealed reasons, all of them sad and wrong; of heartless masters who beat their pitiful beasts of burden.[478] Police stayed busy fighting crime in the growing city. Benevolent groups like the Widows and Orphans Society, the GAR, watchers societies, and religious and fraternal organizations expended great resources to take care of the growing number of needy. Animal activists organized to protect helpless creatures from man's brutality.[479] William H. Butler was one of the champions for Lynn's four-legged residents. Although he had been engaged in shoemaking at least until 1865, he claimed to be self-taught in animal medicine and declared to Lynn that he was, by his own humble admission, "a Veterinary Surgeon of more than usual experience," having cured everything equine for "many years." In just the year 1868 he claimed to have cured thirty-six cases of lung fever, two kidney complaints, and one each of blindness and paralysis, along with a daunting array of diseases and disabilities to which horses are subjected.[480]

The post-war high-powered factory environment, with rapid, mighty, steam-driven machines, cut short the fingers and lives of any who used less than perfect judgment at all times. Stephen R. Oliver got his thumbs caught in a lathe and James M'Carty had three fingers crushed on a splitting machine.[481] A seventeen-year-old named Herbert Batey was tending a rolling machine at Bubier's shoe factory when three of his fingers got crushed in the rollers of a machine and David Wacey had the ends of two fingers cut off by a steam dinking machine; Batey got the worst of it, however, dying of lockjaw a little more than a week later.[482] Lynn's doctors were quickly called upon for such accidents and were appreciated for their skill in amputation and helping the victims recover from the trauma. A young lady employed in another shoe factory was stooping down when her hair became entangled in the shaft of the machine she was tending. Her hair was drawn in nearly to her head before the machinery could be stopped. She lost some of her hair, but at least not her life.[483] In 1864 Travelers was the first insurance company to offer

accident insurance, and it was busy with its clients from Lynn. Of the seventeen claims listed in an 1866 article, the company had paid out $50 to H. F. Trussell, who was caught between two carriages in motion; $10 and $20 to James S. Sumner and G. H. Pearson, respectively, both of whom cut off a finger with a sole cutter (the extent of the damage apparently being greater for Pearson than Sumner); $200 to G. Z. Saunderson, who "broke [a] ligature" in his foot by stepping on a curbstone, apparently very awkwardly; and $2,000 to the family of Stephen Smith, who was lost overboard and drowned. Alvin M. Cushing, who had doctored Mary M. Patterson and so many other accident victims, got kicked by a horse and received $18.55 from the insurance company, and J. W. Colcord, the apothecary, might have been preparing a medicine when he cut and poisoned his hand; he was compensated $30.[484]

Offsetting all the problems to health and hygiene was a growing emphasis on cleanliness and healthy amusements. Hutchinson's Hair-Dressing Room guaranteed a clean napkin with every shave and the Lynn Laundry Office steam cleaned feather beds, destroying moths and "all disagreeable scents (common among new feathers)."[485] Several forms of exercise were popularized in Lynn as healthful diversions, preferable to the sinful diversions of the saloon, and as outlets for all those who were tied down to factory work or still stuck in a ten-footer. The Swedish Movement Cure (gymnasium exercise without equipment or apparatus) at first received a rough reception in Lynn; it was accused of having "a good deal of humbug in it," being likely to do more harm than good and essentially a trap to get money. "Why will not somebody take measures to render the sawing of wood a 'popular' gymnastic exercise," one critic chided, "we [also] might recommend [to young ladies] a little exercise with the broom, or other utensils of the kitchen."[486] But later in the decade, gymnasiums had sprouted in Lynn, with separate sessions being organized for men, women, and children.[487] Baseball became especially popular after the war was over and was touted as a "healthy game" that "not only improves the health of young men, but … has a tendency to draw them away from the billiard-room, the grog-shop, and other places of questionable repute." It was so popular, a game was gotten up on the ice at Flax Pond on Christmas day of 1869; the players wore skates and a large crowd gathered to watch the spectacle wherein "it was not at all difficult … to steal bases."[488] A sport called football was introduced in Lynn that same fall. "Foot Ball Club No. 1" practiced daily in a field near one of the large shoe factories, and attracted "a large number" of spectators. It appeared to be a safer sport than the very rugged form that baseball was then playing and sparked the suggestion that "it is to be preferred to baseball, as there is quite as much exercise and excitement in it, without any great danger of serious results."[489]

Another healthful amusement introduced in Lynn during the post-war years was the velocipede. The apparatus had human-powered thin wheels of wood or metal connected by a frame that was straddled by a small, padded seat. It was an ancestor of bicycles that would follow years later, but was more punishing to the human frame. One version of the contrivance earned the nickname "boneshaker" because the absence of a shock-absorbing suspension in the frame and cushioning on its wheels created a jarring ride on the bumpy, rutted, unpaved streets. It was also observed that "it will not do for a very muddy or ... a very crowded street."[490] Nonetheless, the new exercise was said to be a "hopeful sign of progress" – a fast way to get around in a fast age. Entrepreneurs built closed-circuit tracks for paying enthusiasts to enjoy a smooth ride. One was built "in the hall over Central Depot," a second on Long Beach, and another, described as a "mammoth velocipede arena," was advertised to be the largest in Massachusetts; it was 155 feet long and 45 feet wide, plus there would be one track for beginners and another for experienced riders.[491] Since velocipede riding attracted not only the cyclists but spectators, Hutchinson's Velocipede Academy added an ice cream saloon on one end of the bike track and a stage for entertainment on the other end.[492] It must have been quite a spectacle to be in attendance at Hutchinson's on August 13th and 14th, 1869, licking ice cream while watching the cyclists on their boneshakers and other curious styles of velocipedes, and the two-headed girl on stage – "two

heads, four arms, one body, four legs; talks, sings and eats with both heads" – anything to pack them in.[493]

Enthusiasts claimed that the velocipede "affords pleasurable excitement, which is all some men drink liquor for, and it leaves no sting behind. It will take men away from the gambling rooms and rum shops, out into the pure air, into God's light and sunshine, and brace their lungs with the very breath of heaven."[494] Besides, the velocipede riders pointed out, they provided all the advantages of horseback riding without the dangers or expense; velocipedes frightened horses, for example, but the machines never bucked or reared up or ran amuck. When a horseman had appeared in Central Square, "mounted on a beautiful horse which he was anxious to sell" a velocipede dealer saw an excellent opportunity to promote his new product. A large crowd gathered to listen to the horse owner's spiel. The velocipede dealer went to his shop and brought back five of his velocipedes. He set them up nearby the horse seller and immediately began to create his own crowd, describing his "'animal,' [as] the best, cheapest, and most enduring traveler in existence – costing nothing to keep it, and being no trouble to 'harness up.'" All the velocipedes were sold on the spot, but the horse seller rode off on his steed, "with the feeling no doubt, that horseflesh had had its day – especially in Lynn."[495]

The clash between horses and velocipedes was symptomatic of many other conflicts between the past and the future, the doers and the dreamers, and plain fact versus more fascinating fiction. In 1868, the stuffed skin of a bizarre, thirty-three-foot-long sea creature was displayed outside in a lot next to Pevears' building on Washington Street. It had "two hind legs, each six feet long, with three toes, or claws, and two flippers or fins …." Its mouth was five and a half feet across and it was said to have weighed eleven tons when it was caught. The newspaper's description of the stunning find contained no sarcasm or doubt; instead it was presented as, "A Remarkable Natural Curiosity."[496] Two men reported another peculiar scene wherein the "inner clothing" of a woman was on fire as she walked in the open air from Market Street towards Central Square. As strange as the apparent incident of spontaneous combustion appeared to be, it was reported, but not investigated; it seemed to be enough for the people to just be fascinated and wonder.[497] Ouija boards were advertised for sale to amuse and astonish customers willing to have unseen spirits answer their questions.[498] Millerites camped under a grove of trees on Washington Street between High Rock and the circus grounds in the fall of 1867 to prepare themselves again for the coming of the Savior; some thought he would appear before the encampment was over and others believed by the end of the year, but both degrees of faith turned deaf ears to critics. The *Reporter* pointed out that even though the Millerites' faith might appear to be a delusion, "the opinions of intelligent men" were often in disagreement "upon the plainest principles of science, art, theology, politics, and even monetary and business matters."[499] When some star-gazers saw flames floating in the night sky a month before the Millerite encampment, those inclined towards astronomy decided it was a meteor or a comet, but "an enthusiastic Adventist said that the world was coming to an end, and he would go and dig his potatoes up, and he then suddenly disappeared." It was soon discovered that neither camp was correct; some young men had "ingeniously illuminated" a kite and flew it from High Rock.[500] A fortnight earlier, Captain George Harris was sure he saw something very much like a mermaid in the ocean water off Pig Rock in Boston Harbor and was convinced that it wasn't a seal or sea serpent. His shipmates suggested that their captain probably saw his own reflection in the smooth, shiny rocks.[501] When things were not always as they appeared, neither scientific nor faith-based conclusions were necessarily right, nor would either be without its insistent supporters.

In between the battlefields and campfires of war, people had been trying to come to grips with the startling theories of Charles Darwin, published in *Origin of the Species* in 1859. Evolution gave answers to those with a scientific predilection, challenged the beliefs of the deeply religious, and bewildered the masses wandering in between. A sign for *Dr. Herrick's Pills and Plasters*, created about 1864, brought the worst of evolution to life.[502] It seemed to depict the

very moment when sickness emerged from the primordial ooze: a hideous reptilian creature, looking more like a fearsome ancient dinosaur than a garden-variety Victorian lizard, was covered in sickly red spots and glared directly at the viewer with fangs exposed, hungry for its next victim. But don't fear, reassured the popular medicine maker, "DISEASE CURED BY USING HERRICK'S PILLS AND PLASTERS." The evolutionary nightmare had met its match with the best of man's ingenuity. The two Herrick products were advertised in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* in 1866 and had been particularly popular during the decade.[503] With such a promise of cure, what wasn't possible?

Clearly, some things. In the fall of 1865 a medium was caught in a lie red-handed. During pitch black séances, H. Melville Fay and his wife claimed to conjure up spirits who thumbed a violin floating in air, spoke through a tin horn, rang bells, and rattled things around, all while Mr. Fay was tied to a chair with his hands tied to his knees. In one such marvelous séance held at the house of Thomas Phillips on Buffum's Court, two powerful lights were suddenly lit, exposing to plain view H. Melville Fay, standing and thumbing the "floating" violin himself. It was further evidence to critics of the fraud of spiritualism, but to spiritualists, it was only evidence of the fraud of two charlatans.[504] Just days later, after another family of spiritualists performed at Lyceum Hall, they were followed to the Sagamore Hotel by a number of people who were threatening tar and feathers, though no such action was taken. The *Lynn Bulletin* tried to maintain balance and peace among believers and critics throughout the city, "Everything that is worth inquiring into at all is entitled to a fair investigation, and to cry 'humbug' and utter abuse, without such investigation, or before the 'humbug' has been fully exposed, is neither manly or honorable. Fair play is a jewel in this era of free thought and free inquiry."[505]

Indifference to hard fact, confusion about what was true, and fascination with the sensational all played into the hands of anybody with anything to sell – and they were legion. Throughout the decade, newspaper pages were filled with ads for products from all over the Northeast and as far away as the Midwest. Posters, broadsides, and handbills covered fences and buildings throughout the city, much to the annoyance of individuals whose properties were plastered with these advertisements without permission.[506] Traveling doctors continued streaming through Lynn, full of promises of amazing cures. One named Whittier was said to have extracted a thirty-five-foot-long tapeworm from some very unfortunate but relieved Lynn man; another named Goodell somehow coaxed a gall-stone measuring eleven-sixteenths of an inch through some poor sufferer whose plumbing was only three-sixteenths of an inch diameter.[507] Yet another named Campbell enabled an eighteen-year-old young man to hear after fourteen years of deafness in both ears.[508] If Campbell had hoaxed with quackery, he had done so at great risk; the young man's ebullient, grateful father was William K. Chase, a policeman.[509] A tongue-in-cheek newspaper editorial teased that the thirty-nine physicians who had located in Lynn from 1866-1869 had such extensive knowledge and unparalleled skill that they only needed to stay in town a few days to cure all the people who wanted to be cured.[510]

Peddlers, hawkers, and hucksters continued their decades-long haranguing through Lynn's streets, pitching soap, books, meat, fish, tin, ice, medicine, fruit, clothing, watches, and more.[511] The particularly annoying wail of a certain hawker of oranges and lemons caused people to buy his fruit "in order to get rid of him the sooner."[512] A team selling *Bayside Soap Liquid* cruised the streets in their wagon, clanging a gong to get peoples' attention.[513] A medicine pitch man had a protégé blowing a bugle to garner interest in his bottled cures.[514] Another medicine hawker advertised that he was going to sell *Dr. Foster's Instant Relief from Pain* in "the Public Square" (which square in Lynn wasn't specified) during a certain week in March 1869, "weather permitting," but Nature had other plans; the first two days of that week were very cold and then gave way to "a drizzling rain, with an equal admixture of fog, smoke and mud."[515]

A peddler's path in Lynn wasn't easy, but it was a living. There were some disabled veterans like William R. Mudge who resorted to peddling because they were not physically able

to return to their old jobs, but the war had created many more peddlers from among the sons of fallen soldiers; they had taken to the streets to make money for their family and had been described as an "army of urchin peddlers." Moral watchdogs worried that the youth were at risk as they peddled products into such disreputable places as the barroom and billiard hall.[516]

Some shop owners complained that peddlers and hawkers were hurting their business, selling their wares more cheaply than the store owners could do. But Sidney I. Breed, a janitor, spoke up for the peddlers at a meeting of the Committee on Licenses, saying that the storeowners were just trying to protect their higher prices and that if they had their way, "boys who now supported their widowed mothers and orphaned brothers and sisters, would be deprived of the means of a livelihood." He then reminded those gathered that "some of the most influential and respected families of Lynn were the descendants of peddlers," and he was personally in favor of "free speech, free press, and free peddle!" Thomas W. Dow, a fifty-nine-year-old stone cutter, explained that his ill health had forced him to resort to peddling apples during the previous winter and, in so doing, he had succeeded in selling twenty barrels of the fruit by going through the various shoe factories in the city. The licensing committee continued to allow licensed peddling in Lynn.[517]

A peddler's wagon was no match for the variety or quantity of items available in Lynn's stores. Lucius H. Peck's hardware and Yankee notions store in Healey's Arcade was chock-full of a curious combination of goods including bed pans, meat cleavers, tooth brushes, rifles, rat traps, honey, sardines, sleds, autograph albums, fishing tackle, drums, baby carriages, jewelry, toys, spoons, flower seeds, and spit cups.[518] Joseph W. Holder's drugstore advertisements itemized over forty brands of hair oils and pomades and fifty different kinds of soaps, all by name.[519] During the war, Private Abram Hun Berry was advised by a younger brother back in Lynn not to get sick if he could help it,

> I am bunged up to day with a bad cold &c. So don't expect a devil of a letter. … Since breakfast mother has rammed down me a bottle of Attwoods bitters a box of Ayers Pills and wanted me to take a box of "Remedy for Piles." (all for a sore throat I couldn't see it, as I've been out to shit 14 times this morning and have got so that I don't care a d – n whether my pants are buttoned up or not. There I just went to <u>fart</u> and must have shit a little as I feel something like a <u>Snake</u> crawling down my leg.)[520]

The brother, Will Berry, was obviously prone to exaggeration for the sake of humor, but the use of all sorts of medicines to cure an illness was a real and common response, as has been proven by the large variety and quantity of bottles that have been found in the bottom of outhouse pits by bottle diggers all over the country. By his own description, Berry was sicker than he joked. He had a bad cold, a sore throat, and symptoms of diarrhea. His anxious mother bypassed her own homespun wisdom about using the syrup of ginger preserves for such symptoms and resorted to brands from nearby Georgetown and Lowell that had become popular medicines all over the country. Lynn's drugstores carried an ever-growing array of regional and national brands, but Lynn druggists continued their decades-old tradition of making their own proprietaries. Chauncy Hodges made *Hodge's Dysentery Cordial*.[521] James W. Holder bottled his war-time favorite *Jamaica Ginger* and carried on the tradition of his father's *Excelsior Hair Tonic*.[522] The new partnership of Colcord, Snow & Messinger offered "*Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup*, a sure cure for coughs, colds, hoarseness, irritations of the throat, and all bronchial affections. (The same as originally prepared and sold by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Thompson.)"[523] In addition to his line-up of nurses for hire, Charles W. Brown had a medicine line-up that included *Brown's Chilblain Lotion*, *Brown's Concentrated Ginger*, *Brown's Cough Syrup*, and *Brown's Emollient Lotion*.[524] Oliver J. Pettegrew promised that *Dr. Pettegrew's Family Medicine* cured over a dozen problems from nervous complaints to piles.[525] Benjamin Proctor's shop in Healey's Arcade had become a West Lynn fixture for many years and he had long been respected for his politeness, benevolence, and "infallible remedies" like his *Compound*

Boneset Candy that cured coughs, colds, and hoarseness. An advertisement for the medicinal confection explained that while his ancestor was hung for witchcraft back in 1692, Benjamin was the Proctor who was "more justly chargeable with sorcery" for making such a powerful cure.[526] An article about West Lynn pointed out that "a large number of fancy and useful articles that are as good for well as for sick people" were also available in the shop of "our friend, the doctor…."[527]

Every druggist's shelves were deeply stocked with lucrative bitters. Edward A. Kittredge was living west of Boston, but made special effort to introduce his *Purifying Bitters* to his old friends in Lynn, making his medicine for biliousness available at the homes of shoemakers Homer Frye and Benajah Purinton, "and soon they may be found at the principal Apothecary and Grocery stores in the city."[528] Benjamin Proctor insisted that his *Spring Bitters* were not intoxicating, but in fact "exceedingly bitter," inferring that their bitterness would dissuade drinkers from using them as an alcoholic beverage.[529] But bitters were a popular drinker's beverage and people knew it. A newspaper ad for *Peruvian Syrup* chided, "If a man wants a bottle of whiskey, let him buy it and take it home like a man, and not sneak home with a bottle of 'Bitters' or 'Cordial,' and pretend that it is medicine."[530]

Besides carrying many packaged and branded medicines, toiletries, and household products, drug stores were stocked with a wide array of drugs and chemicals. With these raw ingredients they were capable of compounding doctor's prescriptions, home recipes, and many non-medical products, like glue, rat poison, butter, paint, and perfume. An apothecary wasn't just a drug specialist but a manufacturing chemist, equally capable of producing medical and non-medical compounds from the panoply of chemicals and other ingredients in their shop. Thus, Colcord & Snow advertised that they were "ready to supply the public with drugs and chemical preparations of the finest quality and to compound prescriptions and domestic recipes with greatest exactness …."[531] But many individuals wanted to make their own preparations and would simply repair to the drug store to purchase the chemicals they needed. Holder advertised that his shop had the oils, acids, ammonia and other chemicals needed by barbers to make their own hair products and photographers to make their own photographic chemistry, and dyers could buy logwood, nut galls, sulphuric acid, muriatic acid, cochineal, and copperas to clean, soften, and color leather.[532]

Dennis Galavan tried to use the unregulated access to poisons at the drug store to kill his family. He was "an ugly customer," the newspaper said, having recently been released from four month's incarceration for severely abusing his wife. He went to Tapley's apothecary and purchased a quantity of ground up green blister beetles (called Spanish flies or cantharides by the medical community). The pulverized beetles are a highly toxic powder that was often used to create blisters on the skin, but Galavan put it in the family teapot. His wife and children drank the poisoned tea and became dangerously ill, almost to death. Two physicians jointly agreed that it was a clear case of poisoning and Galavan was promptly arrested. He was eventually sentenced to twelve years in prison, the first five in solitary.[533]

The local apothecary shop (or drugstore as they were more frequently being called during the decade) was a unique and important store in the community; it supplied the ingredients for many of life's activities, but those same ingredients could do great harm if used carelessly or malevolently. The purpose of a meat cleaver and a bed pan in Peck's curiosity shop were not going to be confused, but the powders in a drug store could be and sometimes were mixed up with tragic consequences. A returning soldier, probably suffering from the long-term, recurrent symptoms of malaria, went to one of the city's drugstores and asked for ten grains of quinine, "a drug which he was in the habit of using to ward off the effects of chill and fever contracted in the swamps of North Carolina." An assistant in the drug store prepared the medicine by the soldier's directions. The soldier swallowed it and went on his way; but in a short while, he began to feel dizzy, sleepy, and nauseous, and began to vomit. He then fell asleep and couldn't be awakened

for over forty hours, despite "the utmost efforts" to do so. It was determined that the druggist's assistant accidentally gave him ten grains of morphine instead of quinine, both being pure white powders. Since four or five grains of morphine "invariably cause death," it was decided that the extreme overdose saved the veteran's life because it caused him to vomit enough of the poisoning drug.[534]

Some medicines and cosmetics of the decade were being advertised as "Free from" various bad ingredients, reflecting a growing public awareness that many chemicals and substances were poisonous or dangerous to their health. Medicinal purity and safety had become the subjects of some attention; *Dr. Babcock's Hair-Dressing*, for example, was "free from silver, lead, sulphur, acids, alkalies or injurious substances of any kind," and *Dr. J. W. Poland's White Pine Compound* was "*free from anything deleterious*, pleasant to the taste, safe, yet sure and effective in its action."[535] George E. Emery, Lynn's soap manufacturer, felt he knew something about purity, so he made *Emery's Dentavon*, an "absolutely pure, mild and fragrant soap for cleansing and preserving the teeth."[536] Leonard F. Stimpson had left for war as a butcher and returned as a teamster, but he also made and sold *Stimpson's Dysentery Compound*, "a sure and safe remedy"; it apparently demonstrated enough sales potential for Snow & Messinger to buy the rights and recipe for the compound from him.[537] Charles W. Brown had calculated the impact of having his medicines listed under the wholesome banner, "Select Family Medicines," in the newspaper. [538] Family medicines were those that were claimed to be safe and wholesome for the entire family, due to promises of freedom from strong alcohol or toxic substances. A man might have snuck a buzz from his bitters, but women and children were considered and treated more delicately. John A. Jones ran an eating house in Lynn, but had previously suffered from fever and ague as well as from a railroad accident. Seeking relief from his illness and injury, he found a medicine that seemed to gently relax him and relieve the pain; it was called *Hasheesh Candy*. He recovered and benefited so greatly from the "oriental exhilarant" and "eastern Gunjah of Enchantment" that he gave it to "others in the family and neighborhood," and they, in turn, also enjoyed its "good effects"; the very mellow-sounding Jones "cheerfully" recommended it for all nervous complaints.[539] *Hasheesh Candy* appeared to be a fine family medicine.

Another element to the safety and wholesomeness pitch of many medicines was the description of them as products of nature rather than of man or some other source unfathomable to the average person. A compound from plant materials was perceived to be a safe compound. An ad for *Segur's Prescribed Golden Seal* read, "It is a vegetable compound of thirteen distinct articles …. 'It is harmless, while it is potent; nor does it, as is the case with many medicines, leave a shattered constitution in its track.' "[540] It wasn't by chance that Colcord, Snow & Messinger introduced *Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup*, made "from medicinal herbs exclusively …."[541] Mrs. Catharine Greenleaf had the perfect name for her profession: she made and sold a line of Indian vegetable medicines in Lynn since at least 1865 when, according to her advertisement, her medicines were in demand by soldiers leaving for the battlefield as well as those who returned.[542] Her botanic concoctions were, of course, "safe and effectual … and good for all the ills that the human system is subject to."[543] Phineas Sargent was a painter, but he also sold *Mrs. Sargent's Blood Renovator* (the product of someone in Chelsea who was probably a relative) that was "composed wholly of roots" and that contained no alcohol.[544] So, too, did George W. Seaverns, a Lynn clothing dealer, also sideline with a medicine he called *Seaverns' Cough Balsam*, which he promised was "vegetable in its nature, and works like a charm…."[545] People felt they knew plants; they believed they understood them better than chemicals and they were just more comfortable with them. Thus, "family medicine" and "vegetable compound" were terms that would continue to gain frequency and acceptance in the years ahead and would also lift one Lynn family from the brink of destruction to the pinnacle of success.

Chapter 7 Notes

1. Ammi Smith served as captain of the *Oliver Putnam* on its return voyage from Calcutta, India, arriving at Boston, Massachusetts on 23 March 1857 (see Ancestry.com. *Boston Passenger Lists, 1820-1943* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: MyFamily.com, Inc., 2006) and probably captained the vessel in the intervening years to the time of its sinking on 26 July 1860. Surviving crew related the ship's location as 45 degrees 55 minutes east longitude, and 38 degrees 2 minutes south latitude, which places it more than 300 miles south of the southern tip of Madagascar; see Article, "A Mystery at Sea," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 November 1860. No explanation was made of the cause of the leak, but the ship went down over the Madagascar Ridge near Walters Shoals, jagged coral reefs that may have been of sufficient elevation to puncture the bottom of a hull lumbering deep in troughs between the waves of a raging tempest. See Tatyana I. Burlenko, "General Physical and Geographical Characteristics of the Underwater Ridges of the Southern Indian Ocean," in Evgeny V. Romanov, editor, *FAO Fisheries Circular No. 991: Summary and Review of Soviet and Ukrainian Scientific and Commercial Fishing Operations on the Deepwater Ridges of the Southern Indian Ocean* (Rome: Southern Scientific Research Institute of Marine Fisheries and Oceanography, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2003).
2. Item, "Marine Disaster," in feature column, "News Items," *Lynn News*, 31 October 1860.
3. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.463. St. Helena was a logical drop-off point for the ship bound for Rotterdam. As a key victualizing stop on South Atlantic trade routes, the Dutch ship (not named in the sources) could resupply and go on to Rotterdam while Smith and his crewmates could look for another ship headed to New England. They landed at St. Helena on 9 September 1860; see Article, "Hard Fare," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 November 1860.

   The first boat of seven actually made their way back to the *Oliver Putnam* about twelve hours later, when the storm had subsided somewhat. They rowed past the slowly sinking ship, hailing for their crewmates and signaling with their lanterns, but the ship was long since abandoned. They left the apparently slow-sinking hulk once again and for good, beginning their long journey in the ocean, but were luckier than Captain Smith's boat in that they were rescued after only five days by the French brig *Celina* and taken to Reunion Island off the east coast of Madagascar. So one boatload of survivors was brought to a remote island far west of Africa and the other far to the east of Africa, and the two over 1,500 miles apart from each other; based on contemporary accounts, those crews did not know of the survival of the other until at least November. The chief mate and their other crewmates in the third rowboat were never seen again. See "Marine Disaster," in feature column, "News Items," *Lynn News*, 31 October 1860 for the account of Ammi Smith's eleven-day rescue and Article, "A Mystery at Sea," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 November 1860 for the account of the five-day rescue.
4. Article, "Capture of a Lynn Captain and His Ship," *The Bay State*, 30 May 1861.
5. According to Ammi Smith's obituary in the *Boston Weekly Journal*, 25 August 1886, the *Abaelino* was the first merchant vessel captured in the Civil War. It also stated that this fateful trip was his last seafaring adventure; he left the ocean behind and became a night watchman until his death from a stroke at age 80.
6. Article, "Grand Political Demonstration," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 November 1860 (emphasis in original).
7. Article, "Essex County Results," *The Bay State*, 8 November 1860. In Lynn, Lincoln had garnered 1,591 votes, while Stephen Douglas received 733 (27%), John Bell 343 (13%), and John C. Breckinridge 28 (1%). By comparison the entire state had voted 63% for Lincoln. See Article, "The Election in Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 November 1860.
8. Squib, "Waxed Ends," *Lynn News*, 14 November 1860.
9. Article, "The Election," *Lynn News*, 14 November 1860. John B. Alley served as a Massachusetts Congressman for four terms, from 1859-1867.
10. John [last name not written], Lynn, Mass., Letter to his mother, manuscript, 8 February 1861 (collection of the author [Rapoza]).
11. Articles, "Military Movements," *The Bay State*, 18 April 1861 (alive); "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863 (flags).
12. Articles, "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863; "Military Movements," *The Bay State*, 18 April 1861 (cheers).
13. Article, "Military Movements," *The Bay State*, 18 April 1861.

14. Statistical research performed by author (Rapoza), comparing the troop rosters of the 8th Massachusetts Voluntary Militia, Companies D and F (found in Adjutant General, compiler, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War* (Norwood, Mass.: Norwood Press, 1931), Vol. I, pp.517 (officers), 525-527 (Company D), 530-533 (Company F) to the same individuals found in United States Census records for 1850, 1860, and 1870.

15. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3, dwelling 702, household 859 (Hunnewell); Ward 3, dwelling 1029, household 1348 (Pike).

16. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1170, household 1522.

17. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 1330, household 1964; and *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1282, household 1655. John's father, Artemas S. Chase, is listed in the 1858 Lynn City Directory, but he disappears from records by 1860 onward. See *The Lynn Directory, Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, with an Almanac for 1858* (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1857), p.83 and *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1330, household 1964.

18. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1671, household 2243 (Spear's boarding house); dwelling 1462, household 1935 (Sawyer's house).

19. *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 2282, household 3137. Kelley is listed as 16 years old as of the 2 August 1860 census; if accurate, he couldn't have been 18 years old by his enlistment on 15 April 1861. (Note: Daniel W. Kelley is listed in the census under the spelling Kelly.)

20. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 3 November 1860. The article has an odd ending, wherein the author suggested that the young men in need of employment should look into farming in Aroostook County in far northern Maine.

21. These uniforms were adopted and described in Article, "Lynn Light Infantry," *Lynn News*, 23 July 1852. The hats were made "after the style of the Boston Light Infantry." The drawing was from a pencil sketch by Joshua Sheldon of Lynn and engraved and colored by John H. Bufford of Boston. The finished product was sold for $1.00 per copy. (See Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Historical Picture," 25 May 1867, and "Mr. Sheldon's Historical Picture," 12 June 1867.) The armory was located in a large hall on the third floor of Tolman's Building on the corner of Market and Liberty streets; see *The Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts at Chickamauga Park* (Beverly, Mass.: Crowley & Lunt, 1898), p.90.

22. Article, "The Call to Arms," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 April 1861.

23. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors (privately printed, 2007), p.21 (correspondence of Hannah Breed to her husband, Bowman, 17 April 1861).

24. Article, "The Call to Arms," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 April 1861 (handkerchiefs). Article, "Military Movements," *The Bay State*, 18 April 1861 (wept).

25. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.465-466, accounted for 73 in Company D, 89 in company F, and 7 regimental officers from Lynn (total of 169). The one additional name listed by *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, p.532, (total of 170), was Alexander Norie, twenty-years-old, who was probably one in the same with Alexander Norris in *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 7, dwelling 3275, household 4537.

26. Article, "The War," *Lynn News*, 24 April 1861; *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 2551, household 3525. There were two other Lynn males named John Daley in the 1860 Census; one was five and the other was thirty. It seems highly unlikely that the thirty-year-old (possibly thirty-one by the April 1861 organization of the 8th Massachusetts), married with three children, was the one being referred to in the *Lynn News* as "a young man," given that the average age of the troops was twenty-six.

27. Article, "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863.

28. Article, "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863.

29. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.417, lists the twenty Lynn participants in the Mexican War, at least four of which also fought in the Civil War: Mark C. Annis, a tin plate worker; Amos Kimball, a saloon keeper; Benjamin Coates and Lucius B. Grover, both shoemakers. When each of the four veterans enlisted for service in the Civil War, they were senior soldiers at the same time that they were new recruits: Annis was forty-two

and Kimball thirty-six at their enlistments in 1862; Coates was forty-five and Grover forty-three at their 1861 enlistments. See *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp.10 (Annis) and 565 (Kimball); Vol. II, p.818 (Coates), and Vol. III, p.323 (Grover). Coates and Grover can even be found on the Lynn militia as early as 1845; see Thomas Bowler, Lynn Men Enrolled in the Militia as of April 1, 1845, manuscript (collection of the author [Rapoza]).

30. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors, p.32 (correspondence of Hannah Breed to her husband, Bowman, 25 April 1861).

31. Article, "The Call to Arms," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 April 1861.

32. Statistical research performed by author (Rapoza), comparing the troop rosters of the 8th Massachusetts Voluntary Militia, Companies D and F (see *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp.517, 525-527, 530-533) to the same individuals found in United States Census records for 1850, 1860, and 1870.

33. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp.517 (Munroe, Ingalls, Usher), 525 (Saunderson and Fraser), and 530 (Stone). 1848 militia service found in Thomas Bowler, Lynn Men Enrolled in the Militia as of April 1, 1848, manuscript (collection of the author [Rapoza]).

34. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, p.517. Their civilian occupations are listed in the 1860 *Lynn Directory*. See *The Lynn Directory, Containing The City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory, with an Almanac for 1860*, (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1860), pp.63 (Breed) and 196 (Tapley).

35. Anna R. Phillips, "Dr. Bowman Bigelow Breed," *Early Lynn Physicians*, typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.1-2. In a letter from Dr. Robert T. Breed to Andrew V. Rapoza, written in September 2000, Dr. Breed, the grandson of Bowman Bigelow Breed, made a few additions to the information provided by Phillips. His information and clarifications are unavailable from any other source and he was gracious and patient with telephone questions as well.

36. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 30 May 1860. Tapley carried the entire line of Costar's Exterminators, including the Costar's Electric Powder.

37. Article, "Mrs. Jefferson Davis in Lynnfield," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 May 1861.

38. Article, "Treason at a Discount," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 April 1861.

39. Article, "A Sell," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 April 1861.

40. Article, "Ward Six Home Guard," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1861.

41. Article, "New Artillery Company," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 July 1861.

42. *The Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts at Chickamauga Park* (Beverly, Mass.: Crowley & Lunt, 1898), p.78, provided the following details about the Ellsworth Cadets: "In the summer of 1860, Captain Thomas Herbert, who a few years before had commanded one of the volunteer militia companies in Lynn, met a few of the young men and High school boys of that city and interested them in military training. It was in that summer that the famous Chicago Zouaves, under the command of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth, visited the east and were the guests of the Salem Light Infantry, and many of the young men and boys of the surrounding towns went to see their exhibition drill on Salem common. The enthusiasm in Lynn, resulting from that exhibition, culminated in the meeting of Captain Herbert and the boys."

43. Article, "Drill Clubs," *Bay State*, 20 September 1862 (drill); Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 October 1863 (sword).

44. Article, "Firemen Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 May 1861.

45. Article, "Sudden Death," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 May 1874, cited the Granites as Lynn's first baseball club, "organized, we believe, in 1860." Article, "Base Ball," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 June 1861. The 1860 game reports can be found in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* issues of July 14th (two games), July 21st (two games), and September 22nd. The *Lynn News*, 18 July 1860, also reported the results in the *Reporter* on 21 July 1860.

46. In an article about the "annual meeting" of the Outahlanchet Base Ball Club (the name of an Indian chief in a popular comedy play in the early 1860s) being held in June 1860, it was stated that "This club has been in the field about a year and now turn out with full ranks and an increasing interest in the game." This is the earliest reference found so far for the game of baseball being played in Lynn. See Article, "Base Ball Club," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 June 1860. Other Lynn teams of the period included the Ellsworths and Independents; see Article, "Independent Base Ball Club," *Lynn News*, 30 May 1860 (Independent) and Article, "Base Ball," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 June 1861 (Ellsworth).

47. Article, "Not So," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 May 1861. This article was published to refute one (with no title) published three days earlier by the *Lynn News* which stated the uniforms were blue coats and light pants with stripes provided by the city, and a Kossuth hat. The *Reporter* stated the coats were a gift from the Empire

Fire Association and the dark gray, unstriped pants were made from cloth "furnished by the State; their hats alone were supplied by the city. Let the credit be given where it is due." An 1877 history of the regiment written by one of its members stated that the uniform consisted of gray frock coats, the gift of the Empire Fire Company of Lynn, Kossuth hats, looped at one side, and light blue trousers. The hats and trousers were furnished by the State. As an after-war account, the author might not have remembered the color of the very first pair of trousers correctly, as soldiers wore through many in the course of the war.

48. Article, "Union Guard," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 May 1861.
49. Article, "Departure of Capt. Draper's Company from Lynn," *The Bay State*, 27 June 1861.
50. *A Directory of the Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of Each Company, attached to the Fourteenth Regiment Heavy Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteers* (Lawrence, Mass.: Geo. S. Merrill, Printer, 1862), pp.3-5.
51. Article, "Departure of Capt. Draper's Company from Lynn," *The Bay State*, 27 June 1861.
52. A. D. Faulkner, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Samuel Ingalls, manuscript, 6 September 1861 (collection of the author [Rapoza]). Faulkner is listed in *The Lynn Directory, Containing the City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory with an Almanac for 1863* (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1862), p.90, as a clerk at 6 Healey's Arcade, the same address as Benjamin Proctor's Apothecary (p.153).
53. Article, "Shoe Business in Lynn," *The Bay State*, 30 May 1861.
54. Article, "The 8th Regiment in Washington," *The Bay State*, 2 May 1861, from a letter dated Washington, D.C., 27 April 1861 (under the pseudonym, Observer).
55. Article, "The Gallant Eighth Regiment," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 May 1861.
56. Article, "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863.
57. Article, "Used Up," *Lynn News*, 15 May 1861.
58. Article, "Letter from Washington," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1861, from a letter dated Washington, 2 May 1861 (under the abbreviation, W. H. M.)
59. Article, "Used Up," *Lynn News*, 15 May 1861(blue flannel shirts); Letter to the Editor, "Letter from 'Sagamore'," *The Bay State*, 16 May 1861 (jackets, pants, cap).
60. Article, "Letter from Washington," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1861, from a letter dated Washington, 2 May 1861(under the abbreviation, W. H. M.; probably William H. Merritt, Sergeant in the Lynn Light Infantry).
61. Article, "Letter from Washington," *Lynn News*, 8 May 1861, from a letter dated Washington, 2 May 1861 (under the abbreviation, W. H. M).
62. Article, "Another Letter from a Lynn Soldier," *Lynn News*, 15 May 1861, from a letter dated Washington, 8 May 1861 (under the abbreviation, C).
63. Article, "Eighth Regiment of Infantry (Three Months' Volunteers), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 April 1863.
64. Article, "Letter from a Lynn Soldier," *Lynn News*, 29 May 1861 (from a letter dated Camp Essex, near Relay House, Maryland, 18 May 1861, under the abbreviation, H. C. C. .; probably Henry C. Conner, Corporal in the Lynn Light Infantry).
65. Article, "Presentations," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 April 1861.
66. Surgeon B. B. Breed, U. S. Volunteers, "Extracts from a Narrative of his Services during the War," *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Appendix to Part I, Containing Reports of Medical Directors and Other Documents*, Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, J. J. Woodward, and George A. Otis, editors (Washington: GPO, 1875) CLXXXVII, p.237.
67. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.167 (correspondence of Bowman Breed to his wife, Hannah, written from Camp Andrews, Baltimore MD, 15 July 1861).
68. Letter to the Editor, "Letter from 'Observer'," in feature column, "War Correspondence," *The Bay State*, 23 May 1861 (from a letter dated Camp Essex, St. Denis, Md, 18 May 1861).
69. Article, "Wait a Little Longer," *The Bay State*, 6 June 1861.
70. Article, "Wait a Little Longer," *The Bay State*, 6 June 1861.
71. Article, "Incidents of the Great Battle," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 July 1861 (from a letter dated Washington, 23 July 1861, by Hon. John B. Alley).
72. Article, "The Battle at Bull Run," in feature column, "War Correspondence," *The Bay State*, 1 August 1861 (from a letter dated Camp Wilson, Alexandria, Virginia, 25 July 1861, under the name, Frank. Frank Josselyn was the son of *The Bay State* editor, Lewis Josselyn).

73. Gray's wound and his wife's illness are found in Article, "Lynn Men Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 July 1861. Gray was a member of the 1st Massachusetts Infantry; see *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, p.49. Obituary of Sarah Jane Gray, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 August 1861.

74. Article, "The Fate of Young Janes," *The Bay State*, 8 August 1861 (from a letter by Lieutenant C. H. Colburn, Co. H, 11th Regiment; date not indicated).

75. Several accounts, from six to nineteen days after the battle, listed Charles H. Janes as "badly" and "dangerously" wounded, but not dead. (See Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 July 1861, "Lynn Men Wounded" and "Incidents of the Great Battle.") The latest report, on August 10th stated there was little hope of recovery. (See Article, "The Fate of Young Janes," *The Bay State*, 8 August 1861 [from a letter by Lieutenant C. H. Colburn, Co. H, 11th Regiment; date not indicated]). Allowing for the letter to take a few days to get to Lynn, as did the others, Colburn could have written his letter two weeks after the battle. The official record of soldiers' service, *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp.792, states that Janes died on the day of the battle, 21 July 1861.

76. Letter to the Editor, "Our Disastrous Battle," *Lynn News*, 31 July 1861.

77. Advertisement, "Lost!" *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 August 1861. Mourning jewelry using hair was not a phenomenon of the Civil War. The jewelry form existed since early in the nineteenth century, but was especially popular after the death of Prince Albert of England, when Victoria went into a decades-long style of mourning. It was popularized at the same time in the United States with the advent of the Civil War.

78. Article, "Return of the Eighth Regiment,: *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 August 1861. See also, "The Returning Soldiers," *The Bay State*, as quoted in *Lynn News*, 31 July 1861.

79. Article, no title, *Lynn News*, 7 August 1861.

80. Article, "Return of the Eighth Regiment," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 August 1861.

81. Article, "Return of the Eighth Regiment," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 August 1861.

82. Article, "Paying the Troops," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 August 1861.

83. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, pp.517 (officers), 525-527 (Company D), 530-533 (Company F).

84. William J. Dale, Surgeon General, Mass. Volunteers, Order for the Medical Examination of Recruits, dated Surgeon General's Office, State House, Boston, 16 August 1861.

85. Certificates of Disability, Record of Recruits Examined by James Holland, Surgeon, 1st [Mass.] Cavalry, at Camp Brigham, Readville [Massachusetts], 24 October 1861, in Descriptive Rolls of Rejected Recruits, 1862-1865 (microfilm reel 434 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). Both Cole and McNabb were listed as residents of Lynn.

86. Letter to the Editor, "Information Wanted," *The Bay State*, 20 February 1862.

87. Squib, *Lynn News*, 7 August 1861.

88. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors, p.141 (correspondence of Bowman Breed, Camp Essex, MD, to his wife, Hannah, 29 June 1861).

89. Article, "Earthquake," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 October 1861.

90. Article, "Letters from a Lynn Soldier," *The Bay State*, 31 October 1861 (from a letter by dated Ball's Bluff, 22 October 1861, under the name Corporal F. H. Keith).

91. Article, "The City Election," *The Bay State*, 12 December 1861.

92. Article, "Another War meeting," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 August 1862.

93. *Report of a Meeting of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association* (Washington, D.C.: M'Gill & Witherow, 1863), p.10, 15. This publication states that it was the first report of the association (which was organized on 11 August 1862) and was delivered at a meeting on 8 December 1862.

94. Men's and Joint Minutes, Salem Monthly Meeting, quoting Lynn Preparative Meeting, 13 June 1861 (Records of the Religious Society of Friends at the Rhode Island Historical Society). The records of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in New England are located in manuscript and on microfilm at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

95. Men's and Joint Minutes, Salem Monthly Meeting, quoting Lynn Preparative Meeting, 8 August 1861 (Estes) and 7 October 1862 (Chase).

96. Men's and Joint Minutes, Salem Monthly Meeting, quoting Lynn Preparative Meeting, 1 August January 1863.

97. Men's and Joint Minutes, Salem Monthly Meeting, quoting Lynn Preparative Meeting, 9 October 1862.

98. Article, "Recruiting in Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 August 1862. Neal ended up in the 8th Massachusetts Infantry, so apparently he was unable to raise the requisite number of recruits for the company he was trying to put together. A volunteer company comprised seventy-eight men; as of 16 August, he had raised forty recruits.
99. Article, "Return of the Mayor," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 13 September 1862.
100. Edward C. Neal's enlistment is listed in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. I, p.556.
101. Salem Monthly Meetings held at Lynn, 13 November 1862 (Records of the Religious Society of Friends at the Rhode Island Historical Society). The records of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in New England are located in manuscript and on microfilm at the Rhode Island Historical Society.
102. Salem Monthly Meetings held at Lynn, 11 December 1862.
103. Salem Monthly Meetings held at Lynn, 5 October 1862.
104. Article, "Burning of the Nahant House," *Lynn News*, 18 September 1861 (smoldering); Article, "Burning of the Nahant Hotel," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 September 1861 (Fortunately).
105. Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Closing of the Sagamore Hotel," 26 October 1861 (Sagamore) and "Early Closing," 19 October 1861 (hairdressers).
106. Article, "Boot and Shoe Business of Lynn," *The Bay State*, 26 December 1861.
107. Article, "Christmas in Lynn," *The Bay State*, 26 December 1861.
108. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 26 December 1861.
109. Item, "Sad Accident," in feature column, "News Items," *Lynn News*, 22 May 1861 (burned); Article, "Fatal Result," *Lynn News*, 5 June 1861 (mediums).
110. Article, "Terrible and Fatal Accident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 November 1861.
111. Article, "Atrocious Murder in Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 December 1862.
112. Charles M. Merritt (under the abbreviation, C. M. M.), Letter to the Editor, "Our Army Correspondence. From the Nineteenth Regiment, Battle Ground, Fair Oaks, Va.," dated 12 June 1862, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 June 1862.
113. Article, "Lynn Boys from the Congress," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 March 1862.
114. Kenneth C. Turino, Editor, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1994), p.17 (12 December 1862). (Note: Since the Hodgkins diary entries provide event dates, these are included in these endnotes to provide assistance with chronological context.)
115. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.16 (11 December 1862).
116. *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*, Charles I. Glicksberg, editor (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1933), pp.69-70.
117. Alfred Jay Bollet, M.D., *Civil War Medicine*, p.2.
118. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. III, pp.275.
119. Article, "Lynn Boys from the Congress," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 March 1862.
120. Article, "The Lynn Boys on Board the U.S. Ship Congress- The Death of One of Them," *The Bay State*, 27 March 1862. Robert S. Rogers' injury is found in Article, "All Safe," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 March 1862.
121. Letter to the Editor, "Our Army Correspondence. From the 20th Regiment, Battle Ground, Fair Oaks, Va., June 12, 1862" *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 June 1862.
122. Article, "Lynn Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 July 1862.
123. Article, "Lynn Soldiers Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 July 1862 (from a letter by dated Washington, 26 June 1862, under the name Jos. M. Driver, Chaplain of the Columbia College Hospital).
124. Article, "Death of Two More Lynn Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 July 1862.
125. Notice, "Recruits Wanted," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 July 1862 ($125); Article, "Recruiting," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 July 1862 ($300).
126. Article, "War Meetings on the Common," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 July 1862.
127. Article, "War Meetings on the Common," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 July 1862.
128. Article, "Bring out the Flags," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 9 August 1862.
129. Article, "A Sympathetic Letter," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 August 1862.
130. Article, "A Sympathetic Letter," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 August 1862.
131. Article, "Wounded Lynn Boys," *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862.

132. Stephen C. Heald, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 12 September 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

133. Ellen Thompson, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 19 September 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

134. Joseph Breed, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 12 September 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

135. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. VI, p.49 (Heald); Vol. II, p.29 (Thompson) and p.7 (Gardiner).

136. Hall had a wife and two toddlers to support, but was listed with personal property valued at only fifty dollars. See *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3, dwelling 2477, household 3416. His battle record was listed in Editorial, "A Soldier's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 August 1863.

137. Feature column, "War Correspondence," *The Bay State*, 1 May 1862, from a letter dated 21 April 1862. (The correspondent is not named, but the article states the letter was written by a Lynn correspondent in the Andrew Sharpshooters.)

138. See Wm. Berry, Newport News [Virginia], Letter to Mrs. [Jean Margaret] Lander, manuscript, 23 August 1862 (at the Library of Congress).

139. Their sidearms were a gift from Mrs. Jean Margaret Davenport Lander, recent widow of General Frederick W. Lander, who had been the chief supporter of the Andrew Sharpshooters. See Wm. Berry, Camp Winfield Scott near Yorktown, Va., Letter to Mrs. F. W. Lander, manuscript, 21 April 1862 [at the Library of Congress].) Berry wrote, "Genl. Lander was the only man who knew their [the telescopic rifles'] value, and was satisfied with what we could do with them under proper circumstances, and did not expect us to be everywhere, and in all sorts of places." (See Berry, Letter to Mrs. Lander, 23 August 1862.)

140. David M. McGlaughlin, "The 1st Company Andrew Sharpshooters in the Civil War," http://www.nextech.de/ma15mvi/index.htm.

141. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.131.

142. Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, p.144; Frank R. Freemon, *Gangrene and Glory: Medical Care during the American Civil War* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1998), p.232.

143. Editorial, "A Soldier's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 August 1863.

144. Editorial, "A Soldier's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 August 1863.

145. Editorial, "A Soldier's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 August 1863.

146. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, pp.441 (Buchanan) and 476 (Hall). *Returns of Death, Lynn, Mass.* 21 October 1862 (LDS microfilm 1976455).

147. Article, "The Patriot Dead," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 November 1862. Many hundreds of rank and file soldiers were buried in trenches and unmarked graves on the Antietam battlefield, but Batchelder's body apparently received different treatment. As the captain of a company, his men probably buried him with a distinguishing marker by which he could be identified by Thurston.

148. [Mary W.] Batchelder, Lynn [Mass.], Letter to George W. Batchelder, manuscript, 31 January 1862; sold on eBay in 2007.

149. Article, "The Patriot Dead," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 November 1862.

150. Geoffrey D. Brown, " 'The Battlefield Embalmer' Explains Civil War Techniques," *The Frederick News-Post*, 27 June 2006.

151. Despite the fact that Lynn was mainly a community of laborers with small means, historian James R. Newhall indicated that these were the first of a "large number" of such large funerals in Lynn..

152. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.471 (concourse).

153. Article, "Soldiers' Funerals," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 October 1862.

154. Article, "The Patriot Dead," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 November 1862. Rev. Nathan Wright's middle initial was misidentified in this article as "C"; it was actually "R".

155. Maria H. Berry, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], manuscript, 12 January 1863 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

156. Article, "A Soldier's Feelings in Battle," *The Bay State*, 26 February 1863.

157. Gardiner Tufts [Washington], Letter to Burnham Pevear [father of Burnham E. Pevear], Lynn Mass., 10 January 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

158. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.18 (13 December 1862). *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.484 (McDavitt).

159. Article, "Burial of the Dead upon a Battle Field," *The Bay State*; from a letter dated 15 January 1863, Fredericksburg battlefield (correspondent not named).

160. Article, "Lynn Soldiers Killed and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 January 1863. Chase's death on 19 January 1863 was recorded in *Returns of Death, Lynn, Mass.*, 25 January 1863.

161. John McMillen, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 25 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

162. P. [Peter] M. Neal, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 25 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

163. Article, "The Fight at Fredericksburg," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 December 1862.

164. Marriage listing (31 August 1862) of Joseph A. Guilford and Miss Harriet L. Beckford, *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862. Guilford's service record in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.424. Private Guilford mustered with his unit on 6 September 1862 in Cambridge, Mass.; see "Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of the U. S. Vols." (Military Service Records of Joseph A. Guilford, Company B, 19th Massachusetts Infantry, manuscript, at the National Archives).

165. Article, "Lynn Soldiers Killed and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 December 1862.

166. Article, "Lynn Soldiers in Hospital," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 January 1863.

167. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.20 (16-18 December [luxuries], 21 December [soup]).

168. Article, "Lynn Soldiers Killed and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 3 January 1863.

169. Gardiner Tufts [Washington], Letter to Mrs. Newhall, Lynn Mass., 8 January 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

170. Gardiner Tufts [Washington], Letter to Mrs. Newhall, Lynn Mass., 9 January 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

171. Gardiner Tufts, Washington, Letter to Widow Alanson Newhall, Lynn Mass., 12 January 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

172. Article, "Burial of the Dead upon a Battle Field," *The Bay State*; from a letter dated 15 January 1863, Fredericksburg battlefield (correspondent not named).

173. Widow Alanson Newhall, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 13 January 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

174. Gardiner Tufts [Washington], Letter to Widow Alanson Newhall, Lynn Mass., 4 February 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

175. Gardiner Tufts, Washington, Letter to Widow Alanson Newhall, Lynn Mass., 13 February 1863, in Outgoing Correspondence, 1862-1870 (microfilm reel 701 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

176. Widow Alanson Newhall, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 26 February 1863, in at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). Families apparently became aware of the potential errors of receiving the wrong corpse due to the extent of the combat wounds, the challenge of locating the correct body, and the decomposition that occurred during return of the corpse back home. The family of Patrick Riley expressed the same concerns that Widow Newhall had evinced when they wrote to Tufts, "… what will be the expense of sending him, and if there will be any doubt as to the identity of the body[?]" ; see Wm. F. Johnson, Lynn, Letter to G. [Gardiner] Tufts [Washington], 15 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). Presaging the creation of dog tags, soldiers sometimes carried their names on their person just in case post-mortem identification became necessary; they would do so by keeping in one of their pockets a commercially prepared identification token, by engraving their name on a coin, or writing their name on a piece of paper.

177. Article, "Suicide," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 August 1865.

178. James H. Thomas, Lynn, Letter to Gardiner Tufts [Washington], 16 February 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

179. George H. Breed, Lynn, Letter to Mr. Tuffs [Gardiner Tufts, Washington], 6 October 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

180. Nathan R. Wright, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardiner Tufts, 31 March 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). He was killed on 18

May 1864 during the Battle of Spottsylvania; see *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. III, p.708.

181. Lydia Ann Knight, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 11 January 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

182. Mrs. Ahern, Lynn, Letter to John B. Alley [Washington], 15 February 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

183. Mrs. Hannah Bacheller, Dye House Village, Lynn, Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 31 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). Apparently Congressman Alley turns such requests he received over to Gardiner Tufts for resolution and reply to the requestor.

184. P. [Peter] M. Neal, Lynn, Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 13 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

185. E. J. Medbury, Lynn, Letter to Friend [Gardner] Tufts [Washington], 29 September 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

186. Mrs. J. Sylvester Oliver, East Saugus, Letter to [Gardner] Tufts [Washington], 14 September 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

187. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.22 (9 January 1863).

188. Editorial, "A Soldier's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 August 1863.

189. Article, "Afflicting Dispensation," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 January 1863.

190. P. [Peter] M. Neal, Lynn, Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 4 December 1862, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

191. Article, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 October 1861. See also Obituary of Richard Francis Draper, *The Bay State*, 24 October 1861.

192. Obituary of Sarah Lilian Draper, *The Bay State*, 13 February 1862.

193. Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 July 1863.

194. Stephen G. Hooper (under the initials S. G. H.), Letter to the Editor, "From the Thirty-Eighth Regiment," *Lynn Weekly* Reporter, 7 February 1863.

195. Hooper mustered into the 38th Regiment on 22 August 1862 and remained without incidents of disability, wounds, or discharge until he was mustered out on 30 June 1865; see *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. IV, p.22.

196. Article (under the pseudonym, Annapolis), "Our Army Correspondence," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 January 1862.

197. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, pp.28 (February 21 [Nye]), 29 (February 28 [woodshed]), and 144 (February 21 [wound]).

198. See Articles, "Capt. Draper's Company," *The Bay State*, 8 August 1861 (handkerchiefs, bandages); "Our Sick and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly* Reporter, 16 November 1861 (hair pillows, feather pillows, flannel), and "Supplies for Sick and Wounded Soldiers," *The Bay State*, 31 October 1861 (sheets, blankets, comforters, pillow cases, dressing gowns, night shirts, woolen socks, books, paper, pencils; checker boards, brandy), "Contributions for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers from Lynn," *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862 (gelatin, jellies, wines, slippers). See also Article, "Supplies for the Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 9 November 1861. Evidence of commercial medicines being provided to the troops can be found in an excellent article by Andy Goldfrank, "Examination of Glass and Pottery Bottles Recovered from the Union Army's Fifth Corps' Winter Camps at Stoneman's Switch, Virginia, *The Potomac Pontil* (newletter of The Potomac Bottle Collectors), June-July 2005 issue, p.2. Excavations at Stoneman's Switch (a few miles from Fredericksburg, Virginia), retrieved a small number of proprietary medicines, notably for ailments associated with exposure to the elements and the strain of hiking, marching, and other physical exertion, such as muscles spasms and malarial shakes; rheumatism, and a variety of skin conditions.

199. Article, "Contributions for the Sick and Wounded Soldiers from Lynn," *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862. On the occasion reported on for this article, Thomas J. Lummus, the aged apothecary and Hon. D. C. Baker, the former Lynn Mayor, were seen to be directing the efforts at packing and shipping.

200. William Schouler, *History of Massachusetts in the Civil War* (Boston, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1871), Vol. 2, p.(580); Article, "Sanitary Aid Society," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 March 1863 (officers).

201. Advertisements, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 November 1863 (concert); *The Bay State*, 5 March 1863 (Beecher).

202. Article, "The Children at Work," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 April 1863.

203. Article, "Concerts at High Rock," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 August 1863. A "grand pic-nic party" of spiritualists occurred at Dungeon Rock on 4 September 1862, "Some two thousand persons of both sexes and all ages were present … [it was the] first of a number of similar assemblages in that attractive locality"; see Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.471. For more spiritualist convocations at Dungeon Rock during the Civil War, see Notice, "Picnic at Dungeon Rock," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 April 1863; and Article, "Trance Speaking at Dungeon Rock," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 August 1863.

204. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 20 February 1862. John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, Charles E. Mann, Ed., 2 vols. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), Vol. 1, pp.385-389.

205. Isaac Pinkham, [letterhead: "Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association, Washington, D.C."], Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 25 February 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). The stated purpose of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association was to undertake a "thorough visitation of all our hospitals, to obtain the number and names of the sick and wounded men of the State in them, and to ascertain and relieve their necessities." The association had determined in the fall of 1862 that there were more than 3,000 Massachusetts men who have been in the hospitals" and that "every one of these men has been visited by the agents of this Association, his wants ascertained, and as far as in its power supplied." (See *Report of a Meeting of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association*, pp.3 [visitation], 4[ascertained].) In that Pinkham wrote a letter on the association's letterhead to Gardner Tufts about a hospitalized soldier's wish for Tufts to visit him (even providing the specific bunk location of the soldier), Pinkham was clearly one of the "agents of this Association" who visited the soldiers "to ascertain and relieve their necessities." Pinkham's occupation (kerosene oil manufacturer) as listed in *The Lynn Directory, Containing the City Record, the Names of the Citizens, and A Business Directory with an Almanac for 1863* (Boston: Adams, Sampson & Co., 1862), p.151.

206. Article, "Letter from Rev. Mr. Owen," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 July 1864. Visits and volunteerism in Union hospitals occurred throughout the war. The pastorate of Rev. Owen as found in *Lynn Directory 1865* (Boston: Adams, Sampson, & Co., 1865), p.181.

207. Mayor Neal visited the troops in Washington area hospitals on at least two occasions; September 1862 and late May to early June 1864. (See Articles, "Wounded Lynn Boys," *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862 and "Our Killed and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 January 1864.) Alderman Shorey visited in late May 1864 and the mayor was expected to return at that time as well. See Article, "Our Fallen Heroes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 May 1864.

208. P. [Peter] M. Neal, Lynn, Mass. [letterhead: "City of Lynn. Mayor's Office"], Letter to Gardner Tufts [Washington], 24 February 1863, in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts). In this letter, Mayor Neal explained that his son had not been heard from since January 21st ("the day after Mrs. Ropes [the hospital matron] died") and the Neals were worried that "he must be very sick and unable to write." It is clear from their extensive correspondence that Mayor Neal and Gardiner Tufts knew each other well. Neal rarely used the official letterhead of his office in writing to Tufts, resorting instead to plain paper, which was more in keeping with his unassuming Quaker nature. It may have been nothing more than convenience that Neal grabbed a sheet of his official letterhead or it may have been his way of trying to put additional leverage into his request for Tufts to find out the situation with his son.

209. Article, "Improvements," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 May 1863, and Squib, *The Bay State*, 13 August 1863 (Beaufort); Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 August 1863 (year). Mrs. Lander's personal net worth can be seen in the annual tax lists appearing in Lynn newspapers, as well as in the 1870 federal census, wherein her real estate is valued at $25,000 and her personal estate at $50,000; see *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3, dwelling 901, household 1175. See also Frederick William Lander in Virtual American Biographies at www.famousamericans.net. A newspaper article about their marriage ("The Union of Mars and Thespis," *San Francisco Daily Times*, 15 October 1860) estimated her net worth at between $75,000 and $100,000. (See Stephen B. Oates, *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), p.75.

210. Thomas Wentworth Higginson was a friend of the Widow Lander, having been with her at several social functions in Beaufort and as a guest in her home. In a letter to his mother he wrote that "General Lander's widow … came out hoping it was war & she was to be head nurse." (See Christopher Looby, editor, "The Complete Civil War Journal and Selected Letters of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p.281. She was listed as "superintending matron of the hospitals in the Southern Department" in Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 August 1863.

211. T. W. H. [Thomas Wentworth Higginson], Beaufort, S.C., Letter to Louisa Storrow Higginson [his mother], 14 July 1863, as quoted in Christopher Looby, "The Complete Civil War Journal and Selected Letters of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, p.281.

212. Thomas Wentworth Higginson [not named in letter], on board the Steamer Arago, Letter to Mary Channing Higginson, 19 August 1863. "Higginson had a kinder description of Mrs. Landers back in July 1863 [when he called her strong, shrewd, stainless, etc.], but when she had been ostracized by the Beaufort doctors in August, Higginson's sentiments changed colors as well, telling his mother that Mrs. Landers was 'doubtless imperious & unmanageable'." (See T. W. Higginson, Beaufort, S.C., Letter to Louisa Storrow Higginson [mother], 28 August 1863.) According to Higginson, Mrs. Lander was back in Beaufort in December 1863, but he suspected her stay would be short, "… I doubt if she spends the winter, as house room is very scarce & she meets nothing but hostility from the Doctors." (See Thomas Wentworth Higginson [no name on the letter], Camp Shaw, Letter to Louisa Storrow Higginson, 13 December 1863.)

213. Stephen B. Oates, *A Woman of Valor*, pp.187 (barred) and 205 (ship).

214. *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawk's Diary*, Gerald Schwartz, editor [Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 1984] p.48.

215. *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, Gerald Schwartz, editor, pp.33-34.

216. William Roscoe Thayer, *The Life and Letters of John Hay* (Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1915, p 94, sourced the diary of John Milton Hay, one of President Lincoln's secretaries, wherein is recorded the visit of "Mrs. Colonel Lander" who anxiously expressed concern for the President's safety because she believed she had been told of a plot to assassinate or capture him. Hay seemed more fascinated with meeting Mrs. Lander than giving credibility to her story, which he referred to in his journal as a "yarn." Hay noted that her confidant was "some young Virginian – long-haired, swaggering, chivalrous, *of course* [emphasis added; Hay apparently believed that Lander had concocted the character much like one of those from one of the dramatic plays in which she performed], and indiscreet friend" who assured her that "within forty-eight hours something would be done "that would ring through the world." Hay went and told Mrs. Lander's story to the President, who was already in bed, and recorded simply that Lincoln "quietly grinned." Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.185, cited Hawks' verbal attack on Lincoln in a letter from John Milton Hawks to Esther Hill Hawks of 11 September 1862 (found in the Library of Congress, Papers of Esther Hill Hawks, 1856-1867).

217. Article, "Sutler of the Eighth Regiment," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 November 1862. A birth record of Benjamin S. Thurston does not exist, but the usually inconsistent federal census records (for 1850, 1860, and 1870) consistently indicate he was born in 1847, making him fifteen years old at his enlistment in 1862. His enlistment record lists him as eighteen but had to in order for him to be enlisted; he lied about his age as many teenage boys did to join the service.

218. George Thurston got the opossum from the North Carolina woods and put it on exhibit at a fair of the Lynn Post 5 GAR in 1868 (see Article, "Card of Thanks," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 January 1868). He had lived in North Carolina for an undefined period of time prior to 1868 (see Article, "Brief Notes," *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 January 1868). His father was the sutler for the 8th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia in New Bern that was based in North Carolina from November 1862 through June 1865. The average lifespan of a North American Opossum in captivity is four to five years; if the opossum at the GAR fair was an adult, George could certainly have captured it during the years of the 8th Regiment's North Carolina encampment and therefore he would have been with his father, probably performing many tedious tasks in his father's sutler's business.

219. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.214 (correspondence of Bowman Breed to his wife, Hannah, written from Circle Hospital, Washington, DC, 22 April 1862). His allusion to a burnt offering to Hygeia was his metaphor for burning the lice-infested clothing the soldiers had been wearing.

220. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.353 (correspondence of Bowman Breed to his wife, Hannah, written from Armory Square Hospital, Washington, DC, 8 September 1862).

221. Articles, "Surgeons in Washington" and no title, *The Bay State*, 11 September 1862.

222. "Necrology of Hannah Pope Breed (with photo), *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society* (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1916), Number XIX, p.19. Their first child died at one year, ten months, and twenty-five days; see Obituary of Isaiah Breed, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 October 1862.

223. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.509 (correspondence of Bowman Breed to his wife, Hannah, written from New Bern, NC, 4 November 1863).

224. Surgeon B. B. Breed, "Extracts from a Narrative of his Services during the War," *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Appendix to Part I, Containing Reports of Medical Directors and Other Documents*,CLXXXVII, p.237.

225. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Medical History of the Seventeenth Regiment Mass. Volunteers," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston: David Clapp, 1863), No. 68, p.140.

226. Thomas P. Lowry, *Sexual Misbehavior in the Civil War: A Compendium* (Xlibris Corporation, 2006), p.106.

227. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Medical History of the Seventeenth Regiment Mass. Volunteers," p.140.

228. Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, p.80.

229. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Army Medical Intelligence," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston: David Clapp, 1863), No. 68, p.205.

230. C. Keith Wilbur, M.D., *Civil War Medicine, 1861-1865* (Old Saybrook, CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 1998) p.51

231. C. Keith Wilbur, *Civil War Medicine*, pp.48-49.

232. Hurd, D. Hamilton, compiler, "Isaac Francis Galloupe," *History of Essex County, Massachusetts with Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), Vol. 1, p.368.

233. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Army Medical Intelligence," No. 68, p.205. James McKnight was a wallpaper hanger from Newburyport serving in the 17th Massachusetts Infantry.

234. Article, "Personal," Lynn *Weekly Reporter*, 29 August 1863.

235. Dr. Robert T. Breed, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Andrew V. Rapoza, [Conroe, TX], September 2000. In the letter, Dr. Breed recalled that his grandfather Bowman B. Breed had performed surgery on grave tops "in a marshy area, near [an] Episcopal Church, in Beaufort, S.C." although other sources indicate the gravestones were brought into the church for use as operating tables [see for example: www.civilwar-va.com/southcarolina.sc-coastal.html]; he also recalled that his grandfather stopped at Natchez, Mississippi. He more poignantly and vividly reported that Bowman B. Breed "Gave [the] first blood transfusions with rubber tubing from [a] high table [by the action of gravity] to [a] lower table by any doctor in this country in Civil War treatment" and then parenthetically speculated with sound reasoning, "learned in Europe?" Robert's son, Allen, also recalled his father saying Bowman had "studied transfusions when he was in Europe [and of] performing amputations on the above-ground tombs of a church yard. But I have no firsthand knowledge that he did transfusions in the field. I would think if he had, there would have been some mention in the letters." (Allen G. Breed, email to Andrew V. Rapoza, 19 May 2022.)

What could be one of the most fascinating accounts of surgical history during the Civil War can at best be only the subject of speculation because of the lack of corroborating documentation. Alfred Jay Bollet explained and C. Keith Wilbur corroborated that there were only two recorded instances of blood transfusions attempted in the United States during the Civil War, but both of those attempts were by syringe; if Dr. Robert Breed's understanding of his grandfather's gravity-fed transfusion with tubing is correct, then Bowman Breed's effort was independent of the other two efforts. See Alfred Jay Bollet, M.D., *Civil War Medicine*, pp.185-186. Wilbur also indicated that only two transfusions were attempted, but illustrates his discussion with the 1860 Whitehouse's transfusion devise, which operated on a gravity principle. See C. Keith Wilbur, M.D., *Civil War Medicine,* p.49.

Allen G. Breed (email to Andrew V. Rapoza, 4 April 2022) pointed out that nothing in the military record indicates that Bowman B. Breed had traveled to and served in Beaufort, South Carolina, although he was in the New Bern / Beaufort area in North Carolina, so the oral tradition passed on through Dr. Robert Breed may have confused locations of the transfusions. The only mention Allen Breed found of his grandfather discussing transfusions was when Bowman used it as a metaphor for improving the country through the war, "in which blood is taken from the arm of a strong man and injected into that of the patient, … rousing the life and vital energies of the nation.' See *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.18.

236. Dr. Robert T. Breed, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Andrew V. Rapoza, [Conroe, TX], September 2000. Dr. Robert Breed wrote that his grandfather "caught malaria [that remained with him as a recurring illness for the] rest of [his] life [and caused his death]" and suggested that he may have been infected while in Beaufort, South Carolina; however, several months before being in Beaufort, Breed left New Bern, North Carolina (on 17 August 1863) to return to Lynn "a few weeks for the restoration of his health, he having recently suffered from the effects of a billious fever." While bilious fever was a common description of several illnesses attended by vomiting and fever, malaria was one of the principal diseases so described. Because of the remittent nature of malaria, Breed probably went into remission from malarial symptoms while recuperating in Lynn and therefore shipped down South again to resume his service. See Article, Personal, *The Bay State*, 20 August 1863. See also Anna R. Phillips, "Dr. Bowman Bigelow Breed," p.5.

237. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Medical History of the Seventeenth Regiment Mass. Volunteers," p.138.

238. Obituary of Bowman Sinclair Breed, *The Bay State*, 28 May 1863, read "At Beauford, N.C., May 7, Bowman Sinclair, son of Dr. Bowman B. and Hannah P. Breed, of Lynn, 10 mos 21 days."

239. Freemon, *Gangrene and Glory*, pp.134-135.

240. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Army Medical Intelligence," p.203.

241. J. Baxter Upham, M.D., "Hospital Notes and Memoranda: Further Observations in regard to the Cerebro-spinal Affection occurring in and around Newbern, N.C.," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* (Boston: David Clapp, 1863), No. 68, pp.333-334.

242. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Army Medical Intelligence," pp.203-204.

243. Freemon determined from the symptoms and the autopsy findings that the disease was epidemic spinal meningitis; see Frank R. Freemon, *Gangrene and Glory*, pp.134-135.

244. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors, p.208 (correspondence of Bowman Breed, Circle Hospital Washington DC, to his wife, Hannah, 17 April 1862).

245. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Medical History of the Seventeenth Regiment Mass. Volunteers," p.140.

246. George Worthington Adams, *Doctors in Blue: The Medical History of the Union Army in the Civil War* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), pp.16-17.

247. Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, p.55.

248. Alfred Jay Bollet, *Civil War Medicine*, p.52. The Massachusetts Surgeon General's Office's Instructions to physicians for examination of recruits included the admonition that "The Recruit should be washed before examination, to prevent the concealment of defects by dirt." (See William J. Dale, Order for the Medical Examination of Recruits, 16 August 1861.)

249. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, pp.7 (6 October 1862) and 39 (29 May 1863). He may have bathed between these entries, but his diary, which was kept quite faithfully on a daily basis from his enlistment on 11 August 1862, covered many such minute details of his daily routine, so his bathing was probably recorded in its entirety as well.

250. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's Civil War*, p.130 (correspondence of Bowman Breed to his wife, Hannah, written from Camp Essex, MD, 23 June 1861).

251. Thomas Kirwan, *Soldiering in North Carolina* (Boston: Printed and Published by Thomas Kirwin, 1864), p.31.

252. Adams, *Doctors in Blue*, pp.20-21.

253. Wilbur, *Civil War Medicine*, pp.82-83.

254. J. (Jeremiah) Manson Fogg, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Joseph W. Southworth, manuscript, 7 February 1865 (collection of the author [Rapoza]).

255. Article, "Death and Burial of another Lynn Soldier," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 February 1862.

256. Letter from A. G. S., 33rd Mass., near Falmouth, Va., dated 3 January 1863 in feature column, "War Correspondence," *The Bay State*, 15 January 1863. Based on the 1860 federal census, there were several other Lynn boys in the service that were not supposed to be there. George Thomas was about 16 years old when he enlisted in the 19th Massachusetts Infantry (Ward 1, dwelling 396, household 471 lists him as 15 in 1860); John Duffy was about 15 when he entered the 28th Mass. Infantry (Ward 6, dwelling 2587, household 3599 lists him as 14 in 1860), and Albert E. Willard was a 15-year-old schoolboy-turned-drummer boy for the 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery (Ward 6, dwelling 2955, household 4109 lists him as 14 in 1860). There were also several 17-year-old Lynn soldiers as well. (See *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.473 (Thomas); Vol. III, p.194 (Duffy); and Vol. V, p.567 (Willard). The official records show the boys as older than they actually were in order to meet the 18-year-old minimum recruiting requirement; however, it is not possible to determine in which cases the boys were lying about their age or the recruiters shared complicity by turning a blind eye.

257. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors, p.212 (correspondence of Bowman Breed, Circle Hospital Washington DC, to his wife, Hannah, 20 April 1862).

258. Wilbur, *Civil War Medicine*, pp.85-86.

259. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.52 (12 September 1863).

260. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.58 (24 October 1863).

261. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.15 (9 December 1862). See also p.16 (11 December 1862).

262. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 29 May 1863, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

263. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 27 May 1864, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

264. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 12 January 1862, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

265. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 17 April 1863, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

266. E[dwin]. H. Oliver, Letter to the Editor, "Cure for Diarrhoea," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 August 1861. Oliver listed chalk by the term "creta" and opium in the form of laudanum. Edwin H. Oliver was listed as a shoecutter in the Lynn City Directories of 1860, 1863, and 1865.

267. Notice, "Dr. Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 May 1862. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 February 1862, listed Thomas Breare, Book-Binder. *Reporter* Editor Cox also inserted a puff on 15 March 1862. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 22 May 1862, mentions a chorister who gained relief. Assuming the claim for the fort's order was true, It is tempting to speculate whether Bowman Breed, Jean Davenport Lander, or Esther Hill Hawks might have influenced the order by the fort; they were all down in the Beaufort area at the time, surrounded by the five forts (Drayton, Duane, Seward, Mitchell, and Welles) that had fallen into Union hands. Esther's husband, John Milton Hawks, also sold his own medicine, which he promoted as the "best remedy that can be carried into camp for the colds, diarrhea and rheumatism which occur there in consequence of sleeping on the ground." (See *A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawk's Diary*, Gerald Schwartz, editor, p.17.)

268. *Report of a Meeting of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association*, p.16.

269. *Report of a Meeting of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association*, p.3.

270. *Report of a Meeting of the Massachusetts Soldiers' Relief Association*, p.16. The recapitulation of relief supplies therefore covered the association's distribution efforts for four months.

271. *My Own Dear Wife: A Yankee Couple's War*, Allen G. Breed and Robin L. White, editors, p.326 (correspondence of Bowman Breed, U.S. Army Hospital, Baltimore, MD, to Ladies of Rev. Mr. Sewalls Society, 11 August 1862).

272. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 12 January 1862.

273. M. H. B. [Maria H. Berry], Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], 12 January 1862.

274. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), Series 1, Vol. 36, Part III, pp.1741-75.

275. P. [Patrick] S. Curry, Letter Mary [Curry], manuscript, 8 November 1863.

276. Article, "A Remarkable Case –Wonderful Preservation from Death – Business Enterprise Under Discouraging Circumstances," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 July 1866.

277. Article, "A Remarkable Case –Wonderful Preservation from Death – Business Enterprise Under Discouraging Circumstances," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 July 1866.

278. Article, "A Living Miracle," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 July 1863.

279. Article, "A Living Miracle," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 July 1863.

280. Article, "A Remarkable Case –Wonderful Preservation from Death – Business Enterprise Under Discouraging Circumstances," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 July 1866. The families of several of Lynn's mayors were fully engaged in the war. Sons of mayors Ezra W. Mudge, Hiram N. Breed, and Peter M. Neal all fought in the war, as did Roland G. Usher, who would become the tenth mayor. Mayor Breed's son, George H., received a medal for brave efforts in the Battle of Fredericksburg, but it was not the Medal of Honor. (See Article, "The Reward of Valor," *Lynn Weekly Record*, 14 February 1863.)

281. Article, "Excitement in Marblehead," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 August 1864. A justified cause for alarm was the Rebel raid into St. Albans, in far northern Vermont The raid originated out of Canada. Despite the embarrassment at Marblehead, incidents like St. Albans gave Lynn residents reason to stay concerned. See Article, "Rebel Invasion of Vermont," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 October 1864.

282. Thomas [Berry], Lynn, Mass., Letter to A. Hun Berry, Baltimore, Md, manuscript, 23 August 1864 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

283. Article, "Casualties to Lynn Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 August 1863.

284. Article, "A Soldier's Funeral," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 August 1863.

285. The July 1863 draft exemption tally for the recruiting district consisted of 1301 exemptions for disability, 75 who were only sons of widows, 61 of aged parents, 28 "elected by parents," 2 who were the "only brother of children under twelve; 40 fathers of motherless children under twelve; 13 who had two brothers in the service, 62 who were already in the service; 34 "unnaturalized aliens"; 46 who lived elsewhere, 51 who were over age; 2 who were convicted felons, 54 who were out at sea, 34 who were on fishing boats, 7 who were already dead,

and 153 who did not report to the provost marshal when their names were pulled in the draft and of whom it was written. "The latter are now classed as deserters, and will be looked after accordingly." (See Article, "The Draft in the Fifth District," *The Bay State*, 17 September 1863.

286. Article, "The Draft in Lynn," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 July 1863.

287. Samuel J. Graves, Letter (no addressee), manuscript (not dated, but references the 3 March 1863 draft), (photocopy in the possession of author: Rapoza; original sold on 10 December 2006 in an auction by Early American of Rancho Santa Fe, CA.).

288. Article, "The Draft in the Fifth District," *The Bay State*, 17 September 1863. At various points in the war, several Lynn physicians were appointed examining surgeons of recruits. For example, Edward Newhall and James M. Edwin L. Oliver were inspecting surgeons for Lynn, Nahant, Swampscott, Lynnfield, and Saugus in the late fall of 1863. (See Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 November 1863.)

289. Article, "From the Army," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 January 1864.

290. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 November 1863.

291. Article, "The Soldiers' Funeral," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 January 1864.

292. "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground," Words & Music by Walter Kittredge, Adapted & Sung by the Hutchinson Family, Tribe of Asa (Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1864). This selection represents two of the song's four stanzas. For the origin of the song, see editorial, no title, *Daily Evening Item*, 20 October 1894.

293. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.86 (12 May 1864).

294. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.87 (17 May 1864).

295. Gardiner Tufts, Letter to Thomas F. Bancroft, Lynn, Mass., manuscript, 04 July 1864 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

296. Invoice from Brown & Alexander, submitted to Gardiner Tufts, Mass. State Agent, Washington D.C., 30 July 1864 (embalming, coffin, and clothing); Invoice from Harnden Express to Gardiner Tufts, Mass State Agent, Washington, 3 July 1864 (transport) in Incoming Correspondence, 1861-1870 (microfilm reel 702 at the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Massachusetts).

297. Article, "Our Wounded Heroes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 June 1864.

298. Article, "Our Wounded Heroes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 June 1864. Owen had been taken prisoner and was exchanged six months later. See *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.809.

299. Article, "Our Wounded Heroes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 June 1864.

300. Article, "Our Killed and Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 June 1864.

301. Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Our Killed and Wounded," 4 June 1864 (cricket) and "Resolutions of Sympathy," 11 June 1864 (death). *Returns of Death, Lynn, Mass.* 5 June 1864 (LDS microfilm 1976455), lists Vial's cause of death as lockjaw.

302. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.207.

303. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, pp.54 (19 September 1863: river), 55 (24 September 1863: digging), and 56 (27 September 1863: the diary entry). Hodgkins recorded another instance during a cease fire at the Battle of Cold Harbor of soldiers from both sides meeting, shaking hands, and exchanging items. (See page 93, 7 June 1864.)

304. Article, "Letters from Capt. Chandler," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 July 1864.

305. Article, "Lynn Officer Wounded," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 June 1864.

306. N. [Nehemiah] Berry, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], manuscript, 5 April 1863 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society; emphasis in original).

307. P. S. [Patrick S.] Curry, Port Hudson, La., Letter to Mary Curry [Lynn, Mass.], manuscript, 8 November 1863 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).

308. *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, Gerald Schwartz, editor, p.34.

309. Article, "Negro Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 February 1863.

310. Article, "Our Colored Troops," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 April 1864.

311. Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York, Free Press, 1990), p.272, lists the place of birth for the 100 troops of Company A of the 36th USCT: 87 were from North Carolina and 13 from Virginia. Richard F. Andrews was put in charge of Company D, which was composed of 89 black recruits; 66 were born in North Carolina and 20 were born in Virginia; the

birthplace of 3 more was not recorded, but they were all recruited in New Bern, North Carolina. (See NC-US Colored Troops Project on www.rootsweb.com/~ncust/ usct.htm.)

312. *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: 5th Ward Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, dwelling 754, household 1301.

313. Article, "Ancient Keys," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 May 1867.

314. The marriage record (10 May 1855) of Richard F. Andrews and Elizabeth A. Parrott, and the birth information of their first two children, Alonzo F. (1 September 1856), and Harriet A., (26 October 1858), are found in (Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT, manuscript, at the National Archives).

315. Lynn Police Court criminal docket (covering 1858-1862; manuscript, in possession of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court), item 217: violation of the liquor law on 24 and 28 October and 2 November 1859. Also see Article, "Burning of a School House," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 November 1859.

316. Article, "Fires," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 January 1859.

317. Article, "Burning of a School House," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 November 1859.

318. Article, "Fires," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 January 1859.

319. Article, "Burning of a School House," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 November 1859.

320. Lynn Police Court criminal docket, items 217 and 242, outlines two charges against Andrews, but neither charge appears to have been prosecuted. He was charged with violation of the liquor law on 24 and 28 October and 2 November 1859 (item 217) and on an unspecified date he was charged with "burning" (item 242), but no actions were taken. It was noted in February 1860 that the grand jury was unanimously in favor of finding a bill, but the case was put over until the May term. Sometime before the May term was convened, the case was quietly dropped. (See D. E. W. Stone, Letter to the Editor, "That School-House Fire," *Lynn Reporter*, 18 February 1860.)

321. Draper's nomination of Andrews as 1st Lieutenant in the 36th USCT is found in A. G. Draper, Col. 36th U.S.C.T., Point of Rocks, Va., Letter to Major R. S. Davis, A. A. G. Dept. of Va. & N. C., 14 July 1864 (Pension File of Richard Andrews, 36th USCT, at the National Archives).

322. The organization of the 5th USCT's companies in battle is found in Gordon Berg, "Embattled Courage at New Market Heights," *America's Civil War*, Vol. 19, No. 1, p.32. Draper's report of the battle is found in United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, p.820.

323. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part III, p.167.

324. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, p.819 (scores), 136 (casualties). The 5th USCT had 236 casualties; the 36th had 108, and the 38th had 111. The 6th USCT from the Third Brigade had the next highest casualty rate, at 209.

325. Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers*, p.275-277, lists the Congressional Medal of Honor Winners in the USCT, including the four men of the 5th USCT.

326. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, pp.819-820. The malarial nature of his illness is found in J. Clark Stockton, Surgeon 36 USClrd Troops, Deep Bottom, Va., 14 September 1864, Letter, manuscript, in the Pension File of Richard Andrews (Widows Pension No. 754.374).

327. The diagnosis of his injury is found in "Claim for Invalid Pension," 3 September 1867 (Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374]).

328. Article, "The Colored Troops," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 November 1864.

329. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, p.820.

330. Article, "The Colored Troops," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 November 1864.

331. Glatthaar, "Forged in Battle," p.276-277 (Congressional). Before the battle, Draper's Second Brigade comprised about 1,300 troops (according to his post-battle report, United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, p.820) and the casualties totaled 455 (see Return of Casualties in the Union Forces for 29-30 September 1864, United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 42, Part I, p.136), for 35% casualty rate (killed, wounded, captured, and missing).

332. Application for Leave of Absence, signed by Geo. Suckley, Surgeon and Acting Medical Director, U.S. General Hospital, Fort Monroe, Virginia, 8 November 1864; also see two certificates signed by Wm. Dale that were for extensions of Andrews' leave of absence. The first, dated 5 December 1864, indicates he was already "invalided in Lynn, Mass. suffering from a gun shot wound in right knee joint." (the second certificate date was 27 December 1864); all three documents are manuscripts, Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT, at the National Archives.

333. *Carte de visite* of Richard F. Andrews is in the collection of the author. The reverse of the *carte de visite* has two 1-cent tax stamps, which were only used from 1 September 1864 – 1 August 1866. They were initialed and dated by the photographer who, in this case, was WRA (for William R. Appleton of Lynn), dated Nov 19 and Nov 29. These dates were a Saturday and a Tuesday, respectively, in 1864, but a Sunday and a Wednesday in 1865; it is highly unlikely that he was doing photography business on a Sunday because virtually all city businesses were closed on Sundays. Furthermore, Andrews was recuperating in Lynn during 19-29 November 1864 (see preceding endnote), so he had the opportunity to have his picture taken during that time. In November 1865, however, Andrews was on duty in Brazos Santiago, Texas. (See Return of the 3d Division, 25th Army Corps, for R. F. Andrews, Capt. 36 U.S.C.T., at Brazos Santiago, Texas., Nov 1865; manuscript, Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT, at the National Archives.)

In the year following Andrews' image being made, an estimated 38,500 photographs were taken in Lynn. See James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), p.18.

334. 36th U.S.C.T., Regimental Descriptive Book (List of Commissioned Officers) lists Richard F. Andrews' date of appointment to the rank of Captain as 21 October 1864. (See Regimental Descriptive Book, manuscript, in the Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374]). He had become a Captain in the previous month, so being photographed in a captain's coat would have been an important event to commemorate. Andrews signed the back of the *carte de visite* in a manner that would make it a gift of remembrance, "Yours Truly, Richard F. Andrews, Capt. 36th U.S.C.T. 30 Fayette St. Lynn, Mass." (his parents' home).

335. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. IV, p.554.

336. There are ten Lynn men of Company E who died of typhoid and diarrhea can be found in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. IV, pp.20-24. George W. Powers, *The Story of the Thirty Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers* (Cambridge Press, 1866), pp.270-276 lists their causes of death.

337. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. V, p.657; the sixteen captured Lynn men of Company G and H are on pp.713-737.

338. Article, "Letter from Capt. Josselyn," *The Bay State*, 29 October 1863.

339. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, Isaac F. Galloupe, Surgeon U.S.V., "Reminiscences of a Prisoner of War," *Civil War Papers: Read before the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States* (Boston : F.H. Gilson Co., 1900), Volume 2, p.500.

340. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), Series 2, Vol. 5, pp.7-8.

341. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Reminiscences of a Prisoner of War," pp.508-509.

342. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Reminiscences of a Prisoner of War," p.510.

343. Isaac F. Galloupe, "Reminiscences of a Prisoner of War," p.502.

344. Over thirty of the Lynn troops who were incarcerated and died in these prisons can be found in Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Union Prisoners in Georgia," 10 December 1864, and "Deaths of Lynn Soldiers," 24 December 1864.

345. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.97 (22 June 1864).

346. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.98 (30 June 1864: ham; 3 July 1864: cracker).

347. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.99 (11 July 1864).

348. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.100 (12 July 1864). For examples of exposure he suffered, see entries during 13 and 15 July (heat), 21-24 September and 20 November (rain), October and November 1864 (cold), .

349. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, pp.101 (22 July 1864: mush) and 103 (25 August 1864: beans).

350. Article, "A Union Prisoner's Experience," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 December 1864.

351. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, pp.109 (20 November 1864: rheumatism; 12-13 November: cramps), 107 (13 October 1864: clothes).

352. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.107 (24 October 1864).

353. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.108 (5 November 1864).

354. Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.114 (18 December 1864). Hodgkins actually went back to serve again, this time as 1s Lieutenant in the Veteran's Reserve Corps. He returned home on 3 July 1865, well after the war was over." He again returned safely to Lynn and recorded in the last entry of his

diary, "with a grateful heart to God that my life was spared to enjoy such a privilege. God grant that war may never be again seen or felt in our land. Amen." (p.139).

355. Alfred S. Roe and Charles Nutt, *History of the First Regiment of Heavy Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteers* (Worcester and Boston, Mass: Regimental Association, 1917), p.493.

356. Roe and Nutt, *History of the First Regiment of Heavy Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteers*, pp.281 and 489.

357. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. IV, p.647.

358. Roe and Nutt, *History of the First Regiment of Heavy Artillery, Massachusetts Volunteers*, pp.281 and 492.

359. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), Series 2, Vol. 6, p.992.

360. Breed wrote from Nashville on 31 December 1864 about the organization of the Nashville hospital. It consisted of about fifteen hundred beds, kitchens, dining halls, storerooms, sutlers', barbers' and carpenters' shops, a guard house, a "dead house" (essentially a morgue), a printing office, and a "photographic gallery," among other structures. The staff 362 included one surgeon-in-charge (Breed), 15 assistant surgeons, 8 apothecaries; 36 cooks, 28 washerwomen, 7 female nurses and 212 male attendants, plus 123 soldiers comprising the Hospital Guard and "a varying number of negro men and women. Breed expressed special appreciation for the "noble-hearted" male nurses who "must wash, dress, feed and watch, day and night, by the side of the patients," but no mention was made of the female nurses. Breed also reported that 10,846 patients had been admitted over 1864; of these, 2,255 were returned to duty with their regiments, 6,410 were sent to hospitals in the North, 596 died (5.5%), 50 had been discharged, 32 had deserted, and 1,503 remained under his treatment. See Bowman Bigelow Breed (under the pseudonym, Surgeon), Article, "Letters from a Hospital. – No. 1.," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 January 1865.

361. Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, J. J. Woodward, and George A. Otis, editors, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion,*; note especially Volume 7, pp.54 and 73; Volume 8, pp.526, 546, and 573; Volume 9, pp.104, 324, 329, 421, 448, 453; Volume 10, pp.478; 486; 553; and Vol. 11, p.155.

362. Bowman Bigelow Breed (under the pseudonym, Surgeon), Article, "Letters from a Hospital. – No. 1.," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 January 1865.

363. Anna R. Phillips, "Dr. Bowman Bigelow Breed," pp.3-4.

364. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.17.

365. Edwin A. Start, "The City of Lynn," *The New England Magazine* (Boston: New England Magazine Co., 1891), Vol.4, p.519. [online at hathitrust.org]

366. Article, "A Day of Mourning," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 18 April 1865.

367. Flora A. Carr, Lynn, Mass., Letter, 23 April 1865, to her brother Charlie (original sold in a 2005 internet auction). Flora was 20 years old and the mother of a one-year-old in 1865 (see *Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 964, household 1240). The abused man later brought and won a civil suit for damages, "persistently declaring that his expressions were misinterpreted; see James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p 18.

368. Article, "Returning Veterans," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 June 1865.

369. Article, "A Veteran Indeed," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 July 1865. *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. II, p.583. Hall's age is substantiated in the 1860 and 1870 federal census (1860: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 6, dwelling 2996, household 4166; 1870: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 6, dwelling 14, household 20).

370. Article, "Fourth of July in Lynn," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 5 July 1865.

371. Dates of the various regiments being mustered out and discharged are found by regiment in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*. Please note that Lynn men served in many more companies and regiments than have been covered in this chapter, but a complete review of Lynn's contribution to the war has not been its purpose.

372. Notice, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 May 1865.

373. Article, "Deaths of Lynn Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 June 1865.

374. Article, "Sad News Confirmed," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 May 1865.

375. Article, "Letter from a Rebel Prison," *Lynn Weekly* Reporter, 4 February 1865 (Andersonville); Article, "Sad News Confirmed," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 May 1865 (Tufts).

376. Article, "Deaths of Lynn Soldiers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 June 1865.

377. There were other enclaves of settlers within Cameron County in 1860 as well; the Fort Brown Garrison outside of Brownsville had 256 soldiers, 31 of their wives and daughters, and 4 black servants (probably slaves),

although the composition and number in the fort probably had changed dramatically after the war, when the 36th USCT were in the county. There were also a total of 80 at an unnamed military encampment on the Rio Grande, 275 at Port Isabel, over 2,800 in Brownsville and over 3,200 in unspecified locations within Cameron County, for a total of approximately 6,755. If their base of operations was truly Brazos Santiago as the records indicate, they were about two nautical miles from Port Isabel and more than a day's march to Brownsville, the Fort Brown Garrison and most of the Rio Grande. (See the 1860 federal census records for Cameron County, Texas.)

378. Article, "Funeral of Gen. Draper," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 September 1865.

379. Article, "The Wounding of Gen. Draper," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 20 September 1865.

380. Article, "Death of Gen. Draper," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 September 1865.

381. Article, "The Death of Gen. Draper," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 27 September 1865.

382. Article, "Funeral of Gen. Draper," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 September 1865.

383. Special Orders No. 40 Ext. 1., Texas. Hd. Qtrs. 3d. Div. 25th. A.C. Brazos Santiago Tx, Ordering Captains Algernon Draper and Richard F. Andrews 36th U.S.C. Troops to proceed to Lynn, Mass. with the remains of Brt. Brig. Genl. A. G. Draper. 4 September 1865, (manuscript, Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT, at the National Archives).

384. Article, "Funeral of Gen. Draper," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 September 1865.

385. Special Orders No. 40 Ext. 1., 4 September 1865, Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT.

386. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym H), "Letter from Texas," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 September 1866.

387. Letter to the Editor, "Letter from Texas," *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 June 1866.

388. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym H), "Letter from Texas," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 September 1866.

389. The new city hall was dedicated on 30 November 1867; see James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.24.

390. Articles, both titled "New Buildings and Improvements," *The Lynn Reporter*, 27 March 1869 (Stewart) and 3 November 1869 (Oxford).

391. Article, "New Buildings and Improvements," *Lynn Reporter*, 27 March 1869.

392. Article, "The Shoe Business of Lynn," *The Bay State*, 29 November 1862.

393. See *Records of the Essex South District Medical Society*, manuscript, (covering 1805-1870, at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), p.286, entry dated 6 December 1870.

394. Article, "Shoe Manufacturing," *The Bay State*, 26 February 1863.

395. Article, "Shoemaking by Machinery," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 February 1863.

396. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or The Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, Printer, 1880), p.341.

397. Article, "A Chance for Investment," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 September 1863.

398. Article, "Lynn Now and Hereafter," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 19 August 1865.

399. Article, "Taxes in Lynn for 1869," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 August 1869.

400. Broadside advertising the dental services of Dr. Macomber (photocopy in the possession of author (Rapoza); original sold in a 2005 internet auction.). The broadside reads in full, "Take care of your teeth! Cold weather is coming, and those teeth which are now partially decayed, will ache before spring, and then have to be extracted; but if the cavities are thoroughly cleaned and well filled, they may last you for many years, if not for life. Dr. Macomber has made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the new improvements in this department of dentistry, and will hereafter warrant every operation he shall perform, to give satisfaction. Teeth extracted by electricity, or ether administered when desired. Teeth inserted on gold, platina, or silver, in the most approved manner, warranted to fit, and to give perfect satisfaction. Charges, in all cases, reasonable. Office, Usher's new building, Market Street, Lynn. J. F. Kimball, Printer, Lynn News Office."

401. Article, "Teeth and Gold," *The Bay State*, 23 April 1863.

402. Article, "Teeth and Gold," *The Bay State*, 23 April 1863. Despite some apparent success as a dentist, Macomber went into another line of work; see Lynn city directories from 1867 until his death in 1893.

403. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 November 1863 (Percival) and 11 June 1864 (laughing).

404. Article, "A New Weapon," *The Scientific American*, 30 November 1861; Volume 5, Issue 22, p.339 (weapons); (cigar); *Lynn Directory 1865*, p.58 (crucibles); *Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, dwelling 546, household 738 (artist). A poster advertising "Dixon's Stove Polish. Original Carburet of Iron. Manufactured at the Chemical Laboratory of Francis Dixon

& Co. Lynn, Mass." is located in the Smithsonian Institution. Francis's brother Joseph is credited with developing uses for plumbago, or graphite, including in stove polish and in crucibles, and he had great success with the mass production of graphite pencils, important for so many soldiers during the war to be able to write letters, since fountain pens were an entirely impractical option. The two brothers seem to have worked separately for over twenty years, Francis in Lynn and Joseph in New Jersey, yet they both advertised Dixon's Carburet of Iron [graphite] Stove Polish with great similarity, right down to the stylized illustration elements of a black bandana-wearing servant and a young white girl (Joseph's version appeared in a trade card). It is unclear whether Francis's work in his Lynn chemical laboratory were the origin of his brother's products or simply a copy of them, but it is clearly more than just coincidence that the two brothers were producing the same products at the same time hundreds of miles apart.

405. Article, "Patent Extended," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 15 September 1865 (Otis) and Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 November 1860 (Woodbury). Another advertisement in the *Lynn Weekly Mirror*, 1 September 1860, shows an illustration of Woodbury's invalid invention.

406. Advertisements, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 February 1863 (Butman); 29 November 1862 (female).

407. Article, "Forty Years Ago," *The Lynn Reporter*, 23 May 1866.

408. Article, "New Soda Fountain – Investigation of the Cream Syrups," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 5 September 1863.

409. Article, "A Beautiful Store," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 November 1864.

410. Article, "Shoemaking by Machinery," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 February 1863.

411. Article, "Our Returning Volunteers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 June 1865.

412. Most of the descriptions of the returned soldiers in the street can be found in Article, "Our Returning Volunteers," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 10 June 1865.

413. Notice, "Dr. Mary E. Breed," *Lynn Weekly Reporter* 31 August 1861.

414. *A Woman Doctor's Civil War*, Gerald Schwartz, editor, p.274.

415. Puff, "Homeopathic Physician," and Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 21 March 1863 (homeopathic); Kenneth C. Turino, *The Civil War Diary of Lt. J. E. Hodgkins*, p.xxviii.

416. Mrs. Caroline A. Batchelder is listed as a "healing physician" in the *Lynn Directory 1865*, p.30; in Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 2 May 1868, she is promoted as a magnetic & electric physician; and in Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 26 September 1868, she is advertised as a magnetic and eclectic physician.

417. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 2 January 1867; the ad ran until 18 May 1867.

418. Article, "Personal," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 March 1868.

419. United States Census records for 1860 and 1870: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts.

420. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 August 1866.

421. Private George W. Armstead was discharged for disability on 24 May 1864. (See *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. III, p.321.) The *Massachusetts State Census for 1865*, Lynn, Essex County, dwelling 337, family 431 lists the personal data for Lizzie A. Anrmstead and her two children, Ida B. and Charles W.

422. Puff and Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 28 March 1861. They may have appeared in town with plan to fill the gap created by the sudden death of another homeopath, Freeman Horton, who had agreed to assume the practice of the ill Ezekiel Porter Eastman.

423. Thomas Lindsley Bradford, M.D., "Homoeopathy in Massachusetts," which is Chapter XIII, of William Harvey King, M.D., LL. D., *History of Homoeopathy and Its Institutions in America* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), Vol. 1.

424. Articles, both titled "Public Dispensary," *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 and 28 December 1867.

425. Article, "Ladies' Fair," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 30 March 1867.

426. Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 November 1865 (Lynn); Article, "Personal," *The Lynn Reporter*, 10 October 1866 (Asylum).

427. Article, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 January 1868.

428. Anna R. Phillips, "Dr. Bowman Bigelow Breed," pp.4-5. Breed's malarial complications and death were reconfirmed in Dr. Robert T. Breed, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Andrew V. Rapoza, [Conroe, TX], September 2000.

429. Article, "Personal," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 7 January 1865 (pension); Article, "The Almshouse," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 23 March 1865 (city).

430. *Eleventh Census of the United States (1890), Special Schedule, Surviving Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines, and Widows, Etc.*, Ward 4, Precinct 4, Home No. 203, Family No. 368 (poor), and Enumeration District 226 (ward and precinct not specified), Home No. 392, Family No. 652 (very).

431. Article, "Our Almshouse," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 30 March 1865; see also Article, "The Almshouse," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 23 March 1865.

432. Article, "Report of the City Physician," *The Lynn Reporter*, 17 January 1866.

433. Article, "New Hospital Building," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 October 1865.

434. Thomas Brown, Thomas L. Brown are found in *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. V, p.576.

435. Article, "A Case of Amputation," *The Lynn Reporter*, 13 February 1867. The diagnosis and the location of the amputation are listed in Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, J. J. Woodward, and George A. Otis, editors, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. 9, p.469.

436. *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3, dwelling 35, household 42. John and Richard were the younger sons. Ironically, John M. Brown enlisted and mustered into the same unit his father and brother were serving in on the day after his father was wounded. See *Massachusetts Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines in the Civil War*, Vol. V, p.576.

437. W. H. Burnap Co., *The Improved Davis & Kidder's Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases* (New York, no date, but about mid- to late-1860s), p.20, quotes "A Report of the Second Exhibition of the Middlesex Mechanic Association, held in the City of Lowell, Mass., September 1857" that the machine was "A compact apparatus, by which the subtle agent, electricity, is made available for philosophical, medical, and amusing purposes …."

438. Lorenzo Sayles Fairbanks, A.M., *Genealogy of the Fairbanks family in America: 1633-1897* (Boston: Printed for the Author by the American Printing and Engraving Co., 1897) p.290.

439. Professor Henry was an eminent physicist who experimented and researched on electromagnetism. See Marc Rothenberg, Editor, The Papers of Joseph Henry, at http://adh.si.edu/archives/ihd/jhp/ papers00.htm. Lorenzo Sayles Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family in America*, p.521, references his employment under Professor Joseph Henry from 1849-1851 and his employment making magneto-electric machines in New York City, from 1851-1860. William Richard Cutter, A. M., *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1908), Vol. II, p.1025, specifies Fairbanks' employment path through Davis and Burnap.

440. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 Feb 1869.

441. W. H. Burnap Co., *The Improved Davis & Kidder's Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases*, frontispiece. Boxed magneto-electric machines of the Davis & Kidder design are infrequently found with dovetailed corners; the vast majority of surviving machines have the brass corner reinforcements. The dovetailed version was probably the earliest version, and likely the craftsmanship of Fairbanks as well. When Burnap bought the patent rights, the brass corners appear to have been his hallmark addition.

442. William Richard Cutter, A. M., *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs*, Vol. II, p.1026.

443. Richard F. Andrews, Boston, Letter to Gardner Tufts, 24 March 1876; see Pension File of Richard Andrews [Widows Pension No. 754.374], 36th USCT, manuscript, at the National Archives. These pension records contain a great deal of information about Andrews' knee wound and personal life from 1867-1902. Eventually Andrews left his wife for another woman and died in 1901 of Landry's ascending paralysis.

444. Article, "Evenings With the Bible and Science," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 August 1864.

445. Article, "An Incident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 23 June 1869.

446. Article, "A Victim of Rebel Cruelty," *The Lynn Reporter*, 24 August 1867.

447. Article, "The Late Railroad Accident," *The Lynn Reporter*, 12 June 1867.

448. Article, "Shocking and Fatal Accident," *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 June 1867.

449. Letter to the Editor, "Then and Now," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 March 1866.

450. Letter to the Editor, "Then and Now," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 March 1866.

451. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Adjutant), "Grand Army of the Republic," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 September 1867.

452. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 January 1868.

453. Notice, "Card of Thanks," *The Lynn Reporter*, 11 January 1868; Squib in feature column, "Brief Notes," *The Lynn Reporter*, 8 January 1868.

454. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 January 1868.

455. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Adjutant), "Grand Army of the Republic," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 September 1867.

456. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.27.

457. Squibs in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 April 1869 (coats) and 29 May 1869 (bearskin). Decoration Day was renamed Memorial Day in 1882.

458. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Wapping), "The Wants of the West End," *The Lynn Reporter*, 7 November 1866.

459. Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 September 1867.

460. There are several references to public demand for use of the sprinkling carts. See Article, "Down with the Dust," *The Lynn Reporter*, 5 May 1866; Squib, no title, *The Lynn* Reporter, 8 May 1867, and Squib, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 April 1869.

461. The city supplied the curbstones if the citizen supplied the bricks and labor. See Article, "Sidewalks," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 18 March 1865.

462. Article, "Building Improvements, &c.," *The Bay State*, 11 August 1856.

463. Articles, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, "Accident," 7 January 1865 (woman; her name was Miss Susie Lamboard), and "Accidents," February 1866 (Patterson).

464. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Wapping), "The Wants of the West End," *The Lynn Reporter*, 7 November 1866.

465. Article, "An Ounce of Prevention, &c," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 11 October 1865.

466. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, High Rock), "Cleansing the Streets," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 22 May 1869. See also Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Wapping), "The Wants of the West End," *The Lynn Reporter*, 7 November 1866.

467. Article, "A Need of Lynn," *Lynn News*, 20 March 1861.

468. Article, "Drainage," *The Lynn Reporter*, 19 May 1866.

469. Article, "Drainage," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 4 October 1865. Article, "Consumption and Drainage," *The Lynn Reporter*, 19 December 1868.

470. Article, "The Bath Room," *The Lynn Reporter*, 14 August 1867.

471. Article, "The Health of Lynn," *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 May 1866. Article, "The Pestilence that Walketh in Darkness," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 March 1866.

472. Article, "Disastrous Fire in Lynn – Destruction of Lyceum Hall, Frazier's and Bubier's Blocks, and other Buildings," *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 December 1868. Almost a year later, water from Flax Pond finally filled the pipes leading to the city's existing fire hydrants; see James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.36.

473. Articles, *The Lynn Reporter*, "The Board of Health," 14 August 1867, and "The Pig Stye Nuisance," 24 August 1867.

474. Article, "Hippophagy in Lynn," *The Lynn Reporter*, 11 March 1868.

475. Squib, *The Lynn Reporter*, 14 August 1867 (slipper); Article (under the pseudonym, E), "Mosquitoes," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 18 October 1865 (poison-pointed).

476. Article (under the pseudonym, E), "Mosquitoes," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 18 October 1865. The summer of 1867 also brought out several laments in the local newspapers; see Puff, "Mosquitoes," *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 August 1867 and Squib, *The Lynn Reporter*, 21 September 1867.

477. Article, "More About Rats," *The Bay State*, 30 January 1862.

478. Letter to the Editor, (under the pseudonym, A Parent), "Traps for the Young," *The Lynn Reporter*, 6 April 1867 (gambling dens and liquor saloons); Articles, *The Lynn Reporter*, "Infanticide," 24 November 1869 and "Dead Body Found," 15 December 1869 (infanticide); Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 29 August 1868 and Article, "Cruelty to Animals," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 September 1869 (beasts).

479. For Lynn's involvement in the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, see Article, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 29 August 1868.

480. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 July 1869.

481. Article, "Accidents," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 March 1866 (Oliver); Article, "Accident," *The Lynn Reporter*, 12 June 1867 (M'Carty).

482. Articles, both titled "Accident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 September 1865 (Batey); 4 June 1864 (Wacey). Batey's death in Article, "Fatal Result," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 27 September 1865. Wacey lived at least until

1870; see *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 240, household 274.

483. Article, "Narrow Escape," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 June 1869.

484. Article, "Accident Insurance," *The Lynn Reporter*, 15 September 1866.

485. Advertisements, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 April 1868 (napkin); 18 March 1868 (feather).

486. Article, "The Muscle Mania," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 27 October 1860.

487. For some of the Lynn gymnasium classes, see Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 March 1864 and Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 2 September 1868.

488. Articles by the same title, "Base Ball," *The Lynn Reporter*, 14 August 1867 (healthy); and 29 December 1869 (Flax).

489. Item in feature column, "Brief Notes," *The Lynn Reporter*, 3 November 1869.

490. Article, "About Velocipedes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 February 1869.

491. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 January 1869 (Central); Article, "Velocipede Accident," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 May 1869 (Long); and Article, "New Velocipede Rink," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 February 1869 (mammoth).

492. Puff, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 26 June 1869.

493. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 August 1869. Unless the conjoined twins were a hoax, it was likely Millie and Christine McCoy, the Carolina Twins.

494. Article, "About Velocipedes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 February 1869.

495. Article, "Horse vs. Velocipede," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 February 1869.

496. Article, "A Remarkable Natural Curiosity," *The Lynn Reporter*, 31 October 1868.

497. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.20.

498. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 23 September 1868.

499. Article, "Second Advent Camp Meeting," *The Lynn Reporter*, 14 September 1867 (Millerites); Article, "Camp Meeting," *The Lynn Reporter*, 18 September 1867 (opinions).

500. Article, "Star-Gazing," *The Lynn Reporter*, 28 August 1867.

501. Article, "A Very Queer Fish," *The Lynn Reporter*, 17 August 1867.

502. Store sign for *Dr. Herrick's Pills and Plasters* (collection of the author). The sign was printed by Wm. Murphy, Printer, 438 Canal Street, N.Y.; He advertised his printshop at the Canal Street address in the *New York Daily Herald* on 7 March 1861 and 15 March 1864. The business was not listed in the 1859 *New York City Business Directory* and was listed at a different address (15 Dey St.) by the 1867-68 *Wilson's Business Directory of New York City*.

503. Dr. *Herrick's Kid Plasters* and *Dr. Herrick's Sugar-Coated Pills* were advertised in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 September 1866.

504. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Lux), "Spiritual Manifestations," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 November 1865.

505. Article, "The Spirits in a Box," *The Lynn Bulletin*, 15 November 1865.

506. Examples of property inundation with advertising can be found in Squib, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 6 July 1867; Article, "Caution," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 July 1869; and Items in feature column, "Brief Notes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 28 August 1869.

507. Articles, *The Lynn Reporter*, "Long Tape Worm," 12 January 1867 (tape-worm); "Large Gall Stone," 9 January 1867 (gall stone).

508. Article, "Deafness," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 14 February 1866.

509. Chase is listed as a policeman in the *Lynn Directory 1865*, p.47.

510. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Sanitus), "Thoughts on Drains and Things," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 29 September 1869.

511. Determined by a review of the federal census of 1870, the state census of 1865, and Lynn city directories of 1865 and 1869. Research performed by author (Rapoza). These 1865 records refer to "peddlers" while the 1869 and 1870 describe "hucksters," "peddlers," "traveling agents" and "traveling salesman." The 1860s Lynn newspapers refer to peddlers from Boston and Cambridge peddling in Lynn, which means they traveled, so it would be incorrect to distinguish peddlers as inner-city salesman and only traveling agents as those who sold beyond city limits. Traveling agents and salesman were probably those who traveled significant distances with

wagon and team, developing markets and selling products into stores as well as to private individuals, whereas peddlers plied their products in the streets and door-to-door in whatever communities were a convenient commute from their homes.

512. Squib, no title, *The Lynn Reporter*, 29 May 1867.
513. Puff, "What Does that Bell Mean," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 July 1869.
514. Article, "Miracles," *The Lynn Reporter*, 15 July 1868.
515. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 March 1869 (public); Item in feature column, "Brief Notes," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 March 1869 (cold).
516. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, O), *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 20 February 1869.
517. Article, "Hawking and Peddling – Free Market Stands," *The Lynn Reporter*, 16 October 1869.
518. Different items found in Peck's store are listed at the bottom of each odd-numbered residential listing page in *Lynn Directory 1865*.
519. Advertisement, *Lynn News*, 9 May 1860.
520. Will [William H. Berry], Lynn, Mass., Letter to Hun [Abram Hun Berry], manuscript, 18 February 1863 (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).
521. Advertisement, *The Lynn Bulletin*, 21 March 1865.
522. Advertisement, *The Bay State*, 25 October 1860.
523. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 26 January 1867 (emphasis added).
524. Advertisements, *The Lynn Reporter*, 5 December 1866; 9 December 1868 (Emollient)
525. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, ranging from 17 February to 5 September 1866 (Pettegrew). Each week's edition listed just one of the curative virtues of Dr. Pettegrew's Family Medicine.
526. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 13 January 1866.
527. Article, "West Lynn," *The Bay State*, 19 April 1860. The article incorrectly identifies Benjamin Proctor as J. B. Proctor, but it references the man and his medicine business in West Lynn. "J.B." was apparently just a typographical error.
528. Notice, "Dr. E. A. Kittredge's Medicines," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 May 1862.
529. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 13 May 1865.
530. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 22 December 1869.
531. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 4 February 1865.
532. Advertisements, *The Bay State*, 2 May 1861 (photographic, dyers); 5 June 1862 (barbers).
533. Article, "Poisoning a Family," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 31 October 1863 (Tapley's); Article, "Sentence for Poisoning," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 25 February 1865 (sentenced).
534. Article, "A Strange Occurrence. – A Word of Caution," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 16 September 1865.
535. Advertisements, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 12 February 1868 (Babcock's); 20 May 1868 (Poland's; emphasis in original).
536. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 8 March 1862.
537. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 30 March 1867 (sure and safe); Puff, "Stimpson's Dysentery Compound," *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 17 July 1869 (Snow). Stimpson is listed as a butcher in *Population Schedules of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 4, dwelling 1147, household 1484; as a teamster in *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 3, dwelling 584, household 786; and as a "fisher monger" in *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Enumeration District 210, 24 Lewis Street, dwelling 77, household 94.
538. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 5 December 1866.
539. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 1 July 1865. Jones is listed as running an "eating-house" in the *Lynn Directory 1865*, p.90.
540. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 11 August 1866.
541. Puff, "Cure Your Coughs," *The Lynn Reporter*, 26 January 1867.
542. *The Essex County Directory, 1866* (Boston, MA: Innes & Niles, Printers, 1866), Advertising Section, p.73.
543. Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 13 November 1869.

544. Advertisement, *The Lynn Reporter*, 25 August 1866. Phineas Sargent is listed as a painter in the *Lynn Directory 1865*, p.139.

545. Puff, no title, *Lynn Weekly Reporter*, 24 June 1865. George W. Seaverns advertising clothing in his newspaper ads from 1865-1870 and is listed as a clothing dealer in *Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870:* Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Ward 5, dwelling 520, household 683.

Volume 2 Index

–A–

abolition, 290, 292-293, 294, 295-297, 348, 349, 367, 399, 404, 469, 470, 481
abortifacients, 382
ACCIDENTS:
building collapse, 417
celebration, 455
factory, 459, 498
fire, 416, 482-483, 493, 498, 500
horse kick, 499
icy sidewalk, 497
knife cut, 499
machinery, 362, 416-417
maritime, 372
medicine, 503-504
mining, 397, 417
military, 450, 464
reckless drivers, 418-419
stairs, 417, 443, 458-459, 462
train, 322, 418-419, 604
vehicular, 351,416-417
Adams, Amos S., 383
Adams, Joseph, 474
ADDICTIONS:
alcohol, 290, 298-300, 329-330, 350, 361
laudanum, 299, 321
masturbation, 389
morphine, 299, 337, 350
opium, 299, 321, 327, 331, 332, 350
Addison, Mrs., 382
Ahern, Mrs., 467
Ahlborn, Henry, 493
Allen, J. L., 326
Allen, Mrs., 391
Alley, Congressman John, 453, 454, 513
Alley, John B., 447, 457, 484, 505
almshouse, 329-330, 379, 428, 493, 497
Ambler, Reverend, 370
Ambler, Samuel C., Jr., 482, 488
amputation, 305-306, 322, 351, 417, 460, 472, 477, 479, 480, 486, 493, 495, 498, 516
anatomical study, 307, 320, 339-340, 341, 342, 361, 362
Andrews, Richard F., 372, 482, 484, 489, 493, 494, 495, 519-520, 522, 523, 525
anesthetic: chloroform, 322, 336, 415, 471, 491; ether ("Letheon Compound") 322, 356, 415, 416, 471, 490, 523
animal magnetism (see *mesmerism*)
apothecary (drugstore) 371, 375, 383, 388, 389, 393, 413, 420, 423, 450, 452, 458,491, 499, 503
Apothecary Hall, 383, 430-431, 491
Apothecary Store, 430-431
Appleton, William R., 393, 435
apprentice, 307, 449, 459
Armstead, Ida B., 492
Armstead, Lizzie, 493
Astronomical Association of Lynn, 343
Atkins, Benjamin H. Jr., 477
Atwood, Samuel, 380
Aunt Miriam (see *Miriam B. Johnson*)
Austin, William, 327

–B–

Babeuf, Eugene, 344
Bacheller, Alfred, 479
Bacheller, Hannah, 467
Bacheller, George, 467
Bacheller, James, 418
Balcom, Hezekiah, 411
Baker, E. G., 326, 343, 362
Bancroft, Thomas F., 480
Barker, Charles Otis, 339, 340, 361-362
Barker Family Singers, 318
Barker, Maria F., 297
Barlow, Rev. David Hatch, 299-300, 348, 350
Barry, Darius, 409
Bartlett, Alonzo W., 462
Barrett, Joshua, 378
Bassett, William, 297, 298, 399
Batchelder, Mrs. Caroline A., 492, 524
Batchelder, Charles, 498
Batchelder, George W., 462-463
Batchelder, Jacob, 463
Batey, Herbert, 498
Battle of Bull Run, 453, 454, 455, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 471, 487, 488 424-425, 431, 455, 508
battlefield casualties, 455, 462, 479-480, 481, 483, 484, 520 (POW deprivations) 484-486
battlefield surgery, 472-473; (blood transfusion) 472, 516
Beckford, Peter D., 388
Bennett, Josiah H. (and Abigail) 399
Berry, Abram Hun, 474-475, 502
Berry, Lt. Thomas H., 450, 507
Berry, Nehemiah (and Maria) 475-476, 481
Berry, William H., 383, 384, 413
Berry, 1st Lt. William, 462, 511
Bickford, Jacob L., 411

Binney, Simon, 372
Blair, Harmon H., 460
Blaney, Philips (and Mary B.) 333
bleeding, 303, 306, 308, 310, 332, 361-362; bleeding cups, 304; leeches, 306, 311, 351, 361-361
blistering (see *vesication*)
Blodgett, William E., 462
blood poisoning, 344
bloomerism, 410
board of health, 330, 373, 374, 375, 377, 379, 427
BODY AILMENTS AND ABNORMALITIES:
bilious, 302, 381, 385, 475, 478, 484, 503, 516, 518
boils, 344
bowel complaints, 307, 316, 385, 475
brain fever, 397
broken bones, 391, 417-419
bruises, 319, 369, 391, 417, 418
cankers, 323, 388
chilblains, 323, 388, 502
cold, 302, 307, 310, 316, 333, 384, 431
corns, 386, 412, 414, 431
cough, 292, 302, 303, 328, 332, 333, 334, 338, 384, 385, 386, 411, 502, 503, 504
croup, 393, 431
diarrhea, 316, 327, 333, 357, 384, 473, 475, 479, 484, 496, 502, 518, 521
dislocation, 351
dyspepsia, 310, 325, 341, 342
fevers, 299, 302, 303, 305, 316, 319, 335, 340, 353, 397, 433, 452, 463, 465, 463, 473, 479, 516
food poisoning: mollusks, 327; pork, 344, 378
headache, 307, 322, 327, 475, 479, 333, 375, 385, 386, 388, 389, 412, 413, 475, 478, 518
lung complaints, 332, 385
malnutrition, 473, 485
neuralgia, 326, 387, 393, 413, 414, 433, 498
paralysis, 324, 351, 468, 491, 498, 525
poisonous plant, 344
sores, 307, 361
tic-douloureux, 495
toothache, 326, 413, 416, 495
tumor, 306, 307, 317, 321, 322, 333, 380, 388, 415, 443
Bond, William, 496
boneshaker (see *velocipede*)
Boody, Samuel H., 485-486
BOTANICAL (VEGETABLE) REMEDIES (predominant plant ingredient):
blackberry vine, 384
bloodroot, 386
boneset, 383, 503
cannabis indica (Indian hemp) 388
catnip, 384
cayenne, 475, 502
celandine, 385
dandelion, 383, 431
dock root, 383, 386
ginger, 475
hardhack, 354
Indian tobacco, lobelia, 384
Jamaican ginger, 475
morphine, 299, 337, 350, 463, 471, 504
mullein, 384
opium, 299, 320, 321, 327, 331, 332, 350, 386, 388, 471, 475, 518
peppermint, 308
Peruvian Syrup, 503
poplar bark, 383
raspberry, 359, 384
rhubarb, 386
sarsaparilla, 383, 384, 388, 431
skullcap, 384
skunk cabbage, 308
snakeweed, 388
thoroughwort, 382, 384, 431
tolu, 386
turpentine, 327, 463, 473
wild cherry, 383, 431
wormwood, 422
yellow dock, 386, 387, 431, 433
Botanic Grove, 384
Boyce, Eliza, 291
Boyce, James P. 296, 297
Boynton, Martha, 388
Boynton, William H., 399
Bradford, Charles K., 412
Breed, Bowman Bigelow (and Hannah) 449, 450, 453, 472, 473, 474, 476, 486, 490, 492, 493, 507, 516
Breed, Eliza Ann, 382
Breed, George H., 467
Breed, Isaiah, 296
Breed, James A. (and Lydia W.) 399
Breed, John H., 458
Breed, Mary Elizabeth, 381, 429-430
Breed, Sidney I., 502
Breed, T. N., 301
Breed, William J., 480
Brown Charles W., 492, 502, 504
Brown family, Thomas, 493-494
Browne, Howard A., 469
Bubier, Samuel M., 490, 497
Buchanan, James, 462-463
Buffum, Israel, 399
Buffum, James N., 295, 297, 309, 348, 400,
Buffum, Jonathan (and Hannah) 399, 402, 404, 417, 439
Buffum, William P., 363
Bulfinch, Jeremiah, 370-371
Bulkley, William F., 383
buried treasurer, 395, 396, 397
Burrell, Theophilus, 385
Burrill, Edward, 474
Burrill, Micajah, 447

Bushby, S. R., 458
Butler, John, 372
Butler, William H., 498
Butman, Edwin T. (and Mary) 491, 492
Butman, Thomas, 417
Byrnes, Mrs. 382

–C–

Carey, Augustus C., 412
Carlton, William P., 343
Carroll, Lt. Charles, 480
Carsley, Hiram, 412
Carter, John, 363
Carter, Leonidas W., 460
Cates, B. F., 388
Central Railroad Depot, 366, 367, 380, 388, 411, 452
Central Square, 377, 378, 418,423, 500
Chadwick, Rev. Nicholas S., 388
Chamberlain, Maj. William D., 451, 488
Chandler, Capt. Edward A., 481
Chang and Eng, 341
Channing, John W., 380-381, 392, 429
Chapee, Joseph, 345
Chapin, L. D., 480
charlatan (see *quackery*)
Chase, Aroline Augusta, 290, 295, 349
Chase, Charles, H., 457
Chase, Edward F., 457
Chase, Jacob Jr., 457
Chase, John A., 464-465
Chase, John C., 448
Chase, John E. W., 467
Chase, Philip Augustus, 457
Chase, William K., 501
Chase's Artillery Battery, 451, 455
Chesley, Plumer H., 412
Chester, Charles (and Martha) 323, 435-436
Churchill, John O., 457
Cilley, John W., 449
clairvoyance, 389, 392, 396, 434, 436
Clapp, Henry Jr., 300
Clarissa (slave) 292-293
Clark, Edward L., 465
Clark, Francis I., 468
Clark, James, 323, 324, 339
Clark, Miss S. S., 381
Clough, Mrs., 330
Coates, John F., 460
Coffin, Edward, (see also *Edward Lummus*) 337
Colcord, J. W., 499
Colcord, Snow & Messinger, 502, 504
Cole, Nathan H., 455
Coleman, Anthony, 330
Collins family, 292-293
Collyer, Samuel E., 363
Come-Outers, 295, 302
Conner, Henry C., 468
conventional medicine (allopathic, heroic) 302, 303, 304, 307, 308, 310, 320, 321, 322, 331, 338, 339, 358, 359,
Cooke, Rev. Parsons, 295, 396, 327, 343, 365, 390, 399, 402, 425-426,
corset, 290
Cox, Henry S., 419
Crosscup, Joseph, 461
Crosscup, Melbourne, 461
Cross, George C., 369
Cross, Hugh, 399
Curry, Patrick (and Mary) 476, 488
Curry, Patrick S., 481
Cushing, Alvin M., 493, 497, 499

–D–

daguerreotype, 343, 471 393, 416, 434-435
Daley, John, 450, 506
Darwin, 297, 398, 500
Davidson, J. M., 383-384
Davis, Addison, 399, 400, 403, 406, 415-416, 438
Davis, Andrew Jackson, 394, 403, 404, 405, 406, 439, 441
Davis, Dixy Collins, 393
Davis, Mayor Edward S., 423
Davis, Thomas, 372
decapitation, 417
Dickason, Mrs., 303
Dillingham, J. R., 326, 357
DISABILITIES:
- blindness, 341, 344, 477, 493, 496, 498
- deafness, 330, 381, 419, 493, 500, 501
- emotional impairment (depression, despair, despondency, hysteria, irritablity) 299, 373, 416, 421, 375, 392, 458, 480, 487, 526,
- lameness (crippled) 304, 320, 328, 333, 373, 393, 414, 446, 467, 469, 486,
- mental illness (insanity) 372, 374, 395, 402, 446

DISEASES:
- ague, 335, 383, 397, 504
- Asiatic cholera, 397
- "black tongue," 376
- cancer, 311, 317, 322, 380-381, 392, 429
- chicken pox, 473
- cholera ("King of Terrors") 376, 385, 389, 391, 397, 411; epidemics: (1849) 327, 328, 330, 345, 358, 359, 370, 375, 376, 380, 412,
- consumption (tuberculosis) 321, 336, 341, 373, 374, 376, 380, 382, 431, 433, 442, 455, 466, 497
- diphtheria, 448

dysentery, 327-328, 333, 344, 358, 373, 376, 386, 389, 502, 504, 528; epidemic: (1848) 327-328, 376
hydrophobia (rabies) 376
isthmus fever, 343
kidney disease, 337
lung fever, 303, 498
malaria, 344, 472-473, 475, 483, 488, 493, 503, 513, 516, 520, 524
measles, 303, 308, 317, 352, 473
mumps, 473
puerperal fever, 340, 362
rheumatism, 309, 333, 385-386, 413, 414, 443, 474, 487, 493, 513,
scarlet fever, 324, 328, 376, 382; epidemic: (1849) 328
scrofulous tumor, 305, 311, 317, 388, 414, 443
smallpox, 327, 375-376, 440, 473
spinal meningitis, 440, 481, 517
syphilis ("French disease") 388, 456, 471
typhoid, 327, 376, 473-474, 479, 484, 488, 497, 520
typhus ("ship fever") 325, 376, 428, 473, 497
yellow fever, 473
Dixon, Francis, 412, 491, 523-524
Donahue, Thomas, 458, 467
Douglass, Frederick, 293-295, 297, 348, 349
Dow, John C., 463-464
Dow, Thomas W., 502
Downing, J. H., 413
Draper, Alonzo Granville, 451, 452, 468, 476, 482-484, 488-489, 513, 520, 523
Duboyce, Madame, 391

–E–

Earp, Edwin, 481
Eastman, Benjamin C., 412, 442
Eastman, Ezekiel Porter (and Mary) 312, 323, 324. 325, 331, 338, 386, 387, 411, 412, 442, 524
eclecticism, 324-325, 386, 492, 524
electro-chemical bath, 414-415, 491, 492
Ellsworth Cadets (Hardee Cadets) 451, 455, 507
Emerson, Isaac D., 460
Emery, George E., 504
Empire Fire Association, 451, 482, 507-508
Essex County Regiment, 452
Essex South District Medical Society, 303, 352, 415
Estes, Guilielma (see *Guilielma Estes Ripley*)
Estes, John G., 447
Estes, Lydia (see *Lydia Estes Pinkham*)
Estes, William, 439
evolution, 398, 500-501
Exchange Hall, 431, 455

–F–

Fairbanks, George W., 491, 495
Fairbanks, Henry A., 460
family medicine, 291, 332, 334, 504
Farley, Mary, 415-416
Faulkner, Alonzo D., 452
Fay, H. Melville, 501
female physicians, 381-382, 492-493
Fernald, J., 386-388
Fiske, Rev. Theophilus, 391
Flanders, Augustus B., 449
Flanders, Martha J., 492
Flora (former slave) 293, 522
Floto & Payne, 493
Ford, William (escaped slave?) 294
fortune teller, 390, 391, 397
Fountain (fire company) 455
Fowler and Wells, 341
Fowler, Lorenzo Niles, 301
Fowler, Orson Squire, 301, 437
Fox sisters, 395, 396, 398-399, 436
Francisco, Lucio, 345
Fraser, William A., 310, 450
Frazier, Lyman B., 490
Freeman, Ann, 292
Freeman, Stephen, 292
Frye, Charles C., 458
Frye, Homer, 310, 503
Fuller, Sanford K., 462
Furbush, Charles J., 372
Furbush, Lyman F., 399

–G–

Gale, Capt. William T., 415, 443
Galloupe, Isaac Francis, 320-321, 339, 471-473, 485-486, 488, 492, 493-495
galvanic-electric medical appliances, 341, 351, 380, 413-414, 416, 433
Gardiner, Thomas, 461
Gardner, James, 352, 396
Gardner, John, 364
Gerry, Elbridge, 460
gold fever, 342-344, 363
Goodell, Abner C., 388
Goodridge, Moses R. G., 419
Gordon, Alexander, 460
Gould, Abraham, 304, 322, 337, 351, 375, 383, 419
Gove, Albert, 419
Gove, Mary S., 305, 340, 341, 348
Gowen, John E., 389
Graham, John, 485-486
Granites (baseball team) 451, 507

Graves, Samuel J., 479, 519
Gray, George, 365-366, 424
Gray, George W. (and Sarah) 454
Gray, Zebina S., 343, 363
Greeley, Dr., 380
Greene, Reuben, 381
Greenleaf, Catharine, 469
Grimage family, 293
Grimes, James Stanley, 392, 434
Grimké sisters, 295
Grover, Manley, 411
Guilford, Joseph A. (and Harriett L. [Beckford]) 465, 512
Galavan, Dennis, 503
gymnasium, 499, 527

–H–

Haley, Bridget, 330, 370
Haley, Isaiah, 325
Hall, Charles A., 462-463
Harmon, William L., 336, 383, 415
Harris, Edward, 449
Harris, George, 449
Harris, Capt. George, 500
Harvard (College, Medical School) 339-340, 356, 450
Hasheesh Candy, 504
Hatch, Cora L. V. (and Dr.) 400-401, 438
Hatch, Herman T., 372
Hawkes, Charles W., 363
Hawkes, Maria Louise, 393
Hawkes, Sarah Gilbert, 393
Hawkes, Willie Bailey, 393
Hawks, Esther Hill, 470, 482, 492, 515, 518
Hawks, John Milton, 470, 515, 518
Heald, Samuel, 461
Heald, Stephen, 461-462
Healey's Arcade, 369, 447, 502, 508
Herbert, Thomas, 399
heroic medicine (see *conventional medicine*)
Hill, James B., 433
Hill, Joseph B., 386, 387, 433
Hilton, John, 385
Hitching, I. B., 498
Hodges, Chauncey, 502
Hodgkins, Joseph E., 459, 464, 465, 468, 469, 473, 474, 480, 481, 485-486, 487, 492, 519, 521
Holbrook, Madame, 391
Holder, Aaron Lummus, 339, 383
Holder, James Bassett, 384, 389
Holder, James W., 475, 491, 502
Holder, Joseph W., 502
Holman, Joseph F., 382-384, 430-432
Homan, Joseph H., 460
homeopathy, 320, 322, 323-324, 325, 491
Hood, George, 375, 402, 408, 421
Hood, H. P. 415
Hooper, Steven G., 468-469
Howard, Nancy, 292-293, 380-381
human anomalies, 341, 369, 500
human waste, 379, 474
Hunnewell, Francis E., 448
Hunt, Harriot K., 340
Hutchinson, Abby, 302, 377, 396
Hutchinson, Asa, 302, 396, 479
Hutchinson Family singers, 302, 355, 394, 411, 469, 479
Hutchinson, Jesse (and Susanna) 341, 341, 344, 360, 395, 396, 402, 403, 405, 425, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439
Hutchinson, John Wallace, 302, 303, 316, 319, 326, 396, 436, 479
Hutchinson, Joseph M., 399
Hutchinson, Joshua, 396
Hutchinson, Judson, 302, 396, 402
Hutchinson's Velocipede Academy, 499
hydropathy (water cure) 289, 308, 311, 312, 313, 318, 320, 322, 338, 341, 368, 396, 397, 411, 414, 425, 436, 474, 491

–I–

Independents (baseball team) 451
Indianopathy (Indian remedies), 381, 389
Ingalls, Abner F., 468
Ingalls, Ephraim Alfred, 450
Ingalls, Joseph S., 462
Ingalls, Samuel, 383
Ingalls, Sidney, 327-328, 358
Ingraham, William H. (and Ann Augusta) 392
Ireson, Benjamin J., 385
Ireson, Samuel, 417
itinerants, 297, 325, 341, 342, 369. 380, 391, 429, 434

–J–

Janes, Charles H., 454, 509
Jenkins, Luther, 498
Jepson, George E., 417
Jewell, Reverend, 414
Jewett, David J. M. A., 465
Jewett, John H., 460
Johnson, Daniel Alfred, 324
Johnson, David N., 412
Johnson, Mrs. Miriam B., 348, 381, 382, 429
Jones, James L., 378
Jones, John A., 504

Jones, Rachel, 448
Josselyn, Frank R., 454, 461, 484, 508

–K–

Keene, Avis (boarding house) 380
Keene, George W., 399, 402
Keene, Washington, 460
Keith, F. H., 457
Kelley, Daniel W., 449
Kelley, Abby, 290, 295, 296
Kennedy, John, 372-373
Kenrick, Alonzo P., 344
Key, William and Hannah M., 303-304
Kidder, Mrs. E., 382
Kimball, Moses, 418
Kingsford, William, 396, 435-436
Kimball, Josiah F., 322, 328-329, 371, 376, 523
Kingsford, William, 336, 360, 395, 435
Kingston, Richard, 488
Kite, Eliza B., 393, 434
Kittredge, Edward Augustus ("Noggs") 363, 410, 411, 414, 429, 474, 479, 503
Kittredge, Henry G. W., 308, 474
Kittredge, Susan (Smith) 308, 311
Knight, Alphonso, 418
Knight, Edward H., 467

–L–

Laborda, Peter, 461
Ladd, William, 383 413
Ladies Sanitary Aid Society, 469
Lakeman, Joseph, 391, 414
Lander, Gen. Frederick W., 470, 511, 514
Lander, Jean (Davenport) 470, 511, 515, 518
Larkin, Thomas O., 342
Leaver, Joseph, 465
leech (see *bloodletting*)
Lefavour, Mr., 372
Letheon Compound (see *anesthetic*)
Lewis, Alonzo, 307, 308, 318, 327, 328, 353, 357, 366, 368, 373, 377, 384, 396, 397, 400, 401, 409, 412, 413, 425, 437,
Liberty (fire company) 455
Liberty Hall (Lynn) 295
lightning (danger and strikes), 391, 405, 409, 411, 464, 491
Lillie, Albert S., 460
Lister, Professor, 391
Long, Caleb (and Relief) 312-317, 318, 323, 329, 354, 355, 370, 383, 399
Lord, George W., 414
Lougee, John E., 449
Lummus, Aaron, 301, 393, 444
Lummus, Aaron Jr., 412
Lummus, Abigail, M. N., 393, 394
Lummus, Charles, 308
Lummus, Edward, 308 (see also *Edward Coffin*)
Lummus, Henry, 402
Lummus, Thomas Jefferson, 291, 296, 301, 302, 334, 335, 350, 359, 361, 383, 393, 513
Lyceum Hall, 360, 362, 394, 400, 423, 428, 435, 498, 501, 526
Lynn Anti-Slavery Society, 295-297, 349, 399
Lynn Army and Navy Union, 496
Lynn City Guards (Mass. 8th Regiment, Company F) 423, 448-450, 451, 489
Lynn City Rifles, 457
Lynn Common, 455, 461
Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, 290, 311
Lynn Hotel, 298, 299, 380, 408
Lynn Light Infantry (Mass. 8th Regiment, Company D) 383, 415, 423, 443, 448, 449, 451, 452, 455, 489, 497, 506
Lynn Lyceum, 296, 391, 434, 436
Lynn Mechanics Phalanx, 452, 482
Lynn Medical Society, 303
LYNN NATURAL FEATURES:
- Botanic Grove (Linnean Grove) 361, 384
- Dungeon Rock, 368, 395, 396-398, 403, 405, 425, 435, 436, 437, 438, 469, 470, 514
- Egg Rock, 367, 395, 415, 435
- Flax Pond, 365, 499, 526,
- High Rock, 367, 395, 396, 398, 402-403, 404, 405-406, 407, 408, 425, 435-436, 439, 469, 479, 500, 514, 526
- King's Beach, 361
- Long Beach, 409, 499
- Lynn Beach, 377, 395
- Lynn Harbor, 497
- Lynn Woods, 396, 403
- Saugus River, 293, 327, 377
- Stacey's Brook, 361
- Strawberry Brook, 365, 377

Lynn Natural History Society, 340, 362
LYNN NEIGHBORHOODS
- Dye House Village, 376, 467
- East Lynn, 367
- Graves End, 376, 377
- West Lynn, 343, 344, 367, 371, 375, 391, 417, 419, 420, 502, 503, 528
- Woodend, 371, 409

Lynn Post 5, GAR (Grand Army of the Republic) 496, 515
LYNN PROPRIETARY HEALTH PRODUCTS:
(also see *Appendix A*)
- *Anglo Saxon Strengthening Plasters, 334*
- *Aromatic Stomach Bitters*, 291
- *Aromatic Wine Bitters*, 291
- *Aromatic Vegetable Bitters*, 291, 334
- *Brown's Chilblain* Lotion, 502

Brown's Concentrated Ginger, 502
Brown's Cough Syrup, 502
Brown's Emollient Lotion, 502
Compound Boneset Candy, 502-503
Dr. E. P. Eastman's Yellow Dock Bitters, 433
Dr. Gano's Bitters, 336
Dr. Hilton's Cough Syrup, 385
Dr. Hilton's Humor Syrup, 385
Dr. Hilton's Vegetable Curative, 385
Dr. J. F. Holman's Bitters, 383
Dr. Lummus's Pectoral Syrup, 291, 332
Dr. Pettegrew's Family Medicine, 502
Dr. Ramsdell's Bitters, 385
Dr. Ramsdell's Indian Restorative, or Family Bitters, 385
Dr. True's German Cough Syrup, 385
Dr. True's Pain Destroying Compound, 385
Eastman's Sick Headache Remedy, 386
Emery's Dentavon, 504
Female Monthly Pills, 388
French Preventive Pills, 388
Hodge's Dysentery Cordial, 502
Holder's Excelsior Hair Tonic, 383, 502
Holder's Extract of Jamaica Ginger, 475,
Humectare, 411
Improved Magneto-Electric Machine for Nervous Diseases, 491, 494-495
Indian Hemp, 388
Indian Restorative, 336, 385
Indian Vegetable Bitters, 336
Lummus's Sarsaparilla, 335
Lung Expander, 336
Macomber's Sick Headache and Anti-Bilious Remedy, 475
Purifying Bitters, 503
Sarsaparilla Mead Syrup, 360
Seaverns' Cough Balsam, 504
Spring Bitters, 503
Stimpson's Dysentery Compound, 504
Thompson's Botanic Cough Syrup, 502, 504
Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam, 383
Wentworth's Western Horse Liniment, 388
William M. Ladd's Vegetable Bitters, 383

Lynn road and sidewalk conditions, 497

LYNN STREETS:
Beach, 368, 414, 418, 497
Boston, 330, 373, 378
Boston-Salem Turnpike, 377
Buffum, 501
Chatham, 361
Commercial, 417
Cross, 330
Exchange, 451, 455
Essex, 377, 430-431
Federal, 303
Franklin, 372
Market, 366, 371, 372, 383, 385, 394, 418, 423, 430, 435, 444
Mulberry, 367
Munroe, 414
Newhall, 312
North Common, 303, 416
Pleasant, 419
Silsbee, 311
Spring, 375
Spruce, 416
Tremont, 371
Union, 366, 367, 368, 375, 377, 417, 418, 429
Walnut, 361
Willow, 366, 418

Lynn Temperance House, 336

Lynn Temperance Society, 298

Lynn Young Men's Temperance Society, 298

–M–

Mace, J. W., 388

Mackey, Joseph, 373

Macomber, Horatio N., 393, 412, 415, 436, 475, 490

magneto-electric machine, 491, 494, 495-496, 525

Mann, Benjamin, 417

Mansfield, Isaac, 351

Mansfield, Mrs., 382

Mansfield, Robert, 480

Marble, Caroline, 397

Marble, Edwin, 397-398, 417

Marble, Hiram (and Arminda) 395, 397-398, 405, 439

Marsh, C. H., 381

Marsh, Thomas J., 299

Martin, Mial W., 458

Martin, Solomon, 463

Massachusetts Medical Society, 303, 307, 320, 324, 327, 338, 339, 340, 352, 356, 361,

M'Carty, James, 498

McDavitt, Charlie, 464-465

McKnight, James, 471

McNabb, William, 455, 509

Mechanics (baseball team) 451

medicine laboratory, 409

mermaid, 341, 359, 500

Merriam, R. K., 298, 336

Merritt, William H., 453

mesmerism, 322, 365, 391-392, 399, 436-437, 491

microscopy, 341, 378-379, 393, 429

Miles, Orin A., 468

Millerites, 394, 500

Mills, George, 336

MINERAL REMEDIES:
calomel, 304-305, 306, 308, 320, 327, 332, 362, 381, 473
camphor, 292, 327
nitrous acid, 327
silver nitrate, 327

Moody, True, 408

Morrison, Joseph W., 465

Morse, Robert, 406, 441

Mott, Elizabeth, 340

Moulton, Charles, 375
Moulton, Josiah F., 449
mountebank (see *quackery*)
mourning jewelry, 454, 458, 509
Mower, Amos E., 388
Mudge, George W., 310, 388
Mudge, Mayor Ezra Warren, 518
Mudge, Theodore Lyman, 393
Mudge, Theodore Parker, 328
Mudge, William R., 477, 501-502
Mulliken, George, 342
Munroe, Col. Timothy, 450
Munroe, Phipps, 459
Murphy, Edward, 460

–N–

Nahant Hotel (Nahant) 366, 458
Nahant, MA, 309, 324, 329, 366, 367, 371, 395, 409, 418, 519; (Bass Point) 395, 436
Neal, Edward C., 457-458, 470
Neal, Isaac B., 389
Neal, John Winslow, 470
Neal, Mayor Peter M., 457, 465, 467-468, 470, 480-481, 487, 488-489, 514, 518
Neal, Samuel, 385
Neal, William (and Rebecca) 305
Newhall, Asa Tarbell, 339, 409, 416, 419, 452
Newhall, Capt. George T., 450
Newhall, Charles H., 399
Newhall, Edward, 417-418
Newhall, George H., 465
Newhall, James R., 338, 344, 392, 425
Newhall, Otis, 461, 479, 488
Newhall, William P., 399
Niagara (fire company) 426, 455
Nichols, Charles H., 339
nipple shields, 384
Norwood, Ephraim, 337
Noyes, Joseph P., 460
nurse, 327, 370, 381, 389, 393, 431, 460, 464, 465, 470, 481, 492-493, 502, 514, 522
Nye, James Munroe, 303-304, 305, 322, 327, 337, 339, 350, 351, 361, 447, 459, 463, 469, 519

–O–

Oliver, Edwin L., 519
Oliver, James E., 400-401
Oliver, Stephen R., 498
Orcutt, William, 411
Otis, George, 491
Ouija board, 500
Outahlanchets (baseball team) 451, 507
Owen, Rev. Alfred, 469-470
Owens, Dennis, 480

–P–

Packer, H. T., 322, 324
Page, Nathan W., 411
Palfrey, Warwick, 303
Palmer, William, 303
Parfitt, John, 460
Parrish, Emmeline, 381, 430
Parrott, Charles A., 465
Parrott, Herbert W., 485-486
pathetism, 391-392
Patten, John R., 305
Patterson, Daniel (and Mary M.) 491, 497, 499
Peale, Augusta, 340
Pearce, A. S., 391, 435
Peck, Lucius H., 502
peddlers, 336, 369, 376, 501-502, 527-528
Percival, Benjamin, 292, 347, 415, 491
Perdy, John J., 372
Perley, Daniel, 323, 324, 339, 418
Pettegrew, Oliver J., 502
Pevear, Burnham, S., 464
Philbrick, Warren C., 422
Phillips, Gideon, 310
Phillips, Benjamin, 344
phrenology, 341, 365, 395, 399
Pierce, J. C., 371
Pierce, John M., 496
Pierce, Rev. Thomas, 388
Pike, Henry H., 448
Pinkham, Isaac, 297, 327, 349, 422, 423, 469, 490, 514
Pinkham, Lydia Estes, (Lydia Estes) 297, 327, 348; 349, 440, L
pirate, 368, 396-398, 405, 436
poison, 319, 323, 327, 328, 336-337, 344, 345, 372, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 414, 415, 444, 451, 472, 497, 503, 504
pollutants, 377-378
Pompey (slave) 293
Porter, Francena, 492
Porter, Oliver (and Aurora) 289, 313, 318, 322, 323, 324, 325, 331, 341, 345, 353, 395, 440,
post mortem photography, 394
Pratt, Daniel S., 388
Prescott, William, 337, 339, 412
Prince, James P., 460, 492
Proctor, Benjamin, 452, 502-503
Proctor, John, 460
Proctor & Rhodes, 335, 371

public lectures on physiology, 320, 339-340, 341, 342, 362, 382,
Purinton, Benajah, 503
Putnam, George W., 293, 347

–Q–

quackery, quack (charlatan, mountebank) 303, 305, 307, 320, 321, 322, 325-326, 327, 329, 331-332, 334, 336, 337-338, 339, 342, 361, 501
quack medicines (nostrums) 293, 329, 332, 334, 336-338, 389
Quakers, 292, 293, 295, 296, 340, 381, 414, 457
quarantine: (red flag) 330, 375
Quimby, Oscar B., 460

–R–

Ramsdell, William B, 384
Read, William, 322, 339, 434, 436
Ready, John C., 460
Ready, William, 460
recruitment physical, 455
Reformed Men's Temperance Society, 329
Remond, Charles Lenox, 296
Renton, John, 375, 389, 415, 431
revivalism, 394
Rhodes, James N., 417
Rich, Edwin A., 363
Richardson, Alvin R., 363
Richardson, Benjamin, 423
Roach, Richard, 417
Roback, C. W., 391, 434-435
Robinson, Charles, 344
Robinson, Christopher, 296
Rogers, Nathaniel, 295, 311
Rogers, Robert S., 323, 384, 460, 510
Roney, Eugene H., 394
Ross, Benjamin K., 323
Roundy, Mrs. Mary, 381
Rowley, Charlie, 485-486
Rushe, George, 382
Russell, Rev. Philemon, 320, 323, 327, 388

–S–

Sagamore Bathing House, 414
Sagamore Cottage, 353
Sagamore Hall, 302, 406, 423, 435, 436
Sagamore House (Hotel) 298, 367, 380, 382, 453, 458, 501
Sagamore and California Mining and Trading Company, 343, 363
Sargent, Phineas, 505
Saugus River, 293, 327, 377
Saunders, Capt. John, 462
Saunderson, Elbridge Z., 450
Saunderson, G. Z., 499
Saunderson, Mrs. J. A., 411
Sawin, Mrs., 382
Sawyer, John A., 449
Sawyer, Leonard, 385
Schwartz, Benjamin G., 344, 363
Scribner, Amos P., 378
séance exposure, 501
sea serpent, 409, 500
Seaverns, George W., 504
Shackford, Charles C., 400-401
Shattuck, Lemuel, 374
Shaw, George F., 460
Shealey, Thomas, 329
shoe shape, 412-413
Shorey, Alderman, 470
Short, Philip, 363
Silsbee, Samuel, 293
Silver Grey Fire Association, 451, 455
Skelton, William, 329
Slocomb, William, 382, 413
Smith, Ammi, 446-447, 505
Smith, Charles E., 465
Smith, Richard R., 399
Smith, Stephen, 499
snakes (rattlesnakes) 293, 306, 388, 409, 475
Snow & Messinger, 502. 504
Snow, Warren, 462
Soldier's Aid Society (children's) 469
Soule, Samuel, 360, 368
Southwick, Joseph P., 468
Sparks, John, 385, 434
Spear, Jesse S., 333, 381
Spear, John Murray, 399, 403, 404, 405, 441 370, 374, 375-378, 395, 409, 440, 407.
Spear, Rev. Charles, 290
Spear, Samuel V., 449
spiritualism (necromancy) 365, 395-406, 422, 437, 439, 440, 501
spiritual medium, 459, 492, 493, 495, 501
spontaneous combustion, 500
Sprague, Joseph, 411
Stannard, Avice, 419
Steele, Frank, 485-486
Stevenson, Thomas, 363
Stimpson, Leonard F., 504, 528
Stone Cottage, 396, 398, 402, 403, 404, 437, 440
Stone, George E., 480
Stone, Henry, 450
Stone, William C., 363

Sullivan, John, 480
Sumner, James S., 499
Sunderland, LaRoy, 331, 359, 382, 392
Swampscott, MA, 328-329, 330, 335, 362, 366, 374, 409, 419, 422, 424, 428, 460, 519
Swedish Movement Cure, 499

–T–

tapeworm, 501
Tapley, Warren, 450, 456, 491
Tarbox, Edwin H., 344, 363
Tarbox, William, 330
Taylor, Charles B., 459-460
temperance, 296, 298-301, 309, 329, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 348-349, 361, 371, 432
Thompson, Weston (and Ellen) 461
Thompson, George W., 460
Thompson, James, 370
Thomsonianism, 320, 331
Thomson, Samuel, 502
Thurston, George, 463, 496, 515
Thurston, John A. (Marshal) 424, 463, 470-471, 483
Tiger Fire Association, 474
Tolman Building, 449, 506
tooth extraction, 325-326
Townsend, Daniel W., 460
Tracy, Cyrus M., 339, 411
train accidents, 322, 418-419, 496
Trask, Eben, 385
Trow, James M., 415
True, Joseph M., 385
Trussell, H. F., 499
Truth, Sojourner, 295
turnkey, 326, 482
Tuttle, Edward, 370

–U–

UNCONVENTIONAL HEALTH PURVEYORS:
- cancer and humor doctor, 380, 430
- clairvoyant physician, 392, 435
- consumption and blood specialists, 380, 382
- eclectic healer, 324-325, 386, 423, 492, 524
- electro-biologist (electro-chemical) 380, 414-415
- homeopath, 323, 357
- hydropathist, 305, 308, 309, 311, 331, 336
- Indian doctor, 333, 381, 432
- lung healer, 380
- magneto-electric healer, 491-496
- mesmeric doctor (animal magnetism) 380, 392
- Thomsonian practitioner, 323, 331
- vegetable physician, 323

Union Guard, 451-452, 460, 488
UNUSUAL REMEDIES:
- cantharides (green blister beetle) 503

Usher, Roland G., 450, 518

–V–

vaccination, 376, 378
"Vampyre, The", 346
vegetable compound, 504
Vella, Henry W., 485
velocipede, 499-500
venereal disease, 471
VERMIN: 377, 378, 485, 498
- fleas, 376, 473
- flies, 315, 346, 369, 378
- gnats, 473
- lice, 473, 515
- mosquitoes, 344, 473, 498
- rats, 363, 378, 485, 498

vesication (blistering) 303-304, 305, 306, 308, 311, 351, 389, 473, 503
veterinary medicine, 359, 388, 498
Vial, Samuel, 480-481
Vickary, Otis, 385
Voit, Andrew, 345
Volunteer (fire company) 455

–W–

Wacey, David, 498, 526
Waldo, Elmina Ruth, 289,
Waldo, Rev. J. C., 289,
Washington House, 380, 382
water cure (establishment) 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 316, 318-319, 320, 323, 324, 325, 350, 352, 353
watchers for the sick, 277, 300 327, 381, 393, 498
Waterford Water Cure ("Hydroville") 311-313, 318
Waterman, H. A., 381
Weeks, George B., 363
Wentworth, T. B., 388
Weeks, Charles M. (and Elvira) 312
Wentworth, John B., 412
Whitmore, S. H., 393, 410
Whitten, Benjamin E., 465
Wiley, Caleb W., 383
Williams, Theodore S., 411
Williams, William, 435
Wilson, James H., 460
Witch (also *witchcraft*) 338, 390, 503
Wood, John M., 411
Woodbury, Seth D., 491
Wright, Henry G., 305, 348
Wright, Rev. Nathan C., 464

–Y–

Young, Isaac, 414